

8<sup>th</sup> GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CIVIC ISSUES  
AND PARTICIPATION IN  
ELECTORAL, POLITICAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **8<sup>th</sup> GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CIVIC ISSUES AND PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL, POLITICAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES**

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The purpose of the study is to investigate 8<sup>th</sup> grade Turkish students' perceptions towards civic concepts and issues like good citizenship, government responsibilities and women's political and social rights and to determine the factors affecting their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. In order to achieve this aim, a nation-wide survey was conducted with a sample of 2497 students from 60 schools in 21 provinces. The questionnaire developed by International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) on civic education was adapted and used as the data collection instrument. The data obtained from the sample were analyzed through both descriptive (mean, frequencies and percentages) and inferential statistics (ANOVA, Hierarchical Multiple Regression).

The results revealed that students value both conventional and social movement citizenship activities to be a good citizen. However, although they plan to participate in electoral and civic activities, more than half of them do not plan to participate in political activities such as joining a party, being a

candidate for a local office. Moreover, it was found that the variances in students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities were explained by students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences and finally by their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school. Findings were discussed around relevant literature both in Turkey and abroad.

**Keywords:** Electoral participation, political participation, civic participation, citizenship education, elementary school students

## ÖZ

### 8. SINIF ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN VATANDAŞLIK İLE İLGİLİ KONULARA VE SEÇİME AİT, POLİTİK VE SİVİL KATILIMA YÖNELİK ALGILARI

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Bu çalışmanın amacı 8. sınıf öğrencilerinin iyi vatandaş, devletin sorumlulukları ve kadınların politik ve sosyal hakları gibi vatandaşlıkla ilgili kavram ve konulara ilişkin algılarını ve onların seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılım boyutlarında geleceğe yönelik katılım isteklerini belirleyen faktörleri tespit etmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, 21 ilden 60 okuldaki 2497 öğrenciden oluşan örnekleme ulusal çaplı tarama çalışması yürütülmüştür. Veri toplama aracı olarak, “Uluslararası Eğitim Değerlendirme Kurumu” (International Association for the Evaluation of Education) tarafından geliştirilen anket uyarlanarak kullanılmıştır. Örneklemeden elde edilen veriler hem betimsel (ortalama, sıklık, yüzdeler) hem de çıkarımsal analiz yöntemleriyle (varyans analizi, hiyerarşik çoklu regresyon analizi) analiz edilmiştir.

Sonuçlar, öğrencilerin hem geleneksel ve hem de sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığı önemli bulduğunu göstermektedir. Fakat, öğrenciler her ne kadar gelecekte seçim ile ilgili ve sivil katılıma yönelik aktivitelere katılmak istemekteyseler de, öğrencilerin yarısından fazlası gelecekte politik aktivitelere

(ör. bir partiye katılma, yerel yönetim için aday olma) katılmayı planlamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra, öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik isteklerindeki varyansın öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenler; medya kullanım alışkanlıkları; tartışmalara katılım ve sınıf içi tartışma ortamı; müfredat ve müfredat dışı deneyimler; iyi vatandaşlık ile ilgili ve okul hayatında katılıma yönelik algılar ile açıklandığı bulunmuştur. Bulgular Türkiye'deki ve yurtdışındaki ilgili literatur çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Seçime ait katılım, politik katılım, sivil katılım, vatandaşlık eğitimi, ilköğretim okulu öğrencileri

To my son, Ediz Suphi



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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Background to the Study**

Citizens in democratic societies acquire citizenship rights at the time of birth, however, assuming that individuals will sustain citizenship consciousness as well as attitudes it requires, would be misleading. As Archard (2003) stated, “citizens are created, not born” (p. 89). This creation process, not only is involved in implementing systems to achieve this goal, but also focuses on distinctive differences in acquiring citizenship consciousness of each individual. This individualist approach is quite easily justified through a basic observation of our surroundings. Some of us would avoid one of the most basic indicators of citizenship; voting, while voting on its own would just be enough for some other. Along with voting some people would be involved in voluntary organizations to help those in need where some others would get involved in active politics to try and solve social or economic issues at a different scale. In other words, the development of consciousness would vary individually, hence resulting in different levels of participation in democratic processes, but what would be the reason for this differentiation? The foundation of this study is built upon this question.

In broad terms, the process of gaining citizenship consciousness is shaped with the scale, scope and context of the individual’s interaction with other individuals, the state and institutions and develops in line with active participation in democratic processes. We start gaining citizenship

consciousness within the family. Three routes are underlined by Hess and Torney (1970) regarding the socialization of the individual in the family with respect to citizenship consciousness; transmission of the attitudes, imitation, and transfer of the anticipations set as a result of experiences within the family unit into future political behaviors. The process of gaining consciousness is initially influenced by the family, continues depending on the level of interaction with the social environment and gains a systematic form with the start of school.

Although various socializing agencies have an impact on the development of civic consciousness and behaviors, usually schools have been given the duty of “preparation of citizens” (Cogan, 1998, p. 1) and carry out this responsibility in a more organized way, by means of “formal curriculum, the informal curriculum and extra-curricular learning” (Print & Coleman, 2003, p. 133). No doubt that these agents would project individuals, along the lines of the type of citizens the state aims to raise. For this reason the citizenship definition of the state gains importance. In spite of the fact that the profile would change contextually, in established democracies active participation is described as one of the main components of citizenship. Surely, as mentioned repeatedly in literature this is not limited to voting only, but participating in political activities as well as taking responsibilities for the greater good.

Although there is no conceptual agreement as to the definition, scale and limits of participation, the following three forms are widely agreed in literature; voting, political participation and civic participation. Even though voting, as seen as the widest form of participation (Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba et al., 1995), would be defined under political participation by some, it mostly taken as an activity described under “minimal citizenship” (Banks, 2008, p. 136) category and placed in the early stages of continuum of political participation or mentioned as a “civic duty” (Haste & Hogan, 2006, p. 475) rather than indicator of civic consciousness of an individual. Whether it includes voting or

not, political participation is seen as activities that would affect “government decisions” (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 2), where on the other hand, collaborative movements are seen as a common basis for civic participation (Verba et al., 1995; Zukin et al., 2006).

Notwithstanding the fact that participation is seen critical as to the sustainability of democracies, many researcher emphasize the lack of participation among young citizens which resulted in more researchers looking into childhood and early adolescence in order to determine the reasons for this. In fact an individual at adolescence has the potential to participate in these activities, as mentioned in many developmental theories. Erikson (1959; 1963, as cited in Lerner, 2002), for example, identify adolescence period with “identity formation” (p. 423) where he/she can define himself as well as his/her place in society (Lerner, 2002, p. 423). This identification also helps us understand the importance of not only tracking the development of this potential but also determining the factors that feed into it.

Moving forward from this, several researchers began to search the participation scheme among youth by means of extracurricular activities, volunteering and community service activities and also their predictors and longitudinal effects (e.g. Darling, 2005; Gardner et al., 2008; Glanville, 1999; Hart et al., 2007; Smith, 1999, Zaff et al., 2003). Another body of research on the other hand tried to capture students’ intentions to participate with an assumption that this intention will turn to behavior in the long run. A large portion of this study also investigates students’ intentions to participate in electoral, political, and civic citizenship activities when they are adults. What does this intention mean? Does it provide accurate evidences that they will participate when they are eligible? In fact, it is almost impossible to answer these questions since in the literature there is not enough evidence of the persistency of these intentions during the transition period to the adulthood and there is also not enough evidence that these intentions will be turned into behaviors.



However, some theories propose the positive effect of intentions on future behavior. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) define intentions as “a person’s subjective probability that he will perform some behavior” (p. 288) and they add that until this intent is transferred into action through an effort to realize it at the right time under convenient conditions it will stay as a behavioral identity (Ajzen, 2005). Regarding the transformation of the intention into behaviors, many meta-analysis studies were reviewed by Ajzen (2005) which concluded that a strong correlation appears between intention and behavior on diverse areas including voting. Although it is noted by Ajzen (2005) that intentions can change over time, this time span theory has been challenged by several studies. For example, D. E. Campbell (2007) reported a study which started in 1980. In this study high school students were surveyed and followed on after their graduation every two years. It was reported that 84% of the students kept voting as they initially claimed they would do, after ten years (p. 70). Contradicting views on the association between intentions and future behavior does not eliminate the fact that the lack of infrastructure and limited informative policies towards youngsters around 14 years of age that would lead to conscious participation decision, would act as a limitation on such a study. Henceforth, trying to determine a 14 year old’s intentions on civic and political orientation in such a climate remains a challenge.

In the literature many studies were reported covering participation of adolescents in various modes (voting patterns, political or civic participation) and deals with the predictors of intentions or behaviors. Those studies underline the effects of gender claiming that being female is much more related with social-movement participation and intentions (e.g., Alt & Medrich, 1994; Flanagan et al., 1998; Husfeldt et al., 2005; Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Socio-economic level also reported in some of the studies as an important variable effecting student’s intentions and actual participation on various forms (e.g., Baldi et al., 2001; Lopes et al., 2009; Spring et al., 2007; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Media consumption habit is another predictor

reported in the literature of participation. Although exceptions exist, those studies highlighted that while news consumption from various sources especially from newspapers is positively associated with participation (e.g., Amadeo et al., 2004; Garramone & Atkin, 1986); TV consumption hours were more related with low participation and intentions (e.g., D. E. Campbell, 2006; Putnam, 1995). Students' intentions to participate for the future as a citizen also found high when it is reported that they discuss political and social topics with different social agents such as peers, parents or teachers frequently (e.g., Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kelly, 2006; Klofstad, 2008; Oswald & Schmid, 1998; Wilkenfeld, 2009) and when they reported that they had a classroom environment that is open for discussion (e.g., D. E. Campbell, 2008). Moreover, civic related learning in schools (e.g., Torney-Purta, 2002a); participation in extracurricular activities especially civic-related ones (e.g., Gardner et al., 2008; Glanville, 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Smith, 1999) were factors those positively predicting students' intentions and participation. An individual's good citizenship orientation was also reported in the literature as a variable affecting their participative behaviors. Individuals with a perception involving a more passive meaning of participation does not intend to participate in activities that require more active involvement (Dalton, 2008; Theiss-Morse, 1993).

Although there are many studies in this area regarding the aforementioned variables, the study conducted by "International Association for the Evaluation of Education" provides probably most comprehensive look at the youngsters' civic and political orientations in the literature which also has been referred many times. It included 28 countries over the world and aims to capture citizenship orientations of youth. The model proposed for the study which inspired by "ecological development" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 22) and "situated cognition" (p. 22) theories puts the adolescence at the heart of the model and places agents (like parents, peers, school, etc.) reflecting the "public discourse and practices of the society" (p. 22) in an outer circle (Torney-Purta

et al., 2001, p. 22). Naturally there are national differences, but the study unfurls students' low level of intentions to participate in especially to political activities. Turkey was not a part of this study, though there are some studies which revealed youth deficiency in those participative activities (Doğanay et al., 2007; Erdoğan, 2003; Parlak, 1999).

In Turkish historical context, even though the citizenship conception has evolved in the process of transforming society from subjects to citizens (Üstel, 2009), we see that the aim has always been to create citizens who would be the reflections of the Republican principles. Especially the purpose of raising of citizens who are conscious of their responsibilities has been seen critical for the continuum of republican democracy concept. It would be expected that citizens who are raised in a duty based citizenship context would at least be willing to participate in the minimal citizenship activities. The research studies also suggest that although duty-based understanding of citizenship is not a predictor for active forms of participation, it was a predictor of voting behavior (Dalton, 2008). However, research shows low indicators for percentages of even for voting behavior among the Turkish youth (Erdoğan, 2003) which can be discussed under many factors such as depolitization effect of 80's political and social events or various bureaucratic challenges behind participation. Thus, education gains importance to develop active participation behavior and citizenship consciousness among the youth. The aim of such education should be creating individuals, who are respectful to human rights, who have internalized the pluralist democracy, who are critical thinkers and are participative in democratic processes. Although citizenship education in Turkey is rooted back before the foundation of the Republic, it is worth noting that the recent changes in applications in citizenship education are remarkable. The most recent one of these changes removed the "Citizenship and Human Rights" course which was introduced in 1995 and introduced a thematic curriculum instead. The method and context proposed for teaching citizenship topics at primary school level, as embedded in social sciences and life sciences

courses, outlines that the aim is to produce a more active citizen. The curriculum not only focuses on duties but also on rights of individuals along with encouraging participation, while also emphasizing human rights. Although the limited number of research on the topic sheds light on the conceptual extent, this would be limited in terms of methodological process and sampling dimensions. The contextual framework of these new approaches requires thorough research which would form basis for initiation and help efficient sustainability of the same.

As stated before, based on the importance of raising conscious citizens who had skills required to actively involve in democratic processes, has made many researchers to search for the reasons of adolescents' deficiency in participative activities. Research studies in Turkey also portrayed low indicators of participation behavior among adolescents and that it is only restricted with voting behavior (Doğanay et al., 2007; Erdoğan, 2003; Parlak, 1999). However, the literature in Turkey on adolescence's perceptions towards civic related issues and their participation intentions is both limited in their numbers and scope. As for the literature studies conducted abroad on the other hand, although providing us with a comprehensive background regarding the predictors of participative behaviors of adolescents, there seems to be no consensus on the factors influencing different forms of participation which also emphasize contextual differences. Thus, it is believed that, while this study would fill the gap described in Turkish literature, it will provide us with strong evidences that would have many implications for policy and practice as well as shed light on future research studies.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

The main purpose of the study is to investigate 8<sup>th</sup> grade Turkish students' perceptions towards civic concepts and issues and to determine the factors affecting their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities.

With this purpose in mind, the specific research questions of the study are the following:

1. What are the students' perceptions toward civic related issues and concepts like good citizenship, government responsibilities, and women's political and social rights?
2. Are there differences among students' perceptions towards basic civic concepts and issues in terms of certain background variables?
  - a) Do students' average scores on perceptions towards good citizenship, government responsibility, and women's political and social rights differ with respect to gender?
  - b) Do students' average scores on perceptions towards good citizenship, government responsibility, and women's political and social rights differ with respect to school type?
  - c) Do students' average scores on perceptions towards good citizenship, government responsibility, and women's political and social rights differ with respect to parents' education?
3. To what extent do the students intend to participate in electoral, political and civic activities?
4. To what degree do the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school predict their intentions to participate in electoral activities?
  - a) To what degree do the students' background characteristics (gender, school type, home literacy resources, parents' education, family income, and family size) predict students' intentions to participate in electoral activities?

- b) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, to what degree do their media consumption habits (following news from newspapers and TV, daily TV watching hours) predict their intentions to participate in electoral activities?
  - c) After controlling for the students' background characteristics and their media consumption habits, to what degree do the students' discussion practices with peers-parents-teachers and open discussion environment in classroom predict their intentions to participate in electoral activities?
  - d) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits and their discussion practices and discussion environment in school, to what degree do the curricular and extracurricular experiences predict students' intentions to participate in electoral activities?
  - e) After controlling for students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment at school, curricular and extracurricular experiences to what degree do the students' perceptions (importance of conventional-social movement citizenship activities, participation in school) predict students' intentions to participate in electoral activities?
5. To what degree do the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school predict their intentions to participate in political activities?
- a) To what degree do the students' background characteristics (gender, school type, home literacy resources, parents' education, family income, and family size) predict students' intentions to participate in political activities?
  - b) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, to what degree do their media consumption habits (following news from

- newspapers and TV, daily TV watching hours) predict their intentions to participate in political activities?
- c) After controlling for the students' background characteristics and their media consumption habits, to what degree do the students' discussion practices with peers-parents-teachers and open discussion environment in classroom predict their intentions to participate in political activities?
  - d) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits and their discussion practices and discussion environment at school, to what degree do the curricular and extracurricular experiences predict students' intentions to participate in political activities?
  - e) After controlling for students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment at school, curricular and extracurricular experiences to what degree do the students' perceptions (importance of conventional-social movement citizenship activities, participation in school) predict students' intentions to participate in political activities?
6. To what degree do the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school predict their intentions to participate in civic activities?
- a) To what degree do the students' background characteristics (gender, school type, home literacy resources, parents' education, family income, and family size) predict students' intentions to participate in civic activities?
  - b) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, to what degree do their media consumption habits (following news from newspapers and TV, daily TV watching hours) predict their intentions to participate in civic activities?

- c) After controlling for the students' background characteristics and their media consumption habits, to what degree do the students' discussion practices with peers-parents-teachers and open discussion environment in classroom predict their intentions to participate in civic activities?
- d) After controlling for the students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits and their discussion practices and discussion environment at school, to what degree do the curricular and extracurricular experiences predict students' intentions to participate in civic activities?
- e) After controlling for students' background characteristics, their media consumption habits, their discussion practices and discussion environment at school, curricular and extracurricular experiences to what degree do the students' perceptions (importance of conventional-social movement citizenship activities, participation in school) predict students' intentions to participate in civic activities?

### **1.3. Significance of the Study**

The significance and importance of this study will be discussed in more than one dimension. One important contribution rests in the importance of the study of participation. Verba and Nie (1972) express the importance of participations as, "it is at the heart of democratic theory" (p. 3) and "when and if effective, has a particularly crucial relationship to all other social and political goals" (p. 4). As for Milner (2002) once the individuals are trained for civic literacy, with their choices and engagement they will promote "sustainable welfare-state outcomes" (Milner, 2002, p. 4).

As well as its importance for democracies, participation also has "individual-level effects" (Finkel, 2001, p. 442). For example, some academics talk about participation's effects on political efficacy and attitude (Almond & Verba, 1989; Berry et al., 1993; Finkel, 2001; Ikeda et al., 2008), while some other



even underlines its psychological effects such as the diminishing effects of volunteering activities on psychological distress (Rietschlin, 1998; Sanders, 2001). So, studying participation is important not only for the sake of democracies but also at the individual level of development which then can be assumed to turn into more participative behavior.

Furthermore, as stated in the background of the study section, one major issue that has dominated the field for many years concerns the lack of civic and political participation among youth. It has been underlined by many researchers both in Turkey and abroad as a key role in democracies that should not be taken for granted for the sustainability of the democracies. In the light of these studies that focus on lack of participation at young individuals, further study on adolescence becomes ever more important. On the other hand, gathering information about the early adolescent period where foundations of political attention, attitude and actions are formed within the family will help understand the underlying conditions of the development of participation. Along with many developmental theories that emphasize the importance of adolescent period, the longitudinal studies, for example, showing positive correlation between participating extracurricular activities and community service in adolescence and adulthood participation (e.g. Glanville, 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Smith, 1999) provides us with crucial clues as to the criticality of this period. As mentioned in previous research, if in this period youth are provided with opportunities that they can practice their roles in the society, they would benefit for future participation. Moreover, defining factors that impact the participation of adolescents and providing a picture of their participation at a descriptive level will not only show us their needs but also will provide us with clues on strategies to build educational policies around adolescent participation.

This study also aims to shed a light for ongoing curriculum development efforts with respect to citizenship education. During the last 5 years Turkey has

been in the process of implementing new approaches in curriculum development. Even though the multidisciplinary approach to citizenship education is nothing new for Turkish Primary School Curriculum, the latest program has a different structure in that it differs in its approach, context and methods offered. It suggests a description of a citizen who, even though is not vastly different in its perception, is highly sociable, has multi aptitudes, is knowledgeable and knows his or her rights and responsibilities. As a result of these latest developments generalizable information that will help identify needs and support the implementation, would lead to research and development in curriculum studies, with an understanding that curriculum development is a process not an ad-hoc event.

Furthermore, as it is discussed more in detail in the literature review part, although related research abroad provides comprehensive background in terms of different aspects of civic perceptions and participative behaviors, there are only limited numbers of studies dealing with these issues in Turkey. The limitations of the current literature are that, they not only remain theoretical but also lack providing a holistic picture as well as being short of generalizable results. With this in mind, this study may provide an important start to considerably eliminate the evident shortcomings in the Turkish literature. It is believed that, current findings add substantially to our understanding of participatory behaviors of Turkish youth with a representative sample and this information may be helpful for the ongoing curriculum development efforts.

#### **1.4. Definitions of the Terms**

**Intention:** Behavioral intention as defined by Fishbein and Ajzen (2005) refers to “a person’s subjective probability that he will perform some behavior” (p. 288). In this study students’ intentions to participate in democratic processes in future were derived from students’ responses to three different factors that are electoral, political and civic participation.

**Electoral participation:** In this study, electoral participation is regarded as the composite score of students' responses to the "voting" and "getting information before voting" items.

**Political participation:** Political participation is defined by Verba and Nie (1972) as the acts "influencing the government, either by affecting the choice of government personnel or by affecting the choices made by government personnel" (p. 2). In this study, political participation is regarded as the composite score of students' responses to the "join a political party, write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns, be a candidate for a local or city office" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 122) items.

**Civic participation:** As stated by Zukin (2006) civic participation involves the acts that targets overall good and rarely deals with political affairs. In this study, civic participation is regarded as the composite score of students' responses to the "allocating time to help people", "collecting money for a social cause", and "collecting signature for a petition" items.

**Participation in School Life:** In this study, "participation in school life" regarded as the composite score of the students' responses to the items aiming to assess their perceptions of participation in school.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

*“The future of societies depends on their success in providing pathways whereby young people develop and prepare themselves to be contributing adults to their communities...” (Larson et al., 2002, p. 159).*

In broad terms, this chapter includes debates on the concepts of citizenship, citizenship education and participation in different forms. It also covers the empirical studies conducted abroad and in Turkey regarding the focus of the study. To be more specific, firstly, various definitions of the concept of citizenship and its dimensions are presented to provide a theoretical basis for the study. This is followed by widening the term of engagement as one of the components of citizenship. Citizenship education as a means to promote civic competence among individuals also discussed in depth conceptually, and then the status of citizenship education in Turkey is portrayed through both historical and contemporary discussions and approaches. Following that, the international research studies done with regard to electoral, civic and political engagement and its predictors are portrayed. Initially research studies on the effects of gender and socio-economic status to engagement are dealt with after which the literature on the effects of variables such as schools, parents, peers and media were examined in detail. Along with studies on engagement, research on adolescents' perception on concepts of good citizenship, government responsibilities and women's rights were presented. Lastly, studies conducted in Turkey on civic perceptions and participative behaviors of adolescents were presented.

## 2.1. What is Citizenship?

The term citizenship was first raised by Greeks in history (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2004). Despite the fact that Greeks were the first to bring to light the concept of citizenship, Faulks (2000, p. 14) asserts that it was much more different than what it is to us contemporarily both with respect to embodiment and application of the term. Tse-Kwan-Choi (2005) argued that from 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards the conceptualization and application of the term citizenship has broadened not only through inclusion of different social structures, gender and ethnicity but also by means of “membership (including populations such as working class, women, minorities and immigrants)” (p. 176). Faulks’ (2000) comparison of the understanding of early time citizenship and the modern view were provided in the table 2.1.

Table 2.1.

*Faulk’s Comparison of the Citizenship of Early and Modern Time*

|                        | Polis                                  | Modern State  |
|------------------------|--|---|
| Type of community      | Organic                                | Legal/Differentiated association  |
| Scale                  | Small                                  | Large   |
| Depth of citizenship   | Thick                                  | Thin  |
| Extent of citizenship  | Exclusive and inequality naturalized   | Progressively inclusive and theoretically egalitarian, but limited by statist context |
| Content of citizenship | Extensive obligations                  | Rights and limited duties   |
| Context of citizenship | Slave society, agricultural production | Patriarchal, racialised and capitalist states system, industrial production           |

Source: Faulks, 2000, p. 15.

From the earlier times, different meanings attributed to the concept of citizenship at different times through different contexts. This variety in identifying the concept of citizenship was mentioned by Aristotle (Barker,

1946, as cited in Campbell, 2006) in early times as “the nature of citizenship ... is a question which is often disputed: there is no general agreement on a single definition.” (p. 4). The complicated nature of citizenship varies in “time and space” (Gordon & Stack, 2007, p. 130). As for Klusmeyer (2001, p. 9) it would be difficult to capture the conglomerate, multidimensional identity of citizenship as a defined set of principles, or an institutionalized legal status. This is why there is a diversity of descriptions for citizenship which tend to focus on an array of diverse topics from entitlements and commitments to “local, national and global levels” (McCowan, 2009, p. 86). This diversity was captured in a study conducted by Eurydice (2005), which is a cross-national including 30 countries, which portrayed that while in some countries the term citizenship is used for the set of rules and regulations to define the relationship between state and the individual in some others the term is used to define the role of individuals to coexist. Before giving examples from those definitions it is important to mention Faulks’s (1998) compilation of the definitions of citizenship in the literature. He stated that the existing citizenship definitions have their legal, philosophical and socio-political orientations (p. 2):

In the literature concerning the meaning of citizenship three main types of definition can be identified. These definitions are *legal* definitions, which define the rights and duties of citizens in relation to a particular nation-state; *philosophical* definitions, which are concerned with normative questions such as what models of citizenship can best deliver a just society; and *socio-political* definitions, which emphasise citizenship as a status denoting membership of society that involves a set of social practices (Faulks, 1998, p.2).

Although the diversity in the conceptions asserted by Faulks, in a vast majority of the definitions of citizenship; rights, duties, relationship with the state were attempted to be bordered. One of the most cited (Lister, 2005) and at the same time still debated definition in the field for half a century (Turner, 2001) is suggested by Marshall in his study *Citizenship and Social Class* where his idea has been referred to many times while defining citizenship (Campbell, 2006, p.

4). Marshall (1949, as cited in Dwyer, 2010) defined it as “a status bestowed upon those who are full members of a community. All those who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which that status is endowed.” (p. 40). His influential idea of citizenship includes three dimensions which are civil, political and social:

I propose to divide citizenship into three parts. (...). I shall call these parts, or elements, civil, political and social. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom –liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. The last is of a different order from the others, because it is the right to defend and assert all one’s rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law. This shows us that the institutions most directly associated with civil rights are the courts of justice. By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. The corresponding institutions are parliament and councils of local government. By the social element I mean the whole range, from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the educational system and the social services. (Marshall, 1950, pp. 30)

This definition of citizenship, which put forward mainly individual’s rights, was criticized by many others for various reasons such as the fact that it took the citizenship as a static concept (Turner, 2001, p. 191) and did not deal with differentiating the levels and forms of citizenship (Turner, 2001, p. 191; Twine, 1994, p. 106) and the basic and idealistic approach to rights (Heater, 2006). As a consequence of debates on Marshall’s theory, some extensions of his definition of citizenship are also suggested by some of the authors (see Heater, 1999; Banks, 2008).

Tilly (1996) argues that it is probably that citizenship would lead to misunderstandings when taken from one perspective and asserts it can refer different things. Thus he defines citizenship from four different angles;

As a category, citizenship designates a set of actors –citizens- distinguished by their shared privileged position vis-à-vis some particular state. As a tie, citizenship identifies an enforceable mutual relation between an actor and state agents. As a role, citizenship includes all of an actor’s relations to others that depend on the actor’s relation to a particular state. And as an identity, citizenship can refer to the experience and public representation of category, tie or role (Tilly, 1996, p. 8)

Tilly unlike others focuses on “what citizenship is and not about what it should be” (Helbling, 2008, p. 27) and gave emphasis on a variety of relations (Gordon & Stack, 2007), however still the government being the central of several relations (p. 120).

From another viewpoint, Turner (1993) defines citizenship as “a set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups” (p. 2) stating that he has deliberately avoided definitions of citizenship that are only based on rights and duties and emphasized that the main concern of citizenship should be the essence of social entitlements and responsibilities along with the type of the same as well as the social processes that lead to those rights and duties and how these are distributed within the social sectors (Turner, 1993, p. 3).

To conclude, citizenship has an array of definitions depending on its context, its socio-political and cultural ties as well as the characteristics of those interacting with them (Klusmeyer, 2001, p. 9). Established definitions of citizenship range from focusing on relationship between the individual and state in classical terms, to focusing on roles undertaken by the individual, from different levels of citizenship to the attributes of the same. Regardless the definition, as Faulks (2000) stated, not only does citizenship create a perfect base for regulation and jurisdiction through realizing of the dignity of an individual but also does acknowledge the social background of the individuals’



actions (p. 5). Moreover, the fact that the modern view of citizenship requires more active involvement from the individual which is something different from its long held definitions such as voting or tax paying duties (Adams & Carfagna, 2006) increases the potential benefits both from the individual's and state's side.

## **2.2. Engagement: Voting, Civic and Political Engagement**

One of the essential elements of citizenship is engagement (Menezes, 2003) and it is a vital component of a democratic life. Many actions such as voting in elections, partaking at a local clean-your-neighborhood campaign, organizing charity events to raise awareness for poor people or campaigning to get the government build a school for special needs in the locality could be mentioned as some of the various types of participation by citizens.

Hyman (2002) discusses engagement as a “precursor to social capital” (p. 197): “We can think of it as analogous to static electricity— inert energy that has not yet been directed into current. Social capital, on the other hand, is created when this civic engagement is “excited” by some catalytic issue or event and directed toward a particular end or purpose” (Hyman, 2002, p. 197).

Within this range, a variety of definitions for the engagement and the dimensions of the engagement have been suggested in the literature. D. E. Campbell (2006) in his literature review reported seven aspect of engagement; “political engagement, civic engagement, voter turnout, interpersonal trust, institutional trust, tolerance and political knowledge” (p. 31) (Table 2.2). Since in this study the focus is mainly on the political and civic engagement as well as voting, this part will mainly focus on those concepts.

Table 2.2.

*D. E. Campbell's Classification of Seven Dimensions of Engagement*

|  |
|--|
| <b>Political engagement</b><br>Activity aimed at influencing public policy   |
| <b>Civic engagement</b><br>Publicly-spirited activity that is not primarily motivated by a desire to influence public policy |
| <b>Voter turnout</b><br>Voting in public elections   |
| <b>Interpersonal trust</b><br>Trust in other people  |
| <b>Institutional trust</b><br>Trust in public institutions, such as the government and political parties                     |
| <b>Tolerance</b><br>A willingness to extend civil liberties to unpopular groups  |
| <b>Political knowledge</b><br>Knowledge about democratic institutions and processes  |

Source: D. E. Campbell, 2006, p. 31.

When political activity is in the discussion, voting is the main form of participation that spring into one's mind. Indeed there are extensive numbers of studies taking voting as the unique dimension of political participation and tie the diminishing voting practice with the decline in political participation. However, there are also a numbers of authors criticizing this and claiming that taking voting as the only indicator of civic and political participation is not something right. For example, Haste and Hogan (2006) asserts that political participation is something more than voting with following words.

The widespread disillusion with 'politics', described by many commentators, largely applies to activity within the conventionally defined political domain – especially voting. .... However, this can distort the process of trying to understand political motivation. At least in established democracies, voting is a low-key, infrequent event for most people. It is primarily a civic duty; a 'good citizen' turns out on the day. A focus on voting behavior, therefore, is unlikely to capture the citizen's main political or moral preoccupations; at most, party support may suggest that the individual perceives some link between issues that concern them and their chosen party's stated goals (Haste & Hogan, 2006, p. 475).

Voting is regarded as the most widespread political activity (Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba et al., 1995). Albeit its simplicity it is yet the most important act to have impact on the governmental act (Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba et al., 1995). Putnam uses the following analogy to emphasize the importance of voting: “Like the canary in the mining pit, voting is an instructive proxy measure of broader social change” (Putnam, 2000, p. 35)”. According to Galston (2007) citizen enthusiasm to partake at polls in elections is a main determinant of citizenship behavior. While some distinguishes voting from the political participation some sees it as an activity existing in the inception of the political activities continuum. For example, Banks (2008) in his typology placed voting in local and national elections in what he called as “minimal citizenship” (p. 136) – one of the lower forms. Likewise, as for Kapani;

Political participation is a term that defines the status, attitude and actions of individuals as members of the society (citizens). Thinking that it only consists of voting at elections, would not only be an incomplete conception but it would also be a mistake. Participation would include an array of attitude and action varying from a basic concern to an intensive action (Kapani, 2001, as quoted in Akay, 2006, p. 98).

Similarly, Parker (2001) discusses voting as one of the actions in political engagement and defines political engagement as “the action or participatory domain of citizenship, from voting and contacting public officials to deliberating public problems, campaigning, and engaging in civil disobedience, boycotts, strikes, rebellions, and other forms of direct action” (p. 99). Verba and Nie (1972), on the other hand views political participation as a stand alone attribute away from common forms of civic activities like voting and “ceremonial or support participation” (p. 2). According to them “influencing the government, either by affecting the choice of government personnel or by affecting the choices made by government personnel” (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 2) would be the major factor of such political participation. Verba, Scholzman and Brady (1995) emphasize individual aspect of political

participation. They discuss that political participation, in its most simplistic form, creates the means through which citizens can discuss and exchange information as to their interests, likes and dislikes as well as requirements, therefore creating pressure which would need to be responded (Verba et al., 1995).

Although political participation is defined as one that leads to influencing government policy and assignment of its officials, Zukin et al. (2006) discuss that civic participation targets the overall good and rarely deals with political affairs. Similar to the political and civic engagement differentiations, other forms of differentiations exist in the literature. For example; Faulks (1999) differentiates between the conventional and unconventional acts. While Faulks (1999) describing the former with activities like “voting, standing for office, campaigning for a political party or contributing to the management of a community housing co-operative” (p. 143) described the latter like “signing a petition or attending a peaceful demonstration, or illegal, such as violent protest or refusing to pay taxes” (p. 143).

Whatever the form, the process of engagement deals basically with two features which are individual’s “motivation and capacity” (Verba et al., 1995, p. 3) to participate in those activities and as Fisher and his colleagues (2005) emphasized that it requires “knowledge, empowerment and action” (p. 7) dimensions on the individual’s side where “knowledge” is the consciousness of political framework and matters, “empowerment” is the capacity to take action and “action” is turning those two into effect (Fisher et al., 2005, p. 7).

### **2.3. Citizenship Education: Conceptualization and Case Specification**

Political and civic socialization of an individual starts in the family and become shaped with the effects of several agents like formal education institutions, media, NGO’s, etc. However, formal education institutions in democratic

countries directly target political and civic socialization and emphasize those in their curricula both explicitly and implicitly. Thus, as this study focuses on students in primary education, in this section the meaning of citizenship education and historical development of citizenship education in primary education in Turkey was presented.

### **2.3.1. What is Citizenship Education?**

People are made citizens rather than being born into it (Archard, 2003; Heater, 2002). In the most basic form individuals start learning about their roles within the society through a learning process which starts with their family. This process then continues to become more systematic when they start formal education. Reid reads the social and civic competence aspect of general education of utmost importance (Reid, 1940). We see that this approach is reflected in the national education objectives of many countries, which might be provided in three levels at schools by means of “formal curriculum, the informal curriculum and extra-curricular learning” (Print & Coleman, 2003, p. 133). Even though it might be a major target of education, specifically it is the role of citizenship education.

Many definitions of citizenship education exist in the literature. Naturally, it means different things for new and raising democracies from the established ones (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). According to Biesta and Lawy (2006) in these new democracies the main aim is to form the democratic mindsets through education hence cultivating democratic understanding. On the other hand Tse-Kwan-Choi (2005) further discusses that this focus has shifted to issues like “environment protection, gender and racial equality, multiculturalism, global affairs, and regional and world citizenship” (p. 177) in established democracies. This change in conceptions of citizenship education is further mentioned by Cogan (1998) as follows:

Citizenship education ...., focused upon developing knowledge of how government and other institutions in any given state of work, of the rights and duties of citizens with respect to the state and to the society as a whole and has been oriented largely towards the development of a sense of national identity. At one point, when the world was a simpler place, this conceptualization of citizenship may served us well; but this is no longer the case. The complexity, scale and interconnectedness of the challenges facing us at the close of this century and the down of the next simply cannot be met through conventional means. What is called for is a new conception of citizenship education, one in which both schools and the communities they serve and are a part of, are equal partners in the education of each new generation of citizens. This calls for an approach to citizen education which multidimensional in nature; which, while including personal development, also includes a commitment to thinking and acting in ways that take account of local, national and global communities and their concerns (Cogan, 1998, pp. 1-2).

Having such a vital importance for democracies, the meaning assigned to it also gains importance. Though, various definitions of citizenship also give us clues about how the definition of citizenship education might differ as a natural consequence of this diversity in conception. Haydon (2003), on the other hand, suggests that there should be no overall agreement on the focus of citizenship education in a plural democracy. A literature review by Kerr (1999) breaks down the broad factors which would effect the understanding of citizenship education, hence impacting on the educational values, goals and practices (p. 203). Kerr (1999) listed those factors as “historical tradition, geographical position, socio-political structure, economic system, and global trends” (p. 203). Noting that meanings allocated to the concept might be in the diversity of “civics, political education, national identity, global education/global citizenship, environmental education, peace education, gender equity/feminist critiques of citizenship, interculturalism and ethnic minority inclusion” (Davies, 2000, p. 2), Davies (2000) further adds that how we define the term has an important role to settling the degree and form of such an education. As an example of the existing definitions, as for Kerr (1999) citizenship education is a process to prepare youngsters as citizens. Audigier (1998) further

underlines that such an education deals with many aspects like politics and economy. Crick and Joldersma (2007), on the other hand, emphasizes that citizenship education is “about formation of lifelong learners” (p. 89) who had commitment and can actively involve democratic processes. Besides those definitions some authors discuss possible citizenship education practices in a continuum (e.g. Kerr, 1999; Williams & Humphrys, 2003). Conceptualized as “minimal-maximal” (Kerr, 1999) or “thin-thick” (Williams & Humphrys, 2003, p. 11), those categorizations suggest that citizenship education practices might range from narrow and passive to more broad and active understanding. Below Kerr’s classification of minimal-maximal citizenship education is presented.

| <b>MINIMAL</b>                               |       | <b>MAXIMAL</b>                                       |
|--|-------|--|
| Thin   | ————— | Thick  |
| Exclusive                                    | ————— | Inclusive  |
| Elitist                                      | ————— | Activist   |
| Civic education                              | ————— | Citizenship education                                |
| Formal                                       | ————— | Participative  |
| Content led                                  | ————— | Process led  |
| Knowledge based                              | ————— | Values based   |
| Didactic transmission                        | ————— | Interactive interpretation                           |
| Easier to achieve and<br>measure in practice | ————— | More difficult to achieve<br>and measure in practice |

*Figure 2.1.* Kerr’s Classification of Minimal-Maximal Citizenship Education (Kerr, 1999).

While the discussion on what citizenship education is ongoing, it appears that there is a consensus on the elements of it in the literature (Patrick, 2003). Although they might be named differently, they still refer to the same thing. Patrick (2003), for example, outlines these components in four headings as “civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills and civic dispositions” (p. 2).

On the other hand, Heater (2004) illustrated those elements as expressed by Patrick in his diagram what he called “the cube of citizenship” (p. 326) as the essential elements of citizenship education. Thus, it might be concluded that there is an agreement on the initial three components namely, knowledge, skills and attitudes. Print & Coleman (2003) outline clearly the distinction on what these components contained.

The first set is knowledge based and relates to an understanding of civic participation, democratic processes, national identity, political heritage, institutions and systems of government, rights and responsibilities of citizens, social justice, and the rule of law. Second, citizenship education includes a set of skills or processes that builds upon this knowledge such as active citizenship, critical reflection, inquiry and cooperation. The third set encompasses values which underpin democratic citizenship and civil society including social justice, democratic processes, social cohesion, intercultural understanding and ecological sustainability (Print & Coleman, 2003, pp. 130-131).

Whatever definition we feel inclined to use, it is a fact that all these dimensions complement each other, and an impediment in either one will affect the whole.

### **2.3.2. Historical Development of Citizenship Education in Turkey**

This section will outline the progress of citizenship education in primary schools since the establishment of Turkish Republic. Since the proclamation of the Republic citizenship education evolved in Turkish Education programmes at various levels serving different purposes.

The primary objective of the Republic in the early years was to radically transform the society (Duman, 2003, p. 216). Üstel (2009) stated that, following on from the founding of the Republic, while the increase of schooling rate was in focus, the effort was on changing the education system to serve the requirements of the newly established nation state (p. 128). During this period, education was seen as an essential tool not only for getting people



to adapt ongoing changes, but also transferring the basic achievements of the regime to the community. Primary education was seen "...as a tool to get the society, especially those from the rural areas, learn about revolutions and secularism as well as changing their behaviour" (Akyüz, 1993, p. 303). According to Tazebay (1992), to provide republican and democratic political education to students of all levels was the main purpose of education in the Republic. Specifically, citizenship education in schools was seen as an important tool in building the nation-state (Üstel, 2009). We see reflections of this aim in different forms and proportions since then. The first course formed around this mission was the "Malumati-i Vatanîye" which served the purpose of transferring the individuals within the society from vassals to citizens (Üstel, 2009) and was taught one hour a week from first to fifth primary grades and was taught further at secondary school one hour a week to first and second year students (Üstel, 2009). Two years later in 1926, the name of the course was changed as "Homeland Information" (Yurt Bilgisi) and was thought to fourth and fifth grade primary students two hours a week (Üstel, 2009). As of 1927, "Homeland Information" was now thought at all levels of secondary education and in 1937 it was removed from first grade and was thought to second and third grades only for two hours a week.

Examining the primary school curriculum in 1936, like in 1924 and 1926, we come across the concept of encouraging the creation of "strong republicans" as one of the main objectives. It takes "creating strong republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secular and revolutionist citizens as the responsibility at all levels of education" (MONE, 1936, p. 6). This curriculum with a special attention to Atatürk's Principles and Republican Revolution as well as its six dimensions as mentioned above, also focused on emphasizing strengths and the necessity of the new regime, a Republic, as opposed to the weaknesses of the monarchy it replaced. Along with this, 1936 curriculum also accentuates the national ideals and responsibilities such as being a law abiding citizen, tax paying, elections and taking up military service and that every citizen must do

their best to follow these including sacrificing their lives for wellbeing of their country (MONE, 1936, p. 7-8). The attention to citizenship education is quite tangible in this curriculum than the preceding ones (Sarican, 2006). Reflecting the specifics of the time, the curriculum also advocates the nationalization of Turkish as the main language because one of the aspects of Turkish Revolution was shifting from Arabic to Latin alphabet hence the need to teach it to public at a national level. “Homeland Information” course was taught 2 hours a week at 4th grade and an hour a week at 5th. The main objectives of the course were to help gain the notion of being a nation, to encourage love and respect against Turkish nation and its army, help adopt the superiority of being a republic, educate loyal and altruistic citizens, help understand and adopt the importance of Turkish Revolution, teach Turkish governance structure as well as raising awareness and interest in national and fatherland issues (MONE, 1936, p. 103-104). Likewise life sciences, history and geography courses also had the mission to raise the citizen required by the regime in 1936 curriculum.

The first curriculum development effort after the transition into a multi-party system was in 1948. The core of the curriculum which referred to primary school as a national institute was repeated therein and Life Sciences course and attitude towards citizenship remained the same albeit the fact that the name of the course “Homeland Information” was changed into “Citizenship Information” (Yurttaslik Bilgisi). Curriculum included the course, like before, 2 hours at grade 4 and an hour at grade 5 of the primary school. Overall the goal of citizenship education in this curriculum was in line with the 1936 curriculum. Grade 4 students were taught about concepts like nation, civic governance, republic, constitution and revolutions. In addition, state-citizen relationship with respect to roles and responsibilities of both was taught at grade 5 (MONE, 1948, p. 152-157). With this curriculum we see that democracy was included in course books as a natural result of transition to multiparty democracy. However, as Üstel (2009) stated although the aim was to get rid of the single-party mindset by the help of this implementation, the

curriculum did not substantially serve this target (p. 250). The 1949 curriculum offered for secondary school, on the other hand, introduced 1 hour-a-week Citizenship Information course for grades 1, 2 and 3. This program is important in the sense that it is the first curriculum to ever mention distinctly about the concept of democracy (Üstel, 2009, p. 256).

After the 1960 revolution, both curriculum in primary and secondary schools have been renewed. Nearly 13 years after 1948 primary school curriculum, as a result of the fifth National Education Council and the Act No 222 which was adopted in 1961 (MONE, 1965), the deficiencies in 1948 curriculum were identified and a decision was made to make some changes. A commission was formed to achieve this and the 1962 Draft Curriculum was introduced as a result of this commission's work and was accepted for trial and development for over a period of 5 years (Akbaba, 2004).

Draft curriculum included citizenship related topics under the course "Society and Country Review" (Toplum ve Ülke İncelemeleri) which was offered for 4th and 5th grades as a combination of previously taught history, geography and citizenship information courses. Moreover, as it is in the previous curricula, Life Sciences course served as a foundation to "Society and Country Review" (MONE, 1965, p.28). Life Sciences course taught citizenship related topics under Republican Day section at first and second grade, focusing on military service as part of citizenship duties and its importance at third grade. Moreover, "Society and Country Review" course taught on local and national governance, government structure of Turkish Republic and its constitution as well as rights and responsibilities of citizens (MONE, 1965, p. 44-49). Society and Country Review course was taught for 6 and 5 hours a week at fourth and fifth grades respectively.

Citizenship Information (Yurttaşlık Bilgisi) course in the secondary school curriculum as introduced in 1962 however is more like a repetition of 1949

curriculum apart from some minor additions. The aims section of 1949 was repeated in 1962 with no additions or omissions (Turcan, 2005). In addition to 1949 curriculum, the following topics were introduced; traffic rules at grade 1, 2 and 3, naturally the 27 May 1960 revolution and its reasons at grade 1 and finally tourism course at grade 3. The course was taught 1 hour a week across all grades as in 1949 curriculum.

Six years after the 1962 draft primary curriculum, 1968 curriculum was introduced. In this curriculum national education ideals were embodied as; “uniting all members of Turkish nation in faith, joy and sorrow around national consciousness as an indivisible whole; developing national, ethical, humane, superior values; creating a constructive, creative and eminent partner within modern civilization with respect to knowledge, science, fine arts and economy under the light of freedom of thought, social mindset and democratic order where individual entrepreneurship and social responsibilities are valued” (MONE, 1968, p.1). To realize this ideal the target was to raise “good and efficient citizens”. History, Geography and Citizenship Information topics was unified under a standalone course named as Social Sciences, dropping the name suggested in 1962 as “Society and Country Review”, in order to help interactively cover topics underneath each subject area (MONE, 1968, p. 65). At fourth grade, topics relating to citizenship are emphasized under “governance of our city” and “governance of our country” units. Topics like governance, participation, republic and revolutions were captured under these units. Moreover, at fifth grade under the unit “Our Republic”; Republic and revolutions were emphasized along with transition to multi-party democracy, constitution, elections, formation of the parliament and duties of citizens. These duties have been identified as “abiding the law, pay tax, participate in military service, and use the right to vote” (MONE, 1968, p. 80). The acceptable citizen, as defined by the curriculum, has started understanding the principles of democracy and tries to apply these principles in all its relationships (Üstel, 2009). As further stated by Üstel (2009), this curriculum

has influences from both transition to multi-party system and the liberal atmosphere brought in by 1961 constitution (p. 251). On the other hand, in secondary school curriculum, dated 1969, concepts related to citizenship are covered on an inter-disciplinary basis, under social sciences course in line with the 1968 primary curriculum. This curriculum promotes active citizenship and with this feature it bears the distinction to be most democratic of all curricula to date (Üstel, 2009, p. 261).

Democratization of curriculum, as a result of these steps, had a nationalistic influence from the political events between 1970 and 80. As a result of the changes introduced in 1985 secondary school topics related to citizenship education which were thought under social sciences course were distributed into three new courses namely “National History,” “National Geography,” and “Citizenship.”

After changes made in 1968 primary curriculum and 1985 secondary curriculum, towards the end of 1990’s there has been considerable changes in citizenship education. In 1995, The United Nations, of which Turkey is a founding member, declared the period between 1995 to 2004 as the Decade of Human Right Education for the purpose of “implementing a universal human rights culture by creating knowledge and skill sets through informing, education and spreading information in order to shape attitude and behavior” (Human Rights Education Turkey Programme, 1999, p. 3-4). Moreover two years later in 1997 uninterrupted education system was established and primary and secondary schools were combined as 8 year elementary schools. Those initiatives brought several changes for the citizenship education, as well. Citizenship Information course has been changed as "Citizenship and Human Rights Education" and the curriculum for this course has been accepted for seventh and eighth grades. This course has been part of the obligatory curriculum between 1998 and 2005 for seventh and eight grades. However, according to the literature “Citizenship and Human Rights Education” course

had a lot of weaknesses. Some of these weaknesses were mentioned as not providing the teacher enough flexibility (Koca, 1998); the topics not serving realizing the aims of citizenship and human rights education (Koca, 1998); books for the course being insufficient and unsatisfactory with respect to both quality (Arıkan, 2002) and raising students' interest (Koca, 1998; Türker, 1999); likewise course materials being insufficient (Kepenekçi, 2005); contents being misaligned with real life (Türker, 1999) as well as being insufficient within that context (Arıkan, 2002; Kepenekçi, 2005); weekly time dedicated for the course being not enough (Çıplak, 2002); the methods related to the delivery of the course being limited to lecturing and question and answer (Çıplak, 2002, Arıkan, 2002); the evaluation methods being limited to essay, short answer and oral exams (Çıplak, 2002, Arıkan, 2002, Kepenekçi, 2005); and that the aims of the course serve at cognitive level not encouraging any higher level thinking (Selvi, 2004).

Such discrepancies have made it imperative for new approaches in citizenship education. For this purpose, the overall change in the curriculum in 2005 was also reflected on citizenship education. Today citizenship education is not a separate course in primary school curriculum, rather it is embedded in the overall curriculum with main emphasis being on “love of country, national independence, unity, and civil, political and social rights and responsibilities” (Akşit, 2005, p. 436) and to some extent on multicultural consciousness (Akşit, 2005). This is target which is achieved through the implementation of the citizenship education at Life Sciences course at grades 1, 2, 3 of primary school while embedding it in the curriculum of Social Sciences course at 4, 5, 6 and 7 grades and lastly at grade 8, through History of Turkish Republic course. This new curriculum brought together two new application regarding citizenship education. The first one is “Democracy Education and School Councils” project and the second one “Community Service” implementation in primary education which were aimed to raise more active citizens practicing both political and civic participation.

## **2.4. Research Studies on Perceptions and Participation Abroad**

This part provides examples from the studies conducted abroad regarding the students' concepts of good citizenship and government responsibilities, perceptions of women rights as well as civic engagement and its predictors. Regarding the engagement dimension, although this study focuses on students' commitment to engage in electoral, civic and political activities, in this part the studies investigating students' intentions and youth' electoral, civic and political participation as well as those presenting evidences for the factors affecting the adulthood participation behaviors are included.

### **2.4.1. Civic Concepts and Perceptions**

This study attempts to measure students' perceptions regarding as the dimensions of good citizenship, government responsibilities and women's rights. Moreover, it was further investigated that if these perceptions differed with respect to certain background characteristics which were gender, school type and parents' education level. Below, examples from those studies were provided. Moreover, the effects of background variables on students' perceptions towards aforementioned dimensions were exemplified by presenting evidences from the literature. In addition, some studies investigating effects of socio-economic-status was given since there were not enough studies representing the school type differences (private-public) with an assumption that private schools have students with more prosperous background.

Although there seem to be differences on good citizenship definition itself (Martin & Chiodo, 2007, p. 114) raising good citizens is deemed crucial (Langton, 1969; Langton & Jennings, 1968) and an agreement as to who is a good citizen is yet to be reached. It is an idealized outcome of those who define it and attitudes and values attached to it differ accordingly (Langton, 1969; Langton & Jennings, 1968). Debates and research on conception of citizenship would justify this conclusion. Early studies of perceptions of good citizenship

(e.g. Easton & Dennis, 1965; Ichilov & Nave, 1981; Jennings & Niemi, 1974) provided us a starting point by guiding us through different dimensions of good citizenship, thus providing a contextual discussion on how different orientations of students would impact the perception of good citizenship.

One of the well-known studies to provide insights about students' good citizenship norms is the IEA Study, which was carried out with adolescents from 28 countries. An analysis into the results of the IEA study revealed "social movement" and "conventional citizenship" factors as the two dimensions of good citizenship (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). With regard to those dimensions it was found that even though students took electoral activities as responsibilities of citizens, "social movement" activities were supported substantially higher than "conventional" activities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; as cited in Torney-Purta, 2002b). Similarly, Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (Kerr et al., 2003) is another study that students' concepts of citizenship were searched for and like the results of the IEA study; it was found that the social movement activities more prioritized by the students more than the polity related activities (Cleaver et al., 2005). The analysis of data from 6400 students of 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade revealed that electoral and political dimensions of citizenship were picked less to define good citizenship by the students as opposed to civic responsibilities and entitlements or working together to achieve common good (Cleaver et al., 2005). Martin and Chiodo (2007), on the other hand, conducted a study in rural schools and their findings did not differ from the previous ones in that more emphasis given to civic engagement activities by students rather than politics related activities. Both the 8<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> grade students in rural schools found to have a tendency to skip on political engagement activities but rather focused more on civic engagement (p. 112). Then, what are the factors effecting students' good citizenship orientations? In fact, there are not so many research studies focusing on the gender differences or if those orientations are affected by parents' educational status or school related characteristics.



However, cross-national studies, like the IEA's study, provided us with a stronger basis to talk about the effects of those variables. With regard to gender differences on students' perceptions of good citizenship in the IEA study, except for 3 countries (in favor of males) no significant gender differences were reported on conventional citizenship dimension (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). However, a study from a Turkey context, reported that female adolescents found to have more conventional understanding than males (Doğanay & Sarı, 2009). Moreover, with respect to IEA data, no significant gender difference was reported for social movement citizenship dimension with the exception of 9 countries (in favor of females) (p. 83). Regarding the parents education level Pizmony-Levy (2007), further analyzing the IEA data, found that education status of the parents were not significant in relation to the students' perceptions of social movement citizenship, with the exception of 6 countries where a negative relationship was found, to say that students from high educated family background had lower support for activities referenced as social movement citizenship (p. 14). Riedel (2002) is another researcher who reported no significant effect of education level of adults that have influence on children's life -as reported by the students- on their perceptions of civic duties (p. 513).

Students' perception of women's political and social rights is another dimension investigated in this study. In the literature, as it is known, there are limited numbers of studies in presenting the views of youth regarding as the women's rights. In those studies, gender is defined as one of the most important variable effecting students' perceptions towards women's social and political rights and responsibilities (e.g. Greenberg, 1973; Hahn, 1998; Seginer et al., 1990; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In an early research with 1600 elementary and secondary school pupils it was recorded that females had more egalitarian scores than their male counterparts in all age and social background groups regarding participation by women (Greenberg, 1973). The findings of research done for IEA study further provide that, females seem to support

women's political rights significantly more than males in every country the research has been conducted (Torney Purta et al., 2001). Gender, which is found to be definitive of students' perception of rights and responsibilities of women, can effect the decision making process towards defining female–male responsibilities in adulthood. The findings of several research seem to show that gender is a significant variable effecting the support given to women candidates (Dolan, 1997; Leeper, 1991; Spohn & Gillespie, 1987) where man have lower support. Dolan (1997) not only discovered about the gender difference but also found out that while women moved up in political positions anticipated support for them declined. Moreover, he also reported that the decline at males' intention to support them decreases more dramatically than females. Another variable that is reported to be affecting students' views of women's roles and responsibilities is socioeconomic level. Although Greenberg (1973) in an earlier study reported no difference with respect to socio-economic levels, in the US IEA study it was found that women's rights were less likely to be supported by the students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than those of better socioeconomic backgrounds (Baldi et al., 2001).

Another dimension of this study is about students' perceptions of government responsibilities. In the literature, there are only few studies regarding adolescents' perceptions of government responsibilities. In a cross-national study (n=7) by Flanagan and his colleagues (Flanagan, Macek et al., 1998; as cited in Flanagan et al., 1998) 5579 12-18 years olds were surveyed and it was found that gender was influencing students expectations from the government. As for the findings, the girls feel more that the government should be responsible from the wellbeing of the individuals in need more than their male peers. In the IEA study, on the other hand, no gender difference was reported concerning as students' expectations from government both regarding the economic and social responsibilities senses with some exceptions (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In those exceptional countries for both expectations

regarding economic (n=5) and social responsibilities (n=8) female adolescent were more likely to see the given responsibilities as the governments duty. Although these studies presents gender differences, no studies found presenting effects of parents education level or school type differences with respect to students' perceptions of government responsibilities.

Common findings of the research and studies mentioned here would be that political engagement is regarded less by students as an indicator of good citizenship and gender is an important variable effecting students' perceptions of women's rights. Other than that, it would be misleading to conclude about the other relationships not only from the fact that there were not enough studies which investigating the effects of parental background and school types, but also as for the aforementioned studies findings on some contexts could be contradictory.

#### **2.4.2. Predictors of Intentions for Electoral, Political, Civic Participation**

Previous research findings reveal the influence of background variables (gender, socio-economic status, etc.); students' concepts of citizenship; media consumption habits; discussions with families, friends and teachers; openness of classroom climate for discussion; curricular and extra-curricular experiences on students' participation orientations in different forms. Below, those variables are covered separately with evidences from both adolescent and adulthood studies.

##### **2.4.2.1. Influence of Background Characteristics**

As background variables, this study investigates the influence of gender, school type, parent's education level and income, number of occupancy and numbers of books at home. Here evidences provided from the literature regarding the influence of background variables.

There are cross-national studies focusing on youth engagement that gave us clues about the role of gender in predicting students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. As an example, the IEA study figures that gender is not a factor when it comes to students' intentions to vote in most of the participating countries. In some of the countries (n=9), however, gender was acting as a significant factor where females had higher intentions to vote than their male peers (Husfeldt et al., 2005). Moreover, roughly in every country males showed less intention to participate in civic activities than females with the exception of 3 countries (Husfeldt et al., 2005, Pizmony-levy, 2007). This was enforced by Wilkenfeld's (2009) findings that the community participation and voting intentions were both higher in females than males. As part of a longitudinal study within English context Lopes et al. (2009) found a high correlation between gender, in this case female, and intentions to participate.

A survey of 312 10-12 grade students by Metzger and Smetana (2009) focused on views of political and civic participation and it was found that males believed political participation activities as more crucial and obligatory than females. On the other hand, in line with the findings of other studies mentioned above, females found community services participation more essential than males. Besides those studies which give us evidences about gender's influence on students' intentions to participate, there are also studies suggesting that the female are also associated with more civic activities (e.g. Alt & Medrich, 1994; Flanagan et al., 1998). The findings of a cross-national study by Flanagan and his colleagues (1998), for example, in 7 countries with 5579 12-18 year olds mark the gender differences in volunteering activity, in favor of females where females in the 5 participating countries found to be more involved in a volunteering activity.

Another variable reported in the literature that have an effect on participation is socio economic level. The literature tells that students who had a high socio-

economic background (Baldi et al., 2001; Lopes et al., 2009; Spring et al., 2007; Wilkenfeld, 2009) and who attended to a school which consisting from students of high socio-economic background like private schools (Greene et al., 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006) have more intentions to participate in civic related activities and have more current participation. With regard to IEA study, it was found in the study that students living at homes with more than 200 books showed more intention to participate in political activities when compared to students having less than 100 books at home (Baldi et al., 2001). Likewise, Wilkenfeld (2009) reports for the US sample of IEA study that the students with a high socio-economic background had more intentions for community participation as well as for voting when compared to students with low socio-economic background. Lopes et al. (2009) further indicated that students from high socio-economic background (measured as numbers of books at home) showed more intentions to participate in political and civic activities, with a sample from 10465 English students.

In another study, Spring et al. (2007) reported that students from underprivileged backgrounds showed less intention for voting and volunteering activities, at the same time, showed lower levels of actual participation in volunteering activities. Hutchens and Eveland's (2009) findings of a longitudinal study reinforce these studies, concluding that in schools in which the percentage of low socio-economic level students were high students' participation in volunteer and community activities was less. In line with these findings regarding the socio-economic level, with regard to school type (private-public) there are studies showing that the individuals who received education in private schools were more engaged politically when compared to the individuals graduated from public schools (Greene et al., 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006).

Aforementioned research marks the importance of studying gender and socio-economic status variables as affecting intentions and actual participation orientation. In conclusion, the studies above suggested that female students

were found to be more likely to participate in civic activities whereas intention to participate and actual participation in political and civic activities were found to be less in students with lower socio-economic background.

#### **2.4.2.2. Influence of Media Consumption Habits**

We cannot deny the fact that media is an important part of our lives. It provides us with a broad range of information both visually or audibly. Media is also one of the sources that we use to provide or that we provided with political information especially from what is called “traditionally mainstream sources such as newspapers, television, radio, and magazines” (Hollander, 2007, p. 377). The effect of media to individuals’ political orientation is a topic widely discussed in literature and the debates especially goes around those traditional sources especially newspapers and TV (Youniss et al., 2002). Zhang and Chia (2006) talks about two main types of studies of media which would focus on effect of media types (such as TV, radio, etc.) and content (entertainment, news, etc.) respectively (p. 284). The research on media’s effect on participation suggests that the media content is much more important variable than the type of the media (McLeod, 2000, p. 48). Especially influence of news media was the main focus of the content related media research studies (e.g. McLeod et al., 1996; Putnam, 2000) with a background knowledge that as Garamone and Atkin (1986) stated “entertainment and persuasive content in the mass media contain some politically relevant messages, news items provide the bulk of political information” (p. 77).

The effects of media consumption both the news media consumption via TV and newspapers, and television watching hours were investigated in this study. Below the research studies investing effect of media on participation was presented. Although there are a few, as it is the directly related with the current study, the studies investigating media usage among adolescence and its effects on the intention to participate in electoral, political and civic activities will be covered initially.

An earlier study by Garramone and Atkin (1986) focused on broadcast and printed media with regards to news media effect on students' intentions to participate in electoral political activities and found out that, only newspaper reading was of significance when it comes to predicting anticipated electoral and political participation whereas news consumptions from sources like TV, radio, and newsmagazine were insignificant. Similarly, a further analysis of data from the IEA study for three countries also revealed that students who reported that they followed local news frequently in newspapers showed more intention to vote for the future (Amadeo et al., 2004). Torney-Purta and her colleagues (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) also found the positive relationship between frequency of TV news consumption and students' intentions to participate in voting activity. D. E. Campbell (2006) further reported on the IEA data that news consumption via newspapers, TV and radio's was positively associated with expected civic and political participation as well as voting intentions. However, he also reported that the more the time spent for TV, the less the intention to vote, and willingness to participate in civic and political activities (D. E. Campbell, 2006).

Several studies also underlined the positive influence of newspaper reading on participation of adults which had electoral, civic and political dimensions (McLeod et al., 1996; Moy, 1998; Putnam, 1995; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002; Shah et al., 2001). However, to date there is no consensus on the effects of news consumption via TV. While some studies reported its positive effects on participation behaviors (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1997; Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; McLeod et al., 1999), some reported no direct effect (Moy, 1998; Scheufele & Shah, 2000).

Another body of research focused on the question of whether the time spent for TV influenced an individual's participation. A famous work on the issue is provided by Putnam. Based on his findings, he concluded that even after controlling for education levels, the more time spent for viewing TV, the less

social capital (Putnam, 1995). He further discusses this as connecting it to the TV's negative effect on individuals' socialization and motivation to participate (Putnam, 2000, p. 237). Several other studies also reported similar findings to Putnam's regarding the negative impact of frequent TV watching on adults' and adolescents' participation to democratic processes or their intentions (D. E. Campbell, 2006; O'Neill, 2010). However, there also exist some opponents to Putnam's theory about negative effects of TV viewing and underlines that it is the content itself that making the difference. In other words those researchers claimed that the more time spent for informative content rather than entertainment increase participation (McLeod et al., 1999; Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001).

In summary, the literature on mass media's effect on participative behaviors of individuals' suggests that while news consumption via newspaper is positively associated with participation behaviors and intentions, there still debates exist on the impact of news consumption via TV. In addition, there is still no consensus on the effects of frequent TV watching on individual's political orientations; however there seems to be consensus on the negative effects of frequent TV watching with entertainment content.

#### **2.4.2.3. Influence of Discussion Practices and Discussion Environment in Classrooms**

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on how the discussions in which the students are involved affected their participation behaviors. One body of research in this area claims that open classroom environment where students can freely express their opinions and controversial topics were found to be significantly associated with the political behavior intentions of adolescents (D. E. Campbell; 2006; D. E. Campbell, 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).



The literature also underlines that the importance given by the parents to the discussions of political and social events has strong effects on children's political and civic orientations. For example, McIntosh et al. (2007), in a study including 3662 high school students and their parents, concluded that those discussions were more likely to predict students' community service participation than the demographic characteristics of parents such as education level, socio-economic level. In a recent example, Kahne and Sporte (2008) found that participation in such discussions was related to the intentions of civic participation even after controlling for earlier commitments and school related variables.

Oswald and Schmid (1998), in a study carried out in Germany, reported that while discussions with parents positively associated with students' intentions to vote, discussion with friends found to be negatively related with such behavior. However, they also reported that activist forms of engagement such as legal and illegal protesting were more likely to be influenced by peers than parents. Regarding the voting intentions, Wilkenfeld (2009) further reported that while discussion with peers was not directly associated with voting intentions the frequent participation in discussions with parents was associated with higher intentions of voting. However, it was also underlined by Wilkenfeld (2009) that the more the political discussions with peers and parents the more the intention and the actual civic participation. Supporting this finding with regard to civic participation, Klofstad (2008), in his study where he examined university students, found that students who discussed political and social issues with their roommates showed 40 percent more volunteering behavior. Richardson (2003), in a secondary analysis of the IEA data for the US sample, found that frequent discussion with parents, peers and teachers were all related to intentions to participate in conventional and civic activities. Pancer et al. (2007) further found that secondary school students who can be described with more active characteristics were the ones who frequently discussed civic related topics with their families and friends.

Those studies shows us that although there is not a 100 percent consensus on the effects of peers, teachers and parents talk on students' intentions and actual participation, most of them reported a positive effect. Individuals who discussed politics with their friends, parents and teachers have greater intention to participate and actual participation in civic and political activities.

#### **2.4.2.4. Influence of Curricular and Extra-Curricular Experiences**

In theory the school's role has been identified as the one which raises awareness to both civic and political world, while teaching the skills needed for such interaction (Andolina et al., 2003). However, systematic development of "constructive curricular and extra-curricular experiences" (Wilkenfeld & CIRCLE, 2009, p. 1) are needed to achieve this aim. Torney-Purta (2002a) describes the qualities of an ideal civic education with following words:

An ideal civic education experience in a democracy should enable students to acquire meaningful knowledge about the political and economic system, to recognize the strengths and challenges of democracy and the attributes of good citizenship, to be comfortable in participating in respectful discussions of important and potentially controversial issues, and to be aware of civil society organizations. Knowledge should lead to both skills in interpreting political communication and to dispositions favoring actual involvement in conventional citizenship behavior, especially voting on the basis of the candidates' issue positions. Ideally, students would participate in organizations of civil society even before they reach voting age (Torney-Purta, 2002a, p. 203).

To what degree this idealization is corresponding to what is happening in actual classrooms is a question that inspired many researchers for many years. Recently, finding out specifically how school influences engagement of adolescents within different forms and their future political orientations is of an increased interest among researchers. Several researchers focused on the extracurricular activities in search for an answer to the requirements of an ideal civic education in democracies, as well as taking a closer look into the contents

and methods of classroom based education (D. E. Campbell, 2008). Below, the impact of educational experiences suggested in the literature was examined by specifically focusing on “civic related learning” and “extracurricular activities.”

Extracurricular activities carry the initial signs of civic engagement (Sherrod et al., 2002; Yates & Youniss, as cited in Obradović & Masten, 2007) and through extracurricular activities young people find an opportunity to form bonds with other individuals as they pursue shared goals (Smith, 1999, p. 555). Examples of those activities might be school councils or school clubs which might be on a wide range of areas such as art, drama, sports, etc. In those groups while students are practicing the very specific aim of the group, they are also interacting, socializing and finding opportunities to develop their collaborative working skills. Those activities might be both civically related like school governments or might have different goals such as an art club. However, as Zaff et al. (2008) emphasized even though there seems to be no link between for example, sports club and citizenship, they might provide a hatching ground for future participation activities.

IEA study, the basis for the current study, used participation in school councils as one of the variable to predict students’ intention to vote. As a major finding, participation in school council’s activities was found as having a small but significant effect on likelihood to vote (Turney-Purta et al., 2001). In another analysis conducted by Schulz (2005) with the IEA data including 10 countries, it was found that participation in school council was not a significant predictor for intentions to participate in electoral activities, that is voting and getting information before voting, for both 14 year olds and upper secondary students, whereas it was a significant predictor for expected political activities for upper secondary students in nearly half of the participating countries. Like in the IEA study, Kahne and Sporte (2008) also focused on students’ intentions for civic participation and found, after controlling the students’ past civic commitments,

that high intention for civic participation was linked to extracurricular activities except for the sports. Limited empirical data on association between the participation to extracurricular activities and students' intention to participate in political and civic activities made us head towards the studies investigating relationship between adolescence and adulthood participation. Thus, some examples from those studies were also presented.

There are both longitudinal (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Glanville, 1999; Hart et al., 2007; McFarland et al., 2006; Obradović & Masten, 2007; Smith, 1999) and retrospective studies (e.g. Ladewig & Thomas, 1987; Verba et al., 1995) that found a positive relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and their effects in adult life. However, bearing in mind the limitations of the retrospective studies such as the recalling issue (Kirlin, 2003; Smith, 1999), evidences from longitudinal studies will be presented since it is believed those studies will provide strong evidences for the link between extracurricular participation and future engagement orientations.

A through examination of longitudinal studies offers proof that there is a positive correlation between participation in extracurricular activities in adolescence and their adulthood participation. Smith (1999) used the National Education Longitudinal Study data which had an initial sample of approximately 25000 8<sup>th</sup> grade students. Every two years for 6 years those students were surveyed and it was found that participation in extracurricular activities was the most significant variable in predicting engagement during early adulthood which is measured as participation in electoral and political activities. With a similar finding, in another longitudinal study Hart and his colleagues (2007) also reported participation in extracurricular activities during high school as a variable predicting voting as well as volunteering during young adulthood even after controlling some background characteristics like gender and socio-economic status.

Furthermore, in another longitudinal study, Glanville (1999) differentiated these extracurricular activities into instrumental and expressive categories, taking a look into the effects of both in early adulthood. Civic related activities such as school councils formed the instrumental ones while the activities of sports or arts were regarded as expressive. The data from 6350 participants over a period of six years revealed that, after taking background variables and attitudes as controlled variables, instrumental activities positively and significantly predicted political engagement in adulthood except for voting. McFarland and Thomas (2006) also reached similar findings regarding the effects of instrumental activities. Based on the data of 10,827 students, they concluded that after controlling for background variables, the civic related extracurricular activities was the most important factor affecting students political orientations in adulthood. However, as opposed to the findings of Glanville (1999), they also reported that participation to civic related extracurricular activities was a predictor for voting behavior as well. In another longitudinal study, Gardner and his colleagues (2008) reported that the more the time allocated for extracurricular activities during adolescence, the more the benefit in the long run. Studying 24,599 8<sup>th</sup> graders through a period of 10 years, they found that the young adults who had participated in extracurricular activities for 2 years have shown more volunteering and voting behaviors during adulthood than the students who participated in those kinds of activities for 1 year.

Although exceptions exist, the discussion above regarding the literature on extracurricular activities, suggests that participation in different forms such as voting, civic and political participation is routed in the extracurricular activities of adolescence.

Another topic worthy of further inspection is the influence of education on engagement. Dee (2004) discusses this influence under two different routes. Initially; education through schooling might enhance an individual's cognitive

capability directly enabling hassle free decision making process on civic engagement regardless of the “bureaucratic and technological” (p. 1699) burdens hence reducing the costs of civic participation. Next, schooling may help raising individuals who believe in the importance of civic engagement (Dee, 2004) Furthermore, education can help individuals to develop two main qualities as suggested by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) that acted as factors led to participation: “motivation and capacity” (p. 3).

1960s seem to be the breaking point for our perception on the role of education until when this role was seen to be essential process to cultivate engagement (Torney-Purta, 2002a). The study challenging this perception was done by Langton and Jennings in 1968, where they studied K12 students and concluded that the civic courses had no influence on students’ political orientations (Langton, 1969; Langton & Jennings, 1968). The discussion has been going on since then and a wide range of studies have been carried out to test this conclusion and contrary to the early study conducted by Langton and Jennings more recent studies showed that civic related curriculum positively predicts participation orientations.

Regarding civic related learning in the IEA study it was found that emphasizing the importance of voting in classrooms has a significant and positive effect on students’ intentions to vote (Torney-Purta, 2002a). Wilkenfeld (2009) also supported this finding with her secondary analysis of the IEA data of the US sample with her conclusion that civic-related learning significantly and positively predicts intentions to vote and intentions to participate in civic activities. In another study, with a data of 4057 11<sup>th</sup> graders, Kahne and Spote (2008) explored that civic-related learning in school was the most important factor explaining civic engagement measure. As well as these studies showing association between civic related learning and intentions, there are evidences in the literature regarding that civic curriculum increases voting behavior (Merrill et al., 1994).

#### **2.4.2.5. Influence of Perceptions**

Even though there are not many studies regarding how students' good citizenship orientations affect their participation, the existing ones suggest that an individual's concepts of citizenship effect their participation orientations. Dalton marked possible impact of citizenship norms of an individual as follows:

The norms of citizenship should shape the political behavior of Americans – norms indicate what the individual feels is expected of the good citizen. Citizenship norms may shape expectations of our role as participants in the political process, and our images of the role of government and specific policy priorities. Indeed, since citizenship identifies what is expected of the individual and what the individual expects of government, it should influence a range of political attitudes and behaviors (Dalton, 2008, p.84).

Theiss-Morse (1993) investigated citizenship perspectives and the association between those perspectives and individuals' intentions to show different kinds of political activities. The four perspectives included "representative democracy, political enthusiast, pursued interests, and indifferent" (Theiss-Morse, 1993, p. 362). Regression analyses showed that the individuals who had representative democracy understanding showed more intention to participate in voting activities while people supporting a political enthusiast understanding showed more intention to participate in unconventional forms of participation.

A more recent study conducted by Dalton (2008) on good citizenship norms of American youth and adults showed that whereas duty-based citizenship understanding was associated with electoral participation but it did not regress more active forms of participation such as volunteer work, the touch with politicians and even it negatively influenced individuals participation in protest activities both in legal and illegal forms. However, he also found that individuals' active citizenship norms predicted their participation in electoral

activities other than voting, it effected their participation in activities where more active behaviors. In line with this finding, civic duty was also underlined by some other authors as a variable which had an impact on specifically voting exercise (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Rosenstone & Hanson, 1993; Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980).

Besides those studies focusing on adults' good citizenship perceptions, D. E. Campbell (2006) further analyzing the IEA data provided useful information about the association between students' perceptions of good citizenship and their intentions to participate in voting, civic and political activities. He reported that students, who perceived the conventional citizenship activities as important for citizenship, had more intention to participate in future voting activities as well as political and civic ones. Moreover, he also found that students perceiving social movement activities as important showed more intention to vote and had higher means on the expected civic participation scale. However, he also underlined that there was no relationship between students' perceptions of social movement citizenship and their intentions to participate in political activities (D. E. Campbell, 2006).

In addition to good citizenship norms, students' perception of participation in school life was also investigated in this study. Evidences from various analyses of the IEA data -including country based analyses- showed that students who believe in that participation will make schools a better place were more likely to indicate intention to vote and to participate in civic and political activities (Torney-Purta, 2002a; Richardson, 2003). However, D. E. Campbell (2006) further revealed that although students' positive perceptions on the benefits of participation in school life were positively related with their voting intentions, surprisingly it was negatively associated with students' civic and political participation intentions.



The limited numbers of studies existed in the literature and discussed above regarding perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school life suggests that those factors are related with participation behaviors. However, as for the directions of these relationships, differences exist with respect to electoral, political and civic participation.

## **2.5. Research Studies in Turkey**

The review of the research in Turkey revealed only a few studies directly focusing on the research questions of this study. Some of the studies measure students' knowledge, opinion and perception on citizenship related notions such as democracy and good citizenship. For example, Doğanay (1994) studied students' political knowledge, attitudes and behaviors sampling 262 5<sup>th</sup> grade primary students. The variables included were child-family communication, participation in political discussions within the family, family's interest in child's school life along with background variables like parents' education levels, socio-economic status of the family, and location of the residence. In addition there were variables on media, like daily newspaper purchasing habits, number of books owned, frequency of use of school library, time set aside for TV and types of TV programmes watched as well as variables related to school life, students' attitudes against citizenship curriculum (like-dislike), freedom of expression within the classroom, discussion of daily news, use of materials in the classroom, following the course book strictly and teacher's attitude towards students. Results of the regression analysis showed that family related variables were the most important factors on knowledge and attitude of students. In addition, it was found that variables related to media influenced political information rather than political attitude whereas variables on school life had the reverse impact influencing political attitude more.

Kaldırım (2003) investigated 8<sup>th</sup> grade students' perceptions towards democracy concept and whether these perceptions changed with respect to certain background characteristics such as gender, school type, parents'

education levels and socio economic status. The study found gender (in favor of female students) to be a defining factor in determining students' attitudes on "equality" and "national sovereignty." On the other hand, gender did not have a role in defining students' attitudes on political party and freedom variables. While there was no significance with regards to school type and socio-economic levels, it was demonstrated that the higher the parents' education levels higher were the points gathered by students at the sub-dimension of democracy.

Similarly to Kaldırım's study, a more recent study conducted by Doğanay (2010) also aimed to determine 14 years old students' understanding of democracy. This study implemented the democracy sub-dimension of IEA Student Survey to Turkish Culture and conducted a survey in the city of Adana with 495 8th grade students. Having gathered the responses from students on negative and positive sub-dimensions of democracy, Doğanay (2010) concluded that students did not have clear perception of democracy. While the average of the responses for positive statements was low, there was an understanding of threats against democracy. Moreover, gender (in favor of female students) was a determining factor on perception of positive elements about democracy and there was a positive correlation between education levels of parents in creating a difference in awareness of threats against democracy.

Another study by Doğanay and Sarı (2009) focused on the perception of high school students on good citizenship sampling 238 high school students in the city of Adana. It was measured that more of the students found conventional indicators of citizenship more important than active citizenship indicators. Differences arising from gender, education level of parents and income levels were also reported. The female students and students' whose mothers were primary school graduates had more conventional perception of citizenship. On the other hand, students' whose parents had higher levels of education were found to adopt active citizenship dimension. Another outcome of the study was

that there was a positive association between students' points on perception of active citizenship and their involvement in political discussions with friends.

As well as the studies aiming to define citizenship perception, there are also those which focus on political participation at youth. For example, in his master thesis Çal (2006) discusses the views and intentions of primary and high school students on political participation. By using random sampling method, two primary schools and two lycee were selected from the district of Isparta and a questionnaire was administered 400 students in total. The results indicated that the older the students are and the higher the grade level, the higher level of trust in political authority they have. Likewise grade level was related to students' perception of voting behavior. While younger students perceive voting behavior as an activity to elect managers, older students indicated voting as an influencing activity along with election. Also the voting behavior intentions were higher in older / high grade students. However, it was also apparent in the results that the students in upper grades have lower degree of tolerance of the people thinking differently from the lower graders.

Tola (2007) studied the link between the university students' political participation and gender, monthly average income, place of residence and their faculties. The survey of 546 university students showed that male students and those of political science faculty students were more politically engaged. However, no significant difference was reported for average income and place of residence.

Political participation levels and factors determining participation of university students were studied by Akin (2009). The ratio of students voted in the last election, while eligible, was found to be %64.9, on a sample of 862 students. While there was no significant relation between gender and voting behavior, a significant relation was found between parents' political party membership and students' participation in political groups. Students whose parents are members of a political party demonstrated a higher level of regular participation in

political groups than those whose parents are not. The research found out that male students were more interested in politics than their female counterparts. Moreover it was found that a large portion of the students did not participate in political party rallies, protest or demonstrations and collecting signature events. Another section of this survey focused on women's role in politics. While the ratio of students who wanted more women participation in politics for both male and female students was high, comparing male and female students, female students were more in favor of a higher number of women participation in politics. When students were surveyed about their future intentions on political participation on a scale of 6, asking them their intentions in the future on participation in protests, membership to a political party, gathering signatures, volunteering on human rights associated problems, helping those in need through participating in voluntary organizations and finally voting in elections, lowest future intention was marked down against participation in protests and membership to a political party. Highest future intention was towards voting and helping those in need through participating in voluntary organizations consecutively. There was a significant relationship between students' future intentions on political participation and their faculty (in favor of faculty of social sciences) along with membership of student's father to a political party. No significant difference was found between gender and father's political party membership but the positive correlation for male students on active participation variables reversed here in favor of female students.

Supporting this, Doğanay's (2009) study sampling 494 candidate university students found that candidate teachers had a conventional understanding of citizenship rather than the active citizenship. Membership to a political party was the least mentioned among good citizenship practices and students demonstrated low indicators with regards to the three dimensions (political, civil and social) of participation. It was also found that those candidates who embrace active citizenship have a higher participation in civil and political life.

Turkish youth's political participation intentions were surveyed in 1999 by STRATEJİ|MORI, IRI (International Republican Institute) and ARI movement (Erdoğan, 2003) and in 2003 by STRATEJİ|GfK (Erdoğan, 2003). Both studies found that Turkish youth did have very low participation in both conventional and active citizenship activities (Erdoğan, 2003). Report prepared by Erdoğan (2003) recorded voting as the most participated activity for, but in the repeat of the study on 2003 found that all scores declined in participation including voting behavior.

Literature based on research in Turkey shows that participation among youth is low and there are misconceptions about basic concepts of citizenship. However, the sample size, context and number of such studies, reveals the fact that new multi dimensional research is required on the topic.

## **2.6. Summary**

This review is based on research carried out both in Turkey and abroad on issues like the factors influencing students' perceptions of civic related issues and their intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities. To summarize, research in abroad shows that gender, socio economic level were the factors influencing students' perceptions of civic related issues. As for the intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities, although the literature carried out in abroad provides a comprehensive background regarding the factors influencing those intentions, there seems to be no consensus on the factors influencing different forms of participation intentions'. Although exceptions exist, the literature carried abroad suggests that, socio-economic level; newspaper reading; open classroom climate for discussion; discussion practices with peers, parents and teachers; and civic learning in schools were all positively associated with students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic issues.

On the other hand, the literature carried out in Turkey regarding the aforementioned variables is both limited in numbers and scope. Though, the research studies in Turkey portrayed low indicators of participation behavior among adolescents and the fact that the participation behaviors of Turkish adolescents is only restricted with voting behavior (Doğanay et al., 2007; Erdoğan, 2003; Parlak, 1999).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHOD**

In this part of the thesis, the methodological procedures of the study were presented. Firstly, overall design of the study was discussed. Then the sampling procedure and the psychometric properties of the data collection instruments used in the study were presented. Finally, procedures used to collect and analyzing the data along with the limitations of the study were covered.

#### **3.1. Overall Design of the Study**

Overall, this study is based on a survey design. A nation-wide survey was conducted in order to determine the factors influencing 8<sup>th</sup> grade students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities and to examine their perceptions towards basic civic concepts. In total, 2497 8<sup>th</sup> grade students from 60 schools in 21 provinces were participated to the study. The study comprises two elements. The first element is the instrument adaptation and the second one is the nation-wide implementation of the instrument. For the first element, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Student Survey (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) on civic education was adapted into Turkish culture. The questionnaire was firstly translated and reviewed by the 21 experts. After obtaining the expert opinion, the questionnaire was piloted with 809 8<sup>th</sup> graders in the district of Ankara. Finally, in 2008-2009 academic years the questionnaire was implemented to a sample. The data were analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. In Figure 3.1 the schematic representation of the successive stages that were followed throughout the study is given.

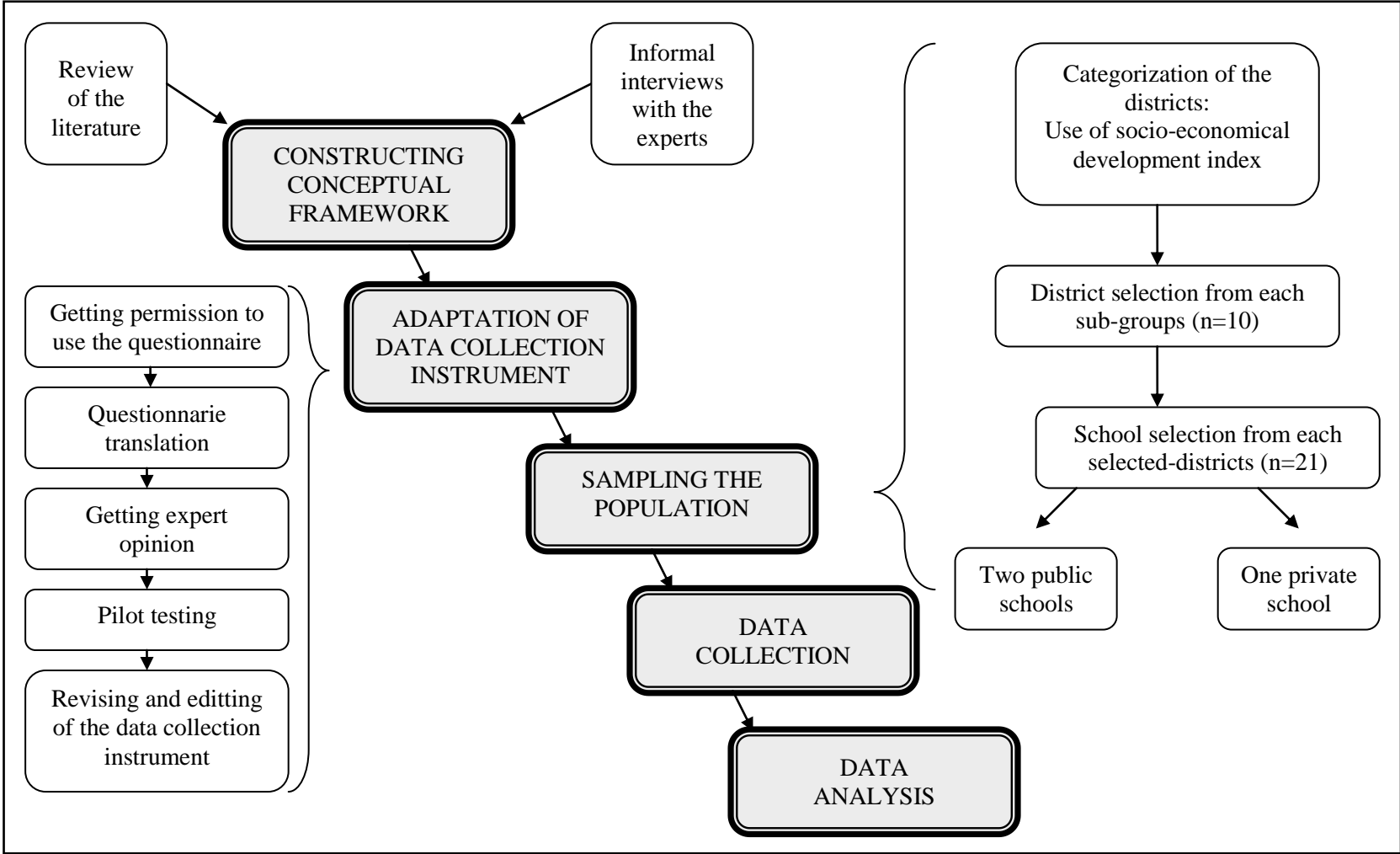
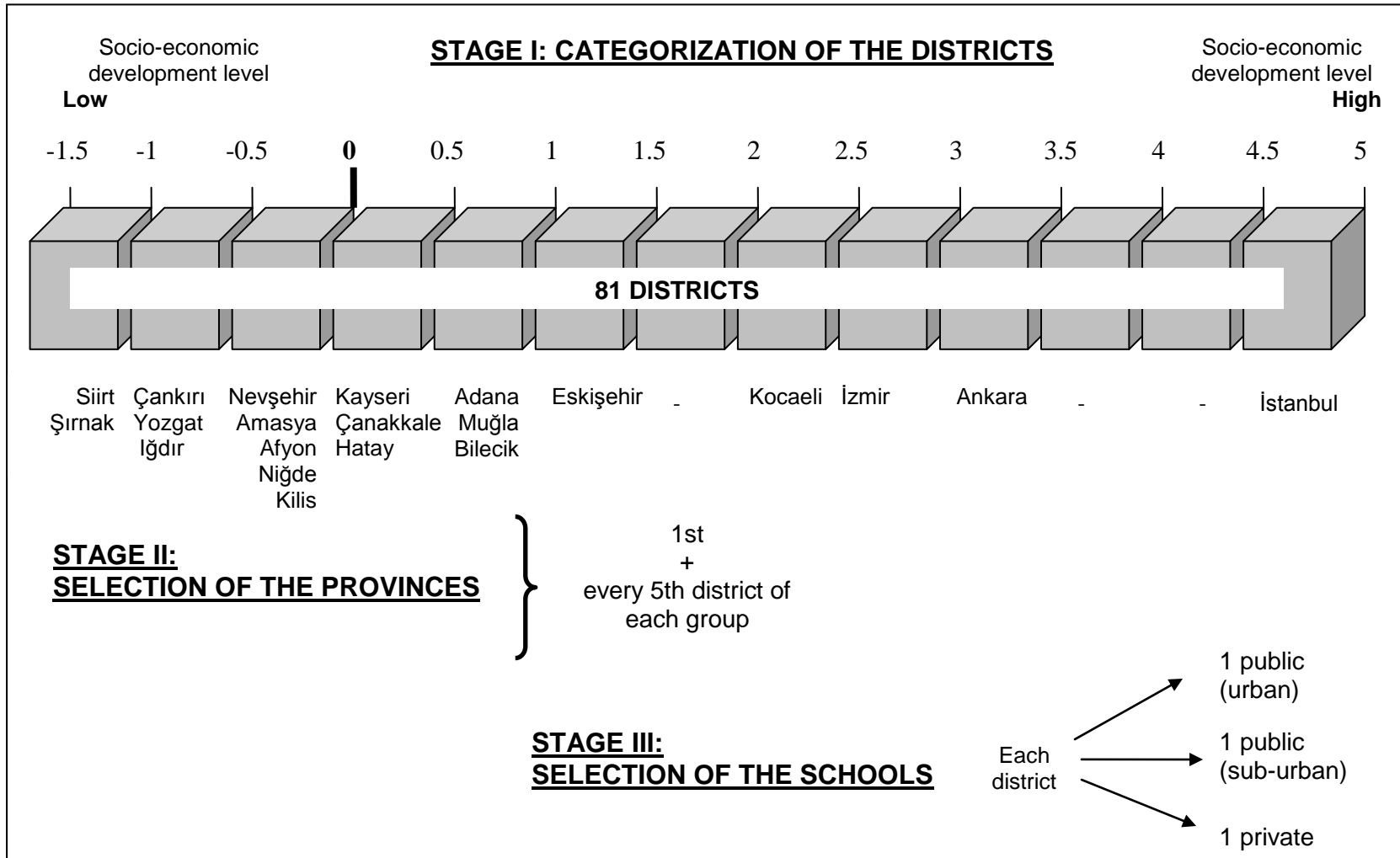


Figure 3.1. Illustration of the Overall Design of the Study



Figure 3.2. Overall Sample Selection



### 3.2. Population and the Sample

Population of the study is 8<sup>th</sup> grade primary school students in Turkey. According to statistics from Ministry of National Education (MONE, 2007), in 2006-2007 the numbers of 8th grade primary school students were 1.256.439 with 676415 boys and 580024 girls (p. 51). Within the limitations of the research, as it was not possible to reach all of this population, a representative sample has been selected. Figure 3.2 presents the overall sample selection procedure.

#### 3.2.1. Sampling Procedure

The main criteria in selecting the sample has been the socio-economic status variable. “Socio-economic Development Rankings – 2003” (Dinçer et al., 2003) of State Planning Organization (SPO) ranks provinces on 58 variables (demographic, employment, education, etc.) on their socio economic development levels and for this study this classification was used as the basis of sampling. Table 3.1 demonstrates socio-economic growth rankings of 81 provinces in Turkey.

Table 3.1.  
*Socio Economic Development Rankings by Provinces (2003)*

| Rank | Province   | Index   | Rank | Province  | Index   |
|------|------------|---------|------|-----------|---------|
| 1    | Istanbul   | 4.80772 | 42   | Kirsehir  | -.22870 |
| 2    | Ankara     | 3.31483 | 43   | Artvin    | -.26018 |
| 3    | Izmir      | 2.52410 | 44   | Afyon     | -.27246 |
| 4    | Kocaeli    | 1.94329 | 45   | Duzce     | -.27995 |
| 5    | Bursa      | 1.67890 | 46   | Corum     | -.32761 |
| 6    | Eskisehir  | 1.10368 | 47   | Osmaniye  | -.33321 |
| 7    | Tekirdag   | 1.05893 | 48   | K.Maras   | -.34968 |
| 8    | Adana      | .94901  | 49   | Nigde     | -.35582 |
| 9    | Yalova     | .93541  | 50   | Giresun   | -.36696 |
| 10   | Antalya    | .91480  | 51   | Kastamonu | -.37558 |
| 11   | Kirklareli | .86287  | 52   | Tunceli   | -.40003 |
| 12   | Denizli    | .71624  | 53   | Sivas     | -.40597 |
| 13   | Mugla      | .71238  | 54   | Kilis     | -.41175 |

Table 3.1. *cont.*

| Rank | Province  | Index   | Rank | Province   | Index    |
|------|-----------|---------|------|------------|----------|
| 14   | Bolu      | .60860  | 55   | Bartın     | -.41550  |
| 15   | Balıkesir | .56540  | 56   | Aksaray    | -.45183  |
| 16   | Edirne    | .56234  | 57   | Sinop      | -.48518  |
| 17   | Mersin    | .51934  | 58   | Erzincan   | -.49288  |
| 18   | Bilecik   | .50429  | 59   | Cankiri    | -.51917  |
| 19   | Kayseri   | .47748  | 60   | Erzurum    | -.53286  |
| 20   | Gaziantep | .46175  | 61   | Tokat      | -.59010  |
| 21   | Zonguldak | .44906  | 62   | Ordu       | -.64489  |
| 22   | Aydin     | .42025  | 63   | Diyarbakir | -.66993  |
| 23   | Sakarya   | .40404  | 64   | Yozgat     | -.71652  |
| 24   | Canakkale | .36924  | 65   | Adiyaman   | -.77647  |
| 25   | Manisa    | .34165  | 66   | Bayburt    | -.80176  |
| 26   | Konya     | .25254  | 67   | Kars       | -.81944  |
| 27   | Karabuk   | .21332  | 68   | Sanliurfa  | -.83158  |
| 28   | Isparta   | .21187  | 69   | Igdir      | -.89089  |
| 29   | Hatay     | .19613  | 70   | Batman     | -.90456  |
| 30   | Usak      | .1687   | 71   | Gumushane  | -.92501  |
| 31   | Burdur    | .14395  | 72   | Mardin     | -.98944  |
| 32   | Samsun    | .08791  | 73   | Siirt      | -1.00644 |
| 33   | Kirikkale | .05851  | 74   | Ardahan    | -1.07318 |
| 34   | Nevsehir  | -.07483 | 75   | Van        | -1.09297 |
| 35   | Karaman   | -.09852 | 76   | Bingol     | -1.12469 |
| 36   | Elazig    | -.10131 | 77   | Hakkari    | -1.13956 |
| 37   | Rize      | -.17840 | 78   | Sirnak     | -1.13979 |
| 38   | Trabzon   | -.18582 | 79   | Bitlis     | -1.15736 |
| 39   | Amasya    | -.18591 | 80   | Agri       | -1.23116 |
| 40   | Kutahya   | -.20684 | 81   | Mus        | -1.43956 |
| 41   | Malatya   | -.22627 |      |            |          |

Source: Dinçer, et al. (2003). Socio-Economic development level of provinces <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/bolgesel/gosterge/2003-05.pdf>, p. 55.

As seen in the table, the socio-economic development level of provinces vary between (-1.4) and (+4.8). Depending on these rankings, provinces that have similar socio-economic development levels also have been grouped together by SPO. However, notwithstanding the fact that these 81 provinces have been classified in 5 sub-categories (Dinçer et al., 2003, p. 57) depending on their socio-economic development levels by SPO, they have been regrouped from (-1,5) to (+5) with 0,5 increments, in order to provide a more detailed sample. As a result, 10 new groups have emerged. Out of these 10 groups, initially, only

the provinces with the highest scores have been included in the sample. As the number of the provinces that fall in each of these 10 groups are not equal (e.g. there might be two provinces in one group whereas another would have 12), groups with 5 or more provinces have been systematically classified as to provide better chances of representation. To do so, every fifth province from top have been selected once the provinces have been sorted descending. Figure 3.3 outlines this process.

Out of ten main groups 21 provinces have been included in the sample. In order to define the schools for the application of questionnaire, all of the schools within these 21 provinces have been listed. Following from that, one private and two public schools (one from urban, one from sub-urban) is picked randomly from each of these 21 provinces. In cases where 8<sup>th</sup> grade students are few in any given class, all 8<sup>th</sup> grade classes in that school have been included in the study.

| Group with a value between 0.00 – 0.50 of socio-economic development |         |           |  |
|--|---------|-----------|--|
|  | Sorting | Province  | Socio-economic Development Index         |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> Sub-group  | 1.      | Kayseri   | 0.47748 (province included for sampling) |
|  | 2.      | Gaziantep | 0.46175                                  |
|  | 3.      | Zonguldak | 0.44906                                  |
|  | 4.      | Aydın     | 0.42025                                  |
|  | 5.      | Sakarya   | 0.40404                                  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sub-group  | 6.      | Çanakkale | 0.36924 (province included for sampling) |
|  | 7.      | Manisa    | 0.34165                                  |
|  | 8.      | Konya     | 0.25254                                  |
|  | 9.      | Karabük   | 0.21332                                  |
|  | 10.     | Isparta   | 0.21187                                  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sub-group  | 11.     | Hatay     | 0.19613 (province included for sampling) |
|  | 12.     | Uşak      | 0.16867                                  |
|  | 13.     | Burdur    | 0.14395                                  |
|  | 14.     | Samsun    | 0.08791                                  |
|  | 15.     | Kırıkkale | 0.05851                                  |

Figure 3.3. An Example of Selection Process of Provinces from Sub-groups

### 3.2.2. Sample Characteristics

The research was conducted with 2497 students from 60 schools in 21 provinces. Three schools in the sample did not have 8th grade students; therefore they were excluded from the study beforehand. Moreover, 24 cases were excluded from the analyses since they were acting as outliers. The detailed information regarding those outliers presented in “missing data and outlier analyses” section. To sum up, the analyses were based on the responses of 2473 students from 60 schools in 21 provinces. Table 3.2 outlines the number of students per school type per province.

Table 3.2.  
*Student Numbers per School Type- per Province*

| No    | Province  | Number of Schools | Number of Students |                |         | Total |
|-------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------|-------|
|       |           |                   | Public (Sub-urban) | Public (Urban) | Private |       |
| 1     | Adana     | 3                 | 35                 | 64             | 44      | 143   |
| 2     | Afyon     | 3                 | 54                 | 34             | 29      | 117   |
| 3     | Amasya    | 2                 | 31                 | 28             | -       | 59    |
| 4     | Ankara    | 3                 | 13                 | 52             | 15      | 80    |
| 5     | Bilecik   | 3                 | 22                 | 63             | 22      | 107   |
| 6     | Çanakkale | 3                 | 33                 | 14             | 35      | 82    |
| 7     | Çankırı   | 3                 | 42                 | 16             | 29      | 87    |
| 8     | Eskişehir | 3                 | 62                 | 59             | 61      | 182   |
| 9     | Hatay     | 3                 | 16                 | 63             | 50      | 129   |
| 10    | Iğdır     | 2                 | 66                 | 48             | -       | 114   |
| 11    | İstanbul  | 3                 | 16                 | 21             | 59      | 96    |
| 12    | İzmir     | 3                 | 39                 | 54             | 67      | 160   |
| 13    | Kayseri   | 3                 | 31                 | 48             | 38      | 117   |
| 14    | Kilis     | 3                 | 26                 | 15             | 11      | 52    |
| 15    | Kocaeli   | 3                 | 64                 | 62             | 35      | 161   |
| 16    | Muğla     | 3                 | 48                 | 50             | 35      | 133   |
| 17    | Nevşehir  | 3                 | 65                 | 40             | 67      | 172   |
| 18    | Niğde     | 3                 | 19                 | 82             | 13      | 114   |
| 19    | Siirt     | 3                 | 44                 | 37             | 38      | 119   |
| 20    | Şırnak    | 2                 | 37                 | 79             | -       | 116   |
| 21    | Yozgat    | 3                 | 29                 | 59             | 45      | 133   |
| Total | 21        | 60                | 792                | 988            | 693     | 2473  |

Out of 2473 students 72 % (n=1780) attended public schools, whereas 28 % (n=693) attended private schools. Of the participants who were students in a public school, 44.5 % (n=792) of them attended sub-urban schools and 55.5 % (n=988) attended urban schools. Regarding the demographics of the students, 49.3% (n=1220) of students were girls and 49.8 % (n=1232) were boys. 43.3 % (n=1072) of all students have attended to a pre-school institution while 55.8% (n=1381) did not. As for the number of occupancy at home, more than half of the students (n=1496, 60.5%) reported to be living with 3 or 4 more others in their houses. Moreover, analysis of total monthly income for students' families revealed that the mean of the income was 1889.10.

Table 3.3.

*Frequencies for Gender and Attendance to Pre-school*

| Variable             | Categories                | N    | %    |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------|------|
| Gender               | Girl                      | 1220 | 49.3 |
|                      | Boy                       | 1232 | 49.8 |
|                      | Missing                   | 21   | 0.8  |
| Pre-school Education | Attended Pre-school       | 1072 | 43.3 |
|                      | Did not Attend Pre-school | 1381 | 55.8 |
|                      | Missing                   | 20   | 0.8  |

A closer look at education levels of parents reveals the following: 9.3% (n=231) of the students' mothers were illiterate, whereas the same figure was 2.1% (n=53) for the fathers. 3.4% (n=83) of the mothers were literate but did not attend any formal education, for the fathers this figure was 2.5% (n=63). Graduation from a primary school was 40.3% (n=996) for mothers and 29.4% (n=726) for fathers. For secondary school graduation rate the figures were 12.5 % (n=309) for mothers and 16.4% (n=405) for fathers. Out of 2473 mothers 18.2% (n=449) graduated from a high school and 12% (n=296) graduated from a university. These figures are 23.1% (n=571) and 19.9% (n=493) respectively for the fathers. Very few of the parents received a post graduate degree with mothers at 2.2% (n=55) and fathers at 4% (n=100) (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4.  
*Education Level of Parents*

| Education Level of Parents       | Mother   |      | Father   |      |
|----------------------------------|----------|------|----------|------|
|                                  | <i>N</i> | %    | <i>N</i> | %    |
| Illiterate                       | 231      | 9.3  | 53       | 2.1  |
| Literate but no formal education | 83       | 3.4  | 63       | 2.5  |
| Primary School Graduate          | 996      | 40.3 | 726      | 29.4 |
| Secondary School Graduate        | 309      | 12.5 | 405      | 16.4 |
| High School Graduate             | 449      | 18.2 | 571      | 23.1 |
| University Graduate              | 296      | 12   | 493      | 19.9 |
| Postgraduate Degree              | 55       | 2.2  | 100      | 4    |
| Reported as “don’t know”         | 45       | 1.8  | 55       | 2.2  |
| Missing responses                | 9        | 0.4  | 7        | 0.3  |

### 3.3. Data Collection Instrument

The instrument used as data collection tool was developed by International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in order to determine the 13-14 year old students’ concepts of citizenship, their perceptions towards civic related issues and their intentions to citizenship activities.

The cross-national civic education study carried out by the IEA (1998) might be regarded as the most comprehensive research in the field. The main aim of this study was to seek how adolescents “prepared to undertake their role as citizens in democracies.” (Torney-Purta et al. 2001, p. 15). In order to reach this aim a two-phase research study was initiated in 28 countries (p. 18). For the first phase of this cross-national study, as to portray national citizenship education practices of these 28 countries, qualitative case studies had been carried out (p. 18). The second phase was designed to gather information with a survey design about adolescents’ knowledge, concepts and attitudes

regarding citizenship related topics and their intentions to participate in the activities that a citizen can practice as an adult (p. 22). The questionnaires were then implemented in 28 countries, which were “Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, United States” (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 18). The IEA student test and survey includes five different types of items:

- “Civic content items (Type 1) assessed knowledge of key civic principles and pivotal ideas (e.g., key features of democracies) measured by multiple-choice items.
- Civic skills items (Type 2) assessed skills in using civic-related knowledge through multiple-choice items (e.g., understanding a brief political article or a political cartoon).
- Survey items measured students’ concepts of democracy, citizenship, and government (Type 3); attitudes toward civic issues (Type 4); and expected political participation (Type 5)” (Baldi et al, 2001, p. 6).

Survey items from type 3, type 4 and type 5 were used in this study.

### **3.3.1. Adaptation Process**

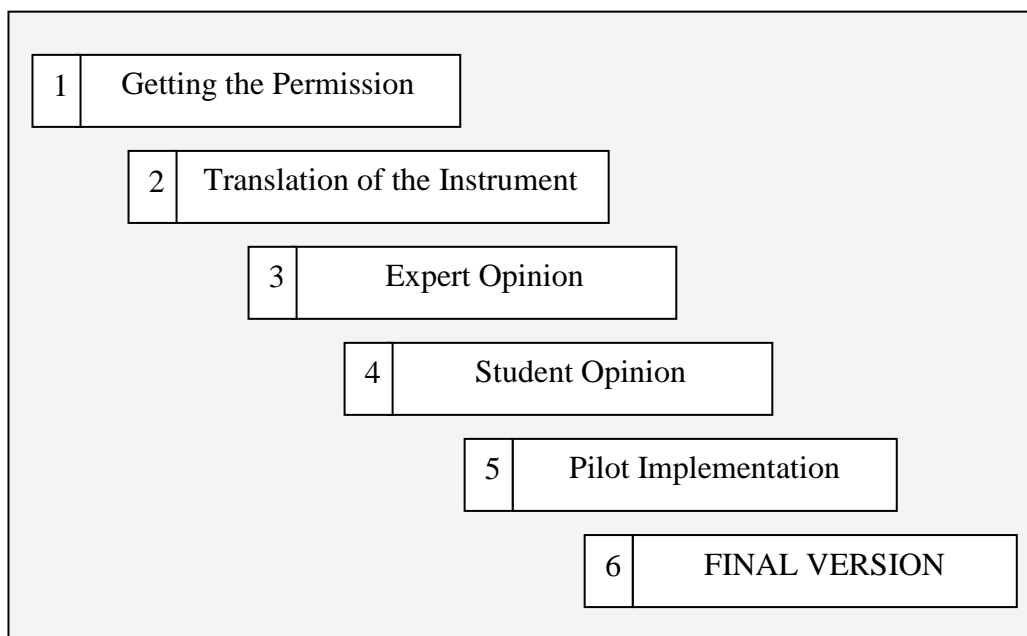
IEA student questionnaire which was implemented in 28 countries worldwide has been adapted to Turkish case by following processes including several steps (Figure 3.4). Those steps were discussed in detail below.

#### **3.3.1.1. Getting the Permission**

Initially a copy of the IEA Student Test and Survey (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), which was available for researchers’ online ready for translation and adaptation, was received. The questionnaire was prepared by International Steering Committee and the National Coordinators of the IEA Civic Education Study. In order to get the permission, two of the researchers in the preparation



committee have been contacted via e-mail. After the confirmation that the version readily available on the website was open for use by researchers, next phase of adaptation process have started.



*Figure 3.4. Steps of Adaptation Process*

### **3.3.1.2. Translation of the Instrument**

At this stage of the adaptation procedure, committee translation (Harkness & Schoua-Glusberg, 1998; Nasser, 2005) method was used. First of all, the original instrument was given to three language experts, who know both languages well, for translation. After getting the individual translations, an assessment session had been made with the participation of the researcher and the supervisor. By examining all of the three translations, the most consistent version for each item had been selected.

### **3.3.1.3. Obtaining Expert Opinion**

Translation procedure was followed by gathering expert opinion. Once the translation process was completed, the final Turkish version, formed by picking the most appropriate translations, was submitted for expert opinion.

This process enabled the content and face validity of the questionnaire. A total of 21 professionals involved with their expertise in adaptation process. The experts involved were social studies (n=8) and curriculum development academics (n=5) specialized in the field of citizenship education, experts on measurement and evaluation (n=1), sociology (n=2) and Turkish language (n=1). Moreover, social studies teachers (n=4) were also involved in this process. Without limiting the professionals to their expertise area, the participants were asked to review the questionnaire both in general and in relation to their expertise area. Mainly, the areas that were covered with these reviews were on the appropriateness of the items in terms of students' levels both with regard to content and wording; appropriateness of the items to Turkish culture, appropriateness of the items to the aim of the study, the general appearance of the questionnaire and appropriateness of the assessment techniques (scales, metrics, etc.). Moreover, all of the experts were asked about their opinions on the expected time required to complete the questionnaire. After getting the feedbacks, the instrument has been reviewed in the light of feedback from experts, after which it was ready for the pilot study.

#### **3.3.1.4. Retrieval of Student Opinions for the Questionnaire**

In order to see if the Turkish version of the instrument was easy to understand for students, a session was arranged at one of the public schools in Ankara with 23 students. The students were asked to complete the instrument for 40 minutes as this was the time foreseen for the completion of the instrument. As a result of this session, the wording was reviewed and points that might prove to be difficult for students were identified and then necessary changes have been made.

#### **3.3.1.5. Pilot Study**

Despite the fact that the pilot study, which was the last stage in the adaptation process, was implemented in Ankara province at 19 schools with 809 8<sup>th</sup> grade

students, it was decided that the results should not be used. Main reason for this was that Education Research and Development Directorate (EARGED) had made changes on the items of the questionnaire. The changes introduced were so much that it was decided reliability and factor analysis studies should be directed with the actual data gathered from 2473 students from 21 districts of Turkey. Pilot study was then used for reviewing the wording and clarity of the questionnaire which additionally provided evidences for the content and face validity.

### **3.3.2. Descriptions About Dimensions of the Questionnaire**

The questionnaire adapted for this study has two sections (Appendix A). First section aims to get personal data about the students, whereas the second section aims to identify students' concepts, perceptions and intentions to participate in citizenship activities. The descriptions of the items in the instrument were presented in Table 3.5.

#### **3.3.2.1. First Section: Background Information**

There are a total of 13 questions in this section that are designed to collect personal information from students. The variables in this section are gender, school type, number of people living at home, daily newspaper purchase habits, pre-school admittance status, average number of books owned, total income of the family, education levels of parents, spare time with friends after school, time spent watching TV on school days, activities participated in and out of school and lastly activities participated using mass media tools.

Table 3.5.  
*Descriptions of the Variables*

| Variable Name                              | Levels   | # of Items |
|--|--|------------|
| School type                                | (1) Public School<br>(2) Private School  | 1          |
| Gender                                     | (1) Girl<br>(2) Boy  | 1          |
| Number of people at home                   | Open ended   | 1          |
| Attendance to pre-school                   | (1) Yes<br>(2) No  | 1          |
| Daily newspaper purchase                   | (1) Yes<br>(2) No  | 1          |
| Parents' income                            | Open ended   | 1          |
| Home literacy resources                    | (1) No books<br>(2) Between 1-10<br>(3) Between 11-25<br>(4) Between 26-50<br>(5) Between 51-100<br>(6) Between 101-200<br>(7) More than 200   | 1          |
| Parents' education                         | (1) Illiterate<br>(2) No schooling but literate<br>(3) Primary school degree<br>(4) Middle school degree<br>(5) High school degree<br>(6) University degree<br>(7) Postgraduate degree<br>(8) Don't know | 2          |
| Time spent outside the school with friends | (1) Never / Almost never<br>(2) A few times each month<br>(3) 1 to 3 days a week<br>(4) 4 or more days a week  | 1          |
| Time spent daily to watch TV               | (1) No time<br>(2) Less than 1 hour<br>(3) 1-2 hours<br>(4) 3-5 hours<br>(5) More than 5 hours   | 1          |

Table 3.5. *cont.*

| Variable Name                            | Levels   | # of Items |
|--|--|------------|
| Attendance to extracurricular activities | (1) Never<br>(2) Rarely<br>(3) Sometimes<br>(4) Often<br>(5) Always  | 8          |
| Following news from media                | (1) Never<br>(2) Rarely<br>(3) Sometimes<br>(4) Often<br>(5) Always  | 5          |
| Democracy                                | (1) Very bad for democracy<br>(2) Somewhat bad for democracy<br>(3) Neither bad or good for democracy<br>(4) Somewhat good for democracy<br>(5) Very good for democracy  | 19         |
| Good Citizen                             | (1) Not important<br>(2) Somewhat unimportant<br>(3) Somewhat important<br>(4) Very important  | 9          |
| Government's responsibility              | (1) Definitely should not be government's responsibility<br>(2) Probably should not be government's responsibility<br>(3) Probably should be government's responsibility<br>(4) Definitely should be government's responsibility | 12         |
| Women-men equality                       | (1) Strongly disagree<br>(2) Disagree<br>(3) Agree<br>(4) Strongly agree   | 5          |

Table 3.5. *cont.*

| Variable Name   | Levels   | # of Items |
|---|--|------------|
| Participation to discussions with peers-family-teachers | (1) Never<br>(2) Rarely<br>(3) Sometimes<br>(4) Often<br>(5) Always  | 6          |
| Expected participation                                  | (1) I will certainly not do this<br>(2) I will probably not do this<br>(3) I will probably do this<br>(4) I will certainly do this | 9          |
| Our School  | (1) Strongly disagree<br>(2) Disagree<br>(3) Agree<br>(4) Strongly agree   | 7          |
| School learning   | (1) Strongly disagree<br>(2) Disagree<br>(3) Agree<br>(4) Strongly agree   | 6          |
| Open Classroom Climate for Discussion                   | (1) Never<br>(2) Rarely<br>(3) Sometimes<br>(4) Always   | 7          |

### 3.3.2.2. Second Section: Concept, Perception and Intentions

The second section of the instrument's Turkish version has 10 sub-sections. During the adaptation and permission processes 5 sub-sections were removed as demanded by EARGED and based on the feedback obtained from the experts because those topics were identified as "highly sensitive" and questioning these was not deemed appropriate for 8 grade students and for Turkish culture. The removed sections were; "Trust in Institutions" dimension which aimed to measure students' trust in several institutions in their countries, "Opportunities 1" dimension which aimed to measure students' perception of given groups (ethnic, etc.), "Immigrants" dimension which aimed to measure

students' perception about immigrants, "Political System" dimension which aimed to measure students' interest and perception levels towards political system and finally "Our Country" dimension which aims to measure students' attitude towards their own country and other countries. Below the dimensions used in the Turkish version of the questionnaire are presented along with their reliability and construct validity analyses.

### **3.3.2.2.1. Democracy**

In this section the aim is to measure students' perception of democracy. Democracy sub-dimension consists of 19 items measured on a five point Likert-type scale ranging from; "very bad for democracy" to "very good for democracy." On the other hand, the original instrument regarding the democracy dimension has 25 items. Out of these 25 items, A6, A12, A14, A23 and A24 have been removed by EARGED, arguing that, they were not appropriate to be directed to 8<sup>th</sup> grade students. Question A22 have been removed as it was advised to be "not appropriate for the Turkish context." Removed items were presented in Appendix B. In addition to items being removed from the democracy dimension of the original instrument, item A3 "when political leaders in power give jobs in the government (public sector) to members of their family" have been reinterpreted as "employment in government (public sector) should be made based on proficiency," likewise question A8 "when immigrants are expected to give up the language and customs of their former countries" were changed as "provide immigrants sustainability with their customs and traditions." These changes were advised by EARGED as well.

In the original IEA study democracy dimension have not been scaled since the participant countries (n=28) couldn't arrive at an agreement on all of the items in the scale (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This study initially aimed to define factors of this sub-dimension for Turkish case and analyzing those factors, but

as a result of removal of items (n=6) and those that have been changed (n=3) exploratory factor analysis could not supply a sound information. For this reason democracy sub-dimension has not been included in the main analyses and the items under this sub-dimension have been given only descriptively, as the items have already been answered by the students.

#### **3.3.2.2.2. Good Citizen**

Good citizen sub-dimension consists of 9 items with a 4 point likert type scale ranging from “not important” to “very important.” At this dimension, students’ are presented with some expressions that would be used to define good citizens, and were asked to define how important these expressions would be, in their opinion, to define a good citizen. Since the questionnaire is translated from its released version for the researchers, which includes both scaled and non-scaled items, there were five more items other than the scaled ones under this sub-dimension. Those items were excluded from the study beforehand and only the scaled items were used in this study as to provide a basis for further discussions. However, from the ten scaled items, one has been removed (Appendix B) by EARGED suggesting it was not appropriate for application to 8<sup>th</sup> grade students.

The factor analysis of the International IEA study resulted in two scales named as conventional citizenship and social movement citizenship (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) with regard to good citizenship dimension. Furthermore, the reliability of 6 item conventional citizenship factor was found to be .67 and of 4 item social-movement citizenship was found to be .63 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

To provide evidence for the construct validity, the 9 items-two factor model (one less from the original) were subject to confirmatory factor analysis to “verify the number of underlying dimensions of the instrument (factors) and



the pattern of item factor relationships (factor loadings)” (Brown, 2006, p. 2). In this case, confirmatory factor analysis was deemed more appropriate than exploratory factor analysis since in the literature there are enough evidences proving that these two factors are different constructs (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). For this analysis the data obtained from the 2473 8<sup>th</sup> grade students for the actual study were utilized. The analysis of two-factor nine-items model yielded a  $\chi^2$  value of 290.616 with 26 degrees of freedom where  $p < 0.001$  which indicates poor fit. However, since the  $\chi^2$  value can be affected from the size of the sample (Bentler, 2007, Bentler & Bonett, 1980, Kline, 2005) other fit indices were also examined to deal with this problem. Other selected values from the tests of model fit indices for the study are; goodness-of-fit index (GFI) (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1981), the comparative fit index (CFI) (Bentler, 1990) and the root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). For the study those values were found as; CFI=.923, GFI=.974 and RMSEA=.064 which overall shows that two factor model of Turkish version of the scale fits the data well. In this study, these two factors were named as “conventional citizenship” and “social movement citizenship” as suggested in the literature.

Table 3.6.

*Fit Indices of the Two Factor Good Citizenship Scale*

| $\chi^2$ | <i>Df</i> | <i>RMSEA</i> | <i>CFI</i> | <i>GFI</i> |
|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|
| 290.616  | 26        | .064         | .923       | .974       |

The reliability analysis of the “Good Citizenship Scale” yielded a cronbach’s alfa of .73 for the total scale, .60 for the conventional citizenship (CC) and .62 for the social-movement citizenship (SMC) which is consistent with the values found in the international IEA study.

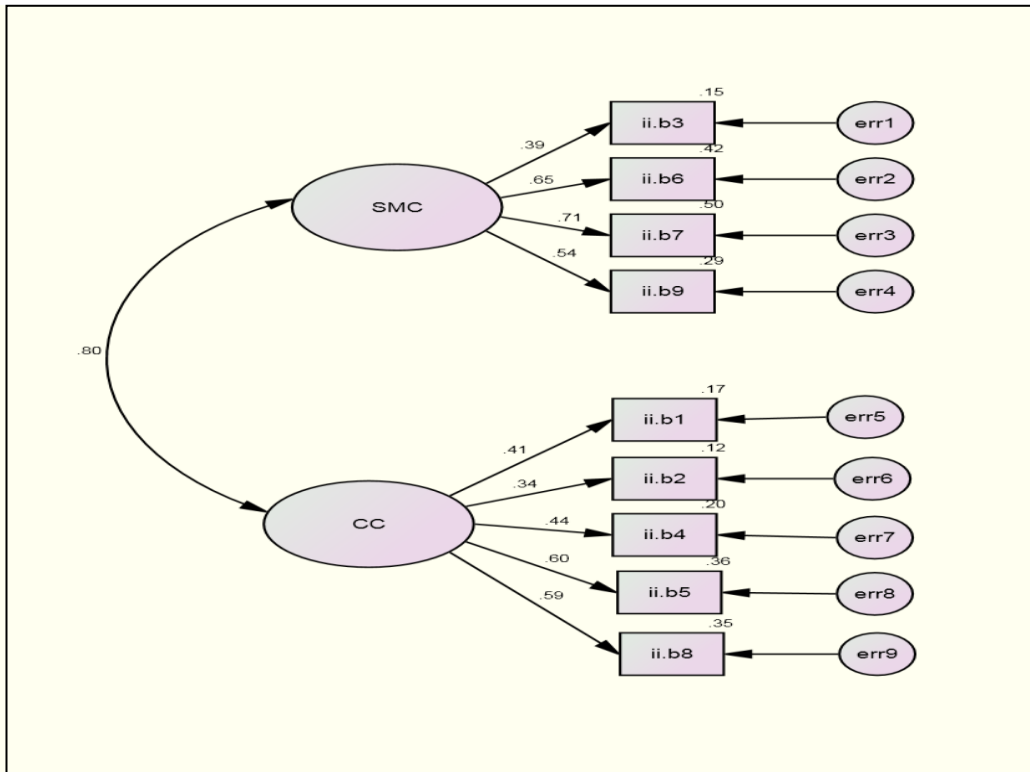


Figure 3.5. Two Factor Model of Turkish Version of Good Citizen Scale

### 3.3.2.2.3. Government Responsibilities

Government responsibility sub-dimension consists of 12 items rated on a 4 points likert scale as “definitely should not be the government’s responsibility,” “probably should not be the government’s responsibility,” “probably should be the government’s responsibility,” and “definitely should be the government’s responsibility”. In this section, students were given some duty descriptions at economic and social levels and were asked “do you think these duties should be the government’s responsibility?”

The two scales emerged from the original IEA study were; “economy-related government’s responsibilities” (ERR) and “society-related responsibilities” (SRR) (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) of which the reliability coefficient for 5 item economy-related government’s responsibilities factor was found to be .55 and of 7 item society-related government responsibilities factor was found to be .70 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). A confirmatory factor analysis was performed with

Amos 18 program to verify the two-factor 12 items government responsibilities scale. The reason why confirmatory factor analysis was utilized rather than exploratory factor analysis is that the IEA study provided sound evidences on that these two factors are different constructs. Although the analysis of two-factor twelve-items model yielded a  $\chi^2$  value of 579.279 with 53 degrees of freedom where  $p < 0.001$  the other fit indices gave acceptable values for the Turkish version of the model. Those values are found as such; CFI=.919, GFI=.959 and RMSEA=.063. The two factors verified with the confirmatory factor analysis were named in this study as social and economic government responsibilities.

Table 3.7.

*Fit Indices of the Two Factor Government Responsibilities Scale*

| $\chi^2$ | Df | RMSEA | CFI  | GFI  |
|----------|----|-------|------|------|
| 579.279  | 53 | .063  | .919 | .959 |

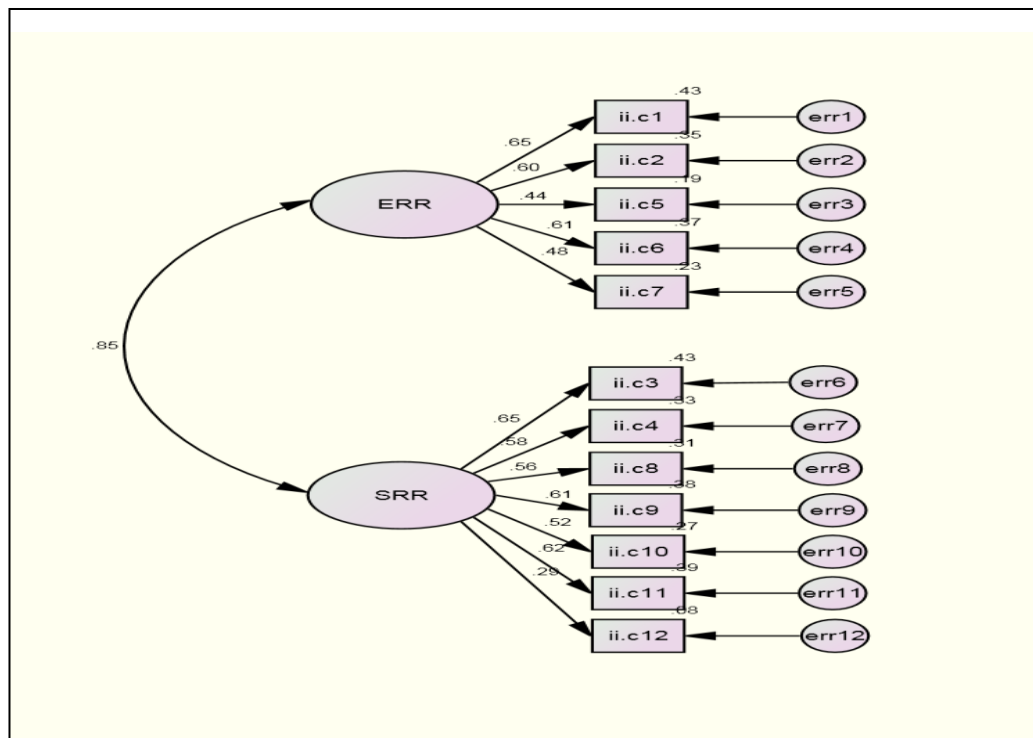


Figure 3.6. Two Factor Model of Turkish Version of GRS

Furthermore, to provide evidence for the internal consistency, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was computed. For the total scale the Cronbach's alpha was found to be .82, while the reliability coefficient for the economic responsibilities scale was .69 and for social responsibilities .73.

#### **3.3.2.2.4. Women's Political and Economic Rights**

The "women's political and economic rights scale" (WPERS) consists of 6 items aiming to get students' perceptions towards women's rights. From those 6 items in the original WPERS, 1 of them was excluded (Appendix B) by the recommendations of EARGED. Moreover, the structure of the item "women should stay out of politics" and "when jobs are scarce, men (should) have more right to a job than women" have been reversed into positive statements following EARGED's recommendation that these would cause a negative perception with students. The Turkish version of WPERS sub-dimension has 5 items evaluated on a 4 level Likert scale as "strongly disagree," "disagree," "agree," "strongly agree."

Since the structure of the original WPERS was changed due to instrumentation limitations, exploratory factor analysis was deemed more appropriate in order to understand the factor structure of the new model. The original WPERS is a unidimensional scale of which the reliability coefficient was found to be .79 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). The exploratory factor analysis results for the Turkish version of the scale also yielded a similar result confirming unidimensionality of the scale. The exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood yielded one factor with the eigenvalue greater than 1.0, explaining 47% of the total variance. Moreover, the scree plot was also supported this finding. Below, in the Table 3.8 factor loadings of the items are presented.

Table 3.8.  
*Factor Loadings of WPERS*

| Item Number | Factor loading |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1           | .752           |
| 2           | .801           |
| 3           | .455           |
| 4           | .381           |
| 5           | .501           |

Moreover, to investigate the internal consistency of the instrument, Cronbach alpha coefficient was calculated and the internal consistency reliability value for the WPERS was found as .71.

### **3.3.2.2.5. Participation in Discussions**

In the “participation in discussions” dimension the frequency of participation in discussions regarding as the social, political events both national and international level was investigated. Students were asked about whether they involved in discussions with their peers, parents or teachers regarding as these issues and asked to indicate their frequency. The study attempts to identify students’ participation to discussion about Turkish and international current social and political events through 6 items on a 5 level Likert Scale ranging from “never” to “always.” The first three question deals with participation to discussions relating Turkey and the last three aims to identify participation to discussions on international events. The original questionnaire puts both participation levels and the use of media resources under the same dimension, whereas it was decided that these two would be separately asked as recommended by experts who participated in contextual and face validity stages of the study. As a result the items about the use of mass media resources have been moved to personal data section.

The items in “participation in discussion” dimension did not yield a scale in the international IEA study. However, with the secondary analyses of the IEA data in different countries, different uses for this dimension exist in the literature

(e.g. Richardson, 2003; Schagen, 2002; Schulz, 2005). With those differences in mind, exploratory factor analysis was deemed more appropriate than evaluating a model to better understand the structure of the scale. Therefore, the 6 items Turkish version of the “participation in discussions” sub-dimension was subjected to exploratory factor analysis by maximum likelihood and the analysis yield only one factor with an eigenvalue greater than unity. This finding suggesting a unidimensional scale was also supported with the figure in the scree plot. The eigenvalue was 3.39, accounting for 56% of the variance in students’ responses. Table 3.9 presents factor loadings of the items in participation in discussions scale.

Table 3.9.  
*Factor Loadings of the Items in Participation in Discussions Scale*

| <b>Item Number</b> | <b>Factor loading</b> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 5                  | .749                  |
| 4                  | .722                  |
| 6                  | .712                  |
| 2                  | .655                  |
| 1                  | .652                  |
| 3                  | .651                  |

Although this scale yielded a unidimensional pattern, of which the internal consistency reliability value was found as .85, in this study, since the literature suggests different pictures on the effects of “participation in discussions with peers, parents and teachers” to adolescents’ intentions, it was decided to differentiate the agents. Therefore, those items were used by computing the total scores for discussion with peers, parents and teachers separately.

### **3.3.2.2.6. Political Action**

The translated instrument involves 12 items under the “political action” dimension. While some of them were related with conventional citizenship activities, some of them intend to measure the intention to participate in social movement activities and some of them investigate illegal forms of

participation. However, in the original study only three of those 12 items were constituted an international scale labeled as “political activities” of which the reliability coefficient was found to be .73 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) Political activities scale aims to measure students intentions as adults to “join a political party, write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns, be a candidate for a local or city office” (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 122). The other 9 items were used as individual items in the original study.

From these original 12 items 3 of them which are related with illegal forms of participation were excluded before the implementation as a recommendation of EARGED (Appendix B). Responses to those nine items are measured on a 4-point likert type scale ranging from “I will certainly not do this” to “I will certainly do this.” Although there seem to be a consensus on the theoretical basis of these items aiming to measure students’ intention to participate in citizenship activities, we came across with different uses of these items. Some of them used a two factor model categorizing these items as conventional and social-movement, some of them made a distinction between the conventional activities and basic forms of participation (i.e. voting) while some of them excluded the basic forms of participation emphasizing that those are the duties rather than a form of engagement.

Therefore, in this study, political action dimension were exposed to exploratory factor analysis to understand the factor structure. The analysis performed by using maximum likelihood yielded 2 factors with an eigenvalue greater than 1.0. However, the analysis was run again for the rotation for three factors since the scree plot were suggesting one more factor that worth investigating. Thus Oblimin rotation with Kaiser Normalization was used and it was found that the first factor explained 35 %, the second explained 16 % and the third explained 11 % of the total variance. Table 3.10 presents the factor loadings for political action scale.

Table 3.10.

*Factor Loadings of the Items in Expected Political Action Scale*

| Item Number | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|-------------|----------|----------|----------|
| 7           | .836     |          |          |
| 6           | .619     |          |          |
| 8           | .469     |          |          |
| 2           |          | -.901    |          |
| 1           |          | -.467    |          |
| 5           |          |          | .760     |
| 3           |          |          | .706     |
| 4           |          |          | .599     |
| 9           | .289     |          | .299     |

As it can be seen in the table, item 9 has a factor loading less than .30. Stevens (2002) recommends excluding the item with factor loading less than .30. Thus, this item was excluded from the analysis. Those factors were used throughout in this study as it is labeled in the literature; “expected electoral participation” (EEP) (Schulz, 2009); “expected political participation” (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and “expected civic participation” (ECP) (D. E. Campbell, 2006). The reliability coefficients for the three constructs of the scale were found as; .60 for the electoral participation, .72 for the political participation and .69 for the civic participation.

### 3.3.2.2.7. Our School

Students’ beliefs about participation in school and their sense of efficacy related to discussions in school (Richardson, 2002) were investigated through the “our school” sub-dimension of the instrument. It addresses those dimensions with 7 items at a 4 point likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. In the international analysis of the study only 4 items “confidence in participation at school” (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) scale was emerged with a reliability coefficient of .69 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and used excluding the other three items in this sub-dimension. In this study, the two factor seven items model was evaluated with confirmatory analysis including “confidence in participation at school” and “discussion efficacy”



(Richardson, 2002) dimensions. The confirmatory factor analysis yielded a  $\chi^2$  value (192.028,  $df=13$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) that is statistically significant that indicates poor fit. However, as discussed above in the other CFA results, this may due to the sample size. Thus, other fit indices were investigated and it was found that the 7 items two factors model fits moderately to the data with the values as; CFI=.946, GFI=.977 and RMSEA=.075. For the first four items composing the “participation at school” factor the reliability analysis yielded an alpha coefficient of .68, while for the “discussion efficacy” factor it was found as .63.

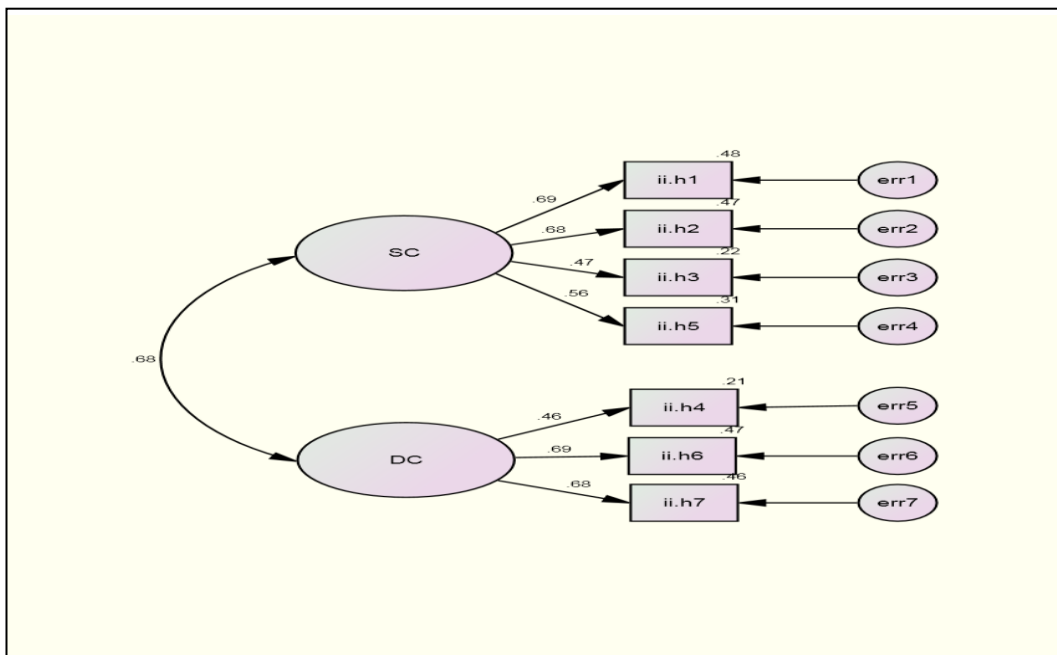


Figure 3.7. Two Factor Model of Turkish Version of Our School

Table 3.11.

*Fit Indices of the Two Factor Our School Scale*

| $\chi^2$ | <i>Df</i> | <i>RMSEA</i> | <i>CFI</i> | <i>GFI</i> |
|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|
| 192.028  | 13        | .075         | .946       | .977       |

### 3.3.2.2.8. School Curriculum

Civic related learning at school as part of basic elements of democratic life, were questioned through 6 items at a 4 point likert scale as “I strongly disagree,” “I disagree,” “I agree,” and “I strongly agree.” Students were asked to express their agreement on the listed items as to explore if they learned the civic related issues and topics in their schools. These items did not form a scale in IEA study and are placed as individual items for analyses. Thus, these items were subjected to exploratory factor analysis to better understand the structure. The exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood yielded one factor with the eigenvalue greater than 1.0, explaining 48% of the total variance. Moreover, the scree plot was also supported this finding. Below, in the table factor loadings of the items were presented. Lastly, the reliability of this 6 items unidimensional scale was found as .78.

Table 3.12.  
*Factor Loadings of Civic Learning Scale*

| Item Number | Factor loading |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1           | .695           |
| 2           | .674           |
| 3           | .661           |
| 4           | .616           |
| 5           | .521           |
| 6           | .506           |

### 3.3.2.2.9. Open Classroom Climate for Discussion

Open classroom climate for discussion is another scale emerged from the international IEA study. The dimension that the scale was derived included 12 items regarding as classroom climate and the emphasis put on the factual knowledge by the teachers. However, only the 6 items open classroom climate scale was derived from the data. With this scale, students’ were asked to rate the statements aiming to measure openness of the classroom for discussion. Students’ opinions were obtained with a four point likert type scale ranging from “never” to “often.” However the item 3 in the original instrument

“teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them in class” were asked in two items since it was recommended by the experts as it included two different statements. Therefore, exploratory factor analysis was deemed more appropriate than evaluating a model with confirmatory factor analysis since one more item was added to the scale.

The original open classroom climate for discussion scale is a unidimensional scale of which the reliability coefficient was found to be .76 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). The exploratory factor analysis of the Turkish version of the scale also yielded only one factor with an eigenvalue greater than unity. This finding suggesting a unidimensional scale was also supported with the figure in the scree plot. The eigenvalue was 3.33, accounting for 39% of the variance in students’ responses. Table 3.13 presents factor loadings of the items in “open classroom climate for discussion” scale. The reliability coefficient of this 7 items unidimensional scale was found as .81.

Table 3.13.  
*Factor Loadings of the Items in Open Classroom Climate for Discussion Scale*

| <b>Item Number</b> | <b>Factor loading</b> |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 4                  | .689                  |
| 3                  | .653                  |
| 5                  | .640                  |
| 2                  | .640                  |
| 6                  | .615                  |
| 7                  | .594                  |
| 1                  | .522                  |

### **3.4. Data Collection**

Data collection was done between January and March 2009 at previously selected provisions of Turkey. Permission to implement the questionnaire was received from both “METU Applied Ethics and Human Research Center” and “EARGED” (Appendix C). In order to find pollsters, universities with education departments, if not applicable, social sciences departments were contacted. Academics from relevant faculties were contacted in each education

or social sciences faculties, asking for recommendations for implementers at post graduate level (third or fourth year students if not applicable) who had application practice at schools. Recommended students were contacted through e-mail and phone and they were informed about the application process and methodology of the questionnaire. Matters of specific attention and the methodology of the application of questionnaire were put down as an “instruction to pollsters” leaflet and was sent to pollsters before they applied the questionnaire. The same pollsters carried on questionnaire at three schools of the same provision. The instrument was administered during a full session (40 mins) to 8<sup>th</sup> grade students under guidance of their teachers. Participation to the study was deemed to be voluntary.

### **3.5. Data Analysis**

The steps followed throughout the analysis procedure include preliminary analysis including missing and outlier analyses, and performing descriptive and inferential statistics (t-test, ANOVA, Multiple Regression). Below, the results of the missing data and outlier analyses are presented.

#### **3.5.1. Missing data and outlier analyses**

Before conducting missing and outlier analyses, the data were checked for the possible errors by examining the minimum-maximum values for each variable. Some corrections were made after errors have been located. Then, in order to examine the data in terms of univariate outliers, the standardized z scores were computed for each variable. The 20 cases falling out of  $\pm 4$  range were regarded as potential outliers (Hair et al., 2006). These cases were taken out of the analysis. Secondly, multivariate outliers were detected by using Mahalanobis distances, Leverage values, Cook’s distances and standardized DFBeta values. The results revealed four more cases as influential observations. These cases were also excluded from the data. Therefore, in total, 24 cases were excluded from the study and the remaining 2473 cases were used for further analyses.

In an attempt to decide whether the missing data requires a special method to deal with, the data that consists of 2473 cases were checked for the magnitude and pattern of missing values. The variables except family income have missing data values less than 5% and they present a random pattern. Therefore, imputation was not made for those values and “listwise” option was used for the main statistical analyses. As for the family income variable, since the missing data is more than 5% the Little’s test for missing completely at random (MCAR) was performed and it yielded a significant result. Since the missing data pattern is not completely at random, mean imputation was made.

### **3.6. Limitations of the Study**

The main limitation of the study is that, during the adaptation process because of the claimed “sensitive nature” of the research topic authenticity of the original questionnaire was sacrificed and some items were excluded from the study. Below the limitations of the study are discussed in detail regarding as the internal and external validity threats.

#### **3.6.1. Internal Validity Threats**

Four threats to internal validity might be examined under this title. First of all since this study is a survey where the students were asked about their opinions, there might be some threats stemming from subject characteristics. However, by controlling some variables this threat was tried to be minimized. Since the socioeconomic status of the students could affect the outcomes, this variable was controlled by selecting the students randomly from 3 different socio-economic levels by making use of the data provided by DPT.

Secondly, loss of subjects was a big threat since this was a survey study. The 8<sup>th</sup> graders have a tendency to be absent in the general exam period at the end of the school year. To eliminate this problem the data was collected before this

period. Moreover, the class time was utilized for implementing the questionnaire which also decreases the likelihood of low return rate. Although the intended numbers of students from each school were included in the study, 3 schools in 3 different districts had to be excluded from the study since they did not have 8<sup>th</sup> grade students in their schools of the time the questionnaire implemented.

The third instrumentation threat was the location that the data was collected. The data were collected from the 60 different schools in 21 different districts. Since it was impossible to hold the location constant or arranging the location to minimize the differences between the classrooms this was a threat to internal validity. However the fact that the data was collected in their classrooms environment might also be regarded as a way to minimize this threat.

The last implementation threat stemmed from the fact that the researcher does not have a chance to implement the questionnaire by herself. Thus different implementers administered the questionnaires. However to minimize the possible effects, first of all the implementers were trained on the telephone and a guideline was prepared and sent by e-mail to the them regarding as the main points that should be considered throughout the implementation process.

### **3.6.2. External Validity Threats**

“External validity of a study indicates the power of the study to support inferences of generality of the findings” (Krathwohl, 1998, p. 174). To minimize the threats to external validity special attention was given to the fact that the representative sample should reflect the population. More specifically, different variables that define the population have been taken into consideration while selecting the sample. For example, selection of provinces is based on different socio-economic levels, likewise the schools are picked from a wide socio-economic background both private and public as well as

urban and sub-urban. In spite of this, deciding the number of schools to be included in the study, the representative sample was limited to 3 schools per province as a result of the large size of population, hence lacking the flexibility of a proportional sample, especially for the provinces with large number of schools. Representative sample is 2497 8<sup>th</sup> grade students from 60 schools in 21 provinces, for this reason, this study is limited to those provinces and shall not be generalized to other provinces.

### **3.7. Ethical Considerations**

In order to sustain the ethical considerations several issues were considered beginning from the administration of the instrument to reporting of the results. First of all, the instrument was revised with a committee of 21 members as well as the supervisor and the items/scales that were not seem appropriate to the age group of the students were excluded before the implementation. Some dimensions that administered to the similar age group in abroad were also excluded since they were not seen ethically appropriate to be administered to students in Turkey such as the items about immigrants, ethnic groups, and attitude towards their nations. The final version of the instrument was submitted for approval to the Ethics Board that is a unit affiliated with Middle East Technical University. The committee checked the instrument with regard to the study's aim and scope and commented on as it was appropriate to be implemented to the 8 graders. After getting permission from the Ethics Board, the pollsters were purposefully selected from the students that were studying in faculties of education, mostly from the 4<sup>th</sup> grade or postgraduate students. The main purpose of this application was to eliminate the limitations of the nonexistence of the researcher throughout the administrations by assigning qualified administrators that are conscious and aware of classroom environment. Moreover, the pollsters were informed about the ethical considerations that guided the study and the things needed to be considered during the administration. Some of these issues mentioned were as follows; the

attitude to the students such as not forcing students to complete the instrument or giving them the freedom of withdrawing from the study whenever they wish, informing students about the purpose that is to gather their opinions not to evaluate them and finally the use of the results that their names will be kept anonymous. Finally, while reporting the results the names of the students and their schools were kept anonymous in an effort to protect the subjects of the study.



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RESULTS**

Chapter IV deals with presentation of the results of the study. First of all, the results of the descriptive statistics covering research questions one and three and correlations among the study variables are reported. For the whole variable set, descriptive statistics results are presented in a table showing the frequencies, percentages and means in order to provide a clear description of the data before passing the main analyses.

The heading namely “effects of gender, school type and parents education on students’ perceptions of civic concepts and issues” covers the research question 2, while the other heading, labeled as “factors predicting students’ intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities” covers the research question 4, 5, and 6. In general, the first heading includes ANOVA results that were performed to examine the effects of students’ demographic characteristics on their perceptions towards civic concepts and issues. Under the second heading, students’ expected participation to electoral, political and civic citizenship activities were examined and three distinct multiple regression analyses were performed to investigate the factors effecting their expected participation. Lastly, a summary of the results for each research question are provided at the end of the results section.

## **4.1. Descriptive Analysis**

The descriptive statistics results of the main variables of the study were presented in this part. Moreover, in Table 4.1, frequencies, percentages and means of those variables were also presented as to provide a clear description of the data before passing the main analyses.

### **4.1.1. Students' Concepts of Democracy**

In an attempt to measure students' concepts of democracy in the IEA study 25 items on the basic attributes of a democracy were investigated through a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from "very bad" to "very good for a democracy" (Torney-Purta, et al. 2001). In this study, 19 items of the scale were used for the reasons that were mentioned previously in the previous chapter. The results of the descriptive statistics reveal that most of the students stated that they qualify components like "expressing opinions freely (89%,  $n = 2201$ ), electing political leaders freely (84.5%,  $n = 2090$ ), demanding social rights (78.3%,  $n = 1936$ ), existence of different organizations for people (76.9%,  $n = 1903$ ), support from the political parties for the woman to become political leaders (71%,  $n = 1755$ ), competence as the criteria in employment (68.7%,  $n = 1704$ ), providing minimum income and life standards for everyone (67.8%,  $n = 1678$ ), having the opportunity to protest a law that is believed to be unfair (64.7%,  $n = 1601$ ), having political parties that have different views on important issues (61.6%,  $n = 1522$ )" as "good" or "very good" for democracy. Around half of the students stated that the following components, for which breakdowns are listed as "bad" or "very bad" for democracy: When people refrain from speaking against the government at public meetings (52.2%,  $n = 1291$ ), when no restrictions are applied to private businesses from government (46.7%,  $n = 1155$ ), when all the television stations present the same opinions (45.5%,  $n = 1123$ ), when the young people are obliged to participate in the activities to benefit the society (43.5%,  $n = 1076$ ).

Table 4.1.

*Descriptive Statistics Results for the Major Study Variables*

| Variable Name                                    | N    | Missing | %   | <i>M</i> | Median | Mode | <i>SD</i> | S     | K    |
|--|------|---------|-----|----------|--------|------|-----------|-------|------|
| School type                                      | 2473 | -       | -   | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Gender   | 2452 | 21      | .8  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Number of people at home                         | 2457 | 16      | .6  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Attendance to pre-school                         | 2453 | 20      | .8  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Parents' income                                  | 1843 | 630     | 26  | 1889.10  | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Mother's education                               | 2464 | 9       | .4  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Father's education                               | 2466 | 7       | .3  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Spending time with friends                       | 2454 | 19      | .8  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Daily TV watching                                | 2459 | 14      | .6  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Attendance to school clubs                       | 2440 | 33      | 1.3 | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Attendance to student council's activities       | 2389 | 84      | 3.4 | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Following articles regarding Turkey              | 2455 | 18      | .7  | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Following articles regarding other countries     | 2442 | 31      | 1.3 | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Following TV news                                | 2445 | 28      | 1.1 | -        | -      | -    | -         | -     | -    |
| Discussion with peers                            | 2446 | 27      | 1.1 | 3.24     | 3.00   | 3.00 | 1.20      | -.17  | -.91 |
| Discussion with parents                          | 2445 | 28      | 1.1 | 3.39     | 3.50   | 4.00 | 1.65      | -.36  | -.74 |
| Discussion with teachers                         | 2443 | 30      | 1.2 | 2.80     | 3.00   | 3.00 | 1.24      | .19   | -.99 |
| Importance of conventional citizenship           | 2461 | 12      | .5  | 3.13     | 3.20   | 3.00 | .54       | -.61  | .28  |
| Importance of social-movement citizenship        | 2461 | 12      | .5  | 3.30     | 3.50   | 4.00 | .60       | -.83  | .39  |
| Government's economic responsibilities           | 2451 | 22      | .9  | 3.21     | 3.33   | 3.60 | .61       | -.78  | .32  |
| Governments' social responsibilities             | 2468 | 5       | .2  | 3.46     | 3.57   | 4.00 | .52       | -1.49 | 2.51 |
| Intention to participate in electoral activities | 2447 | 26      | 1.1 | 3.43     | 3.50   | 4.00 | .73       | -1.44 | 1.54 |
| Intention to participate in political activities | 2445 | 28      | 1.1 | 2.30     | 2.33   | 2.00 | .81       | .29   | -.61 |
| Intention to participate in civic activities     | 2442 | 31      | 1.3 | 3.10     | 3.00   | 3.00 | .70       | -.63  | .03  |
| Women's political and social rights              | 2456 | 17      | .7  | 3.29     | 3.40   | 3.80 | .60       | -1.11 | 1.26 |
| Perceptions of participation in school           | 2446 | 27      | 1.1 | 3.20     | 3.25   | 3.25 | .61       | -.79  | .57  |
| Civic learning                                   | 2434 | 39      | 1.6 | 3.29     | 3.33   | 4.00 | .57       | -.85  | .68  |
| Open classroom climate for discussion            | 2449 | 24      | 1.0 | 3.30     | 3.43   | 4.00 | .59       | -1.07 | .95  |

#### **4.1.2. Students' Concepts of Good Citizenship**

Students were asked to rate 9 items that consist of activities an adult will do in order to be a good citizen. Confirmatory factor analysis of these items in the Turkish version of the GCS validated the results of the original IEA Good Citizenship scale which revealed a two-factor model. While the first set of items ( $n = 5$ ) measure conventional citizenship activities, the second set of items ( $n = 4$ ) measure social movement related citizenship. Mean values of conventional citizenship ( $M = 3.13$ ,  $SD = .54$ ) and social movement related citizenship activities ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = .60$ ) showed that students find both activities as important components of being a good citizen. However, the students put slightly more emphasis on social movement related activities than the conventional ones.

##### ***Importance of Conventional Citizenship Activities***

Among the conventional citizenship activities the item that is mostly rated as a very important activity by the students was “a good citizen knows the country’s history” (75.5%,  $n = 1867$ ) followed by the item of “voting in every elections” (65.1%,  $n = 1611$ ). Students also think that “following political issues in media” and “engaging in political discussions” are either “very important” or “somewhat important” activities that a citizen should do in their adulthood. Nearly half of the students think that “joining a political party” is somewhat important (27%,  $n = 667$ ) or very important (16.1%,  $n = 398$ ). However, interestingly, 36% ( $n = 891$ ) of the students think that joining a political party is “somewhat unimportant” and 19.6% ( $n = 484$ ) of them think that it is “unimportant.”

##### ***Importance of Social Movement-Related Citizenship Activities***

For social movement citizenship activities more than half of the students rated “taking part in activities for protecting the environment” (61.3%,  $n = 1517$ ),

“participating in activities to benefit people in the community” (59.5%,  $n = 1310$ ) and “taking part in activities promoting human rights” (53%,  $n = 1310$ ) items as “very important” activities in order to be a good citizen.

#### **4.1.3. Students’ Concepts of Government Responsibilities**

For the two factors verified with confirmatory factor analysis namely “government’s social responsibilities” ( $M = 3.45$ ,  $SD = .52$ ) and “government’s economic responsibilities” ( $M = 3.20$ ,  $SD = .61$ ) students responses are presented below.

##### ***Social Responsibilities of Government***

Of all the 7 items that aim to explore students’ perceptions of government’s social responsibilities’ show that students attribute these responsibilities to the government. As for them, guaranteeing peace and order within the country (77.3%,  $n = 1912$ ), providing basic health care for everyone (73.7%,  $n = 1822$ ), ensuring equal political opportunities for men and women (70.6%,  $n = 1747$ ), providing free basic education for all (69%,  $n = 1706$ ), providing adequate standard of living for old people (63.9%,  $n = 1580$ ) and controlling pollution of the environment (56.3%,  $n = 1392$ ) are all should be definitely the government’s responsibility. In addition, 38.4% ( $n = 950$ ) of the students think that promoting moral behavior among country is also the government’s responsibility.

##### ***Economic Responsibilities of Government***

Similar with the social responsibilities, the economic responsibilities listed in the scale are also seen as the government responsibilities among the students. In short, the students think that government should definitely be responsible for providing jobs for people (57.1%,  $n = 1413$ ), keeping prices under control (53.9%,  $n = 1333$ ) and providing adequate living standards for unemployed people (49.9%,  $n = 1233$ ).

#### **4.1.4. Perceptions of Women's Social and Political Rights**

Students were asked to rate 5 items on women's social and political rights scale ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = .60$ ). Students have egalitarian perceptions towards implementing policies to enhance gender equality. They think gender equality should be taken into consideration in employment, state governance, economic policies and social rights. More than half of the students completely agree that salary for both men and women should be the same if they are working on the same job (69%,  $n = 1707$ ), that women should take on responsibilities in state governance (66.8%,  $n = 1651$ ); and that, women should have same rights as men (65.7%,  $n = 1624$ ). As well as that, those who disagree or completely disagree the statement that "women should not participate in politics" form 37.7% ( $n = 931$ ) of the same population.

#### **4.1.5. Participation in Discussions**

Descriptive analyses carried out in this section show that students usually engage in discussions about local and international contemporary political and social issues within their families or among their peers ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = .99$ ). Although students engage in similar discussions with their teachers, the frequency is less than that of their peers and parents. Likewise, students engage in discussions about contemporary national issues more than international ones. Finally, students stated that they engage in discussions about contemporary national issues mostly with their parents (54.2%,  $n = 1342$ ).

#### **4.1.6. Students' Intention to Participate in Citizenship Activities**

Students' intentions to participate were investigated with a scale consisting from three constructs: expected electoral participation (EEP) ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = .73$ ), expected political participation (EPP) ( $M = 2.31$ ,  $SD = .81$ ) and expected civic participation (ECP) ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = .70$ ). Students' responses to each of these constructs are presented below.

### ***Expected Electoral Participation***

As a basic activity of the conventional citizenship students' likelihood to vote in national elections in the future and their intentions to get information about the candidates before the elections were investigated with two items. More than half of the students stated that in the future they will certainly search for the information about the candidates before voting (65.2%,  $n = 1612$ ) and they will certainly vote in national elections (58.8%,  $n = 1453$ ).

### ***Expected Political Participation***

In the political action sub-scale there are three items that aims to measure students' intentions to participate in political activities. Looking through the percentages of those three items more than half of the students stated that in the future they are planning probably or certainly not to be a candidate for a local office (62.1%,  $n = 1536$ ), not to join a political party (60.5%,  $n = 1496$ ) and not to write letters to the newspapers about political topics (55.8%,  $n = 1379$ ).

### ***Expected Civic Participation***

Students' willingness to be a part of civic related citizenship activities in the future were investigated with four items. The analysis yield that students are certainly or probably planning to allocate time to help people (81.7%,  $n = 2020$ ), collect money for a social cause (79.4%,  $n = 1963$ ), collect signature for a petition (66.5%,  $n = 1645$ ) and participate in peaceful protests (66.1%,  $n = 1635$ ) in the future.

#### **4.1.7. Perceptions of Participation in School**

Students' perceptions of participation in school were assessed by a four item scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. In general more than 70% of the students agreed or strongly agreed to those four items ( $M = 3.20$ ,

$SD = .61$ ). They think that there will be lots of positive changes if the students work cooperatively (87.8%,  $n = 2171$ ); acting together will have more influence on what happens in the school (79.7%,  $n = 1971$ ); the school will be a better place if they elect student representatives (83.5%,  $n = 2064$ ) and organizing groups of students will help to solve problems in school (73.8%,  $n = 1826$ ).

#### **4.1.8. Civic Learning in Schools**

Students were asked to rate on a six-item scale whether they have learned the civic-related issues in their schools ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = .57$ ). Respectively, students totally agreed that they have learned how to behave to protect the environment (57.1%,  $n = 1411$ ), working cooperatively with other students (54.1%,  $n = 1338$ ), importance of voting in local and general elections (49.5%,  $n = 1223$ ), understanding people who have different ideas (48.5%,  $n = 1199$ ), contributing to solve problems in society (46%,  $n = 1104$ ) and to be concerned about what happens in other countries (33.5%,  $n = 828$ ).

#### **4.1.9. Open Classroom Climate for Discussion**

In order to measure students' views of the degree of openness of classroom climate for discussion, 7 items were asked. In general, students have positive views on the openness of their classroom contexts for discussion ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = .59$ ). More than half of the students stated that the teachers respect their views (62.7%,  $n = 1550$ ), teachers encourage them to express their views in the classes (55.6%,  $n = 1375$ ) and teachers present different sides of an issue when presenting a topic (54.4%,  $n = 1345$ ).

### **4.2. Bivariate Correlations among the Major Study Variables**

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients computed for the 24 major variables used mainly in the regression analyses were presented in this part (Table 4.2.). Of all the 276 correlations computed for the 24 variables, most of



them were found to be correlated ranging between .04 to .68 in both negative and positive directions. As stated by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) multicollinearity between the two variables of .70 may require excluding one of those or creating another variable as a composite of those variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Looking at the study variables, the highest correlation between the variables is seen as .68. Although .68 is high, considering that they intend to measure two different dimensions of the same variable (parents education level: mothers and fathers) it is concluded that all variables can be retained for the analyses.

Looking at the correlations among the three dependent variables, all of the correlation coefficients were positive and ranged between .13 and .36. On the other hand, the correlations between the dependent variables of the study namely the students' expected participation levels in three different modes; expected electoral, political, civic participation and the independent variables were found significant ranging between .04 to .43, with small to moderate strength.

For the first dependent variable (expected electoral participation) of the main analysis of the study (multiple regression) all the correlations with the independent variables were statistically significant that varied between .07 to .43, ranging from small to moderate strength. The highest correlation ( $r = .43$ ,  $p < .05$ ) is between students' expected electoral participation scores and their views of civic related learning in their schools. Moreover, negative correlation was found between the students' scores on expected electoral participation scale and the number of people living at home ( $r = -.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ), school type ( $r = -.07$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and allocated time for TV ( $r = -.09$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

As for the relationship between the second dependent variable (students' expected participation in political activities) and the independent variables the correlation coefficients found as ranging between .04 and .33. The highest

correlation is found between expected political participation scores and participation in discussions with teachers about national and international issues ( $r = .33, p < .05$ ). No correlation was found between the expected political participation and school type, mother's education, family income and allocated time for TV. Moreover, gender ( $r = -.13, p < .05$ ), father's education ( $r = -.05, p < .05$ ), number of books at home ( $r = -.06, p < .05$ ) was negatively correlated with expected political participation scores.

The third dependent variable (students' expected participation in civic activities) was also found to be mostly correlated with the independent variables with coefficients ranging between .08 and .40 except school type, parents education, family income, number of people living at home and number of books at home. As it was the case for the relationship between the first dependent variable and independent variables, the highest correlation ( $r = .40, p < .05$ ) for the last dependent variable is between the expected civic participation scores and students' views of civic related learning in their schools. The variable that is negatively correlated with the dependent variable is allocated time for TV ( $r = -.08, p < .05$ ).

Looking at the correlations among the independent variables we see that the highest correlation is between the mothers' and fathers' education level ( $r = .68, p < .05$ ) and following articles in newspapers about Turkey and about other countries ( $r = .62, p < .05$ ). In addition, respectively, discussion with peers and parents ( $r = .57, p < .05$ ), students' views of their civic related learning and their scores on the open classroom climate ( $r = .54, p < .05$ ), fathers' education level and number of books at home ( $r = .53, p < .05$ ); mothers' education and number of books at home ( $r = .53, p < .05$ ), discussion with parents and teachers ( $r = .50, p < .05$ ), importance of conventional and social movement citizenship ( $r = .50, p < .05$ ) variables were also found to be moderately correlated. To sum up, it can be concluded that the correlations among the dependent and independent variables were found as in the interval ranging between small to moderate.

Table 4.2.

*Bivariate Correlations among the Study Variables*

| No | 1     | 2     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     | 7     | 8     | 9     | 10    | 11    | 12    |
|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 2  | .13*  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 3  | .36*  | .35*  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 4  | .09*  | -.13* | .13*  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 5  | -.07* | .02   | .03   | .08*  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 6  | .17*  | -.04  | .01   | -.03  | -.42* | -     |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| 7  | .19*  | -.05* | .03   | -.01  | -.36* | .68*  | -     |       |       |       |       |       |
| 8  | .08*  | .01   | -.00  | -.06* | -.35* | .36*  | .32*  | -     |       |       |       |       |
| 9  | -.16* | .07*  | -.02  | .00   | .18*  | -.44* | -.35* | -.17* | -     |       |       |       |
| 10 | .20*  | -.06* | .02   | .02   | -.37* | .53*  | .53*  | .34*  | -.25* | -     |       |       |
| 11 | .23*  | .08*  | .15*  | -.02  | -.05* | .24*  | .23*  | .14*  | -.19* | .28*  | -     |       |
| 12 | .17*  | .11*  | .15*  | -.06* | -.08* | .21*  | .19*  | .14*  | -.13* | .24*  | .62*  | -     |
| 13 | .13*  | .10*  | .12*  | -.01  | .05*  | .04*  | .06*  | .015  | -.05* | .06*  | .34*  | .27*  |
| 14 | -.09* | -.01  | -.08* | -.04* | .11*  | -.10* | -.09* | -.06* | .01   | -.09* | -.08* | -.07* |
| 15 | .21*  | .26*  | .23*  | -.09* | .00   | .10*  | .10*  | .05*  | -.08* | .10*  | .26*  | .26*  |
| 16 | .22*  | .28*  | .24*  | -.06* | -.03  | .15*  | .12*  | .08*  | -.10* | .14*  | .29*  | .30*  |
| 17 | .07*  | .33*  | .21*  | -.07* | .01   | -.02  | -.02  | .04   | .05*  | -.01  | .16*  | .18*  |
| 18 | .35*  | .04*  | .28*  | .15*  | -.06* | .16*  | .16*  | .05*  | -.13* | .15*  | .22*  | .15*  |
| 19 | .43*  | .17*  | .40*  | .15*  | .03   | .09*  | .11*  | .01   | -.12* | .11*  | .26*  | .22*  |
| 20 | .17*  | .06*  | .16*  | .02   | .04   | .03   | .05*  | -.00  | -.06* | .07*  | .22*  | .17*  |
| 21 | .08*  | .14*  | .15*  | -.00  | .05*  | -.01  | -.01  | -.02  | .00   | .01   | .21*  | .19*  |
| 22 | .41*  | .16*  | .37*  | .09*  | -.03  | .14*  | .16*  | .03   | -.13* | .17*  | .21*  | .15*  |
| 23 | .29*  | .29*  | .29*  | .05*  | -.01  | .08*  | .07*  | .01   | -.04* | .05*  | .17*  | .18*  |
| 24 | .33*  | .11*  | .32*  | .10*  | -.07* | .18*  | .17*  | .10*  | -.11* | .17*  | .22*  | .19*  |

Table. 4.2. *cont.*

| No | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16   | 17   | 18   | 19   | 20   | 21   | 22   | 23   | 24 |
|----|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|----|
| 13 | -    |       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 14 | .07* | -     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 15 | .16* | -.02  | -    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 16 | .24* | -.03  | .57* | -    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 17 | .14* | -.02  | .49* | .50* | -    |      |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 18 | .14* | -.06* | .16* | .19* | .11* | -    |      |      |      |      |      |    |
| 19 | .18* | -.05* | .26* | .27* | .19* | .54* | -    |      |      |      |      |    |
| 20 | .15* | -.00  | .16* | .17* | .13* | .17* | .21* | -    |      |      |      |    |
| 21 | .10* | -.05* | .16* | .13* | .16* | .12* | .17* | .32* | -    |      |      |    |
| 22 | .12* | -.05* | .24* | .25* | .16* | .47* | .57* | .19* | .14* | -    |      |    |
| 23 | .16* | -.05* | .20* | .23* | .18* | .26* | .35* | .10* | .11* | .33* | -    |    |
| 24 | .16* | -.09* | .16* | .19* | .09* | .32* | .40* | .12* | .09* | .37* | .50* | -  |

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Note. Variable Names: 1. Expected electoral participation, 2. Expected political participation, 3. Expected civic participation, 4. Gender, 5. School type, 6. Mother's education, 7. Father's education, 8. Family income, 9. Numbers of people at home, 10. Number of books at home, 11. Following newspapers (about Turkey), 12. Following newspapers (about other countries), 13. Following TV news, 14. Allocated time for TV, 15. Discussion with peers, 16. Discussion with parents, 17. Discussion with teachers, 18. Open classroom climate for discussion, 19. Civic learning, 20. Attendance to school clubs, 21. Attendance to school council, 22. Perception of participation in school life, 23. Importance of conventional citizenship, 24. Importance of social movement citizenship.

\*  $p < .05$

### **4.3. Effects of Gender, School Type and Parents' Education on Students' Perceptions of Civic Concepts and Issues**

Below, the results of one-way analysis of variance that is conducted to find out the effects of gender, school type and parents' educational status on students' perceptions of good citizenship, government responsibilities and women's political and social rights are presented. Before that, the results of the assumption check process for ANOVA are presented.

#### **4.3.1. Testing Assumptions for One-Way Analysis of Variance**

The main assumptions checked for ANOVA are normal distribution, independence of observations and homogeneity of variance (Field, 2005, p. 324). Independence of observations assumption requires to be sure that each score was obtained from different individuals independently (Weinberg & Abramowitz, 2008, p. 322). Since trained and qualified data administrators administered the instrument and they encouraged participants to fill the instrument on their own, we can say that independent observations assumptions have been met.

To check normality assumption both univariate and multivariate normality tests were performed and skewness and kurtosis indices, histograms, P-P plots and Q-Q plots were examined. Although the results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and Mardia's test yielded a significant  $p$  value, bearing in mind that those tests are sensitive to sample size (Field, 2005), other normality indices were also examined. The skewness and kurtosis indices gave acceptable values between -1.49 and .29 and -.99 and 2.51 respectively. Moreover, the histograms, stem and leaf plots and Q-Q plots showed that the deviation from the normality is not extreme. As Myers and Well (1995; as cited in Cardinal & Aitken, 2006) stated non-normal population does not effect Type I error if the sample size is large enough and if the non-normality is not so severe. And here,

in this study, as other normality evidences suggested that the population is not extremely non-normal and sample size is quite large, ANOVA was preferred rather than its nonparametric alternatives. Lastly, to test homogeneity of variance assumption, results of Levene's test has been examined for all of the ANOVA's conducted. Although a non-significant  $p$  value is required for it to be assumed, for some of the ANOVA's those  $p$  value was found to be significant. Since Levene's test is also sensitive to sample size, this may be due to larger sample size ( $n=2473$ ). In order to overcome this problem, Bonferroni adjustment has been made for the analysis that yielded significant  $p$  value for the Levene's test, more specifically the  $p$  value was set as .025. Moreover, for post-hoc analyses rather than using the tests which assume equal variances, Dunnett's C test was utilized where "equal variances" assumption was not met.

#### **4.3.2. Results of One-Way Analysis of Variance**

##### **4.3.2.1. Perceptions of the Importance of Conventional Citizenship**

###### **Effect of Gender**

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to find out whether male and female students differed on their conventional citizenship scores. The analysis indicated that there is a significant mean difference,  $F(1, 2439) = 5.47, p < 0.025$  with a  $\eta^2 = 0.002$ , between the scores obtained from male ( $M = 3.10, SD = 0.55$ ) and female ( $M = 3.15, SD = 0.52$ ) students. In specific, female students scored significantly higher on the importance of the conventional citizenship activities.

###### **Effect of School Type**

In order to find out if the students' scores on the importance of conventional citizenship activities differ with respect to school type, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The ANOVA result was not statistically

significant,  $F(2, 2458) = 1.45, p=.235$ . The results indicated that students' scores on the importance of conventional citizenship activities did not differ significantly with respect to school type in three levels: urban public schools ( $M = 3.13, SD = 0.52$ ), sub-urban public schools ( $M = 3.11, SD = 0.54$ ) and private schools ( $M = 3.15, SD = 0.57$ ).

### **Effects of Parents' Education Level**

Two ANOVAs were conducted to examine if students' scores on the importance of conventional citizenship differed with respect to parents' education level. The ANOVA performed to see the effects of different levels of mother's education yielded an  $F$  value that is non significant,  $F(4, 2403) = 2.34, p=0.053$  indicating that students' scores did not differ significantly with respect to level of mother's education. When the ANOVA was conducted taking the level of father's education as the independent variable likewise the case in the mothers' education level, the  $F$  value found to be non-significant,  $F(4, 2395) = 2.36, p=0.051$  indicating that there is no significant difference in students' scores on perceptions towards conventional citizenship with respect to students' fathers' education levels.

### **4.3.2.2. Perceptions of the Importance of Social Movement Citizenship**

#### **Effect of Gender**

The results of the one-way ANOVA, which is done in order to see if there is a mean difference in students scores on the importance of social movement citizenship activities with respect to gender, shows that there is a significant mean difference,  $F(1, 2439) = 23.32, p < 0.025$  between male ( $M = 3.24, SD = 0.64$ ) and female ( $M = 3.36, SD = 0.55$ ) students' scores in favor of female students. 0.09 % of the variance in students' scores on the importance of social movement citizenship activities is explained by gender,  $\eta^2 = 0.009$ .

## Effect of School Type

In order to see if the students' scores on the importance of social movement related citizenship activities differ with respect to school type an ANOVA was conducted. The overall ANOVA was significant,  $F(2, 2458) = 15.33$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.012$ , indicating that 1.2% of the variance in students' scores on the importance of social movement related citizenship activities is explained by school type. In order to evaluate pairwise differences post hoc comparison was performed by use of Scheffé procedure since the Levene's test of equality of error variance was revealed a non-significant  $p$  value. The result of the Scheffé test revealed that students' in private schools ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 0.58$ ) scored significantly higher on the importance of social movement citizenship activities scale than the students in urban public ( $M = 3.28$ ,  $SD = 0.60$ ) and sub-urban public schools ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 0.60$ ) (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3.

### *Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of School Type*

| School Type      | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Private | Sub-urban | Urban |
|------------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------|
| Private          | 3.40     | .58       | -       |           |       |
| Sub-urban public | 3.24     | .60       | *       | -         |       |
| Urban public     | 3.28     | .60       | *       | NS        | -     |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

## Effects of Parents' Education Level

Two ANOVAs were conducted in order to see if the students' scores on the importance of social movement citizenship activities differed with respect to students' parents' education level. The ANOVA performed to see the effects of different levels of mother's education yielded an  $F$  value that is significant,  $F(4, 2403) = 17.802$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.012$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of mother's education and 1.2 %



percent of the variance is explained by parents' education level. In order to see pairwise differences, post hoc comparison was performed by use of the Scheffe procedure. The result of the Scheffe test revealed that students' whose mothers were graduated from a university or a post graduate degree ( $M = 3.48$ ,  $SD = 0.54$ ) scored significantly higher on the importance of social movement citizenship activities scale than the students whose mothers were received no schooling ( $M = 3.16$ ,  $SD = 0.61$ ), graduated from a primary ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 0.59$ ) and secondary school ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 0.62$ ). Moreover, there found to be a significant difference between the students whose mothers finished a high school degree ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ) and received no schooling and finished primary school (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Mother's Education Level*

| Education Level       | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.16     | .61       | -  |    |    |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.26     | .59       | NS | -  |    |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.29     | .62       | NS | NS | -  |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.41     | .55       | *  | *  | NS | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.48     | .54       | *  | *  | *  | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

In order to investigate if students' scores differed with respect to father's education level, another ANOVA was conducted. *F* value was,  $F(4, 2395) = 15.27$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.025$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of father's education and 2.5% of the variance in students' scores is explained by father education level. When the pairwise differences were checked with the Scheffe post hoc comparison it was found that students whose fathers were graduated from a high school ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ) and university or post graduate degree ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ) had higher scores on the importance of social movement citizenship activities

scale than the students whose fathers received no schooling ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = 0.65$ ), graduated from a primary ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 0.58$ ) and secondary school ( $M = 3.23$ ,  $SD = 0.61$ ) (Table 4.5.).

Table 4.5.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Father's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1  | 2  | 3 | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----|----|---|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.10 | .65 | -  |    |   |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.24 | .59 | NS | -  |   |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.23 | .61 | NS | NS | - |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.36 | .56 | *  | *  | * | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.43 | .56 | *  | *  | * | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

#### **4.3.2.3. Perceptions of Government's Economic Responsibilities**

##### **Effect of Gender**

The results of one-way ANOVA conducted to see if there is a mean difference in students scores on the economic government responsibilities with respect to gender, show that there is not a statistically significant mean difference,  $F(1, 2428) = 2.71$ ,  $p > 0.025$  between male ( $M = 3.18$ ,  $SD = 0.63$ ) and female ( $M = 3.23$ ,  $SD = 0.58$ ) students' scores.

##### **Effect of School Type**

An ANOVA was conducted to see whether there is a significant mean difference on students' perceptions of government's economic responsibilities with respect to school type. The overall ANOVA was significant,  $(2, 2448) = 19.80$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.016$ , indicating that 1.6% of the variance is explained by school type. Since Levene's test of equality of error variance

revealed a significant p value, Dunnett's C test was preferred rather than the Scheffe. The results indicated that there was a significant mean difference among all of the three school types. Students' in private schools ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ) scored significantly higher on the economic government responsibilities scale than the students in urban public ( $M = 3.22$ ,  $SD = 0.63$ ) and sub-urban public ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = 0.61$ ) schools. Moreover, students in urban public schools scored significantly higher than the students in sub-urban public schools (Table 4.6.).

Table 4.6.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of School Type*

| School Type      | M    | SD  | Private | Sub-urban | Urban |
|------------------|------|-----|---------|-----------|-------|
| Private          | 3.30 | .56 | -       |           |       |
| Sub-urban public | 3.10 | .61 | *       | -         |       |
| Urban public     | 3.22 | .63 | *       | *         | -     |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

**Effects of Parents' Education Level**

First of all, an ANOVA was conducted to see if the students' scores on government's economical responsibilities scale differ with respect to students' mothers' education level. The results indicated that the F value is significant,  $F(4, 2393) = 13.12$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.021$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of mother's education and 2.1% of the variance is explained by parents' education level. In order to see pairwise differences post-hoc comparison was performed by the use of the Dunnett's C test since it does not assume equal variances among the groups. The result of the test revealed that there were significant differences in the means between the students whose mothers received no education and other groups. In specific, the students' whose mothers received no education ( $M = 3.04$ ,  $SD = 0.65$ ) scored significantly lower on the government's economic

responsibilities scale than the students whose mothers graduated from a primary ( $M = 3.18, SD = 0.62$ ), secondary ( $M = 3.26, SD = 0.55$ ) and high school ( $M = 3.31, SD = 0.54$ ) and received a university-postgraduate degree ( $M = 3.30, SD = 0.57$ ). Moreover, a significant difference between the students whose mothers finished a primary school degree and those who finished high school or had a university-postgraduate degree (Table 4.7.).

Table 4.7.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Mother's Education Level*

| Education Level       | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------|---|----|----|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.03     | .65       | - |    |    |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.18     | .62       | * | -  |    |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.26     | .55       | * | NS | -  |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.31     | .54       | * | *  | NS | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.30     | .57       | * | *  | NS | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

When the effects of father's education level on students' views of economic related government responsibilities was investigated the ANOVA conducted yielded an  $F$  value that is significant,  $F(4, 2385) = 17.89, p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.029$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of father's education and 2.9% of the variance is explained by father's education level. To observe where these differences come from post hoc comparison was performed. It is preferred not to assume equal variances among the groups as the Levene test indicated and therefore Dunnett's C test was utilized. Likewise in the case of mother's education level, the result of the test revealed that there were significant differences in the means between the students whose fathers received no education and other groups. In specific, the students' whose fathers received no education ( $M = 2.89, SD = 0.69$ ) scored significantly lower on the economic government responsibilities scale than the students whose fathers graduated from a primary ( $M = 3.13, SD = 0.64$ ),

secondary ( $M = 3.21$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ) and high school ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ) and received university-postgraduate degree ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 0.59$ ). Furthermore, there was a significant difference between the students whose fathers finished a primary school degree and those who finished high school and university-postgraduate degree (Table 4.8.).

Table 4.8.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Father's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1 | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|---|----|----|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 2.89 | .69 | - |    |    |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.13 | .63 | * | -  |    |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.21 | .56 | * | NS | -  |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.30 | .55 | * | *  | NS | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.29 | .59 | * | *  | NS | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

#### 4.3.2.4. Perceptions of Government's Social Responsibilities

##### Effect of Gender

An ANOVA was conducted as to see if there was a gender difference in students' perceptions of government's social responsibilities. The results shows that there is not a significant mean difference,  $F(1, 2445) = 4.70$ ,  $p = 0.03$  between male ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = 0.54$ ) and female ( $M = 3.48$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ) students' scores.

##### Effect of School Type

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to see if the students' scores on the government's social responsibilities scale differ with respect to school type. The ANOVA was significant,  $F(2, 2465) = 30.65$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.024$ , indicating that 2.4% of the variance in students' scores on the

government's social responsibilities scale is explained by school type. The post hoc analysis with Dunnett's C test which gave information about the pairwise differences indicated that there was a significant mean difference among all of the three school types. Students in private schools ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ) scored significantly higher on the government's social responsibilities scale than the students in urban public ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = 0.43$ ) and sub-urban public ( $M = 3.45$ ,  $SD = 0.53$ ) schools. Moreover, students in urban public schools were scored significantly higher than the students in sub-urban public schools (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of School Type*

| School Type      | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Private | Sub-urban | Urban |
|------------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------|
| Private          | 3.57     | .43       | -       |           |       |
| Sub-urban public | 3.36     | .55       | *       | -         |       |
| Urban public     | 3.45     | .53       | *       | *         | -     |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

### **Effects of Parents' Education Level**

Two ANOVAs were conducted to see the effects of parents' education level on students' perceptions of government's social responsibilities. Taking the mothers' education level as an independent variable, the results showed that the  $F$  value is significant,  $F(4, 2410) = 13.68$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.022$  indicating that students' scores differed significantly with respect to level of mother's education and 2.2% of the variance is explained by mother's education level. In order to see pairwise differences post hoc comparison was performed by the use of the Dunnett's C test since it does not assume equal variances among the groups. The result of the test revealed that there were significant differences in the means between the students whose mothers received no education and other groups except students' mothers who received

primary education ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ). In specific, the students' whose mothers received no education ( $M = 3.37$ ,  $SD = 0.52$ ) scored significantly lower on the government's social responsibilities scale than the students whose mothers graduated from a secondary ( $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ) and high school ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = 0.45$ ) and received university-postgraduate degree ( $M = 3.58$ ,  $SD = 0.42$ ) Moreover, there found to be a significant difference between the students whose mothers finished a primary school degree and those who finished high school and university-postgraduate degree (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Mother's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.37 | .52 | -  |    |    |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.41 | .56 | NS | -  |    |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.49 | .47 | *  | NS | -  |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.55 | .45 | *  | *  | NS | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.58 | .42 | *  | *  | NS | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

When the effects of father's education level on students' views of government's social responsibilities were investigated the ANOVA conducted yielded an  $F$  value that is significant,  $F(4, 2402) = 13.43$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.022$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of father's education and 2.2% of the variance is explained by father education level. To observe the pairwise differences post hoc comparison was performed. It is preferred not to assume equal variances among the groups as the Levene test indicated and therefore Dunnett's C test was utilized. The analysis revealed that students' whose fathers received no education ( $M = 3.27$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ), finished primary education ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ) and finished secondary education ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SD = 0.51$ ) scored significantly lower on the scale than the students whose fathers finished a high school ( $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ) and university-postgraduate degree ( $M = 3.56$ ,  $SD = 0.48$ ) (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Father's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1  | 2  | 3 | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----|----|---|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.27 | .56 | -  |    |   |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.41 | .55 | NS | -  |   |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.41 | .51 | NS | NS | - |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.51 | .47 | *  | *  | * | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.56 | .48 | *  | *  | * | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

#### 4.3.2.5. Perceptions of Women's Political and Social Rights

##### Effect of Gender

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed as to find whether male and female students differed on their perceptions of women's political and social rights. The analysis indicated that there is a significant mean difference,  $F(1, 2434) = 255.53$ ,  $p < 0.025$ , between the scores obtained from male ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = 0.66$ ) and female ( $M = 3.47$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ) students, indicating that female students have more egalitarian perceptions towards the women's political and social rights. Results also showed that 9.5% of the variance in students' perceptions of women's political and social rights is explained by gender,  $\eta^2 = 0.095$ .

##### Effect of School Type

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to see if the students' scores on the women's political and social rights scale differ with respect to school type. The ANOVA yielded a significant  $F$  value,  $F(2, 2453) = 12.07$ ,  $p < 0.001$  with a  $\eta^2 = 0.010$ , indicating that 1% of the variance is explained by school type. The results indicated that students' scores on the women's political and social rights scale differed significantly with respect to school



type in three levels that are; urban public schools ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ), sub-urban public schools ( $M = 3.20$ ,  $SD = 0.61$ ) and private schools ( $M = 3.34$ ,  $SD = 0.66$ ). The post hoc analysis with Dunnett's C procedure gave information about the pairwise differences. As for the results of the Dunnett's C test students in sub-urban public schools scored significantly lower than the students in urban public and private schools (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of School Type*

| School Type      | M    | SD  | Private | Sub-urban | Urban |
|------------------|------|-----|---------|-----------|-------|
| Private          | 3.34 | .66 | -       |           |       |
| Sub-urban public | 3.20 | .61 | *       | -         |       |
| Urban public     | 3.33 | .55 | NS      | *         | -     |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

### **Effects of Parents' Education Level**

An ANOVA was conducted to see the effects of mothers' education level on students' perceptions of women's rights. The analysis yielded an  $F$  value that was significant,  $F(4, 2398) = 12.04$ ,  $p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.020$  indicating that students' scores differed significantly with respect to level of mother's education. Assuming equal error variances based on the non-significant  $p$  value of the Levene's test, Scheffe test was used to find out pairwise differences. The result of the test revealed that there were significant differences in the means between the students whose mothers received university or postgraduate degree and whose mothers received no education ( $M = 3.37$ ,  $SD = 0.52$ ), graduated from a primary ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ), secondary ( $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ) and high school ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = 0.45$ ) in favor of the students who had mothers with a university or above degree. Moreover, there found to be a significant difference between the students whose mothers finished a high school and received no education in favor of the students with mothers finished high school (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Mother's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4 | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----|----|----|---|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.18 | .61 | -  |    |    |   |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.27 | .59 | NS | -  |    |   |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.22 | .61 | NS | NS | -  |   |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.33 | .60 | *  | NS | NS | - |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.47 | .61 | *  | *  | *  | * | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

To find out the effects of father's education level on students perceptions of women's rights another ANOVA was conducted. The overall analysis yielded a significant F value that is significant,  $F(4, 2390) = 10.66, p < 0.025$  with an  $\eta^2 = 0.018$  indicating that students' scores differ significantly with respect to level of father's education. To observe the pairwise differences post hoc comparison was performed with Dunnett's C test. It is preferred not to assume equal variances among the groups since the Levene's test yielded a significant p value. The analysis revealed that students' whose fathers received no education ( $M = 3.07, SD = 0.70$ ) scored significantly lower on the woman's rights scale than the students' whose fathers finished secondary education ( $M = 3.28, SD = 0.58$ ), high school ( $M = 3.35, SD = 0.56$ ), and a university or postgraduate degree ( $M = 3.37, SD = 0.65$ ). Moreover, there found to be a significant difference between the scores of students' whose fathers finished a primary school and whose father finished a degree in high school or above (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14.

*Post Hoc Test Results for the Effect of Father's Education Level*

| Education Level       | M    | SD  | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5 |
|-----------------------|------|-----|----|----|----|----|---|
| 1- No schooling       | 3.07 | .70 | -  |    |    |    |   |
| 2- Primary            | 3.22 | .58 | NS | -  |    |    |   |
| 3- Secondary          | 3.28 | .58 | *  | NS | -  |    |   |
| 4- High school        | 3.35 | .56 | *  | *  | NS | -  |   |
| 5- University & Above | 3.37 | .65 | *  | *  | NS | NS | - |

\* $p < 0.025$ , NS = non-significant

#### **4.4. Factors Predicting 8<sup>th</sup> Grade Students' Intentions to Participate in Electoral, Political and Civic Activities**

Three separate hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to investigate how well the students' background characteristics; media consumption habits; discussion practices and discussion environment in class; curricular and extra-curricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school predicted their expected participation in electoral, political and civic citizenship activities. The dependent variables were the total scores of students' responses to the three constructs (electoral participation, political participation and civic participation) of the "Political Action" sub-dimension. A total of 21 independent variables were grouped under five categories and entered to the analysis as five sets and in the same order for all of the three analyses (Table 4.15). Beginning with the variables related with students' background characteristics the group of variables was entered to the analysis based on the literature. The first set of predictor variables were the students' background characteristics including their gender, the school type, and education level of parents, family income, home literacy resources and family size. The second set of predictor variables included the media related variables that are the two items in the media sub-dimension representing the most frequent sources followed according to students responses which are newspapers - TV news and daily TV watching hours. The third set of predictor variables namely discussion practices and environment included variables of the total scores of students' responses to participation in discussions related with Turkey and other countries with peers, parents and the teachers and the open classroom environment for discussion. The fourth set of variables included the variables related with curricular and extracurricular experiences that are; civic related learning in their schools and attendance to school clubs and councils. Lastly, students' total scores of their perceptions toward good citizenship (conventional-social movement) and participation in school were included in the fifth group.

Table 4.15.

*Descriptions of the models included in the Hierarchical Regression Analyses*

|         | Variable Name                      | Remarks   |
|---------|------------------------------------|---|
| MODEL 1 | Gender                             | Girls coded as 1<br>Boys coded as 0   |
|         | School type                        | Private school as the reference category  |
|         | Parents' education level           | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Below university; coded as 0<br>(2) Above university; coded as 1         |
|         | Parents' income                    | Mean imputation   |
|         | Family Size                        | -   |
|         | Home literacy resources            | More than 200 books as the reference category   |
| MODEL 2 | Following articles (national)      | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Never, rarely, sometimes; coded as 0<br>(2) Often and always; coded as 1 |
|         | Following articles (international) | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Never, rarely, sometimes; coded as 0<br>(2) Often and always; coded as 1 |
|         | Following TV news                  | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Never, rarely, sometimes; coded as 0<br>(2) Often and always; coded as 1 |
|         | Daily TV watching                  | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Less than 3 hours; coded as 0<br>(2) More than 3 hours; coded as 1       |
| MODEL 3 | Discussion with peers              | Total score of discussion with peers  |
|         | Discussion with parents            | Total score of discussion with parents  |
|         | Discussion with teachers           | Total score of discussion with teachers   |
|         | Open classroom climate             | Total score of open classroom climate scale   |

Table. 4.15. *cont.*

|         | Variable Name                             | Remarks   |
|---------|---|---|
|         | Civic related learning                    | Total score of civic related school learning scale  |
| MODEL 4 | Attendance to social clubs                | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Never, rarely, sometimes; coded as 0<br>(2) Often and always; coded as 1 |
|         | Attendance to school councils             | Transformed into two levels as;<br>(1) Never, rarely, sometimes; coded as 0<br>(2) Often and always; coded as 1 |
|         | Participation in school                   | Total score of participation in school factor   |
| MODEL 5 | Importance of conventional citizenship    | Total score of the importance of conventional citizenship factor  |
|         | Importance of social-movement citizenship | Total score of the importance of social movement citizenship factor   |

#### 4.4.1. Factors Predicting Expected Electoral Participation

The factors predicting students' intentions to participate in electoral activities is analyzed by using hierarchical multiple regression. Below, the assumptions and the results of hierarchical multiple regression analysis was presented.

##### 4.4.1.1. Testing Assumptions for Regression Analysis

Before conducting the analysis, the underlying assumptions of multiple regression were checked to provide evidence for the appropriateness of the selected technique to the data. Field (2005) listed 8 numbers of assumptions for multiple regression that were categorized as; (1) variable types (the need for predictor variables as quantitative or categorical variables with two levels, the need for outcome variables as quantitative and continuous); (2) non-zero

variance; (3) no perfect multicollinearity; (4) linearity; (5) homoscedasticity; (6) independent errors; (7) normally distributed errors; (8) independent observations (p. 169-170). The first assumption that we will be covered is on variable types. The dependent variable (expected electoral participation score) were quantitative that is the total score of students' responses to expected electoral participation factor. Independent variables on the other hand included both quantitative and categorical types. The categorical variables with more than two levels were dummy-coded and entered into the analysis with their dummy-coded forms. Secondly, both the criterion and dependent variables have sufficient variances as it is clear in the Table 4.1 indicating that non-zero variance assumption has been hold. The assumption of "no perfect multicollinearity", were firstly checked by examining the values in the correlation matrix of the variables. According to these values the highest correlation between the variables is .68 indicating no severe violation of multicollinearity. Beside the correlation matrix table, VIF and tolerance values were checked and it was found that there were no values greater than 3.14 and smaller than .31, which additionally verified the assumption of no multicollinearity assumption.

As the fourth assumption, the relationships between the dependent variable and each independent variable were checked by scatter plots to provide evidence regarding the assumptions of linear regression. It is observed that the relationships between variables are linear. Likewise, scatter plots of the residual and predicted values demonstrated random patterns indicating homoscedasticity. To test the assumption of independence of the errors, the Durbin Watson statistics was checked. Durbin Watson value changes between 0 to 4, and should be between 1.5 and 2.5 to conclude that errors are independent. Since the Durbin Watson value is 1.87, it is concluded that this assumption is hold. To check that if the error distribution is normal, normality plot and histogram of the regression standardized residuals is explored. Since normality plot and histogram shows that the shape of errors distributes

normally, it can be concluded that the normality assumption is hold. Lastly, since qualified and trained data administrators were with the students during the implementation and they continuously encouraged participants' to fill the instrument on their own, we can say that independent observations assumptions have been met. Overall, the results revealed that all of the assumptions have been met and multiple regression technique is applicable to the data.

#### **4.4.1.2. Results of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Electoral Participation (EEP)**

For the second research question of the study hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed to find out how well the students' background characteristics, media usage, discussion experiences and discussion climate in classroom environment, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school life predicted their intentions to participate in electoral citizenship activities. As it was mentioned in detail under the previous heading, the predictors were entered to the analysis in five groups to find out the amount of variance in the expected electoral participation explained by background variables, media usage, discussion experience and climate, curricular and extra-curricular experiences, perceptions and to explore individual contribution of each predictor.

In the first step, background variables were entered into the equation. The analysis revealed that background variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in intention to participate in electoral activities scores,  $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(10,2153) = 14.19$ ,  $p < .05$  with statistically significant contribution of gender,  $t(2153) = 4.27$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.8% of the variance; number of books at home (0-50 vs. above 200),  $t(2153) = -3.39$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.5% of the variance; number of people living at home,  $t(2153) = -6.19$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.7% of the variance and school type (private vs. sub-urban public),  $t(2153) = -2.61$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.4% of the variance. The most important and

statistically significant background predictor of the intentions to participate in electoral activities was found to be the number of people living in the house followed by gender (male as the reference category), number of books at home (below 50 books vs. above 200 books-200 books as the reference category) and school type (private vs. sub-urban public-private school as the reference category). When the direction of the correlations have been taken into consideration we found that there is a negative correlation between number of books at home, school type, family size and EEP scores while the correlation between gender and EEP scores was positive. These results indicated that students that have higher number of occupancy at home have lower intention to participate in electoral activities. Furthermore, students who have 200 and above books at home have higher intentions to participate in electoral activities when compared to students those have below 50 books. Moreover, being a student in a private school was found to be associated with higher intention to participate in electoral activities for the future when compared with students in sub-urban public schools while males have lower levels intentions for the same.

In the second model media related variables were entered into the equation. It was found that those variables as a combination accounted for a significant amount of variance in EEP scores,  $R^2=.09$ ,  $F(14,2149) = 15.03$ ,  $p<.05$ . Moreover, after controlling for background variables those variables accounted for 3% of the variance in EEP scores,  $F_{change} (4,2149) = 16.13$ ,  $p<.05$ . Respectively, the variables that have statistically significant contributions to this variance in the second model were reading articles in the newspapers regarding what is happening in Turkey,  $t(2149) = 5.38$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 1.2 % of the variance, TV watching hours,  $t(2149) = -2.29$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3 % of the variance and watching TV news,  $t(2149) = 2.19$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3 % of the variance. Both for following articles about Turkey and following TV news the relationship was found positive meaning that the students who read newspapers



regarding the topics about Turkey and who watch TV news frequently found to have higher intentions to participate in electoral activities. However, a negative relationship was found between EEP scores and TV watching hours which means that increase in the TV watching hours is associated with a decrease in intentions to participate in electoral activities.

In the third model where the variables presenting students' discussion frequency with peers, parents, teachers regarding national and international social-political issues and open discussion environment in classroom context were entered as a set, it was found that the model explained significant amount of variance in EEP scores. ( $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F(18,2145) = 25.65$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Moreover, after controlling for background and media related variables, students' discussion experiences and discussion climate in classrooms accounted for 9% of the variance in EEP scores,  $F_{change}(4,2145) = 57.31$ ,  $p < .05$ . The individual variables that have a statistically significant contribution to this variance are participation to discussions about national and international issues with friends,  $t(2145) = 4.90$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1 % of the variance, with parents,  $t(2145) = 3.88$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.6 % of the variance and classroom environment that is open for discussions,  $t(2145) = 11.40$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 4.9 % of the variance. The variable that has most significant contribution to the overall variance of the model is open classroom environment for discussion which has a positive relationship with the dependent variable. This means that students who claimed to have open classroom climate for discussion found to have higher intention to participate in electoral activities. Following that, the frequency of time spent for discussions with peers have also positive correlation with the dependent variable which shows that the students who frequently discuss national and international political and social issues have higher intention to participate in electoral activities. Lastly, the frequent participation to discussions with parents found to have positive impact on intentions to participate in electoral activities.

In the fourth model where curricular and extracurricular experiences were entered as a set, it was found that the model explained significant amount of variance in EEP scores ( $R^2 = .24$ ,  $F(21, 2142) = 32.79$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Moreover, after controlling for background, media related variables, discussion frequency and environment, curricular and extracurricular experiences accounted for 7 % of the variance in EEP scores,  $F_{change}(3, 2142) = 62.37$ ,  $p < .05$ . Respectively, the individual variables that have a statistically significant contribution to this variance are school learning,  $t(2142) = 13.16$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 6.3 % of the variance, and participation to school clubs,  $t(2142) = 2.08$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.2 % of the variance. Considering the positive relationship between these variables and the dependent variables, this result means that students who claimed to learn civic related topics and who participated in school clubs frequently found to have higher intentions to participate in electoral activities.

The last model, which includes variables related with perceptions towards good citizenship and participation in school, explained a significant amount of variance in EEP scores ( $R^2 = .28$ ,  $F(24, 2139) = 34.97$ ,  $p < .05$ ). After controlling the variables in the previous four models (background, media consumption, discussion practices/environment, curricular/extracurricular experiences), it was found that the model explained uniquely 4 % of the variance in EEP scores,  $F_{change}(3, 2139) = 38.27$ ,  $p < .05$ . Taken individually, all of the variables in the model significantly predicted EEP scores.

Respectively, the variables that have statistically significant contributions to this variance in the last model were; students' perceptions towards participation in school life,  $t(2139) = 7.00$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.7 % of the variance, perceptions towards the importance of the social-movement related citizenship,  $t(2139) = 3.80$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.5 % of the variance, and perception towards the importance of the conventional citizenship,  $t(2139) = 3.65$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.5 % of the

variance. In specific, students who believe in the importance of participation at school life, conventional and social movement citizenship found to have higher intention to participate in electoral activities.

Table 4.16.

*R<sup>2</sup>, ΔR<sup>2</sup>, F, F change Values for Five Models*

|                       | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>R<sup>2</sup></i>  | .06*    | .09*    | .18*    | .24*    | .28*    |
| <i>ΔR<sup>2</sup></i> | .06     | .03     | .09     | .07     | .04     |
| <i>F</i>              | 14.19*  | 15.03*  | 25.65*  | 32.79*  | 34.97*  |
| <i>F change</i>       | 14.19   | 16.13   | 57.31   | 62.37   | 38.27   |

Note. \**p*<.05

Table 4.17.

*Results of Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Electoral Participation (n=2164)*

| Variable                 | Model 1 |          |             | Model 2 |          |             | Model 3 |          |             | Model 4  |          |             | Model 5  |          |             |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|
|                          | $\beta$ | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>T</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> |
| Gender                   | .09     | 4.27*    | .09         | .10     | 4.58     | .09         | .07     | 3.60     | .07         | .04      | 2.24     | .04         | .04      | 1.99     | .04         |
| Private vs. sub-urban    | -.09    | -2.61*   | -.06        | -.07    | -2.18    | -.05        | -.06    | -1.90    | -.04        | -.09     | -2.94    | -.06        | -.09     | -2.94    | -.05        |
| Private vs. urban        | -.03    | -1.08    | -.02        | -.04    | -1.13    | -.02        | -.04    | -1.17    | -.02        | -.07     | -2.37    | -.04        | -.07     | -2.37    | -.04        |
| Mothers' education       | .03     | 1.12     | .02         | .04     | 1.30     | .03         | .02     | .91      | .02         | .03      | 1.13     | .02         | .02      | .76      | .01         |
| Father's education       | -.02    | -.63     | -.01        | -.02    | -.76     | -.02        | -.01    | -.42     | -.01        | -.01     | -.38     | -.01        | -.02     | -.67     | -.01        |
| Family income            | -.00    | -.09     | -.00        | -.01    | -.54     | -.01        | -.01    | -.43     | -.01        | -.01     | -.23     | -.00        | -.00     | -.15     | -.00        |
| People at home           | -.14    | -6.19*   | -.13        | -.12    | -5.37    | -.11        | -.08    | -3.84    | -.08        | -.06     | -3.01    | -.06        | -.06     | -2.90    | -.05        |
| Number of books 1        | -.13    | -3.39*   | -.07        | -.10    | -2.49    | -.05        | -.06    | -1.74    | -.03        | -.05     | -1.59    | -.03        | -.05     | -1.46    | -.03        |
| Number of books 2        | -.02    | -.48     | -.01        | -.00    | -.08     | -.00        | .01     | .33      | .01         | .01      | .26      | .01         | .01      | .21      | .00         |
| Number of books 3        | -.04    | -1.48    | -.03        | -.04    | -1.38    | -.03        | -.03    | -1.05    | -.02        | -.02     | -.83     | -.02        | -.02     | -.96     | -.02        |
| Newspapers 1             |         |          |             | .13     | 5.38*    | .11         | .07     | 3.15     | .06         | .05      | 2.05     | .04         | .04      | 1.73     | .03         |
| Newspapers 2             |         |          |             | .03     | 1.04     | .02         | -.00    | -.13     | -.00        | -.03     | -1.21    | -.02        | -.03     | -1.55    | -.03        |
| TV news                  |         |          |             | .05     | 2.19*    | .05         | .01     | .45      | .01         | .00      | .12      | .00         | .01      | .25      | .01         |
| TV watching hours        |         |          |             | -.05    | -2.29*   | -.05        | -.04    | -2.10    | -.04        | -.03     | -1.32    | -.03        | -.03     | -1.40    | -.03        |
| Discussion with peers    |         |          |             |         |          |             | .12     | 4.90*    | .10         | .09      | 3.83     | .07         | .08      | 3.49     | .06         |
| Discussion with parents  |         |          |             |         |          |             | .10     | 3.88*    | .08         | .08      | 3.03     | .06         | .05      | 2.10     | .04         |
| Discussion with teachers |         |          |             |         |          |             | -.05    | -1.91    | -.04        | -.06     | -2.75    | -.05        | -.07     | -2.95    | -.05        |
| Classroom climate        |         |          |             |         |          |             | .24     | 11.40*   | .22         | .08      | 3.60     | .07         | .04      | 1.53     | .03         |
| Civic learning           |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .31      | 13.16*   | .25         | .20      | 7.95     | .15         |
| School clubs             |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .04      | 2.08*    | .04         | .04      | 1.83     | .03         |
| School councils          |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .02      | .90      | .02         | .01      | .44      | .01         |
| Part. in school life     |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .17      | 7.00*    | .13         |
| Conventional             |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .08      | 3.65*    | .07         |
| Social-movement          |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .09      | 3.80*    | .07         |

Note.\*p &lt; .05

#### **4.4.2. Factors Predicting Expected Political Participation**

Below, the assumption check and the results of multiple regression analysis that is conducted to find out the predictors of students' intentions to participate in political activities are presented.

##### **4.4.2.1. Testing Assumptions for Regression Analysis**

As it was covered in detail under the first multiple regression analysis, there are several assumptions that needed to be checked before conducting the analysis. The first assumption is on variable types. The dependent variable (expected political participation score) was quantitative and all other independent variables were either quantitative or categorical that were dummy coded. Therefore we can conclude that the very first assumption of the multiple regression has been met. Secondly, both the criterion and the dependent variables have sufficient variances which mean that non-zero variance assumption has been met. For the "no perfect multicollinearity" assumption correlation matrices (no values higher than .70), VIF and tolerance values (no values higher than 3.13, no values smaller than .32) were examined indicating no perfect relationship among the variables.

To provide evidence for linearity assumption the relationships between the criterion and predictor variables were checked through the use of scatter plots. The scatter plots gave sufficient information as to conclude that there is no violation of the linearity assumption. Moreover, scatter plots of the residuals and predicted values demonstrated random patterns indicating homoscedasticity. To provide evidence for the independence of errors assumption Durbin Watson value was checked. It was found as 1.900 which is between the acceptable margins. To test whether the error distribution is normal, normality plot and histogram of the regression standardized residuals is explored and it showed that the shape of errors distribute normally indicating

the normality of errors assumption is hold. Lastly, researcher is sure for that the students filled the instruments on their own, independently since all of the data administrators were trained before the implementation.

#### **4.4.2.2. Results of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Political Participation**

The third research question of the study is about assessing the degree of which the certain background factors, media related variables, students' discussion experiences and discussion environment in classroom, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school life predicts their intentions to participate in political activities. To answer this question a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed by entering the predictors into the analysis in a hierarchical manner.

In the first step, where the background variables were put into the equation it was found that the background variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in expected political participation scores,  $R^2=.03$ ,  $F(10, 2152) = 5.69$ ,  $p < .05$  with statistically significant contribution of gender ,  $t(2152) = - 5.33$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 1.2% of the variance; level of father's education,  $t(2152) = - 2.78$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.4% of the variance; and the number of people living at home,  $t(2152) = 2.62$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.4% of the variance. Looking at the direction of the relationship, gender as the most important and statistically significant background predictor of expected political participation has a negative correlation with the dependent variable. In other words, taking the males as the reference category the negative correlation shows that the males have higher intentions to participate in political activities. Likewise father's education has also a negative correlation between the expected political participation scores meaning that students who have fathers that have university and above degree

showed lower levels of intention to participate in political activities. Lastly, the number of people living at home found to be positively associated with the EPP scores showing that when the number of occupancy in a home is high, the intention to participate in political activities is also high.

Second model included media related variables. When those variables were entered into the equation it was found that the model accounted for a significant amount of variance in expected political participation scores,  $R^2 = .04$ ,  $F(14,2148) = 6.12$ ,  $p < .05$  and after controlling for background variables, media-related variables accounted for 1 % of the variance in EPP scores,  $F_{change}(4,2148) = 7.04$ ,  $p < .05$ . The individual variable that has a statistically significant contribution to this variance is only following newspapers regarding what was happened in other countries,  $t(2148) = 3.59$ ,  $p < .05$ , explaining 0.6% of the variance. The predictor has a positive relationship with the dependent variable, so we can conclude that students who read articles frequently in the newspapers regarding what is happening in other countries have higher intentions to participate in political participation activities.

Third model in which the variables regarding discussion experiences and discussion environment were entered as a set, explained significant amount of variance in EPP scores, ( $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(18,2144) = 22.37$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Moreover, it was found that after controlling for background and media related variables, the model accounted for 12% of the variance in EPP scores,  $F_{change}(4,2144) = 76.24$ ,  $p < .05$ . Respectively, the results revealed that discussion with teachers,  $t(2144) = 8.13$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 2.6% of the variance; with parents,  $t(2144) = 6.21$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.4% of the variance and with peers about national and international issues,  $t(2144) = 3.06$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.4% of the variance, were all have individual contribution to this variance. More specifically the more the students discuss about national or international political and social issues with teachers, parents and peers, the more they show intention to participate in political activities.

In the fourth model where the variables aims to assess contribution of curricular and extracurricular activities on students' intention to participate in political activities were entered as a set, it was found that the model accounted for a significant amount of variance,  $R^2 = .17$ ,  $F(21,2141) = 21.33$ ,  $p < .05$ . After controlling for the first three sets of variables, it was found that the model explained uniquely 2% of the variance in EPP scores,  $F_{change} (3,2141) = 12.90$ ,  $p < .05$ . Respectively, the variables that have statistically significant contribution to this variance in the fourth model were; students' ratings of civic related learning in their schools,  $t(2141) = 5.50$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.2 % of the variance and attendance to school council frequently,  $t(2141) = 2.49$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3% of the variance. Those results suggests that students who reported to learn civic related topics in their classes and students who frequently participated in school councils' activities have higher intention to participate in political participation activities.

The fifth model additionally included variables aiming to measure perceptions towards the importance of conventional citizenship and social movement citizenship and participation in school. The results showed that as it was the case with the previous four models, it also explained a small but significant amount of variance in EPP scores ( $R^2 = .22$ ,  $F (24,2138) = 25.72$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Moreover, after controlling for the variables about students' background, media related variables, discussion practices and environment, curricular and extracurricular experiences, it was found that the model explained uniquely 5% of the variance in EPP scores,  $F_{change} (3,2138) = 46.82$ ,  $p < .05$ . The results also revealed that, all of the three variables in the model significantly predicted EPP scores. Respectively, the variables that have significant contributions to this variance in the last model were; students' perceptions towards the importance of the conventional citizenship,  $t(2138) = 10.98$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 4.4 % of the variance; students' perceptions towards participation in school life,  $t(2138) = 2.78$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3 % of the variance; and perception towards the importance of



the social-movement related citizenship,  $t(2138) = - 2.61, p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3 % of the variance. When the direction of the correlations have been taken into consideration while the students' perceptions towards the importance of conventional citizenship and participation in school life have a positive relationship with the EPP scores, students' perceptions towards the importance of social movement related citizenship has a negative relationship with the dependent variable. This means that, students who believe in the importance of participation at school life and the importance of conventional citizenship have higher scores on EPP while students who believe in the importance of social movement related citizenship have lower scores on the expected political participation scale.

Table 4.18.

*R<sup>2</sup>, ΔR<sup>2</sup>, F, F Change Values for Five Models*

|                       | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>R<sup>2</sup></i>  | .03*    | .04*    | .16*    | .17*    | .22*    |
| <i>ΔR<sup>2</sup></i> | .03     | .01     | .12     | .02     | .05     |
| <i>F</i>              | 5.69*   | 6.12*   | 22.37*  | 21.33*  | 25.72*  |
| <i>F change</i>       | 5.69    | 7.04    | 76.24   | 12.90   | 46.82   |

Note. \* $p < .05$

Table 4.19.

*Results of Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Political Participation (n=2163)*

| Variable                 | Model 1 |          |             | Model 2 |          |             | Model 3 |          |             | Model 4  |          |             | Model 5  |          |             |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|
|                          | $\beta$ | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>T</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> |
| Gender                   | -.11    | -5.33*   | -.11        | -.11    | -5.12    | -.11        | -.08    | -4.14    | -.08        | -.10     | -4.80    | -.09        | -.10     | -5.13    | -.10        |
| Private vs. sub-urban    | -.00    | -.06     | -.00        | .00     | .01      | .00         | -.02    | -.64     | -.01        | -.03     | -.90     | -.02        | -.03     | -.87     | -.02        |
| Private vs. urban        | -.01    | -.15     | -.00        | -.01    | -.27     | -.01        | -.03    | -1.12    | -.02        | -.05     | -1.53    | -.03        | -.04     | -1.49    | -.03        |
| Mothers' education       | -.02    | -.75     | -.02        | -.02    | -.75     | -.02        | -.03    | -1.30    | -.03        | -.03     | -1.13    | -.02        | -.03     | -1.36    | -.03        |
| Father's education       | -.08    | -2.78*   | -.06        | -.08    | -2.92    | -.06        | -.07    | -2.60    | -.05        | -.07     | -2.57    | -.05        | -.07     | -2.51    | -.05        |
| Family income            | .03     | 1.21     | .03         | .02     | .99      | .02         | .02     | .73      | .01         | .02      | .88      | .02         | .03      | 1.19     | .02         |
| People at home           | .06     | 2.62*    | .06         | .07     | 3.10     | .07         | .07     | 3.07     | .06         | .07      | 3.35     | .07         | .07      | 3.37     | .06         |
| Number of books 1        | -.06    | -1.45    | -.03        | -.03    | -.79     | -.02        | .01     | .31      | .01         | .01      | .37      | .01         | .01      | .31      | .01         |
| Number of books 2        | -.06    | -1.90    | -.04        | -.05    | -1.62    | -.03        | -.02    | -.77     | -.02        | -.02     | -.77     | -.02        | -.02     | -.64     | -.01        |
| Number of books 3        | -.04    | -1.62    | -.03        | -.04    | -1.46    | -.03        | -.02    | -.91     | -.02        | -.02     | -.82     | -.02        | -.02     | -.92     | -.02        |
| Newspapers 1             |         |          |             | .02     | .80      | .02         | -.03    | -1.05    | -.02        | -.04     | -1.55    | -.03        | -.04     | -1.84    | -.04        |
| Newspapers 2             |         |          |             | .09     | 3.59*    | .08         | .03     | 1.23     | .02         | .02      | .79      | .02         | .01      | .36      | .01         |
| TV news                  |         |          |             | .04     | 1.81     | .04         | -.01    | -.43     | -.01        | -.01     | -.51     | -.01        | -.01     | -.57     | -.01        |
| TV watching hours        |         |          |             | -.02    | -.82     | -.02        | -.01    | -.56     | -.01        | -.00     | -.09     | -.00        | -.01     | -.40     | -.01        |
| Discussion with peers    |         |          |             |         |          |             | .08     | 3.06*    | .06         | .06      | 2.42     | .05         | .05      | 2.17     | .04         |
| Discussion with parents  |         |          |             |         |          |             | .16     | 6.21*    | .12         | .16      | 5.97     | .12         | .13      | 5.17     | .10         |
| Discussion with teachers |         |          |             |         |          |             | .20     | 8.13*    | .16         | .19      | 7.85     | .15         | .17      | 7.36     | .14         |
| Classroom climate        |         |          |             |         |          |             | .01     | .60      | .01         | -.06     | -2.29    | -.05        | -.08     | -3.34    | -.06        |
| Civic learning           |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .14      | 5.50*    | .11         | .07      | 2.70     | .05         |
| School clubs             |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | -.03     | -1.20    | -.02        | -.03     | -1.28    | -.02        |
| School councils          |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .05      | 2.49*    | .05         | .04      | 2.07     | .04         |
| Part. in school life     |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .07      | 2.78*    | .05         |
| Conventional             |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .25      | 10.98*   | .21         |
| Social-movement          |         |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | -.06     | -2.61*   | -.05        |

Note. \* $p < .05$

### **4.4.3. Factors Predicting Expected Civic Participation (ECP)**

A final multiple regression analysis was run to find answers for the last research question. Below the assumption check and the results of the analysis that is conducted to find out the predictors of students' intentions to participate in civic activities were presented.

#### **4.4.3.1. Testing Assumptions for Regression Analysis**

The first assumption that is related with the variables types. The dependent variable was quantitative that is the total score of students' responses to expected social movement participation factor. As it is with the other to analyses all other independent variables were either quantitative or categorical that were dummy coded. Secondly, as it is can be observed in the descriptive statistics table (Table 4.1.) both the independent and the dependent variables have sufficient variances which mean that non-zero variance assumption has been met. As for the multicollinearity assumption there shouldn't be a perfect relationship between the dependent and independent variables. We can say that this assumption also has been met since correlation matrices (no values higher than .70), VIF and tolerance values (no values higher than 3.13, no values smaller than .32) were found as in the acceptable margins. In order to comment on the linearity assumption, the relationships between the independent and dependent variables were checked through the use of scatter plots. As for the data, there is no severe violation of the linearity assumption. In addition, scatter plots of the residuals and predicted values demonstrated random patterns indicating homoscedasticity. Durbin-Watson value that gives evidence about the independence of errors assumption was found as 1.98 indicating that this assumption has also been met. Another assumption is normality of errors. The normality plot and histogram of the regression standardized residuals is explored to check the normality of errors assumption and it is found that the errors distributed normally indicating the normality of errors assumption is hold.

#### **4.4.3.2. Results of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Civic Participation**

For the last research question of the study, the degree of which the certain background factors, media consumption variables, discussion experiences and discussion climate in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences predict students' intentions to participate in civic activities was investigated. To answer this question, as in the first two regression analyses, the five set of pre-determined variables were entered into the analysis hierarchically, and a multiple regression analysis was run to explore the amount of variance in the expected civic participation explained by those five sets of variables. Moreover, individual contributions of each predictor were also investigated.

First of all, the first model including seven background variables was entered into the equation. As for the results, the background variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in expected civic participation scores,  $R^2=.02$ ,  $F(10,2152) = 4.91$ ,  $p < .05$ , with statistically significant contribution of gender  $t(2152) = 5.76$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.4% of the variance, and father's education level,  $t(2152) = -2.46$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.3% of the variance. The direction of the correlation between the gender and ECP scores was found to be positive, which indicates that males -as the reference category- have lower levels of ECP scores. However, father's education has a negative correlation between the expected civic participation scores meaning that students who have fathers that have university and above degree showed lower levels of intention to participate in civic activities.

Second model included media-related variables. As for the results media-related variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in civic participation scores,  $R^2=.05$ ,  $F(14,2148) = 8.04$ ,  $p < .05$  and after controlling for background variables, media-related variables accounted for 3% of the variance in ECP scores,  $F_{change} (4,2148) = 15.54$ ,  $p < .05$ . Moreover, it was

found that three out of four of the variables entered in this model have statistically significant contribution on this variance. Respectively, the variables that have statistically significant contributions to this variance are following articles in newspapers about other countries,  $t(2148)=3.57$ ,  $p<.05$ , explaining 0.6% of the variance, TV watching hours,  $t(2148) = -3.40$ ,  $p<.05$ , explaining 0.5% of the variance, and following articles in newspapers about Turkey,  $t(2148) = 2.94$ ,  $p<.05$ , explaining 0.4% of the variance. While newspaper reading about Turkey and other countries have a positive relationship with the ECP scores showing that the students who claimed to read newspapers have higher intentions to civic participation, TV watching hours is negatively correlated with the dependent variable which means that the students who reported to watch TV often or always have lower levels of intention to participate in civic activities.

In the third model students' discussion experiences were entered as a set. The analysis yield that the model explained significant amount of variance in ECP scores. ( $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F (18,2144) = 22.34$ ,  $p<.05$ ). After controlling for background and media related variables, students' experience of discussions accounted for 11% of the variance in ESMP scores,  $F_{change} (4,2144) = 68.81$ ,  $p<.05$ . All of the variables in the model individually contributed to this variance. Respectively, the variables that have a statistically significant contribution to this variance are; open classroom climate for discussion,  $t(2144) = 10.36$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 4.4 % of the variance, participation in discussions with parents,  $t(2144) = 4.52$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.8 % of the variance, participation in discussion with teachers,  $t(2144) = 3.67$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.5 % of the variance, and participation in discussions with peers,  $t(2144) = 3.41$ ,  $p<.05$ , significantly accounted for 0.5 % of the variance. All of the variables in the model found to be positively correlated with the dependent variable which means that students' intentions to participate in civic activities increased when the frequency of time spent for discussions about political and social issues is high. Moreover,

students who claimed to have an open classroom environment that they can discuss social and political issues have also higher intentions to participate in civic activities.

The fourth model included variables that aim to assess contribution of curricular and extracurricular experiences to students' intention to participate in civic activities. It was found that the model accounted for a significant amount of variance,  $R^2 = .21$ ,  $F(21,2141) = 26.89$ ,  $p < .05$ . After controlling for the first three sets of variables, it was found that the model explained uniquely 5% of the variance in ECP scores,  $F_{change}(3,2141) = 45.82$ ,  $p < .05$ . Respectively, the variables that have statistically significant contribution to this variance in the fourth model were: students' ratings of civic related learning in their schools,  $t(2141) = 11.08$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 4.4 % of the variance and attendance to school clubs frequently,  $t(2141) = 2.07$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.2% of the variance. When the positive relationship between these variables and the dependent variable is taken into consideration, these results indicates that students who reported to learn civic related topics in their classes and students who frequently participated in school clubs' activities have higher intention to participate in civic activities.

The fifth model included variables regarding the students' perceptions of the importance of conventional and social movement citizenship and their perceptions of participation in school. The analysis yielded a significant  $R^2$  value showing that the model explained a significant amount of variance in ECP scores, ( $R^2 = .25$ ,  $F(24,2138) = 30.39$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In addition, after controlling for the variables about students' background, media consumption habits, discussion experiences and environment and curricular/extra-curricular experiences, the model explained uniquely 5% of the variance in ECP scores,  $F_{change}(3,2138) = 43.65$ ,  $p < .05$ . All of the three variables in the model significantly predicted ECP scores with varying degrees. Respectively, students' perceptions towards the participation in school life,  $t(2138) = 7.21$ ,

$p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.7 % of the variance; students' perceptions towards the importance of the social-movement related citizenship,  $t(2138) = 5.80$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 1.2 % of the variance; and students' perceptions towards the importance of the conventional citizenship,  $t(2138) = 2.28$ ,  $p < .05$ , significantly accounted for 0.2 % of the variance. All of the variables in the model positively correlated with the dependent variable meaning that students who believe in the importance of participation in school life and the importance of participation both conventional and social movement citizenship dimensions have higher intentions to participate in civic activities.

Table 4.20.

*R<sup>2</sup>, ΔR<sup>2</sup>, F, F Change Values for Five Models*

|                       | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>R<sup>2</sup></i>  | .02*    | .05*    | .16*    | .21*    | .25*    |
| <i>ΔR<sup>2</sup></i> | .02     | .03     | .11     | .05     | .05     |
| <i>F</i>              | 4.91*   | 8.04*   | 22.34*  | 26.89*  | 30.39*  |
| <i>F change</i>       | 4.91    | 15.54   | 68.81   | 45.82   | 43.65   |

*Note.* \* $p < .05$

Table 4.21.

*Results of Multiple Regression Analysis for Expected Civic Participation (n = 2163)*

| Variable                 | Model 1  |          |             | Model 2 |          |             | Model 3 |          |             | Model 4  |          |             | Model 5  |          |             |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|
|                          | <i>B</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>T</i> | <i>part</i> | $\beta$ | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>part</i> |
| Gender                   | .12      | 5.76*    | .12         | .13     | 5.99     | .13         | .11     | 5.57     | .11         | .09      | 4.44     | .09         | .08      | 4.20     | .08         |
| Private vs. sub-urban    | -.02     | -.70     | -.02        | -.01    | -.21     | -.00        | -.00    | -.14     | -.00        | -.03     | -.94     | -.02        | -.03     | -.93     | -.02        |
| Private vs. urban        | .01      | .22      | .01         | .01     | .33      | .01         | .01     | .19      | .00         | -.02     | -.78     | -.02        | -.02     | -.76     | -.01        |
| Mothers' education       | -.03     | -.91     | -.02        | -.02    | -.84     | -.02        | -.04    | -1.36    | -.03        | -.03     | -1.22    | -.02        | -.04     | -1.72    | -.03        |
| Father's education       | -.07     | -2.46*   | -.05        | -.08    | -2.65    | -.06        | -.06    | -2.18    | -.04        | -.06     | -2.19    | -.04        | -.07     | -2.61    | -.05        |
| Family income            | .03      | 1.06     | .02         | .02     | .67      | .01         | .02     | .68      | .01         | .02      | .90      | .02         | .02      | .90      | .02         |
| People at home           | -.03     | -1.42    | -.03        | -.02    | -.78     | -.02        | .01     | .34      | .01         | .02      | 1.18     | .02         | .03      | 1.45     | .03         |
| Number of books 1        | -.04     | -1.02    | -.02        | -.01    | -.13     | -.00        | .03     | .94      | .02         | .04      | 1.15     | .02         | .05      | 1.40     | .03         |
| Number of books 2        | -.01     | -.28     | -.01        | .00     | .13      | .00         | .02     | .80      | .02         | .02      | .76      | .02         | .02      | .66      | .02         |
| Number of books 3        | -.02     | -.85     | -.02        | -.02    | -.66     | -.01        | -.00    | -.16     | -.00        | .00      | .08      | .00         | -.00     | -.03     | -.00        |
| Newspapers 1             |          |          |             | .07     | 2.94*    | .06         | .01     | .52      | .01         | -.01     | -.57     | -.01        | -.02     | -1.00    | -.02        |
| Newspapers 2             |          |          |             | .09     | 3.57*    | .08         | .04     | 1.89     | .04         | .02      | .98      | .02         | .02      | .69      | .01         |
| TV news                  |          |          |             | .04     | 1.79     | .04         | -.01    | -.40     | -.01        | -.02     | -.74     | -.01        | -.01     | -.64     | -.01        |
| TV watching hours        |          |          |             | -.07    | -3.40*   | -.07        | -.06    | -3.17    | -.06        | -.05     | -2.51    | -.05        | -.05     | -2.55    | -.05        |
| Discussion with peers    |          |          |             |         |          |             | .09     | 3.41*    | .07         | .06      | 2.40     | .05         | .05      | 2.06     | .04         |
| Discussion with parents  |          |          |             |         |          |             | .12     | 4.52*    | .09         | .10      | 3.80     | .07         | .07      | 2.88     | .05         |
| Discussion with teachers |          |          |             |         |          |             | .09     | 3.67*    | .07         | .07      | 3.10     | .06         | .07      | 3.20     | .06         |
| Classroom climate        |          |          |             |         |          |             | .22     | 10.36*   | .21         | .08      | 3.53     | .07         | .03      | 1.32     | .03         |
| Civic learning           |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .27      | 11.08*   | .21         | .15      | 5.75     | .11         |
| School clubs             |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .04      | 2.07*    | .04         | .04      | 1.82     | .03         |
| School councils          |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             | .03      | 1.31     | .03         | .02      | .86      | .02         |
| Part. in school life     |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .17      | 7.18*    | .13         |
| Conventional             |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .05      | 2.11*    | .04         |
| Social-movement          |          |          |             |         |          |             |         |          |             |          |          |             | .13      | 5.83*    | .11         |

Note.\*p &lt; .05



#### **4.5. Summary of the Results**

In this study, the influence of gender, school type and level of parent's education on students' perceptions and factors predicting students' expected participation in electoral, political and civic activities were investigated.

A total of 2473 students from 8 grade level participated in the study. Descriptive results revealed that students think that in order to be a good citizen both the conventional and social movement citizenship activities were important. However for the future although they were planning to participate in electoral activities that are to vote and getting information about candidates, more than half of the students stated that they were not planning to participate in political activities such as joining a party, being a candidate for a local office. As for the social movement citizenship activities they also stated that they will probably or certainly participate in the given activities. Moreover, it was found that students had an egalitarian perception towards women's political and social rights. They think gender equality should be taken into consideration in employment, state governance, economic policies and social rights. With respect to government responsibility in both economic and social issues, in general the students perceived these responsibilities as the responsibilities of the government.

A series of analysis of variance were performed in order to find the effects of gender, school type and parent's education level on students' concepts and perceptions of citizenship. The results indicated that students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship differed only with respect to gender. More specifically, it was found that female students placed more importance on conventional citizenship activities than their male peers. Likewise, gender was found to make differences on students' perceptions of social movement activities. Like for the conventional activities, female students were more likely to give importance to social movement related citizenship activities. Along

with gender, students' scores on the importance of social movement activities differed with respect to school type and parents' education level. It was found that students in private schools and the ones who had more educated parents placed more importance on social movement citizenship activities. Moreover, it was found that students' concepts of government responsibilities in both economic and social differed with respect to school type and parents' education level. Students in private schools and whose parents received more education were more likely to attribute the given responsibilities as the duty of government. Lastly, it was found that students' perceptions of women's political and social rights differed with respect to gender, school type and parents' education level. In line with the literature, the gender difference was in favor of female students. Besides, students in private schools and whose parents' received higher education were found to have more egalitarian perceptions regarding the women's political and social rights.

Three separate hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to evaluate how well students' demographic characteristics; media consumption habits, discussion practices and open discussion environment in classrooms, curricular and extracurricular experiences and their perceptions predicted their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. For all of the three regression analyses the variables were entered into the analyses in a hierarchical manner as five sets. The first set of variables were related with students' background characteristics, such as gender, parents education level and income, number of people at home, and home literacy sources. The second set of variables was related to media consumption habits like following articles regarding national and international events in the newspapers, watching TV news and TV watching hours. Third model consisted of variables assessing students' experiences of discussions with peers, parents and teachers, as well as openness of classroom environment for discussion. In the fourth model civic related learning and participation in extra-curricular activities (school clubs and councils) were included. Lastly, as the fifth model students' perceptions of

participation in school life and their perceptions of good citizenship in two dimensions –conventional and social movement citizenship- were included. In summary, for all of the three analyses, all of the models yielded a significant  $R^2$  with varying but in small degrees, showing that the models explained a significant amount of variance in students' expected electoral, political and civic participation.

Looking at the background variables, gender was found to be a significant predictor for all of the three forms of participation. Considering the directions of the correlations between gender and students' scores on three forms of participation, males as the reference category had lower levels of scores on expected electoral and civic participation as opposed to higher levels of scores on expected political participation. As another background variable, being a student in private schools was found to be associated with higher levels of intentions to participate in electoral activities when compared to students in sub-urban public schools, while the school type (private vs. urban public / private vs. sub-urban public) was not a significant predictor for other two forms of participation. While mothers' education did not predict students' participation scores, level of father's education was found to be negatively correlated with students intentions for participation in political and civic activities meaning that students who had fathers with higher education level had lower levels of intentions to participate in political and civic activities in the future. Number of people living at home was also a significant predictor of expected electoral and expected political participation. As the number of people living at home increased, the expected electoral participation scores decreased while the expected political participation scores increased. As the last background variable, number of books at home was found to be a significant predictor of expected electoral participation. More specifically, it was found that students who had 200 and above books at home had higher scores on expected electoral participation when compared to students that have below 50 books.

Second model included variables related with media consumption habits. After controlling for background variables, it was found that news consumption from different sources effected different forms of participation. More specifically, while students who followed articles in newspapers regarding the national issues found to have higher scores on electoral and civic participation dimensions. On the other side, reading newspapers frequently regarding international issues did not predict students' intentions to participate in electoral activities, though it was found that the students who read newspapers regarding as the international events had higher intentions to participate in political and civic activities. Moreover, students who followed TV news had higher intentions to participate in electoral activities for the future. Despite the positive effects of news consumption, it was found that TV watching hours was negatively predicted students' intentions to participate in electoral and civic activities.

Third model included variables related with discussion experiences and open discussion environment in classrooms. After controlling for the background and media related variables, the results revealed that frequent discussions with peers and parents about political and social issues significantly and positively predicted students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. Moreover, it was found that frequent discussions with teachers also influenced students' intentions to participate in political and civic activities however it did not predict their scores on electoral participation. Another predictor that was found to be significant in the third model was open classroom environment for discussion. More specifically, the more the classroom climate was open to discussions as rated by students the more the intention to participate in electoral and social movement activities. Interestingly, open classroom climate did not predict students' intentions to participate in political activities.

As it is in the other models, model four also explained significant amount of variance for all of the three dependent variables. It was found that civic related school learning was a significant predictor of intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. Moreover, students who attended to school clubs regularly had higher scores on the electoral and civic participation scales while students who attended to activities of school councils regularly had higher scores on the expected political participation scale.

The last model included three variables which were perceptions of participation in school life, importance of conventional citizenship and importance of social movement citizenship. For all of the three hierarchical regression analyses the  $R^2$  values were significant and all of the three variables in the model were found to be significant in explaining students' intentions to participate in three different forms of activities. When considering the direction of the relationship, it was found that students who believed in the importance of social movement related citizenship had significantly lower scores on the expected political participation scale. For other cases, it was found that students who emphasized importance of conventional citizenship more had higher intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities and students who emphasized the importance of social movement citizenship had higher scores on electoral and civic participation scales. Moreover, it is also apparent from the results that students who believe in the importance of active participation in school life showed higher intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities for the future. Table 4.22 presents a summary of the results of hierarchical multiple regressions conducted.

Table 4.22.

*Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses*

| Model | Variable Name                         | EEP ( $\beta$ ) | EPP ( $\beta$ ) | ECP ( $\beta$ ) |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1     | Gender                                | .09*            | -.11*           | .12*            |
|       | Private vs. sub-urban                 | -.09*           | -               | -               |
|       | Private vs. urban                     | -               | -               | -               |
|       | Mothers' education                    | -               | -               | -               |
|       | Father's education                    | -               | -.08*           | -.07*           |
|       | Family income                         | -               | -               | -               |
|       | People at home                        | -.14*           | .06*            | -               |
|       | Number of books 1                     | -.13*           | -               | -               |
|       | Number of books 2                     | -               | -               | -               |
|       | Number of books 3                     | -               | -               | -               |
| 2     | Newspapers (about Turkey)             | .13*            | -               | .07*            |
|       | Newspapers (about other countries)    | -               | .09*            | .09*            |
|       | TV news                               | .05*            | -               | -               |
|       | TV watching hours                     | -.05*           | -               | -.07*           |
| 3     | Discussion with peers                 | .12*            | .08*            | .09*            |
|       | Discussion with parents               | .10*            | .16*            | .12*            |
|       | Discussion with teachers              | -               | .20*            | .09*            |
|       | Open classroom climate for discussion | .24*            | -               | .22*            |
| 4     | Civic learning                        | .31*            | .14*            | .27*            |
|       | School clubs                          | .04*            | -               | .04*            |
|       | School council                        | -               | .05*            | -               |
| 5     | Participation in school life          | .17*            | .07*            | .17*            |
|       | Conventional                          | .08*            | .25*            | .05*            |
|       | Social-movement                       | .09*            | -.06*           | .13*            |

Note. "--" represents non significant standardized beta coefficients.

\* $p < .05$

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**

This section provides a discussion on findings and the implications rising from the discussion. Under the discussion section, an attempt to link the findings and relevant literature will be made as well as further comments on reasons of the same. The section on implication will focus more on education and policy making along with suggestions for further research.

This study is based on two main objectives. While the first objective is to ask if there are differences among students' perceptions towards basic civic concepts and issues in terms of certain background variables, the second objective is to find out to what extent certain variables like background factors, media related variables, discussion practices and environment, curricular and extra-curricular opportunities, students' perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school life predict students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. Discussion section takes the debate on findings of these objectives under two headings. The first one is "influence of gender, school type and parents education on students' perceptions of civic concepts and issues," the second one is "factors influencing students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities."

### **5.1. Influence of Gender, School Type and Parents' Education on Students' Perceptions of Civic Concepts and Issues**

A portion of this study focuses on students' perceptions of good citizenship, government responsibilities and women's political and social rights. Below, the discussions on the results of ANOVA which were conducted to see if there was a difference in students' perceptions of the aforementioned variables with respect to gender, school type and parents' education level are presented.

First of all, students' good citizenship norms were investigated to find out if those perceptions differ with respect to gender, school type and parents' education. The results revealed that only gender made a difference in students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship activities. Female students were found to place more importance on conventional citizenship activities than their male peers. This result seems to be contradictory with the IEA study where no difference was reported in students' conventional understanding in terms of gender. However, Doğanay and Sari (2009) reported a similar finding in Turkish context that female adolescents have more conventional understanding than males. Though, this result should be interpreted carefully since the scale they used to measure conventional citizenship understanding did not include political participation items rather they placed those items in active-social citizenship scale. Doğanay and Sari (2009) also reported that students' conventional understanding differed with respect to mother's education level, where students whose mothers were less educated placed more importance on conventional citizenship. However, in this study it was found that students' views of conventional citizenship did not differ with respect to parent's education. This difference might stem from the differences in the scales used, as well as that there might be some changes due to the sample size.

With regard to students' understanding of social movement citizenship, the present study revealed that it differed with respect to gender, school type and



parents education. As it was the case for the conventional citizenship scale, female students were more likely to place importance on social movement citizenship activities. Similarly, Torney-Purta et al. (2001) reported that in 9 of the participating countries for the IEA study, there were gender differences in students understanding of social movement citizenship in favor of females. Besides gender, it was found that students in private schools gave more importance on social movement citizenship. However, no studies were found in the literature concentrating on the school type differences. The significant difference in students' understanding of social movement citizenship between students in private schools and urban/sub urban public schools point out the importance of investigating curricular-extracurricular approaches, institutional culture or opportunities in those schools which could possibly reflect on this difference.

As well as gender and school type it was observed that students' perceptions of social movement citizenship differed with respect to parents' education level. The students who had more educated fathers and mothers scored higher on the importance of social movement citizenship than the students with less educated parents. Although this result seems to be consistent with the study conducted by Doğanay and Sarı (2009) it did not support the studies conducted abroad where no difference (Pizmony-Levy, 2007; Riedel, 2002) or negative relationship (Pizmony-Levy, 2007) was portrayed with respect to parents' education level. However, it was interesting to find that although students' perceptions of social movement citizenship differed with respect to father's education level in favor of the ones who had father's with a high school or university degree, students' intentions to participate in those kinds of social movement activities were found negatively associated with fathers' education level. More specifically, students whose father's had higher education degree were less likely to report that they will participate in social movement activities in the future. This result shows that although the students whose fathers were

more educated perceived that social movement related activities are important, they didn't show intention to participate in those activities.

Students' perceptions of government responsibilities were investigated with respect to economic and social responsibilities. The results of the analysis of variance revealed that the students' perceptions of governments' economic and social responsibilities did not differ with respect to gender; however their perceptions differed with respect to school type and parents' education. Students in private schools and whose parents received higher education were more likely to attribute the given responsibilities as the duty of the government than the students in urban/sub urban public schools and whose parents received no education and finished primary education. Moreover, students in urban public schools also differed significantly from students in sub urban public schools where urban public students had higher tendency to attribute the economic and social responsibilities to the government. Although no evidences were found in the literature that could be a base for these results regarding the differences with respect to parents education and school type, the finding asserting no gender difference in students' perceptions of economic and social responsibilities of government is in line with the IEA study (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). This result might be related to families with higher education level educating their kids about their rights more than those of a less educated background. On the other hand, it is surprising to find out that students from private schools, which provide education for a fee, attributed more responsibility to the government than their counterparts in public schools. However, this result might also be discussed around the differences in socio-economic background of the students in private schools and public schools.

Lastly, as for students' perception of women's political and social rights, the data revealed that it differed with respect to gender, school type and parents' education level. As it is also underlined in the literature (Greenberg, 1973; Hahn, 1998; Seginer et al., 1990; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) female

adolescents' were found to have more egalitarian perceptions of women's rights when compared to their male peers. Besides gender, it was found in this study that students in private schools scored significantly higher than students' in sub urban public schools in their views of women's political and social rights scale. Moreover, there was a significant difference between students in urban schools and sub urban schools. However, no difference was found between students in urban public and private schools. Although there is not enough evidence in the literature with respect to the variable "school type", there are some studies showing that the socio-economic level is important in determining students' perceptions of women's rights (Baldi et al., 2001). As it is obvious, students in private schools and urban public schools in Turkey have higher socioeconomic backgrounds than students in sub urban public schools which might play a role in differing perceptions towards women's rights.

Moreover, students' view of women's political and social rights differed with respect to both father's and mother's education. It was found that students with mothers who received higher education degree differed positively in their perceptions of women's social and political rights from the students' with mothers who received no education or only graduated from a primary, secondary or high school. This result which emphasizes the difference between students' perceptions of women's rights with mothers had higher education or lower degrees of education is an important finding. It shows us those women with a higher education degree who get free of the stereotyped roles assigned to women as traditions positively affect students' understanding of the equality. For fathers, the analysis revealed that students' with fathers who received no education scored significantly lower on the women's rights scale from the students' with fathers who finished secondary education, high school, or a higher education degree. Moreover, a significant difference was observed between the scores of students' with fathers who finished a primary school and finished high school or an above degree. This result shows us that the breaking point is secondary education for fathers where it creates a difference for their

children's perceptions of women's rights. Although this result could not be corroborated with previous research, it was an expected result that high levels of parental education create a difference in students' perceptions of women's political and social rights.

## **5.2. Factors Influencing Students' Intention to Participate in Electoral, Political and Civic Activities**

The results revealed that most of the students had an intention to participate in electoral activities ( $M=3.43$ ). Following from that civic participation ( $M=3.10$ ) was also stated as something they want to experience when they are adults. On the other hand, students showed less intention to participate in political activities ( $M=2.30$ ) in the future which is a finding that is in line with early observations of the adolescence conceptualization of political activities, defending that students prioritized electoral and civic activities rather than political ones (Cleaver et al, 2005; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Torney-Purta, 2002b). This result is also viable when we examine the descriptive statistics results of students perceptions regarding as conventional and social movement citizenship where conventional citizenship ( $M=3.13$ ) has lower mean than the social movement citizenship (3.30). The main reason why students scored less in conventional citizenship is their response to the question "joining a political party" where more than half of the students stated that joining a political party is unimportant or somewhat unimportant. It is clear from the evidences that students think that civic participation and conventional activities other than political participation are more important hence they want to participate more in the activities which are not related with direct participation in politics. Reasons for students' reluctance to participate in political activities will be discussed below in the light of the variables included in this study.

### **5.2.1. Influence of Background Variables**

Background variables' influence on intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities was assessed with a model including 6 variables for all of the three multiple regressions conducted. Gender, school type, parent's education level and income, number of people living at home, and home literacy resources were the variables included in the model. For all of the three outcome variables, background variables as a model revealed small but a significant association. The variables' individual effects are discussed below separately.

Gender is one of the background variables found to be related with all of the three outcome variables in varying degrees and directions. While female students are associated with more intention to participate in electoral and civic activities, male students showed more intention to participate in political activities in the future. In the literature there are some studies reporting that female students' intentions to participate voting activities was higher than their male peers (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004; Husfeldt et al., 2005; Wilkenfeld, 2009). For example in the IEA study although gender difference in voting intentions was not the case for most of the countries, gender (being female) was acting as a significant variable in some of the countries (n=9) influencing students' voting intentions (Husfeldt et al., 2005). Likewise, female students' relative tendency towards civic participation activities was highlighted in many studies (Flanagan et al., 1998; Hooghe & Stolle, 2004; Husfeldt et al., 2005; Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Pizmony-Levy, 2007; Wilkenfield, 2009).

Despite the fact that the results were in line with the literature focusing on adolescent period, research on adult behavior which claims that women participate less than men to democratic processes drives attention to this question asked by Hooghe and Stolle (2004) and shows the need for further longitudinal studies; "Why do adult women stop doing the things they intended

to do when they were adolescent girls?” (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004, p. 19). On the other hand, in relation to another finding of the study, it is mentioned in the literature that male students were more willing to participate in political activities than their female counterparts. For example Metzger and Smetana (2009) showed that male students find political activities more crucial and mandatory than female students. Similarly, Akin (2009) reported in his study with Turkish university students that male students were more interested in politics than their female counterparts. What could be the reason of this difference in political participation, as mentioned in literature, which is also backed by this study? According to Walker (2000; 2002, as cited in Metzger & Smetana, 2009) this is down to the fact that traditions in education would define voluntary work rather than political participation as the responsibility of girls. Another explanation might be discussed around the roles assigned to the women as part of traditions. As Doğanay, Çuhadar and Sarı (2007; as cited in Doğanay & Sarı, 2009) stated; it might be the reflection in youth, of the perception in society, that active participation in politics is a job for the men and that women should get on with their daily routine around their personal lives dealing with kids and housework rather than participating in active politics.

Besides gender, school type variances were also investigated in this study. It was found that while students in private and urban public schools did not differentiate in their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities, being a private school student was found to be associated with higher levels of intention to participate in electoral activities when compared to students in sub-urban public schools. However, no association was observed between school type (private school vs. sub-urban public) and students' intentions to participate in civic and political activities. Although not many research studies were observed in the literature focusing on this topic, some studies reported that private-public school differentiation was a predictor when it comes to voting behavior during adulthood. For example, Greene and

colleagues (1999) found that students attending private schools as a whole or as part of their primary and secondary school education were more likely to participate in electoral activities than those who attended public schools. On the other hand, to the knowledge, there is no study in the literature about the impact of school type on students' political and civic orientation. The results show that private and urban public school students did not differentiate on intentions to participate in political and civic activities. However, there is a difference in favor of private school between students' future electoral intentions in private and sub-urban schools. The reasons for this difference between electoral intentions of students from private and sub-urban schools can be manifested through a further research on these schools.

With respect to variables presenting socio-economic level, although exceptions exist, the literature tells that high socio-economic status measured with variables like income, parent's education level, and home literacy resources were all related to high levels of participation or intentions to participate in democratic processes like voting, political and civic participation (Baldi et al., 2001; Kerr et al., 2003; Lopes et al., 2009; Menezes et al., 2003; Spring et al., 2007; Wilkenfeld, 2009). However, the present study tells a different story regarding the association between income, parents' education level and intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. Neither the family income nor the education level of mothers' was found as associated with outcome variables. Moreover, for fathers' education level the data revealed some interesting results. While the father's education level was not related with students' expectations to participate in electoral activities in the future, it was negatively associated with students' future plans of participating in political and civic activities. More specifically, the students whose fathers' had higher education degree showed less intention to participate in political and civic activities.

This result contradicts with some of the studies conducted abroad that show a positive relationship between education levels of parents and students' participation intentions (Kerr et al., 2003; Menezes et al., 2003). However it is in line with the study presented by Pizmony-Levy (2006) where he analyzed IEA data and reported a negative relationship for the six of the participating countries between parents' education and civic participation intentions. The finding that there is no correlation between mothers' education levels and students' intention to participate and albeit negative, a correlation between fathers' education with respect to the intention to participate can be interpreted as a result of the students' different levels of interaction with their parents and that parents have different roles. The negative correlation between fathers' education levels and students' intentions might be interpreted as the reflection of the elitist attitude of educated fathers. The precautionary warnings on politics could be the reason for lower intentions of their kids. However, reasons behind this attitude should be further studied.

Moreover, with regard to another socio-economic status related variables, home literacy sources were found to be related with only students' intention to participate in electoral activities. For the other two dependent variables (political and civic participation) number of books at home did not yield a significant relationship. The present findings contradict with the study conducted by Baldi et al. (2001) showing a positive relationship between home literacy sources and students' intentions to participate in political activities, though it seems to be consistent with other research indicating a positive relationship between home literacy resources and voting intentions (Torney-Purta et. al., 2001; Wilkenfeld, 2009) as well as studies showing no relationship between home literacy sources and civic participation intentions (Pizmony-Levy, 2006).

As the last variable, number of people at home was also found as a variable which is associated with students' intentions to be involved in future participation activities. However, while it was found that an increase in the



number of occupancy is related with lower intention to participate in electoral activities, this increase was related with higher intention to participate in political activities. On the other hand, no association was found between the intention to participate in civic activities and number of people at home. No study was found in the literature on the effect of number of residents at home on the intention to participate. Thus, in order to interpret this interesting finding, further studies are required.

### **5.2.2. Influence of Media Consumption Habits**

Media's influence on intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities was questioned in this study with two dimensions. First of all, the influence of following news on TV and from newspapers were questioned, then the concentration was on time spent watching TV and how much this associated with the outcome variables. It was found that the frequency of reading newspapers and watching TV news was related with the expected electoral, political and civic participation in different ways. While reading articles regarding Turkey frequently as found associated positively with electoral and civic participation, reading newspapers about other countries had a positive relationship with students' intentions to participate in political and civic activities. Association between local news reading and voting intentions was also portrayed by Amadeo et al. (2004) in their analyses of IEA data. Although this national-international differentiation was not investigated in the literature too much, the positive relationship was underlined by many studies in the literature which focus on newspaper reading and electoral, civic and political participation (D. E. Campbell, 2006; Garramone & Atkin, 1986; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). However, the finding that students who read news about Turkey frequently has a higher intention to take part in electoral and civic participation but not in political participation is a point of further inquiry.

On the other hand, students who follow news about other countries found to have higher intention to take part in political and civic participation but not in electoral participation. Regardless of the context of news they follow about Turkey, it can be interpreted that students develop a sense of responsibility which leads to heightened intention to participate in electoral activities; on the other hand it could also mean that students regarded electoral activities at national level. The findings that there is a positive correlation between following news about foreign countries and civic and political participation can be related to gaining a perspective on civic and political dimensions from this process. However, cause and effect relationship between the two was not investigated in this study and should be further examined. Moreover, the students' TV news watching frequency has predicted their electoral intentions but it did not predict civic and political participation. This presents similarity with research on watching TV news and intention for voting behavior in literature (D. E. Campbell, 2006; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Furthermore, in line with many research studies conducted abroad (D. E. Campbell, 2006; O'Neill, 2010; Putnam, 1995) frequent TV watching was found to be negatively associated with the electoral and civic participation intentions. Intentions to participate in political activities, on the other hand, were not predicted by the frequency of watching TV. This finding is in contradiction with some studies in the literature. D. E. Campbell (2006) for example, revealed that participation, including political participation, was negatively related with the frequent TV viewing. As we have seen in different dimensions of the study, this information shows us that political participation is perceived differently by the students from civic and electoral participation and is effected by other components. The negative influence of rise in TV watching duration on civic and electoral participation verifies Putnam's theory. For him "television reduces civic engagement because; television competes for scarce time, television has psychological effects that inhibit social participation, specific programmatic content on television undermines civic motivation"

(Putnam, 2000, p. 237). It almost sounds natural in the light of these that intention to participate in civic activities which requires social skills like cooperation and collaboration decreases with the passivism brought in by watching TV.

### **5.2.3. Influence of Discussion Practices and Discussion Environment in Class**

Influence of discussion practices and discussion environment was assessed with different model including variables like discussion with peers, parents and teachers regarding as national and international political and social issues, and openness of classroom environment for discussion as reported by the students. Interestingly, the model uniquely explained more variance in students' intentions to participate in electoral (9%), political (12%) and civic (11%) activities scores than the other four models including curricular and extracurricular activities which reveal importance of discussion experiences and open discussion environment in classrooms.

The results revealed that frequent discussions with parents, friends and teachers regarding social and political issues were associated positively with students' intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities except no association between discussion experiences with teachers and students' electoral intentions. This was the case even after controlling the background and media related variables. This finding seems to be consistent with other research concentrating on friends-parents-teachers discussions and participation behavior and intention to participate in different forms of activities (Andolina et al., 2003; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kelly, 2006; Klofstad, 2008; McClurg, 2003; McIntosh et al., 2007; Pancer et al., 2007; Richardson, 2003; Schulz, 2005).

As another variable in the model, while open classroom environment was found as a variable that predicts students' intentions to participate in electoral and civic activities, it was not a factor influencing students' intentions to participate in political activities. This evidence showing the importance of open discussion environment in classrooms in predicting students' intention to participate in electoral and civic activities is in line with the literature (D. E. Campbell; 2006; D. E. Campbell, 2008; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

In fact, it is quite natural that the practice of elements like respect for differences and openness in the classroom have a positive impact on what is deemed to be the most basic and important component of democracy, the intention to participate. However, it is puzzling to find that while open classroom climate for discussion feeds into intentions to participate in civic and electoral activities, it does not predict political participation. This finding is in contradiction with what D. E. Campbell (2006) presented using IEA data, that there is a positive and significant association between open classroom climate for discussion and political participation intentions. This difference might be due to Turkish students' perceptions of political participation. As can be inferred from the bits of this study, students differentiate political participation from civic and electoral participation. This requires more in-depth research into students' understanding of political participation.

#### **5.2.4. Influence of Curricular and Extracurricular Experiences**

The influences of curricular and extracurricular variables on students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic participation were examined with respect to two dimensions. First of all, it was investigated whether the extent of civic related learning at schools is related to students' intentions for future participation, secondly the relation of participation to two extracurricular activities, namely school clubs and school councils, was investigated. The results revealed that civic related school learning was a

predictor for all of the three outcome variables while participation in school clubs and councils suggested different patterns for electoral, political and civic participation intentions.

As stated above, civic learning in schools, as inferred from students' responses to the 6 item-scale, including items like whether they have learnt the importance of voting in their schools or whether they have learnt to understand individuals who had different views, was found to be related positively with their intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities. This finding supports previous research which links civic learning and participation intentions of adolescents regarding voting and civic participation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002a; Wilkenfeld, 2009), though very little is known from the literature about the association between civic learning and political participation intentions of adolescents. Although there is not a strong link, the present results suggests that –as expected- whether the form of participation, civic learning can be used as an effective tool for infusing adolescents the motivation to participate once they are eligible. Thus, revealing the significance of citizenship education as in many other studies.

Regarding the participation in extracurricular activities, it was found that although the association was very small, the students who frequently participated in school clubs showed more intention to participate in electoral and civic activities for the future. This finding supports studies which reports positive influence of participation in extracurricular activities on participation intentions and behaviors (Hart et al., 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

Participation in school councils, on the other hand, only yielded a significant prediction for the intentions of political participation; that is, the students who report that they were attending school councils frequently were more likely to show intention to participate in political activities, whereas there was no association between students' participation to school council's activities and

their intention to participate in electoral and civic activities. As mentioned in the literature review, the IEA study and its secondary analyses are the main references that we can make direct comparisons, as it was the base of this study and is interested in the intentions to participate not the participation behavior itself. With regard to school councils, the analyses of IEA data suggested that there was a small positive link between participation to school council's activities and expected voting (Torney-Purta et al., 2001), electoral (D. E. Campbell, 2006) and political activities (D. E. Campbell, 2006) while negative relationship was reported for the expected civic participation (D. E. Campbell, 2006). In another secondary analysis including 10 participating countries, on the other hand, it was found that the participation in school councils was not a predictor for expected electoral and political participation for 14 years old (Schulz, 2005). Although these results suggest that there are differences to be discussed with respect to the analysis of IEA data, those differences also emphasize contextual differences regarding the implementation of the school council practices. Though, the relationship between participation to school councils and future political participation intentions being positive but weak (D. E. Campbell, 2006) and having no effect on electoral participation intentions is in line with current study (Schulz, 2005). Furthermore, studies showing that participation in civic related extracurricular activities during adolescence predict adulthood political participation (Glanville, 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006) also support the results that school councils have positive impact on intentions of political participation.

However, this result conflicts with the findings of longitudinal studies that present a positive strong relationship between adolescence civic related extracurricular participation (like school councils) and adulthood electoral (Gardner et al., 2008; Glanville, 1999) as well as civic participation (Gardner et al., 2008). If participation in school councils predicts voting behavior and civic participation in adulthood, it is expected that same is true for adolescence intentions. However, in order to comment on whether this contradiction is a

result of intention-behavior relationship or the differences in short term vs. long term effect, further longitudinal analyses are required. Moreover, having noted the overall positive impacts of school councils, there is not a consensus in literature how they influence different forms of participation. For this reason, it would be an objective approach to interpret results from this study in line with school council application in Turkey. The aim of school councils was defined in Article 5 of the instruction, which was implemented in 2006 by Ministry of National Education, as; “strengthening Republic by creating a culture of democracy among students through developing an understanding of set of values such as tolerance and pluralist awareness, awareness of own culture, national, spiritual and universal values, election and voting behavior, participation, ability to communicate along with campaigning and adopting democratic leadership” (MONE, 2004). As seen in the description, the implementation of school councils was not limited to creating a political participation experience but also developing the involvement in voting and civic participation. However, this study shows that participation in school council explained only small amount of variance even for political participation intentions. This might be seen as a contradiction of the project with its own goals and it needs further research studies focusing on this aim-implementation gap.

To sum up, although in this study direct inferences should not be made regarding the education’s influence over students’ intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities, the variables included in this study provide information about specific dimensions of education, like the association between civic learning or participation in extra-curricular activities and students’ intentions. Although there was not a strong association, the results prove that those curricular and extracurricular activities were related with students’ intentions to participate citizenship activities to some degree. Especially, the results suggest that, the more the civic related topics were

covered in the curriculum, the more the students showed willingness to participate in citizenship activities in adulthood.

#### **5.2.5. Influence of Perceptions on Good Citizenship and Participation in School Life**

Although explaining small amount of variance, students' perceptions regarding their good citizenship norms and participation in school life were all found to be associated with their intention to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. For all of the three regression analyses the model was significant. When examined individually, the only negative association was between students' perceptions of social movement citizenship and their intentions to participate in political activities. All of the other variables found to be positively correlated.

As mentioned above, students who think school life will enhance if they participate, also presented future intention to participate in civic, political and electoral activities. Albeit the fact that there remains some exceptions (e.g. D. E. Campbell, 2006) the positive relationship between these variables have been underlined in literature (Torney-Purta, 2002a; Richardson, 2003). This finding shows that the students who believe in the importance of participation also demonstrate higher intention for future participation.

Another finding on perceptions is that students' perception on good citizenship predicted their intentions. Students, who think that conventional citizenship activities are important, demonstrated, at different scales, higher intentions to participate in electoral, civic and political activities. On the other hand, it was found that students who think that social movement activities are important for good citizenship showed lower intentions of political participation while they showed higher intentions to participate in electoral and civic activities. Regarding this issue, the literature focusing on the adult behavior suggests that conventional understanding predicts more passive citizenship like voting while



unconventional ones predicts participation which requires more active involvement such as civic participation (Dalton, 2008; Theiss-Morse, 1993). D. E. Campbell (2006), on the other hand, in his analysis of IEA data, reported that conventional norms predicted voting, political and civic participation intentions, a finding supported by the current study. He also reported that social-movement understanding predicted voting and civic participation which is also in line with this study. However, in contrast to this earlier finding by D. E. Campbell (2006), where the social-movement citizenship understanding and political participation intentions' found as not correlated, in this study it is found that there was a negative relationship between those variables. Those results show that Turkish students with both conventional and unconventional understanding of citizenship places voting activity in their agenda for the future. However, students differentiate political and civic participation from each other. Students who had more active understanding of citizenship were more likely to show intention to participate in civic activities while political participation intentions' were associated with more conventional understanding.

### **5.3. Implications for Practice**

This study revealed findings about students' perceptions of civic related issues and concepts and their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities, which could have various implications. Although the relationship was small, students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities were explained by background, media and discussion related variables, curricular and extracurricular experiences and students' perceptions of good citizenship and participation in school. With the help of different agents those results could further be used as a tool for development of civic consciousness among students.

One of these agents that can be discussed based on the findings of the study is teachers. First of all, as it is empirically supported with this study, gender plays

an important role in predicting students' intentions to participate and create a difference in students' perceptions of civic related concepts and issues. Informed teachers on this issue could develop activities that would render this gender gap. For example, purposefully planned in-class discussions sessions on that the citizenship is not a gendered concept could be used. Students could further be encouraged by their teachers for extracurricular activities like school councils or to take part a more active role in community service activities. Teachers could also play a role in orienting students to read newspapers or allocate some classroom time regularly to share the news in classrooms. Moreover, teachers could also allocate some time to discuss social and political issues in classrooms and also encourage students to discuss with their parents and peers social and political issues, activities which found to be associated with higher intentions to participate. As well as working with students, teachers could also inform parents about the importance of these practices. Moreover, the effort to create a classroom environment for discussion, where civic related topics like democratic practices and ideals are discussed regularly, will promote students' citizenship orientations.

The success of these practices and guidance by teachers clearly will be higher if they are supported by the school administration. The belief in importance of participation in school was related with students' intentions; so creating a school environment where students can practice participation will positively affect their future participation intentions. Activities organized by the school administration where students and teachers can work collaboratively; such as collecting second hand books, fund raising events, activities for protecting the school and its environments, will not only help develop sense of responsibility but also will help practice participation behavior in school environment. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the finding that open classroom climate has a positive association with students' intentions emphasize an important role for teachers. However, the school environment should not contradict with such a

classroom environment created by the support of teachers. The support of school administration on an open environment will raise the potential benefits.

Family is another party whose participation is required in order to benefit from the findings. In the light of the findings of the study, actions like the increase in frequency of discussions on social and political issues at home with children and encouraging kids to read and follow news are expected from the family. Moreover, as it is revealed in the study that father's education level negatively predicted students' intentions to participate in political and civic activities. To overcome this negative influence, activities can be planned by the parents that will provide students with opportunities to socialize with different individuals from diverse background and that will raise awareness to social problems as well as emphasize importance of participation.

Ministry of National Education (MONE) on the other hand should further provide a basis for the aforementioned practices. To serve this purpose MONE can prepare programmes on promoting the importance of participation in democratic processes to parents. Not only that, but also a further in-service training can be given to social sciences teachers about citizenship education where they can share applications as well as practices about the topic. Another finding of the study shows that the school councils, which are expected to have a positive association with students' intention to participate in political, civic and electoral activities, does only have a small impact on political participation. Ongoing assessments by MONE, on the current application through the feedback from different parties will help implement necessary measures to increase the efficiency of the application.

#### **5.4. Implications for Further Research**

Turkey, since the proclamation of the Republic, has realized considerable developments in citizenship education. The changes in recent years in particular, are both remarkable and promising. Even though there is work

substantiating the development of these new approaches; this study, which aims to measure students' perceptions towards civic related concepts and issues as well as their intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities, differs from others in its unique sample and scope. In that aspect, it is believed that it would be a useful resource for researchers in the field. Nevertheless, some dimensions could not be captured because of instrumental or methodological limitations or they might need further support. Each of those dimensions, which are discussed below, is believed to be sources of inspiration for further research.

As a result of the analyses to define students' intentions of participation, it was found that the models included in the regression analyses only explained small amount of variance in students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. In literature it is known that variables such as civic knowledge, attitude towards nation, trust in institutions, self efficacy and political interest are used to explain this gap. Although the researcher was aware of such variables, due to instrumentation limitations they could not be used and could be included in further researches. Such a study, supported by different analyses, could provide more extensive and considerable information on the topic.

Notwithstanding the fact that this study has been carried out nationwide through a representative sample, it is still limited to 8<sup>th</sup> grade students. In literature it is set forth that students' civic perceptions do change with age (Çal, 2006; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003) hence, further studies, to be built around similar dimensions, will demonstrate probable age related differences and will provide more tangible data for different levels.

A portion of this study focuses on defining students' intentions to participate in civic, electoral and political activities. Of course, those intentions will provide a basis for future participation as evident in the literature on the probability of

adolescence intentions changing into behaviors in adulthood. However, further longitudinal studies will provide sound information on participation behavior. Studies where students are followed from primary school level through to early adulthood will provide clear information particularly on the effects of education on participation behavior. Furthermore, data from this study does not provide information on cause and effect relationship. Further, experimental studies will also provide us with data regarding this cause-effect relationship. Another recommendation for further research would be to take a deeper look at dimensions which were included in the study broadly. For example, this research looks into the association between participation in extracurricular activities such as schools clubs, school councils and students' intentions to participate in electoral, political and civic activities. As mentioned above, it has been found that these activities have differing effects on students' electoral, political and civic orientations. It was observed in this study that, the more the students' participate in school clubs, higher was their intention to participate in electoral and civic activities. A thorough look in the literature reveals that along with many evidence to support the findings, there are also studies which classified school clubs around their subject areas and looked into their efficiency. Findings from these classifications show that civic salient school club activities were effective ways to promote citizenship orientations; however for example as for the effects of participation in sports clubs there is not a consensus in the literature (e.g. Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Kahne & Spote, 2008; McFarland & Thomas, 2006). In the light of these, another topic of further research could be the effect of different types of social clubs on participation. In addition, further research into the effect of media where the content of the specific media form was investigated would be also beneficial for the field.

In this study, judgments are made depending on students' responses to survey research instrument. For example, as a result of students' views on classroom climate a judgment was made on openness of classrooms for discussion.

Further qualitative research through observations and interviews will not only provide us with the validity of students' views but also will prove points laid out in this study on a stronger basis. For example, according to one of the findings in this study, students' intention to participate in electoral activities, their perception of good citizenship, expectations from government and perception of women's rights differs in line with the type of school. Under the light of these findings, samples from those schools that create this variety can be defined and through the use of in depth observations and interviews further valid and clear information could be reached. On the other hand, in studies like this, along with students', the participation of different parties like parents, teachers, and principals could be critical factors for the validity of the study.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT

Sevgili öğrenciler,

Bu anketin amacı vatandaşlık ile ilgili konularda neler düşündüğünüzü ve neler hissettiğinizi öğrenmektir. Görüşleriniz bizim için çok değerlidir. Anketteki bütün soruları çok dikkatli okuyarak cevaplandırmanızı istiyoruz. Yazdığınız bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır. Teşekkür ederiz. İletişim için:

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#### BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

##### KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

Bu bölümdeki sorular hakkınızdaki bazı kişisel bilgileri elde etmeye yönelik olarak hazırlanmıştır. Lütfen her soruyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve bütün soruları cevaplayınız.

|  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. Okuduğunuz okulun adı   |                                |
| 2. Okulunuzun türü   | ( ) Devlet Okulu ( ) Özel Okul |
| 3. Cinsiyetiniz  | ( ) Kız ( ) Erkek              |
| 4. Evinizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor?<br>(kendinizi eklemeyi unutmayın) | ..... kişi                     |
| 5. Ana okulu-kreşe gittiniz mi?  | ( ) Evet ( ) Hayır             |
| 6. Evinize <u>günlük olarak</u> gazete alınıyor mu?                    | ( ) Evet ( ) Hayır             |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>7. Evinizde yaklaşık olarak kaç kitap var? (lütfen gazeteleri, dergileri ve okul kitaplarını düşünmeyin).</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> Hiç kitap yok<br><input type="checkbox"/> 1-10 arası<br><input type="checkbox"/> 11-25 arası<br><input type="checkbox"/> 26-50 arası<br><input type="checkbox"/> 51-100 arası<br><input type="checkbox"/> 101-200 arası<br><input type="checkbox"/> 200'den fazla |
|--|--|

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>8. Ailenizin aylık toplam geliri nedir?</b> | ..... YTL |
|--|-----------|

**9. Anne ve babanızın tamamladığı en son eğitim düzeyi nedir?**

| <b>Annemin tamamladığı en son eğitim düzeyi;</b>               | <b>Babamın tamamladığı en son eğitim düzeyi;</b>               |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Okuma-yazma bilmiyor                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Okuma-yazma bilmiyor                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Okuma-yazma biliyor ama okula gitmedi | <input type="checkbox"/> Okuma-yazma biliyor ama okula gitmedi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokulu bitirdi                      | <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokulu bitirdi                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokulu bitirdi                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokulu bitirdi                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Liseyi bitirdi                        | <input type="checkbox"/> Liseyi bitirdi                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Üniversiteyi bitirdi                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Üniversiteyi bitirdi                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksek lisans ya da doktora yaptı     | <input type="checkbox"/> Yüksek lisans ya da doktora yaptı     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bilmiyorum                            | <input type="checkbox"/> Bilmiyorum                            |

**10. Okul çıkışında arkadaşlarınızla beraber ne sıklıkta vakit geçirirsiniz?**

- Hiç / Nerdeyse hiç  
 Ayda bir kaç defa  
 Haftada 1-3 gün  
 Haftada 4 gün ya da daha fazla

**11. Okul günlerinde (hafta içi) kaç saat televizyon seyredersiniz? Lütfen sadece bir gün içerisinde ne kadar televizyon seyrettiğinizi işaretleyiniz.**

- Hiç seyretmem  
 1 saatten az  
 1-2 saat arası  
 3-5 saat arası  
 5 saatten çok seyrederim

**12. Aşağıdaki okul içi / okul dışı etkinliklere hangi sıklıkla katılırsınız? (Her etkinlik için uygun olan kutucuğu işaretleyin)**

|   | Hiç | Nadiren | Bazen | Genellikle | Her zaman |
|---|-----|---------|-------|------------|-----------|
| Öğrenci kulüplerinin düzenlediği etkinlikler (resim, müzik, spor, bilgisayar, drama vb. kulüpler) |     |         |       |            |           |
| Öğrenci meclisi etkinlikleri  |     |         |       |            |           |
| Okul gazetesinin hazırlanması   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Çevre ile ilgili bir etkinlik (çöp toplama, temizlik, vb)   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Birleşmiş Milletler ya da UNESCO klüpleri etkinlikleri  |     |         |       |            |           |
| Öğreci değişim veya okul ortaklığı programı   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Topluma yardım eden gönüllü topluluklar   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Sosyal yardım için para toplayan bir grup   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Yukarıda sıralananlar dışında bir etkinliğe katılıyorsanız lütfen yazınız<br>.....                |     |         |       |            |           |

**13. Hangi sıklıkla aşağıda verilen etkinlikleri gerçekleştirirsiniz?**

| Etkinlikler   | Hiç | Nadiren | Bazen | Genellikle | Her zaman |
|---|-----|---------|-------|------------|-----------|
| Türkiye’de neler olduğu ile ilgili gazete haberlerini (makaleleri) okuma      |     |         |       |            |           |
| Diğer ülkelerde neler olduğu ile ilgili gazete haberlerini (makaleleri) okuma |     |         |       |            |           |
| Televizyonda haberleri seyretme   |     |         |       |            |           |
| Radyoda haberleri dinleme   |     |         |       |            |           |
| İnternette haberleri okuma  |     |         |       |            |           |

## İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

### A: Demokrasi

Aşağıda demokratik bir ülkede olabilecek bazı olayların bir listesini okuyacaksınız. Listedeki her bir olay demokrasi açısından iyi ya da kötü sonuçlar ortaya çıkarabilir. Bu soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Yalnızca demokrasi ve onu etkileyen olaylar hakkında ne düşündüğünüzü öğrenmek istenmektedir. Her sütunda düşüncenize en uygun olan kutucuğu (X) işareti ile işaretleyin.

|  | Demokrasi için çok kötüdür | Demokrasi için kötüdür | Demokrasi için farketmez | Demokrasi için iyidir | Demokrasi için çok iyidir |
|--|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| A1. Herkesin düşüncesini özgürce ifade edebilme hakkına sahip olması                       |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A2. Zengin ve fakir insanlar arasındaki gelir ve refah düzeyi farkının az olması           |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A3. Devlet yönetimindeki görevlere atamalar yapılırken yeterliklerin esas alınması         |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A4. Gazetelerin devlet kontrolünden bağımsız olması  |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A5. Özel sektöre (devlete bağlı olmayan) devlet tarafından hiçbir sınırlama getirilmemesi  |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A6. Vatandaşların sosyal haklar talep etmesi   |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A7. Dış ülkelere göç ederek gelen insanların geleneklerini devam ettirmelerinin sağlanması |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A8. Siyasi partilerin kadınların siyasi lider olmasını desteklemesi                        |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A9. Hükümeti eleştiren kişilerin halka açık toplantılarda konuşmalarının yasaklanması      |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A10. Vatandaşların siyasi liderlerini özgürce seçme hakkına sahip olması                   |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A11. İnsanların üye olabileceği birden fazla dernek ve kurumun bulunması                   |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A12. Gençlerin, toplumun yararına olan etkinliklere katılmaya zorunlu tutulması            |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A13. Herkes için asgari bir gelir ve yaşam standardının sağlanması                         |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A14. Siyasi partilerin önemli konular hakkında birbirlerinden farklı görüşe sahip olması   |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |

|   | Demokrasi için çok kötüdür | Demokrasi için kötüdür | Demokrasi için farketmez | Demokrasi için iyidir | Demokrasi için çok iyidir |
|---|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| A15. İnsanların hükümeti etkilemek için siyasi partilere katılması                          |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A16. Kadınların kendileri için adil olmadığını düşündükleri yasaların değiştirilmesi        |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A17. Bütün televizyon kanallarının benzer görüşleri sunması                                 |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A18. Vatandaşların insan haklarını ihlal eden bir yasaya uymayı reddetmesi                  |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |
| A19. İnsanların adil olmadığını düşündükleri bir yasayı barışçı bir şekilde protesto etmesi |                            |                        |                          |                       |                           |

### **B: İyi Vatandaş**

Aşağıda yetişkin iyi bir vatandaşı tanımlayabilecek ifadelere yer verilmiştir. Bu ifadelerin doğru ya da yanlış cevabı yoktur. Size göre her ifadenin iyi bir vatandaşı tanımlamada ne derece önemli olduğunu belirten kutucuğu (X) işareti ile işaretleyiniz.

|  | Hiç önemli değildir | Az önemlidir | Orta düzeyde önemlidir | Çok önemlidir |
|--|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|---------------|
| İyi bir vatandaşı tanımlamayabilecek ifadeler;   |                     |              |                        |               |
| B1. Her seçimde oy vermek  |                     |              |                        |               |
| B2. Siyasi bir partiye katılmak  |                     |              |                        |               |
| B3. Adil olmadığını inandığı bir yasayı protesto etmek için barışçı eylemlere katılmak |                     |              |                        |               |
| B4. Ülkesinin tarihi hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak                                       |                     |              |                        |               |
| B5. Radyo veya televizyondaki siyasi konuları takip etmek                              |                     |              |                        |               |
| B6. Toplum yararına olacak etkinliklere katılmak                                       |                     |              |                        |               |
| B7. İnsan haklarını destekleyen yasal etkinliklerde yer almak                          |                     |              |                        |               |
| B8. Siyasi tartışmalara katılmak, görüş bildirmek                                      |                     |              |                        |               |
| B9. Çevreyi korumaya yönelik yasal etkinliklere katılmak                               |                     |              |                        |               |

### **C: Devletin Sorumlulukları**

Aşağıda devletin sorumluluklarına ilişkin bazı önermeler bulacaksınız. Her maddeyi okuyunuz ve devletin görevi olması gereken veya gerekmeyen durumları ilgili kutucuğu (X) ile işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

|   | Kesinlikle devletin sorumluluğu olmamalıdır | Devletin sorumluluğu olmalıdır | Devletin sorumluluğu olabilir | Kesinlikle devletin sorumluluğu olmalıdır |
|---|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| C1. Çalışmak isteyen herkese iş sağlamak                        |   |                                |                               |   |
| C2. Fiyatları denetim altında tutmak                            |   |                                |                               |   |
| C3. Herkese temel sağlık hizmeti sağlamak                       |   |                                |                               |   |
| C4. Yaşlılar için kabul edilebilir bir yaşam standardı sağlamak |   |                                |                               |   |
| C5. İşletmelere büyümeleri için gerekli desteği sağlamak        |   |                                |                               |   |
| C6. İşsizler için kabul edilebilir bir yaşam standardı sağlamak |   |                                |                               |   |
| C7. İnsanlar arasındaki gelir ve refah farklılıklarını azaltmak |   |                                |                               |   |
| C8. Herkese ücretsiz temel eğitim sağlamak                      |   |                                |                               |   |
| C9. Erkek ve kadınlar için eşit siyasi olanaklar sağlamak       |   |                                |                               |   |
| C10.Çevre kirliliğini kontrol etmek                             |   |                                |                               |   |
| C11.Ülke içinde barış ve düzeni sağlamak                        |   |                                |                               |   |
| C12.Toplumdaki insanların ahlaki davranışlarını geliştirmek     |   |                                |                               |   |



#### **D: Kadın-Erkek Eşitliği**

Bu bölümde kadın-erkek eşitliği ile ilgili bazı maddeler bulunmaktadır. Lütfen her ifadeyi okuyun ve o duruma ilişkin düşüncenizi en iyi anlatan kutucuğu (X) işareti ile işaretleyin.

|  | Hiç Katılmıyorum | Katılmıyorum | Katılıyorum | Tamamen Katılıyorum |
|--|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| D1. Kadınlar da erkekler gibi devlet yönetiminde yer almalıdır.              |                  |              |             |                     |
| D2. Kadınlar da her konuda erkeklerle aynı haklara sahip olmalıdır.          |                  |              |             |                     |
| D3. Kadınlar siyasete daha fazla katılmalıdır.                               |                  |              |             |                     |
| D4. İşe yerleştirmede kadın erkek dengesine dikkat edilmelidir.              |                  |              |             |                     |
| D5. Erkekler ve kadınlar aynı işte çalışıyorlar ise aynı maaşı almalıdırlar. |                  |              |             |                     |

#### **E: Katılım-1**

Bu bölümdeki sorularda bazı etkinlikler göreceksiniz. Lütfen her etkinliği hangi sıklıkta yaptığınızı gösteren kutuyu (X) işareti ile işaretleyin.

**Hangi sıklıkla aşağıdaki kişilerle Türkiye ile ilgili güncel olaylar hakkında (sosyal, siyasal, vb) tartışmalara katılırsınız?**

|   | Hiç | Nadiren | Bazen | Genellikle | Her zaman |
|---|-----|---------|-------|------------|-----------|
| E1. Yaşıtlarımla (arkadaşlarımla)                         |     |         |       |            |           |
| E2. Annem-babam veya ailemin diğer yetişkin bireyleri ile |     |         |       |            |           |
| E3. Öğretmenlerimle                                       |     |         |       |            |           |

**Hangi sıklıkla aşağıdaki kişilerle uluslararası güncel olaylar hakkında (sosyal, siyasal, vb) tartışmalara katılırsınız?**

|   | Hiç | Nadiren | Bazen | Genellikle | Her zaman |
|---|-----|---------|-------|------------|-----------|
| E4. Yaşıtlarımla (arkadaşlarımla)                         |     |         |       |            |           |
| E5. Annem-babam veya ailemin diğer yetişkin bireyleri ile |     |         |       |            |           |
| E6. Öğretmenlerimle                                       |     |         |       |            |           |

## **F: Katılım-2**

Aşağıda yetişkinlerin gerçekleştirdiği bazı davranışlar listelenmiştir. Yetişkin olduğunuz zaman, bu davranışlarla ilgili ne yapacağınızı her sütunda bir kutucuk işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

|  | Bunu kesinlikle yapmayacağım | Bunu muhtemelen yapmayacağım | Bunu muhtemelen yapacağım | Bunu kesinlikle yapacağım |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| F1. Ulusal seçimlerde oy kullanmak                                     |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F2. Seçimlerde oy kullanmadan önce adaylar ile ilgili bilgi elde etmek |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F3. Siyasi bir partiye katılmak  |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F4. Sosyal ve siyasi konularda gazetelere mektuplar yazmak             |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F5. Yerel yönetim için aday olmak                                      |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F6. Toplumdaki insanlara yardım etmek için gönüllü zaman ayırmak       |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F7. Sosyal yardım için para toplamak                                   |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F8. Bir talep için imza toplamak                                       |                              |                              |                           |                           |
| F9. Barışçı protesto etkinliklerine katılmak                           |                              |                              |                           |                           |

## **G: Okul**

Aşağıda öğrencilerin okul yaşamına katılımına ilişkin bazı ifadeler okuyacaksınız. Lütfen her ifadeyi okuyup, o duruma ilişkin düşüncenizi en iyi anlatan kutucuğu (X) işareti ile işaretleyin.

|   | Hiç Katılmıyorum | Katılmıyorum | Katılıyorum | Tamamen Katılıyorum |
|---|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| G1.Okulun işleyişine ya da sorunlarına ilişkin öneriler sunmak için öğrenci temsilcilerinin seçilmesi okulu daha iyi bir kurum yapar. |                  |              |             |                     |
| G2.Öğrenciler birlikte çalışınca, okulumuzda pek çok olumlu gelişme olur.   |                  |              |             |                     |
| G3.Öğrencilerin düşüncelerini ifade etmek için örgütlenmeleri okulumuzdaki sorunların çözülmesine yardımcı olabilir.                  |                  |              |             |                     |

|   | Hiç Katılmıyorum | Katılmıyorum | Katılıyorum | Tamamen Katılıyorum |
|---|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| G4.Sınıfımdaki bazı arkadaşlarım haksızlığa uğradıklarını düşünürlerse, gönüllü olarak onlarla birlikte öğretmenle konuşmaya giderim. |                  |              |             |                     |
| G5.Okul yönetimine öğrencilerin çoğulcu katılımları okulun işleyişi açısından daha etkili sonuçlar verir.                             |                  |              |             |                     |
| G6.Okul sorunlarıyla ilgili tartışmalara katılmak ilgimi çeker.   |                  |              |             |                     |
| G7.Okuldaki sorunlar tartışılırken benim de genellikle söyleyecek bir sözüm vardır.   |                  |              |             |                     |

#### **H: Okulda Kazandıklarım**

Bu kısımda okulda ne öğrendiğinizi bilmek istiyoruz. Aşağıda sıralanan her maddeyi okuyun ve o madde hakkındaki düşüncenize uygun düşen sütundaki kutuyu (X) işareti ile işaretleyin.

|  | Hiç Katılmıyorum | Katılmıyorum | Katılıyorum | Tamamen Katılıyorum |
|--|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Okulumda;  |                  |              |             |                     |
| H1. Farklı düşüncelere sahip olan kişileri anlamayı öğrendim.            |                  |              |             |                     |
| H2. Grup içinde diğer öğrencilerle işbirliği yaparak çalışmayı öğrendim. |                  |              |             |                     |
| H3. Toplumdaki problemleri çözmeye katkı sağlamayı öğrendim.             |                  |              |             |                     |
| H4. Çevrenin korunması için nasıl davranmam gerektiğini öğrendim.        |                  |              |             |                     |
| H5. Diğer ülkelerdeki olaylara ilgi göstermeyi öğrendim.                 |                  |              |             |                     |
| H6. Yerel ve genel seçimlerde oy vermenin önemini öğrendim.              |                  |              |             |                     |

## I: Derslerimiz

Anketin bu bölümü dersler sırasında olup bitenlerle ilgili cümleler içermektedir. Soruları yanıtlarken özellikle Sosyal Bilgiler dersini ve bu dersle ilgili diğer derslerinizi düşününüz. Lütfen her ifadeyi okuyun ve o duruma ilişkin düşüncenizi en iyi anlatan kutucuğu (X) işareti ile işaretleyiniz.

|  | Hiçbir zaman | Nadiren | Bazen | Sık sık |
|--|--------------|---------|-------|---------|
| 11. Öğrenciler dersler sırasında öğretmenleriyle aynı düşüncede olmadıklarını rahatlıkla ifade edebilirler.          |              |         |       |         |
| 12. Öğrenciler kendi görüşlerini oluşturmaları konusunda desteklenirler.   |              |         |       |         |
| 13. Öğretmenlerimiz görüşlerimize saygı duyar.   |              |         |       |         |
| 14. Öğretmenlerimiz ders sırasında görüşlerimizi dile getirmemiz konusunda bizi cesaretlendirir.                     |              |         |       |         |
| 15. Öğrenciler, diğer pek çok öğrencinin görüşünden farklı olsa da görüşlerini sınıfta rahatlıkla ifade edebilirler. |              |         |       |         |
| 16. Öğretmenlerimiz herkesin değişik görüşlere sahip olduğu konularda tartışmamızı desteklerler.                     |              |         |       |         |
| 17. Öğretmenlerimiz bir konuyu sınıfta anlatırken o konunun pek çok değişik yönünü de sunarlar.                      |              |         |       |         |

Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.



## APPENDIX B

### ELIMINATED ITEMS FROM THE ORIGINAL INSTRUMENT

#### *Deleted Items from Original Democracy Sub-dimension*

| Item Number | Item   |
|-------------|--|
| A6          | When one company owns all the newspapers, that is  |
| A12         | When courts and judges are influenced by politicians, that is  |
| A14         | When there is a separation [segregation] between the church [institutional church] and the state [government], that is                       |
| A22         | When newspapers are forbidden to publish stories that might offend ethnic groups [immigrant groups, racial groups, national groups], that is |
| A23         | When wealthy business people have more influence on government than others, that is  |
| A24         | When government leaders are trusted without question, that is  |

#### *Deleted Items from Original Good Citizen Scale*

| Item Number | Item  |
|-------------|---|
| B10         | shows respect for government representatives [leaders, officials] |

#### *Deleted item from original Women's Social and Political Rights Scale*

| Item Number | Item   |
|-------------|--|
| G13         | Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women. |

#### *Deleted item from original School Curriculum Scale*

| Item Number | Item   |
|-------------|--|
| K4          | In school I have learned to be a patriotic and loyal citizen of my country |

## APPENDIX C

### PERMISSION FROM EARGED

T.C.  
MİLLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI  
Eğitimi Araştırma ve Geliştirme Dairesi Başkanlığı

Sayı : B.08.0.EGD.0.33.05.311-284/3348  
Konu : Araştırma İzni

21/11/2008

#### ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜNE

- İlgi : a) 31.07.2008 tarih ve B.30.2.ODT.0.70.72.00-400-5668/10464 sayılı yazı  
b) 29.08.2008 tarih ve B.08.0.EGD.0.33.05.311-248/2642 sayılı yazı.  
c) 18.11.2008 tarih ve 2998 sayılı dilekçe.  
d) 28.02.2007 tarih ve B.08.0.EGD.0.33.05.311-311/1084 sayılı Makam Onayı ile Uygulamaya Konulan "Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Okul ve Kurumlarda Yapılacak Araştırma ve Araştırma Desteğine Yönelik İzin ve Uygulama Yönergesi

Üniversiteniz Eğitim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Doktora öğrencisi Ayşegül MISIRLI ÖZSOY'un "İlköğretim 8. Sınıf Öğrencilerinin Vatandaşlık ile İlgili Kavramlara Yönelik Bilgi, Tutum ve Davranış Düzeyleri" konulu araştırmada kullanılacak veri toplama araçlarının İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Kocaeli, Eskişehir, Adana, Muğla, Bilecik, Kayseri, Çanakkale, Hatay, Nevşehir, Amasya, Afyonkarahisar, Niğde, Kilis, Çankırı, Yozgat, Iğdır, Siirt ve Şırnak illerindeki İlköğretim Okullarında okuyan öğrencilere uygulama izni talebi ilgi (a) yazı ile Bakanlığımıza bildirilmiştir.

Söz konusu veri toplama araçları ile ilgili inceleme sonuçları ilgi (b) yazı ile Üniversitenize gönderilmiştir. Araştırmacı ilgi (c) dilekçe ile ilgi (b) yazıya istinaden veri toplama araçlarında düzenlemeler yaptığını bildirmiş ve veri toplama araçlarının yeniden değerlendirilmesini talep etmiştir.

İkinci değerlendirme sonucunda onaylı bir örneği Bakanlığımızda muhafaza edilen (8 sayfa – 108 sorudan oluşan) veri toplama araçlarının, belirtilen illerdeki İlköğretim Okullarında okuyan öğrencilere uygulanmasında bir sakınca görülmemektedir.

İlgi (d) Yönergenin 5. Maddesinin (o) bendi uyarınca taahhütnamenin ve araştırmanın bitiminde sonuç raporunun iki örneğinin Bakanlığımıza gönderilmesi gerekmektedir.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Halil Rahman AÇAR  
Bakan a.  
Daire Başkanı

- EK :  
1- Veri Toplama Aracı Örneği (1 Adet-8 Sayfa)  
2- Okul Listesi (1 Adet-5 Sayfa)

28.11.08 01813



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## APPENDIX D

### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS RESULTS

Table 1.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Democracy Sub-Dimension*

| What is good and what is bad for democracy?  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |             |              | Missing   | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5            |           |      |
| 1. When everyone has the right to express their opinions freely                                  | 61<br>2.5                       | 54<br>2.2   | 136<br>5.5  | 463<br>18.7 | 1738<br>70.3 | 21<br>0.8 | 4.53 |
| 2. When differences in income and wealth between the rich and the poor are small                 | 264<br>10.7                     | 341<br>13.8 | 474<br>19.2 | 623<br>25.2 | 721<br>29.2  | 50<br>2.0 | 3.49 |
| 3. When employment in government were made based on proficiency                                  | 116<br>4.7                      | 170<br>6.9  | 409<br>16.5 | 826<br>33.4 | 878<br>35.5  | 74<br>3.0 | 3.90 |
| 4. When newspaper are free of all state control  | 360<br>14.6                     | 488<br>19.7 | 452<br>18.3 | 475<br>19.2 | 643<br>26    | 55<br>2.2 | 3.22 |
| 5. When private businesses have no restrictions from government                                  | 466<br>18.8                     | 689<br>27.9 | 516<br>20.9 | 376<br>15.2 | 351<br>14.2  | 75<br>3.0 | 2.77 |
| 6. When people demand political & social rights  | 73<br>3.0                       | 122<br>1.9  | 286<br>11.6 | 621<br>25.1 | 1315<br>53.2 | 56<br>2.3 | 4.23 |
| 7. When immigrants were provided sustainability with their traditions                            | 201<br>8.1                      | 271<br>11.0 | 612<br>24.7 | 621<br>25.1 | 716<br>29.0  | 52<br>2.1 | 3.57 |
| 8. When political parties support women to become political leaders                              | 116<br>4.7                      | 133<br>5.4  | 408<br>16.5 | 549<br>22.2 | 1206<br>48.8 | 61<br>5.5 | 4.07 |
| 9. When people who are critical of the government are forbidden from speaking at public meetings | 687<br>27.8                     | 604<br>24.4 | 414<br>16.7 | 371<br>15.0 | 353<br>14.3  | 44<br>1.8 | 2.62 |
| 10. When citizens have the right to elect political leaders freely                               | 53<br>2.1                       | 95<br>3.8   | 202<br>8.2  | 376<br>15.2 | 1714<br>69.3 | 33<br>1.3 | 4.47 |

|  | Frequency (f)  |             |             |             |              | Missing   | Mean |
|--|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | Percentage (%) |             |             |             |              |           |      |
|  | 1              | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5            |           |      |
| 11. When many different organisations are available for people who wish to belong to them      | 107<br>4.3     | 89<br>3.6   | 345<br>14.0 | 693<br>28.0 | 1210<br>48.9 | 29<br>1.2 | 4.14 |
| 12. When young people have an obligation to participate in activities to benefit the community | 475<br>19.2    | 601<br>24.3 | 504<br>20.4 | 473<br>19.1 | 383<br>15.5  | 37<br>1.5 | 2.87 |
| 13. When a minimum living standard is assured for everyone                                     | 160<br>6.5     | 196<br>7.9  | 392<br>15.9 | 666<br>26.9 | 1012<br>40.9 | 47<br>1.9 | 3.89 |
| 14. When political parties have different opinions on important issues                         | 126<br>5.1     | 244<br>9.9  | 524<br>21.2 | 709<br>28.7 | 813<br>32.9  | 57<br>2.3 | 3.76 |
| 15. When people participate in political parties in order to influence government              | 356<br>14.4    | 493<br>19.9 | 582<br>23.5 | 521<br>21.1 | 468<br>18.9  | 53<br>2.1 | 3.10 |
| 16. When laws that women claim are unfair to them are changed                                  | 266<br>10.8    | 361<br>14.6 | 462<br>18.7 | 638<br>25.8 | 689<br>27.9  | 57<br>2.3 | 3.46 |
| 17. When all the television stations present the same opinion about politics                   | 559<br>22.6    | 567<br>22.9 | 642<br>26.0 | 317<br>12.8 | 337<br>13.6  | 51<br>2.1 | 3.71 |
| 18. When people refuse to obey a law which violates human rights                               | 513<br>20.7    | 393<br>15.9 | 369<br>14.9 | 402<br>16.3 | 749<br>30.3  | 47<br>1.9 | 3.19 |
| 19. When people peacefully protest against a law they believe to be unjust                     | 251<br>10.1    | 195<br>7.9  | 391<br>15.8 | 582<br>23.5 | 1019<br>41.2 | 35<br>1.4 | 3.78 |

Note: (1) Very bad for democracy; (2) Somewhat bad for democracy; (3) Neither bad or good for democracy; (4) Somewhat good for democracy; (5) Very good for democracy.



Table 2.

*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Good Citizenship Scale*

| Statements that would define a good citizen;                               | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |              | Missing   | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4            |           |      |
| 1. Voting in every election  | 90<br>3.6                       | 187<br>7.6  | 560<br>22.6 | 1611<br>65.1 | 25<br>1.0 | 3.50 |
| 2. Joining a political party   | 484<br>19.6                     | 891<br>36.0 | 667<br>27.0 | 398<br>16.1  | 33<br>1.3 | 2.40 |
| 3. Participating in a peaceful protest against a law believed to be unjust | 347<br>14.0                     | 419<br>16.9 | 735<br>29.7 | 939<br>38.0  | 33<br>1.3 | 2.92 |
| 4. Knowing about the country's history                                     | 44<br>1.8                       | 118<br>4.8  | 413<br>16.7 | 1867<br>75.5 | 31<br>1.3 | 3.68 |
| 5. Following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio or on TV      | 155<br>6.3                      | 395<br>16.0 | 833<br>33.7 | 1057<br>42.7 | 33<br>1.3 | 3.14 |
| 6. Participating in activities to benefit people in the community          | 60<br>2.4                       | 213<br>8.6  | 690<br>27.9 | 1472<br>59.5 | 38<br>1.5 | 3.46 |
| 7. Taking part in legal activities promoting human rights                  | 88<br>3.6                       | 273<br>11.0 | 763<br>30.9 | 1310<br>53.0 | 39<br>1.6 | 3.35 |
| 8. Engaging in political discussions                                       | 228<br>9.2                      | 528<br>21.4 | 864<br>34.9 | 809<br>32.7  | 44<br>1.8 | 2.92 |
| 9. Taking part in activities to protect the environment                    | 83<br>3.4                       | 226<br>9.1  | 612<br>24.7 | 1517<br>61.3 | 35<br>1.4 | 3.46 |

Note: (1) Not important; (2) Somewhat unimportant; (3) Somewhat important; (4) Very important.

Table 3.

*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Government Responsibilities Scale*

|  | Frequency (f)  |             |             |              |           | Mean |
|--|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | Percentage (%) |             |             |              |           |      |
|  | 1              | 2           | 3           | 4            | Missing   |      |
| 1. To guarantee a job for everyone who wants one                       | 144<br>5.8     | 221<br>8.9  | 664<br>26.8 | 1413<br>57.1 | 31<br>1.3 | 3.37 |
| 2. To keep prices under control  | 118<br>4.8     | 210<br>8.5  | 775<br>31.3 | 1333<br>53.9 | 37<br>1.5 | 3.36 |
| 3. To provide basic health care for everyone                           | 89<br>3.6      | 120<br>4.9  | 401<br>16.2 | 1822<br>73.7 | 41<br>1.7 | 3.62 |
| 4. To provide an adequate standard of living for old people            | 87<br>3.5      | 167<br>6.8  | 595<br>24.1 | 1580<br>63.9 | 44<br>1.8 | 3.51 |
| 5. To provide industries with the support they need to grow            | 214<br>8.7     | 468<br>18.9 | 883<br>35.7 | 856<br>34.6  | 52<br>2.1 | 2.98 |
| 6. To provide an adequate standard of living for the unemployed        | 119<br>4.8     | 309<br>12.5 | 761<br>30.8 | 1233<br>49.9 | 51<br>2.1 | 3.28 |
| 7. To reduce differences in income and wealth among people             | 257<br>10.4    | 372<br>15.0 | 799<br>32.3 | 1001<br>40.5 | 44<br>1.8 | 3.04 |
| 8. To provide free basic education for all                             | 106<br>4.3     | 176<br>7.1  | 455<br>18.4 | 1706<br>69.0 | 30<br>1.2 | 3.53 |
| 9. To ensure equal political opportunities for men and women           | 131<br>5.3     | 152<br>6.1  | 416<br>16.8 | 1747<br>70.6 | 27<br>1.1 | 3.54 |
| 10. To control pollution of the environment                            | 133<br>5.4     | 233<br>9.4  | 687<br>27.8 | 1392<br>56.3 | 28<br>1.1 | 3.36 |
| 11. To guarantee peace and order within the country                    | 82<br>3.3      | 113<br>4.6  | 333<br>13.5 | 1912<br>77.3 | 33<br>1.3 | 3.67 |
| 12. To promote honesty and moral behaviour among people in the country | 259<br>10.5    | 535<br>21.6 | 705<br>28.5 | 950<br>38.4  | 24<br>1.0 | 2.95 |

Note: (1) Definitely should not be government's responsibility; (2) Probably should not be government's responsibility; (3) Probably should be government's responsibility; (4) Definitely should be government's responsibility

Table 4.

*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Women's Political and Social Rights Scale*

|  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |              |           | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4            | Missing   |      |
| 1. Women should take part in the government just as men do           | 147<br>5.9                      | 133<br>5.4  | 521<br>21.1 | 1651<br>66.8 | 21<br>0.8 | 3.49 |
| 2. Women should have the same rights as men in every way             | 105<br>4.2                      | 213<br>8.6  | 502<br>20.3 | 1624<br>65.7 | 29<br>1.2 | 3.49 |
| 3. Women should participate in politics more                         | 291<br>11.8                     | 640<br>25.9 | 911<br>36.8 | 593<br>24.0  | 38<br>1.5 | 2.74 |
| 4. Women-men balance should be considered in employment              | 190<br>7.7                      | 303<br>12.3 | 753<br>30.4 | 1196<br>48.4 | 31<br>1.3 | 3.21 |
| 5. Men and women should get equal pay when they are in the same jobs | 147<br>5.9                      | 169<br>6.8  | 425<br>17.2 | 1707<br>69.0 | 25<br>1.0 | 3.50 |

Note: (1) Strongly disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Agree; (4) Strongly agree

Table 5.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Participation in Discussions Scale  
 (Regarding Social and Political Issues about Turkey)*

|  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |             |             |           | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5           | Missing   |      |
| With peers                                 | 248<br>10.0                     | 317<br>12.8 | 634<br>25.6 | 617<br>24.9 | 624<br>25.2 | 33<br>1.3 | 3.43 |
| With parents or other adult family members | 214<br>8.7                      | 279<br>11.3 | 603<br>24.4 | 671<br>27.1 | 671<br>27.1 | 35<br>1.4 | 3.53 |
| With teachers                              | 470<br>19.0                     | 546<br>22.1 | 618<br>25.0 | 442<br>17.9 | 364<br>14.7 | 33<br>1.3 | 2.87 |

Note: (1) Never; (2) Rarely; (3) Sometimes; (4) Often; (5) Always

Table 6.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Participation in Discussions Scale  
 (Regarding Social and Political Issues about Other Countries)*

|  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |             |             |           | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5           | Missing   |      |
| With peers                                 | 442<br>17.9                     | 441<br>17.8 | 582<br>23.5 | 495<br>20.0 | 472<br>19.1 | 41<br>1.7 | 3.04 |
| With parents or other adult family members | 336<br>13.6                     | 387<br>15.6 | 599<br>24.2 | 595<br>24.1 | 517<br>20.9 | 39<br>1.6 | 3.23 |
| With teachers                              | 557<br>23.3                     | 553<br>22.4 | 584<br>23.6 | 388<br>15.7 | 331<br>13.4 | 40<br>1.6 | 2.73 |

Note: (1) Never; (2) Rarely; (3) Sometimes; (4) Often; (5) Always

Table 7.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Political Action Scale*

|  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |             |              |           | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3           | 4            | Missing   |      |
| 1. Vote in national elections                                      | 189<br>7.6                      | 213<br>8.6  | 589<br>23.8 | 1453<br>58.8 | 29<br>1.2 | 3.35 |
| 2. Get information about candidates before voting in an election   | 84<br>3.4                       | 177<br>7.2  | 556<br>22.5 | 1612<br>65.2 | 44<br>1.8 | 3.52 |
| 3. Join a political party  | 596<br>24.1                     | 900<br>36.4 | 540<br>21.8 | 395<br>16.0  | 42<br>1.7 | 2.30 |
| 4. Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns | 524<br>21.2                     | 855<br>34.6 | 652<br>26.4 | 389<br>15.7  | 53<br>2.1 | 2.37 |
| 5. Be a candidate for a local or city office                       | 688<br>27.8                     | 848<br>34.3 | 498<br>20.1 | 382<br>15.4  | 57<br>2.3 | 2.23 |
| 6. Volunteer time to help people in the community                  | 121<br>4.9                      | 288<br>11.6 | 919<br>37.2 | 1101<br>44.5 | 44<br>1.8 | 3.23 |
| 7. Collect money for a social cause                                | 136<br>5.5                      | 329<br>13.3 | 894<br>36.2 | 1069<br>43.2 | 45<br>1.8 | 3.19 |
| 8. Collect signatures for a petition                               | 249<br>10.1                     | 537<br>21.7 | 908<br>36.7 | 737<br>29.8  | 42<br>1.7 | 2.87 |
| 9. Participate in peaceful protest                                 | 323<br>13.1                     | 471<br>19.0 | 756<br>30.6 | 879<br>35.5  | 44<br>1.8 | 2.90 |

Note: (1) I will certainly not do this; (2) I will probably not do this; (3) I will probably do this; (4) I will certainly do this

Table 8.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Participation in School Scale*

|  | Frequency (f)  |             |              |              | Missing   | Mean |
|--|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | Percentage (%) |             |              |              |           |      |
|  | 1              | 2           | 3            | 4            |           |      |
| 1. Electing student representatives to suggest changes in how the school is run or how to solve school problems makes schools better | 174<br>7.0     | 203<br>8.2  | 878<br>35.5  | 1186<br>48.0 | 32<br>1.3 | 3.26 |
| 2. Lots of positive changes happen in this school when students work together  | 72<br>2.9      | 192<br>7.8  | 840<br>34.0  | 1331<br>53.8 | 38<br>1.5 | 3.40 |
| 3. Organising groups of students to state their opinions could help solve problems in this school                                    | 207<br>8.4     | 395<br>16.0 | 989<br>40.0  | 837<br>33.8  | 45<br>1.8 | 3.01 |
| 4. Students acting together can have more influence on what happens in this school   | 121<br>4.9     | 331<br>13.4 | 1087<br>44.0 | 884<br>35.7  | 50<br>2.0 | 3.12 |

Note: (1) Strongly disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Agree; (4) Strongly agree

Table 9.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Civic Learning Scale*

|  | Frequency (f)<br>Percentage (%) |             |              |              |           | Mean |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|  | 1                               | 2           | 3            | 4            | Missing   |      |
| 1. In school I have learned to understand people who have different ideas                  | 138<br>5.6                      | 144<br>5.8  | 949<br>38.4  | 1199<br>48.5 | 43<br>1.7 | 3.20 |
| 2. In school I have learned to work together in groups with other students                 | 75<br>3.0                       | 200<br>8.1  | 815<br>33.0  | 1338<br>54.1 | 45<br>1.8 | 3.40 |
| 3. In school I have learned to contribute to solving problems in the society               | 75<br>3.0                       | 227<br>9.2  | 1021<br>41.3 | 1104<br>44.6 | 46<br>1.9 | 3.29 |
| 4. In school I have learned how to act to protect the environment                          | 71<br>2.9                       | 165<br>6.7  | 772<br>31.2  | 1411<br>57.1 | 54<br>2.2 | 3.45 |
| 5. In school I have learned to be concerned about what happens in other countries          | 194<br>7.8                      | 468<br>18.9 | 931<br>37.6  | 828<br>33.5  | 52<br>2.1 | 2.98 |
| 6. In school I have learned about the importance of voting in national and local elections | 156<br>6.3                      | 291<br>11.8 | 756<br>30.3  | 1223<br>49.5 | 47<br>1.9 | 3.25 |

Note: (1) Strongly disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Agree; (4) Strongly agree

Table 10.  
*Mean, Frequencies and Percentages for Open Classroom Climate for Discussion Scale*

|   | Frequency (f)  |             |             |              |           | Mean |
|---|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------|
|   | Percentage (%) |             |             |              |           |      |
|   | 1              | 2           | 3           | 4            | Missing   |      |
| 1. Students feel free to disagree openly with their teachers during class   | 165<br>6.7     | 340<br>13.7 | 801<br>32.4 | 1136<br>45.9 | 31<br>1.3 | 3.19 |
| 2. Students are encouraged to make up their own minds about issues  | 102<br>4.1     | 326<br>13.2 | 866<br>35.0 | 1123<br>45.4 | 56<br>2.3 | 3.24 |
| 3. Teachers respect our opinions  | 92<br>3.7      | 223<br>9.0  | 550<br>22.2 | 1550<br>62.7 | 58<br>2.3 | 3.47 |
| 4. Teachers encourage us to express our opinions during class   | 133<br>5.4     | 254<br>10.3 | 677<br>27.4 | 1375<br>55.6 | 34<br>1.4 | 3.35 |
| 5. Students feel free to express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students | 129<br>5.2     | 326<br>13.2 | 798<br>32.3 | 1169<br>47.3 | 51<br>2.1 | 3.24 |
| 6. Teachers encourage us to discuss issues about which people have different opinions                                     | 135<br>5.5     | 312<br>12.6 | 802<br>32.4 | 1184<br>47.9 | 40<br>1.6 | 3.24 |
| 7. Teachers present several sides of an issue when explaining it in class   | 92<br>3.7      | 291<br>11.8 | 700<br>28.3 | 1345<br>54.4 | 45<br>1.8 | 3.35 |

Note: (1) Never; (2) Rarely; (3) Sometimes; (4) Always



## APPENDIX E

### TURKISH SUMMARY

#### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

### 8. SINIF ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN VATANDAŞLIK İLE İLGİLİ KONULARA VE SEÇİME AİT, POLİTİK VE SİVİL KATILIMA YÖNELİK ALGILARI

#### GİRİŞ

Demokratik toplumlarda vatandaşlık hakları doğumla kazanılırken her bireyin vatandaşlık bilinç ve becerilerini taşıyacağını varsaymak büyük bir yanılğı olur. Archard'ın (2003) ifade ettiğı gibi “vatandaş olarak doğulmaz, vatandaş yaratılır” (p. 89). Archard'ın üzerinde durduğu bu yaratılma süreci bir yandan da bireylerde gelişmesi olası vatandaşlık bilinç farklılıklarını vurgular. Bu farklılıkları çevremize baktığımızda kolaylıkla gözlemleyebiliriz. Kimimiz en temel vatandaşlık göstergesi olarak kabul edilen oy kullanmaya bile gitmezken, kimimiz seçimlerden seçime oy kullanmaya gitmekte, kimimiz oy kullanmanın yanında gönüllü organizasyonlarda ihtiyaç sahiplerine yardım etmekte ya da aktif olarak politik hayata katılmaktadır. Yani, bireylerde bilinç gelişimi farklı düzeylerde olabilmekte ve bunun sonucunda da demokratik süreçlere farklı düzeylerde katılmaktadırlar. Peki bu fark neden kaynaklanmaktadır? İşte bu çalışmanın kurgusunun temelinde bu soru yatmaktadır.

Vatandaşlık bilincini kazanma süreci, bireyin diğer bireylerle, devletle ya da çeşitli kurumlarla etkileşiminin kapsamı, bağlamı ve boyutu ile şekillenir, demokratik süreçlere aktif katılımı ölçüsünde de gelişir. Vatandaş kimliğini

kazanmaya başladığımız ilk yer ailedir. Bilinçlenme süreci ailenin etkisiyle şekillenmeye başlarken çevreyle etkileşimin boyutuna göre şekillenmeye devam eder ve eğitim hayatına başlangıç ile de daha sistematik bir hal alır. Her ne kadar çeşitli sosyalleşme araçları vatandaşlık bilinç ve davranış gelişimine etki etmekteyse de “vatandaş yetiştirme” (Cogan, 1998, p. 1) görevi genelde okullara verilen bir sorumluluktur ve bu sorumluluk okullar tarafından “formal, informal ve müfredat dışı programlarla” (Print & Coleman, 2003, p. 133) daha sistemli bir şekilde yerine getirilmektedir. Şüphesiz ki sözü geçen bu sosyalleşme araçlarının bireye yansıttığı vatandaşlık anlayışı devletlerin yetiştirmek istediği vatandaş tipiyle çok da farklılık göstermemektedir. Bu nedenle temelde devletlerin tanımladığı vatandaş profili önem kazanmaktadır. Bu profil farklı bağlamlara göre değişse de yerleşmiş demokrasilerde aktif katılımın vatandaşlığın önemli bir boyutu olarak altı çizilmektedir. Tabii ki, bu katılım literatürde de tekrar tekrar vurgulandığı gibi sadece oy kullanmakla sınırlı değildir; politik etkinliklere katılımı ve toplum yararına sorumluluk almayı da içermektedir. Her ne kadar katılımın tanımı ve boyutlarına yönelik kavramsal bir uzlaşma bulunmasa da; oy verme, politik ve sivil katılım, literatürde geniş çapta kabul gören katılım formlarıdır. Oy verme literatürde katılımın en yaygın hali olarak gösterilmesine rağmen (Verba & Nie, 1972; Verba ve diğerleri, 1995) bazıları oy vermeyi politik katılım altında ve genellikle “asgari vatandaşlık” (Banks, 1998, s. 136) kategorisinde tanımlamaktadır. Diğer yandan, politik katılım “hükümet kararlarını” etkileyecek (Verba & Nie, 1972, p. 2) aktiviteler olarak görülürken, sivil katılım ise işbirlikli hareketlerin ortak paydayı oluşturduğu aktiviteler olarak tanımlanır (Verba ve diğerleri, 1995; Zukin ve diğerleri, 2006).

Literatürde katılımın demokrasilerin sürengliğini sağlamak adına sahip olduğu kritik önemin altı çizilirken, birçok araştırmacı gençlerin demokratik süreçlere katılmadığını vurgulamaktadır. Bu bulgu da araştırmacıları bu durumun nedenlerini tespit etmek amacıyla çocukluk ve erken ergenlik dönemini incelemeye yöneltmiştir. Aslında, çoğu gelişimsel teoride ergen bir kişinin bu

tür aktivitelere katılma potansiyeline sahip olduğundan bahsedilir. Örneğin Erikson (1959; 1963, aktaran, Lerner, 2002), ergenliği bireylerin kendilerini ve toplumdaki yerlerini tanımlayabildikleri “kimlik oluşturma” süreci olarak tanımlar (Lerner, 2002, s. 423). Ergenlik döneminin bu bahsedilen önemi gençlerdeki bu potansiyelin ne derecede şekillendiğinin takip edilmesinin ve bu oluşumu besleyecek faktörlerin tespit edilmesinin önemini de göstermektedir.

Buradan hareketle çoğu araştırmacı gençlerin katılım davranışlarını; program dışı aktivitelere katılım, gönüllü aktivitelere katılım ve toplum hizmeti etkinliklerine katılım boyutlarında araştırmaya başlamış ve bu davranışın yordayıcıları ve uzamsal etkileri üzerinde durmuştur (Darling, 2005; Gardner ve diğerleri, 2008; Glanville, 1999; Hart ve diğerleri, 2007; Smith, 1999, Zaff ve diğerleri, 2003). Araştırma çalışmalarının başka bir kısmında ise, uzun vadede davranışa dönüşeceği varsayımından yola çıkarak öğrencilerin katılıma yönelik istekleri belirlenmeye çalışmıştır. Bu araştırmanın da büyük bir bölümünde öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik istekleri araştırılmaktadır. Peki, istek ne anlama gelmektedir? Öğrencilerin katılıma yönelik isteklerini ölçmek bize onların ilerideki davranışları hakkında güvenilir bilgiler sağlar mı? Literatürde ergenlik dönemindeki isteklerin yetişkinlikte de sürdürüldüğüne dair çok fazla kanıt olmadığından bu soruların cevaplarını vermek neredeyse imkansızdır. Bununla birlikte, bazı teoriler ve araştırma çalışmaları bu isteklerin gelecekteki davranışlara olumlu etkisi olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Örneğin, D. E. Campbell (2007) lise öğrencileri ile sürdürülen uzamsal çalışmada, çalışmaya katılan öğrencilerin %84'ünün çalışmanın başlangıcında geleceğe dönük isteklerini belirttikleri gibi oy kullanma davranışını gösterdiklerini tespit etmiştir.

Literatürde ergenlerin oy verme, politik ve sivil katılım boyutlarında davranışlarını ve geleceğe yönelik isteklerini belirlemeye, bu davranış ve isteklerin yordayıcılarını tespit etmeye yönelik bir çok çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmaların bir kısmı cinsiyet farkının altını çizmekte, kızların sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayanan aktivitelere katılımlarının ve isteklerinin

erkeklerle oranla daha yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir (Örn; Alt & Medrich, 1994; Flanagan ve diğerleri, 1998; Husfeldt ve diğerleri, 2005; Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Ayrıca sosyo-ekonomik düzey de bazı çalışmalarda katılımın çeşitli formlarına yönelik olarak geleceğe dönük istekleri ve katılım davranışlarını farklı düzeylerde etkileyen bir faktör olarak tespit edilmiştir (Örn; Baldi ve diğerleri, 2001; Lopes ve diğerleri, 2009; Spring ve diğerleri, 2007; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Medya ile ilgili değişkenler de literatürde katılımın diğer bir yordayıcısı olarak rapor edilmiştir. Farklı kaynaklardan ve özellikle de gazeteden haberlerin takip edilmesinin katılımı veya katılıma yönelik istekle pozitif ilişkili olduğunu belirten çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (Örn; Amadeo ve diğerleri, 2004; Garramone & Atkin, 1986). Haberlerin bu pozitif yöndeki ilişkisine rağmen, çok televizyon izlemenin katılım ve geleceğe dönük katılım isteğiyle negatif yönde ilişkili olduğu görülmüştür (Örn; D. E. Campbell, 2006; Putnam, 1995). Öğrencilerin geleceğe dönük katılım davranışı gösterme isteklerinin, tartışmaya açık sınıf ortamlarına sahip olmalarıyla, akranları, aileleri ve öğretmenleriyle politik ve sosyal konularda sıklıkla tartışmalara katılmalarıyla (Örn; Kahne & Spote, 2008; Kelly, 2006; Klofstad, 2008; Oswald & Schmid, 1998; Wilkenfeld, 2009) da arttığı literatürde rapor edilen bir diğer bulgudur.

Bununla beraber; okullarda vatandaşlıkla ilgili kavramların öğrenilmesi (örneğin; Torney-Purta, 2002a), müfredat dışı aktivitelere katılım -özellikle vatandaşlıkla ilgili olan müfredat dışı etkinliklere katılım- öğrencilerin geleceğe dönük katılım isteklerini ve katılım davranışlarını pozitif yönde yordayan değişkenler olarak gösterilmektedir (Örn; Gardner ve diğerleri, 2008; Glanville, 1999; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Smith, 1999). Literatürde bireylerin vatandaşlık anlayışlarının da onların katılım davranışlarını etkilediğinin altı çizilmektedir. Pasif katılım anlayışı içeren vatandaşlık algısına sahip bireylerin aktif katılım gerektiren aktivitelere katılıma dönük istekleri bulunmamaktadır (Dalton, 2008; Theiss-Morse, 1993).

Her ne kadar bu alanda yapılmış bir çok çalışma varsa da “Uluslararası Eğitim Değerlendirme Kurumu” (International Association for the Evaluation of Education) tarafından gerçekleştirilen çalışma, gençlerin vatandaşlık ve politik oryantasyonları ile ilgili yapılmış en kapsamlı çalışma olarak değerlendirilebilir. Çalışma dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinden 28 ülkeyi kapsamakta ve gençlerin vatandaşlık oryantasyonlarını tespit etmeyi amaçlar. Çalışmada doğal olarak uluslar arası farklılıklar rapor edilmesine rağmen, genelde öğrencilerin politik katılıma yönelik düşük seviyedeki katılım isteklerini gözler önüne sermektedir. Her ne kadar IEA tarafından yapılan çalışmada yer almasa da, Türkiye’de de gençlerin katılım düzeylerinin düşüklüğünü rapor eden çalışmalar da bulunmaktadır (Doğanay ve diğerleri, 2007; Erdoğan, 2003; Parlak, 1999).

Türkiye’de tarihsel sürece baktığımızda tebaadan vatandaşa geçiş döneminden beri vatandaşlık anlayışının değişmekle beraber temelde devletin düzenini devam ettirecek türde vatandaş yetiştirilmesinin hedeflenmiş olduğunu görmekteyiz (Üstel, 2009). Özellikle görevlerini bilen vatandaşlar yetiştirilmesi cumhuriyetin ve demokrasinin devamı için çok önemli görülmüştür. Fakat yapılan araştırmalar gençlerin oy kullanma davranışı için bile düşük göstergeler olarak karşımıza çıkarmaktadır (Erdoğan, 2003). Bu yüzden eğitim gençlerin vatandaşlık bilincini geliştirmesinde ve aktif katılımın sağlanmasında önem kazanmaktadır.

Aslında Türkiye’de Cumhuriyetin kuruluşundan önceye dayanan bir vatandaşlık eğitimi geçmişi bulunmaktadır. Fakat özellikle son yıllarda vatandaşlık eğitimine yönelik uygulamalardaki değişiklikler dikkat çekicidir. İlköğretimde, özellikle sosyal bilgiler ve hayat bilgisi derslerinin içinde yer alan vatandaşlık ile ilgili konuların öğretiminde önerilen yöntem ve içerik daha aktif bir vatandaş öngörüldüğünü göstermektedir. Bu yeni uygulamalar çerçevesinde bu değişikliklere temel oluşturabilecek ve etkili bir biçimde sürdürülmesine katkı sağlayabilecek kapsamlı çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır. Konu ile ilgili yapılan bazı araştırmalar bulunmaktadır. Yapılan bu araştırmalar

konuya kavramsal ynden ışık tutmakla birlikte, kapsam, yntem ve rneklem boyutlarında sınırlı kalmaktadır.

### **alıřmanın Amacı**

Bu alıřmanın amacı 8. sınıf đrencilerinin vatandařlıkla ilgili kavramlara iliřkin algılarını ve onların seime ait, politik ve sivil katılım boyutlarında geleceđe ynelik katılım isteklerini belirleyen faktrleri tespit etmektir.

### **Arařtırma Soruları**

Yukarıda belirtilen ama dođrultusunda alıřmada ařađıdaki arařtırma soruları cevaplanmaya alıřılmıřtır.

1. đrencilerin iyi vatandařlık, devletin sorumlulukları ve kadınların politik-sosyal hakları gibi vatandařlık ile ilgili konular ve kavramlara ynelik algıları nedir?
2. đrencilerin vatandařlık ile ilgili konular ve kavramlara ynelik algıları cinsiyete, okul trne ve aile eđitim dzeyine gre farklılık gstermekte midir?
3. đrencilerin seime ait, politik ve sivil faaliyetlere katılıma ynelik istekleri ne dzeydedir?
4. đrencilere ait demografik deđiřkenler; medya kullanım alışkanlıkları; tartıřmalara katılım ve sınıf ii tartıřma ortamı; mfredat ve mfredat dıřı deneyimler; iyi vatandařlık ile ilgili ve okul hayatında katılıma ynelik algılar đrencilerin seime ait katılıma ynelik isteklerini ne dzeyde yordamaktadır?

5. Öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenler; medya kullanım alışkanlıkları; tartışmalara katılım ve sınıf içi tartışma ortamı; müfredat ve müfredat dışı deneyimler; iyi vatandaşlık ile ilgili ve okul hayatında katılıma yönelik algılar öğrencilerin politik katılıma yönelik isteklerini ne düzeyde yordamaktadır?
6. Öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenler; medya kullanım alışkanlıkları; tartışmalara katılım ve sınıf içi tartışma ortamı; müfredat ve müfredat dışı deneyimler; iyi vatandaşlık ile ilgili ve okul hayatında katılıma yönelik algılar öğrencilerin sivil katılıma yönelik isteklerini ne düzeyde yordamaktadır?

## **YÖNTEM**

Bu çalışmada 8. sınıf öğrencilerinin vatandaşlık ile ilgili kavramlar hakkında algılarının ve onların geleceğe yönelik katılım isteklerinin tespit edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda araştırma deseni olarak tarama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmada 21 ilden 2473 öğrenciye ulaşılmış ve bu öğrencilere IEA tarafından hazırlanan öğrenci anketi uygulanmıştır.

## **Evren ve Örneklem**

Çalışmanın evrenini Türkiye’de ilköğretim okullarının sekizinci sınıflarında öğrenim görmekte olan öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. 2006-2007 yılına ait Milli Eğitim örgün eğitim istatistiklerine göre ilköğretim sekizinci sınıflarda öğrenim gören öğrenci sayısı 676.415 erkek ve 580.024 kız olmak üzere toplamda 1.256.439 öğrencidir (MONE, 2007, p. 51). Araştırma sınırlılıkları çerçevesinde bu örneklemin tümüne ulaşmak mümkün olmadığından bu evrenden örneklem belirlenmiştir. Örneklem seçimi için öncelikle Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı’nın “Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişmişlik Sıralaması - 2003” (Dinçer ve diğerleri, 2003) verilerine dayanılarak benzer sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyinde olan iller gruplandırılmıştır. Verilere göre illerin sosyo

ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyi (-1,4) ile (+4,8) arasında değişkenlik göstermektedir. Bu verilere dayanarak Türkiye’de bulunan 81 il (-1,5) değerinden başlayarak (+5) değerine kadar 0,5’lik bir değer aralığı baz alınarak gruplandırılmıştır. Bu sınıflandırma sonucunda ortaya 10 grup çıkmıştır. Bu 10 gruptan öncelikle her bir gruba ait en yüksek sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyine sahip olan iller örnekleme dahil edilmiştir. Gruplarda yer alan illerin sayısı birbirine eşit olmadığından (örneğin bir grupta 2 il bulunurken başka bir grupta 11 il bulunabilmektedir) 5’den fazla il içeren gruplarda sistematik bir yol izlenerek, seçilen örneklemin o grubu temsil etme olasılığı arttırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu amaçla, içinde beşten fazla il bulunduran gruplarda gelişmişlik düzeyi sıralamasında her beş ilde bir en yüksek sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip il çalışmanın örneklemine dahil edilmiştir. Şekil 1’de bu süreç örneklendirilmektedir.

| 0 – 0,5 değerleri arasında sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip olan grup |          |                                    |                                     |
|--|----------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grup içi düzey sıralaması  | İlin adı | Sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik endeksi |                                     |
| 1. alt grup  | 1.       | Kayseri                            | 0,47748 (örnekleme dahil edilen il) |
|  | 2.       | Gaziantep                          | 0,46175                             |
|  | 3.       | Zonguldak                          | 0,44906                             |
|  | 4.       | Aydın                              | 0,42025                             |
|  | 5.       | Sakarya                            | 0,40404                             |
| 2. alt grup  | 6.       | Çanakkale                          | 0,36924 (örnekleme dahil edilen il) |
|  | 7.       | Manisa                             | 0,34165                             |
|  | 8.       | Konya                              | 0,25254                             |
|  | 9.       | Karabük                            | 0,21332                             |
|  | 10.      | Isparta                            | 0,21187                             |
| 3. alt grup  | 11.      | Hatay                              | 0,19613 (örnekleme dahil edilen il) |
|  | 12.      | Uşak                               | 0,16867                             |
|  | 13.      | Burdur                             | 0,14395                             |
|  | 14.      | Samsun                             | 0,08791                             |
|  | 15.      | Kırıkkale                          | 0,05851                             |

Şekil 1. Alt gruplardan çalışmaya dahil edilecek illerin seçimi



Belirlenen 10 ana gruptan örnekleme dahil edilen il sayısı toplamda 21'dir. Çalışmanın gerçekleştirileceği okulların belirlenmesi için ise öncelikle her ilde ait okul listeleri çıkarılmıştır. Daha sonra her ilden bir özel okul ve iki devlet okulu (şehir merkezinden-ilçe ve köylerden) rastgele seçilmiştir.

### **Örnekleme Özellikleri**

Bu çalışma 21 ilden 60 okuldaki 2497 öğrencinin katılımı ile yürütülmüştür. Üç okulda 8. sınıf düzeyinde öğrenci bulunmadığı için araştırma örnekleminde çıkarılmıştır. Ayrıca, 24 öğrenciden gelen veriler uç nokta özelliği gösterdiği için çalışmadan çıkarılmıştır. Özetle bu çalışmanın analizleri 2473 öğrenciden gelen veriler üzerinde yapılmıştır. Her ilden çalışmanın kapsamında anket uygulanan öğrenci sayıları Tablo 1'de sunulmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılan öğrencilerin %72'si (n=1780) devlet okullarında öğrenim görmekteyken, %28'i (n=693) özel okulda okumaktadır. Devlet okuyan öğrencilerin yüzde %44.5'i (n=792) kırsal kesimdeki devlet okullarından olup, yüzde 55.5'i (n=988) ise şehir merkezindeki bir okulda okumaktadırlar. Çalışmaya katılan öğrencilerin yüzde 49.3'ü (n=1220) kız, 49.8 ise (n=1232) erkektir. Öğrencilerin ailelerinin eğitim durumu incelendiğinde; öğrencilerin yüzde 9.3'ünün annelerinin, yüzde 2.1'inin ise babalarının okuma yazma bilmediği ortaya çıkmıştır. Yüzde 3.4'ünün anneleri okuma yazma bilirken herhangi bir okula gitmemişlerdir. Okuma yazma bilip de okula gitmeyen babaların oranı ise yüzde 2.5'dir (n=63). İlkokul mezunu annelerin oranı yüzde 40.3 iken (n=996), ilkokul mezunu babaların oranı yüzde 29.4 (n=726) olarak bulunmuştur. Orta okul mezunu annelerin oranı yüzde 12.5 (n=309) iken, ortaokul mezunu babaların oranı yüzde 16.4'dür (n=405). Annelerin yüzde 18.2'si (n=449) lise, yüzde 12'si ise (n=296) üniversite mezunudur. Lise mezunu olan babaların oranı yüzde 23.1 (n=571) iken, üniversite mezunu babaların oranı yüzde 19.9'dur (n=493). Öğrencilerin çok az bir kısmının ailesi master ya da doktora derecesine sahiptir. Anneler için bu oran yüzde 2.2 (n=55) iken yüksek lisans ya da doktora yapmış olan babaların oranı yüzde 4 (n=100) olarak bulunmuştur.

Tablo 1.  
*İl ve okul türüne göre öğrenci sayıları*

| No     | İller     | Okul Sayısı | Devlet (Kırsal) | Devlet (Merkez) | Özel | Toplam |
|--------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|------|--------|
| 1      | Adana     | 3           | 35              | 64              | 44   | 143    |
| 2      | Afyon     | 3           | 54              | 34              | 29   | 117    |
| 3      | Amasya    | 2           | 31              | 28              | -    | 59     |
| 4      | Ankara    | 3           | 13              | 52              | 15   | 80     |
| 5      | Bilecik   | 3           | 22              | 63              | 22   | 107    |
| 6      | Çanakkale | 3           | 33              | 14              | 35   | 82     |
| 7      | Çankırı   | 3           | 42              | 16              | 29   | 87     |
| 8      | Eskişehir | 3           | 62              | 59              | 61   | 182    |
| 9      | Hatay     | 3           | 16              | 63              | 50   | 129    |
| 10     | Iğdır     | 2           | 66              | 48              | -    | 114    |
| 11     | İstanbul  | 3           | 16              | 21              | 59   | 96     |
| 12     | İzmir     | 3           | 39              | 54              | 67   | 160    |
| 13     | Kayseri   | 3           | 31              | 48              | 38   | 117    |
| 14     | Kilis     | 3           | 26              | 15              | 11   | 52     |
| 15     | Kocaeli   | 3           | 64              | 62              | 35   | 161    |
| 16     | Muğla     | 3           | 48              | 50              | 35   | 133    |
| 17     | Nevşehir  | 3           | 65              | 40              | 67   | 172    |
| 18     | Niğde     | 3           | 19              | 82              | 13   | 114    |
| 19     | Siirt     | 3           | 44              | 37              | 38   | 119    |
| 20     | Şırnak    | 2           | 37              | 79              | -    | 116    |
| 21     | Yozgat    | 3           | 29              | 59              | 45   | 133    |
| Toplam | 21        | 60          | 792             | 988             | 693  | 2473   |

### **Veri Toplama Aracı**

Çalışmada veri toplama aracı olarak IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) tarafından geliştirilen ve 13-14 yaş grubu öğrencilerinin vatandaşlık ile ilgili kavramlara yönelik olarak sahip oldukları tutumlar, bilgi ve davranış düzeylerini belirlemeyi amaçlayan öğrenci anketi kullanılmıştır.

## **Veri Toplama Aracının Uyarlanması**

Adaptasyon sürecine başlanmadan önce kullanılmak istenen anketi hazırlayan komiteden gerekli izin alınmıştır. Veri toplama aracının adaptasyon sürecinin ilk basamağını anketin Türkçe'ye çevrilmesi oluşturmuştur. Bu süreçte grup çeviri metodu (Harkness & Schoua-Glusberg, 1998; Nasser, 2005) kullanılmıştır. Daha açık bir ifadeyle, orijinali İngilizce olan anket, her iki dili de iyi düzeyde bilen 3 yabancı dil uzmanına çeviri için verilmiştir. Anketin üç ayrı çevirisi yapıldıktan sonra çevirilerin değerlendirilmesi sürecine geçilmiştir. Bu süreçte araştırmacı ve proje danışmanı biraraya gelerek çevirileri detaylı olarak incelenmiş ve her madde için en tutarlı çeviri seçilmiştir. Çeviri süreci tamamlandıktan sonra en uygun çevirilerin seçilmesiyle oluşturulan Türkçe anket uzmanların görüşüne sunulmuştur. Bu süreç anketin kapsam ve yüzey geçerliliğinin belirlenmesini sağlamıştır. Adaptasyon aşamasında toplamda 21 uzmanın görüşü alınmıştır. Uzmanlardan elde edilen verilerle anket gözden geçirilmiş ve değiştirilmesi-çıkarılması gereken boyut ve maddeler hakkındaki görüşler ankete yansıtılmıştır. Adaptasyon sürecinin diğer basamağında ise pilot uygulamadan önce Ankara ilindeki bir devlet okulunda 23 öğrenciye anket uygulanmış ve öğrencilerden bir ders saatinde uygulamayı bitirmeleri istenmiştir. Bu uygulamanın sonucunda, öğrencilerin anlamakta güçlük çektikleri maddeler tespit edilmiş ve pilot uygulamadan önce gerekli düzenlemeler yapılmıştır. Son aşama olan pilot uygulama için ise yine Ankara ilinde 19 okuldaki 809 öğrenciye adaptasyonu yapılan anket uygulanmıştır. Fakat, pilot çalışmadan sonra Eğitim Araştırma-Geliştirme dairesi tarafından maddeler üzerinde değişiklikler yapıldığından, güvenirlik ve faktör analizi hesaplamalarında ana uygulamadan elde edilen verilerin kullanılmasına karar verilmiştir. Pilot uygulama süreci ise yine kapsam ve yüzey geçerliliği ile ilgili ek veriler sağlamıştır.

## SONUÇLAR

Bu çalışmanın bulguları toplam 2473 sekizinci sınıf öğrencisinden elde edilen verilere dayanmaktadır. Betimsel analiz sonuçlarına göre öğrenciler iyi vatandaş olabilmek adına geleneksel ve sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığı önemli bulmaktadırlar. Fakat, öğrenciler her ne kadar gelecekte seçim ile ilgili aktivitelere katılmak istemekteyseler de öğrencilerin yarısından fazlası gelecekte politik aktivitelere (ör. bir partiye katılma, yerel yönetim için aday olma) katılmak istemediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Öğrenciler, sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlık aktivitelerine ise muhtemelen ya da kesinlikle katılmayı düşündüklerini belirtmişlerdir. Betimsel analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan diğer bir bulgu ise öğrencilerin kadınların sosyal ve siyasal haklarına yönelik eşitlikçi bir algıya sahip olduklarıdır. Devletin ekonomik ve sosyal sorumlulukları hakkında ise öğrencilerin genel olarak skalada verilen görevleri devletin sorumluluğu olarak ifade ettikleri görülmüştür.

Cinsiyet, okul türü ve ailelerin eğitim düzeylerinin öğrencilerin vatandaşlık ile ilgili konulara karşı algıları üzerindeki etkilerini bulmak için varyans analizi yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar öğrencilerin geleneksel vatandaşlığın önemine yönelik algılarının sadece cinsiyete göre farklılaştığını göstermiştir. Daha açık bir ifadeyle, kız öğrencilerin geleneksel vatandaşlık faaliyetlerine kendi yaşlarındaki erkeklerden daha çok önem verdiği bulunmuştur. Aynı şekilde, cinsiyetin öğrencilerin sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayanan vatandaşlık ile ilgili algılarında da farklılık yarattığı tespit edilmiştir. Geleneksel vatandaşlık anlayışında olduğu gibi, kız öğrencilerin erkek öğrencilere göre sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayanan vatandaşlığa daha fazla önem verdikleri bulunmuştur. Cinsiyetle beraber, öğrencilerin sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayanan vatandaşlığa yönelik algıları okul türü ve aile eğitim düzeyine göre farklılık göstermiştir. Özel okulda okuyan ve daha eğitilmiş ebeveynlere sahip olan öğrencilerin sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayanan vatandaşlığa daha fazla önem verdikleri bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, öğrencilerin devletin hem ekonomik hem

sosyal sorumluluklarına yönelik algılarının okul türü ve velilerin eğitim düzeyine göre değişiklik gösterdiği bulunmuştur. Anne-babaları daha fazla eğitim almış olan ve özel okulda okuyan öğrencilerin sözü geçen sorumlulukları devletin görevi olarak attettikleri görülmüştür. Son olarak, öğrencilerin kadınların siyasal ve sosyal haklarına ilişkin görüşlerinin cinsiyet, okul türü ve velilerin eğitim düzeylerine göre değiştiği bulunmuştur. Literatürle aynı doğrultuda olarak, cinsiyet farkı bayan öğrencilerin lehinedir. Bunun yanı sıra, anne-babaları daha fazla eğitim alan ve özel okullarda okuyan öğrenciler kadınların siyasal ve sosyal haklarına ilişkin konularda yaşlılarındaki erkek öğrencilerden daha eşitlikçi görüşlere sahiptirler.

Öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenlerin; medya kullanım alışkanlıklarının; tartışmalara katılımın ve sınıf içi tartışma ortamının; müfredat ve müfredat dışı deneyimlerin; iyi vatandaşlık ile ilgili ve okul hayatında katılıma yönelik algıların öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik isteklerini ne düzeyde yordadığını tespit etmek amacıyla üç ayrı hiyerarşik çoklu regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Bütün regresyon analizleri için değişkenler beş set olarak hiyerarşik bir biçimde analizlere sokulmuştur. Özetle, bütün modeller, küçük ölçülerde ve değişen düzeylerde öğrencilerin seçime ait, siyasal ve sivil katılıma yönelik isteklerindeki varyansı anlamlı düzeyde açıklamıştır.

Öğrenciler ile ilgili demografik değişkenlerin ve onların seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik istekleriyle arasındaki ilişki incelendiğinde, cinsiyetin üç katılım formuna ait puanları da yordadığı bulunmuştur. Aradaki ilişkinin yönü dikkate alındığında, referans kategori olarak alınan erkek öğrencilerin geleceğe dönük siyasal katılım isteklerinin kız öğrencilerden daha yüksek düzeyde olmasına karşın, seçime ait ve sivil katılım eğilimlerinin kız öğrencilere göre daha düşük düzeyde olduğu bulunmuştur. Okul türü ile ilgili olarak, özel okullarda okuyan öğrencilerin, kırsal yerlerdeki devlet okullarındaki öğrencilerle karşılaştırıldığında seçime ait katılıma yönelik daha yüksek düzeyde istekleri olduğu bulunmuştur. Annenin eğitim düzeyi öğrencilerin

katılım eğilimlerini yordamasa da, babanın eğitim düzeyi ile öğrencilerin sivil ve siyasal katılıma yönelik eğilimleri arasında negatif bir ilişki olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, babaları yüksek öğrenim düzeyinde eğitimli olan öğrencilerin geleceğe dönük sivil ve siyasal katılım isteklerinin daha düşük düzeyde olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Evde yaşayan birey sayısının da öğrencilerin seçime ait ve politik katılıma yönelik isteklerini belirleyen bir faktör olduğu görülmüştür. Evde yaşayan kişi sayısı arttıkça, seçime ait katılıma yönelik isteğin azaldığı, fakat siyasal katılıma yönelik isteğin arttığı bulunmuştur. Son demografik değişken olarak modelde yer alan “evde bulunan kitap sayısı” değişkeninin de seçime ait katılım isteğini yordadığı bulunmuştur. Daha açık bir ifadeyle, evde 200 ve daha fazla kitabı olan öğrenciler evlerinde 50’den daha az kitabı olan öğrencilerle karşılaştırıldıklarında, evlerinde 200 ve fazlası kitap bulunan öğrencilerin seçime ait katılıma yönelik isteklerinin daha fazla olduğu görülmüştür.

İkinci model medya kullanım alışkanlıklarına ilişkin değişkenleri içermektedir. Öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenler kontrol edildikten sonra, farklı kaynaklardan takip edilen haberlerin farklı boyutlardaki katılım isteklerini etkilediği bulunmuştur. Daha açık bir ifadeyle, gazeteden ulusal konulara ilişkin makaleleri sıklıkla takip eden öğrencilerin seçime ait ve sivil katılıma yönelik geleceğe dönük isteklerinin daha yüksek olduğu bulunmuştur. Öte yandan, diğer ülkeler ile ilgili haberleri sıklıkla takip eden öğrencilerin sivil ve siyasal katılıma yönelik isteklerinin daha yüksek düzeyde olduğu bulunmuştur. Ayrıca televizyon haberlerini sıklıkla takip eden öğrenciler gelecekte seçime ait katılım faaliyetlerine katılma konusunda daha yüksek eğilim göstermişlerdir. Haberleri takip etmenin bu pozitif yöndeki etkilerine rağmen, televizyon izleme için ayrılan süre ile öğrencilerin seçime ait ve sivil katılıma yönelik istekleri arasında negatif ilişkinin olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Üçüncü model öğrencilerin sosyal ve siyasal olaylar ile ilgili aileleri, akranları ve öğretmenleriyle tartışma sıklığına yönelik değişkenleri ve sınıflarındaki açık

tartışma ortamı değişkenlerini içermektedir. Demografik ve medyaya ilişkin değişkenler kontrol edildikten sonra, sonuçlar yaşlılarla ve ebeveynlerle siyasal ve sosyal meseleler üzerine sıklıkla yapılan tartışmaların öğrencilerin seçime ait, siyasal ve sivil katılıma yönelik faaliyetlere katılma isteklerini yordadığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca, öğretmenlerle sıklıkla yapılan tartışmaların da öğrencilerin siyasal ve sivil katılıma yönelik faaliyetlere katılma isteklerini yordadığı ancak seçime ait faaliyetlere katılma yönelik eğilimlerle ilişkili olmadığı bulunmuştur. Üçüncü modelde anlamlı bulunan diğer bir değişken ise tartışmaya açık sınıf ortamıdır. Diğer bir deyişle, sınıf ortamlarını tartışmalara açık olarak betimleyen öğrencilerin seçime ait ve sivil katılıma yönelik faaliyetlere katılma isteklerinin daha çok olduğu tespit edilmiştir. İlginç bir şekilde, sınıf ikliminin tartışmalara açık olması öğrencilerin siyasal faaliyetlere katılım isteklerini öngörmemiştir.

Diğer modellerde olduğu gibi, dördüncü model de üç bağımlı değişkene ait varyansı da anlamlı düzeyde açıklamıştır. Okulda vatandaşlık ile ilgili konuların öğrenilmesi ile seçime ait, siyasal ve sivil faaliyetlere katılım istek düzeyleri arasında pozitif ve anlamlı bir ilişki bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, okul meclisi etkinliklerine sıklıkla katılan öğrencilerin siyasal katılıma yönelik isteklerinin, okul kulüplerine düzenli olarak katılan öğrencilerin ise seçime ait ve sivil katılım ile ilgili faaliyetlere yönelik isteklerinin daha fazla olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Hiyerarşik çoklu regresyon analizindeki son model ise öğrencilerin okul hayatında katılıma yönelik ve geleneksel-sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlık ile ilgili algılarını içermektedir. Üç hiyerarşik regresyon analizi için de  $R^2$  değerleri anlamlı düzeyde bulunmuş ve modeldeki üç değişkenin de öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil vatandaşlık faaliyetlerine katılım isteklerini açıkladığı görülmüştür. Ortaya çıkarılan ilişkilerin yönü dikkate alındığında, sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığın önemine inanan öğrencilerin seçime ait ve sivil vatandaşlık aktivitelerine katılıma yönelik isteklerinin de fazla olduğu fakat siyasal katılım isteklerinin düşük düzeyde

olduğu bulunmuştur. Diğer yandan, geleneksel vatandaşlığa önem veren öğrencilerin ise seçime ait, politik ve sivil faaliyetlere katılıma yönelik isteklerinin de fazla olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca, okul hayatına aktif katılımın önemine inanan öğrencilerin gelecekte seçime ait, siyasal ve sivil katılım ile ilgili faaliyetlere katılmak için daha çok istek gösterdikleri de gözlemlenmiştir.

## **TARTIŞMA**

Betimsel analiz sonuçları öğrencilerin gelecekte seçime ait faaliyetlere katılım isteklerinin yüksek olduğunu göstermektedir ( $M=3.43$ ). Yine, bulgular öğrencilerin yetişkin olduklarında sivil katılım faaliyetlerini deneyimleme istekleri olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Diğer yandan; öğrenciler, gelecekte politik faaliyetlere katılmaya daha az istekli bulunmuşlardır. Bu bulgular, literatürde ergenlerin katılım eğilimleri üzerine yapılan çalışmalarla örtüşmektedir (Cleaver ve diğerleri, 2004; Martin & Chiodo, 2007; Torney-Purta ve diğerleri., 2001; Torney-Purta, 2002b).

Öğrencilere ait demografik değişkenlerin öğrencilerin katılma eğilimleri üzerindeki etkisi araştırıldığında, cinsiyetin seçime ait, sivil ve politik katılıma yönelik eğilimlerle farklı düzeylerde ve yönlerde ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Literatürde de üzerinde durulduğu gibi (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004; Husfeldt ve diğerleri, 2005; Wilkenfeld, 2009) kız öğrencilerin seçime ait katılım faaliyetlerine erkeklerden daha fazla katılma isteklerinin olduğu bulunmuştur. Aynı şekilde, kız öğrencilerin gelecekte sivil katılım faaliyetlerinde yer almayla ilgili olarak erkeklere oranla daha çok istekli olmaları da literatürde birçok çalışmada vurgulanmıştır (Flanagan ve diğerleri, 1998; Hooghe & Stolle, 2004; Husfeldt ve diğerleri, 2005; Metzger & Smetana, 2009; Pizmony-Levy, 2007; Wilkenfield, 2009). Diğer yandan, çalışmadaki diğer bir bulgu, literatürle uyumlu olarak (Akay, 2009; Metzger & Smetana), erkek öğrencilerin politik faaliyetlere katılıma yönelik kızlara oranla daha istekli olduklarını göstermektedir.



Her ne kadar bazı istisnalar olsa da, sosyoekonomik seviye ile ilgili olarak literatürde gelir düzeyi, ebeveynlerin eğitim durumları ve evdeki kitap sayısı değişkenlerinin seçime ait ve politik katılıma yönelik istekle pozitif yönde ilişkili olduğu belirtilmektedir (Baldi ve diğerleri, 2001; Kerr ve diğerleri, 2003; Lopes ve diğerleri, 2009; Menezes ve diğerleri, 2003; Spring ve diğerleri, 2007; Wilkenfeld, 2009). Fakat bu çalışma literatürde altı çizilen bu pozitif ilişki ile ilgili daha farklı bir senaryo ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ne ailenin gelir düzeyi ne de annenin eğitim düzeyi öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik istekleriyle ilişkili bulunmuştur. Üstelik bulgular babanın eğitim düzeyi ile ilgili bazı ilginç sonuçlar ortaya koymuştur. Babanın yüksek öğrenim düzeyinde eğitilmiş olması öğrencilerin gelecekteki seçime ait faaliyetlere ilişkin eğilimleriyle ilişkili bulunmazken, onların politik ve sivil faaliyetlere katılım istekleriyle negatif ilişkisinin olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Yine sosyo ekonomik düzeyle ilişkili bir diğer değişken olan evdeki kitap sayısı da sadece öğrencilerin seçime ait katılıma yönelik isteklerini yordamıştır. Son demografik değişken olarak, evdeki kişi sayısının da öğrencilerin geleceğe dönük seçime ait ve politik katılım faaliyetlerine yönelik isteklerini yordadığı görülmüştür. Evdeki birey sayısı arttıkça seçime ait faaliyetlere katılma eğiliminin azaldığı, fakat politik faaliyetlere katılma eğiliminin arttığı gözlemlenmiştir. Literatürde, evde yaşayan kişi sayısının katılım eğilimiyle ilişkisi üzerine bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Bu nedenle, bu ilginç bulguyu açıklamak için kalabalık ailelerin ve küçük ailelerin sosyoekonomik düzeylerinin de incelendiği daha ileri araştırmalara ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada, medyanın ergenlerin seçime ait, sivil ve politik katılıma yönelik isteklerine etkisi iki boyutta incelenmiştir. Bu boyutlardan bir tanesi gazete ve televizyondan haberleri takip etme, diğer ise televizyon izleme sıklığıdır. Türkiye hakkında gazete haberleri okumak seçime ait katılım isteğini pozitif yönde etkilerken diğer ülkeler hakkında haberleri okumanın politik faaliyetlere katılım isteğiyle yine pozitif yönde bir ilişkisi bulunmuştur. Bu pozitif ilişki literatürde gazete okuma ve katılım üzerine yoğunlaşan bir çok

çalışmada vurgulanmıştır (D. E. Campbell, 2006; Garramone & Atkin, 1986; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Diğer yandan, yurtdışında yapılan birçok araştırmayla paralel olarak (D. E. Campbell, 2006; O'Neill, 2010; Putnam, 1995) sıklıkla televizyon izlemenin seçime ait ve sivil katılım faaliyetlerine yönelik istekle negatif yönde bir ilişkisi olduğu görülmüştür.

Bulgular; ebeveynler, arkadaşlar ve öğretmenlerle sosyal ve politik hususlar üzerine yapılan tartışmaların -öğretmenlerle yapılan tartışmalar ile öğrencilerin seçime ait katılıma yönelik istekleri arasındaki ilişki hariç- öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik istekleri arasında pozitif bir ilişki ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu bulgu literatürde bu konu üzerine yapılan araştırmalarla tutarlılık göstermektedir (Andolina ve diğerleri, 2003; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kelly, 2006; Klofstad, 2008; McClurg, 2003; McIntosh ve diğerleri, 2007; Pancer ve diğerleri, 2007; Richardson, 2003; Schulz, 2005).

Müfredat ve müfredat dışı değişkenlerin öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılıma yönelik isteklerine etkisi göz önüne alındığında, literatürde de bahsedildiği gibi (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, 2002a; Wilkenfeld, 2009) okulda vatandaşlık ile ilgili konuların öğrenilmesi öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil katılımlarını pozitif düzeyde yordamıştır. Müfredat dışı faaliyetlere katılım dikkate alındığında ise, aralarında çok küçük bir ilişki tespit edilmiş olmasına rağmen, okul klup etkinliklerine sıklıkla katılan öğrencilerin gelecekte seçime ait ve sivil katılıma yönelik faaliyetlere katılmaya daha fazla istek gösterdikleri bulunmuştur. Bu bulgu, literatürdeki birçok çalışmayla da örtüşmektedir (Hart ve diğerleri, 2007; Kahne & Sporte, 2008). Diğer yandan, okul meclisi etkinliklerine sıklıkla katılmak öğrencilerin yalnızca politik katılım faaliyetlerine yönelik isteklerini yordamıştır.

Bu çalışmanın diğer bir bölümünde öğrencilerin; iyi vatandaş, devletin sorumlulukları ve kadınların siyasal ve sosyal hakları hakkındaki algıları üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Sonuçlar sadece cinsiyetin öğrencilerin geleneksel

vatandaşlık anlayışlarında farklılık yarattığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Kız öğrencilerin geleneksel vatandaşlık anlayışına dayalı faaliyetleri erkek öğrencilere göre daha önemli buldukları ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bulgu Doğanay ve Sarı (2009) tarafından yapılan çalışmayla tutarlıdır. Öğrencilerin toplumsal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlık ile ilgili algılarına gelince, bu çalışma cinsiyet, okul türü ve velilerin eğitim durumuna yönelik farklılıklar ortaya çıkarmıştır. Geleneksel vatandaşlık ile ilgili algılarda olduğu gibi, kız öğrenciler toplumsal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığa daha fazla önem vermektedirler. Benzer bir şekilde, Torney-Purta ve diğerleri (2001) IEA çalışmasına katılan 9 ülke için kız öğrenciler lehine cinsiyet farklılığı rapor etmişlerdir. Kız öğrencilerin yanı sıra, özel okullarda okuyan öğrencilerin sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığa daha fazla önem verdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca, öğrencilerin sosyal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlığa yönelik algılarının velilerin eğitim düzeyine göre de değiştiği gözlenmiştir. Doğanay & Sarı (2009) tarafından yürütülen çalışmayla tutarlı olarak, anne ve babaları yüksek öğrenim düzeyinde eğitilmiş olan öğrenciler toplumsal hareketlilik anlayışına dayalı vatandaşlık faaliyetlerine daha fazla önem vermektedirler.

Öğrencilerin devletin sorumlulukları ile ilgili algıları ekonomik ve sosyal boyutlar açısından açısından incelenmiştir. Varyans analizinin sonuçları öğrencilerin devletin ekonomik ve sosyal görevlerine yönelik algılarının cinsiyete göre değişmeyip okul türü ve velilerin eğitim düzeyine göre değiştiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu sonuç yüksek eğitim düzeyine sahip olan ailelerin düşük eğitim düzeyine sahip ailelere göre çocuklarına hakları ile ilgili daha fazla bilinç aşılmasıyla ilgili olabilir. Okul türüne yönelik farklılık ise, özel okul ve devlet okulundaki öğrencilerin sosyo-ekonomik özelliklerindeki farklılıklar çerçevesinde ele alınabilir.

Son olarak, öğrencilerin kadınların siyasal ve sosyal hakları konusundaki görüşlerine gelince, veriler cinsiyete, okul türüne ve velilerin eğitim

düzeylelerine göre farklılıkların olduğunu göstermektedir. Literatürde de vurgulandıđı gibi (Greenberg, 1973; Hahn, 1998; Seginer et al., 1990; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) kız öğrencilerin kadınların siyasal ve sosyal hakları konusunda yaşlılarındaki erkeklerden daha eşitlikçi görüşlere sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Yine, özel okullarda okuyan öğrencilerin kırsal devlet okuyan öğrencilerden daha eşitlikçi görüşlere sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Üstelik şehir merkezlerindeki devlet okullarında okuyan öğrenciler ile kırsal devlet okullarındaki öğrenciler arasında da, şehir merkezindeki okullar lehine anlamlı farklılıklar bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, öğrencilerin kadınların siyasal ve sosyal hakları hakkındaki algıları hem annenin hem babanın eğitim durumuna göre farklılık göstermiştir. Anne ve babanın yüksek öğrenim düzeyinde eğitilmiş olmasının çocuklarının, kadınların siyasal ve sosyal hakları hakkındaki görüşlerinde olumlu düzeyde farklılık yaratması beklenen bir sonuçtur.

## ÖNERİLER

Bu çalışma, kurgulandıđı üzere, öğrencilerin vatandaşlık ile ilgili konu ve kavramlar hakkındaki algılarını ve onların seçime ait, siyasal ve sivil boyuttaki katılıma yönelik eğilimleri hakkında bulgular ortaya çıkarmıştır. Farklı araçların yardımıyla, bu sonuçlar öğrencilerin vatandaşlık bilinçlerinin gelişmesi için bir araç olarak kullanılabilir.

### *Öğretmenler;*

- Öğrencilerin vatandaşlık ile ilgili kavramlara yönelik algılarında ve katılım eğilimlerinde ortaya çıkan cinsiyet farklılıklarını azaltmaya yönelik etkinlikler geliştirebilir. Örneğin; vatandaşlığın cinsiyetle ilgili bir kavram olmadığı üzerine planlanmış sınıf içi tartışmalar organize edilebilir.
- Öğrencileri okul meclisi, toplumsal hizmet gibi program dışı faaliyetlerde daha aktif bir rol almaları için teşvik edebilir.

- Öğrencileri gazete okumaları konusunda yönlendirebilir ya da ders saatinin bir kısmını düzenli bir şekilde haberleri paylaşmaya ayırabilir.
- Sınıfta sosyal ve siyasal konuları tartışmak için zemin hazırlayabilir ve bunun yanında öğrencileri aileleri ve arkadaşlarıyla sosyal ve siyasal konuları tartışmaları yönünde teşvik edebilirler.

#### *Okul yönetimi;*

- Öğrencilerin gelecekteki katılım isteklerini olumlu yönde etkileyecek, katılımı okul boyutunda deneyimleyebilecekleri bir okul atmosferi yaratmak için öğretmenlere destek çıkabilir.
- Okul ve çevresini koruma faaliyetleri, yardım toplama etkinlikleri, ikinci el kitap toplama gibi etkinliklerle öğrencilerin ve öğretmenlerin beraber çalışabileceği aktiviteler düzenleyebilir.

#### *Veliler;*

- Evde çocuklarıyla sosyal ve siyasal konuları tartışma sıklığını artırabilir ve çocuklarını haberleri okuma ve takip etmeleri yönünde teşvik edebilirler.
- Çocukları için farklı eğitim düzeyi ve sosyal geçmişe sahip kişilerle kaynaşma olanağı sağlayan ve katılımın önemini vurguladığı kadar sosyal problemler hakkında da bilinçlendiren etkinlikler düzenleyebilirler.

#### *MEB;*

- Velilere yönelik olarak demokratik süreçlere katılımın önemi hakkında seminerler düzenleyebilir.
- Sosyal bilgiler öğretmenlerine konuyla ilgili uygulama ve çalışmaları paylaşabilecekleri vatandaşlık eğitimi hakkında hizmet içi eğitim sağlayabilir.

- Farklı gruplardan elde edilecek dönütlerle okul meclisi uygulamasının düzenli olarak değerlendirilmesi ve bu uygulamanın etkililiğinin artırılması yönünde çalışmalar yapılabilir.

*İleride yapılacak çalışmalara yönelik öneriler;*

- Bu çalışmanın örnekleme 8. sınıf öğrencileri ile sınırlıdır. Fakat, literatürde belirtildiği üzere, öğrencilerin vatandaşlık algıları yaşa göre farklılık göstermektedir (Çal, 2006; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2003); bu nedenle, benzer ölçütlerde farklı yaş düzeylerine yönelik olarak yapılacak başka çalışmalar yaşa bağlı olası değişiklikleri ortaya koyabilecek ve farklı seviyeler için somut bilgiler sunacaktır.
- Bu çalışmanın bir boyutu öğrencilerin seçime ait, politik ve sivil faaliyetlere eğilimini tanımlamaya odaklanmıştır. Literatüre dayanarak, ergenlikteki bu eğilimlerin erişkinlikteki katılım davranışı için bir zemin oluşturduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Fakat, gelecekte yapılacak uzamsal çalışmalar katılım davranışı üzerine daha net bilgiler sağlayacaktır.
- Bu çalışmadan elde edilen veriler, sebep-sonuç ilişkisi hakkında bilgiler sağlamaz. Bu nedenle, yapılacak deneysel çalışmalar bu boyutta bilgiler sağlayabilir.
- Bu çalışmada öğrencilerin anketlerdeki sorulara verdiği cevaplara dayanarak yargıda bulunulmuştur. Gözlem ve görüşmeler aracılığıyla ileride yapılacak nitel çalışmalar sadece öğrencilerin görüşlerinin geçerliliğini göstermekle kalmayıp ayrıca çalışmada ortaya konulan sonuçları daha sağlam bir zemine oturtacaktır.

## APPENDIX F

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Mısırlı-Özsoy, Ayşegül  
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#### EDUCATION

| Degree      | Institution                                      | Year of Graduation |
|-------------|--|--------------------|
| PhD on MS   | METU, Educational Sciences                       | 2010               |
| BS          | DEU, Elementary School<br>Education              | 2002               |
| High School | Konak Anatolian Commercial<br>High School, İzmir | 1998               |

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

| Year          | Place                                       | Enrollment          |
|---------------|---|---------------------|
| 2002- Present | METU, Department of<br>Educational Sciences | Research Assisstant |
| 2006-2007     | University of Ulster, Unesco<br>Centre      | Visiting Scholar    |