

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES,
THE CASE OF BODRUM

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ABSTRACT

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES, THE CASE OF BODRUM

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Various assumptions exist regarding the relationship between socio-economic factors as income and education, and personal factors as age and gender, and political participation. In an attempt to test the veracity of these widely held assumptions, this study initially examines the relationship between socio-economic factors (education and income) and personal factors (age and gender) and political participation. Secondly, interest and perception of people about politics and municipal administration were investigated to be able to set some policy proposal for encouraging participation of people in politics. In order to reveal the effects of these factors on participation of people, a survey study was applied to residents in Bodrum. The study encompasses a questionnaire and in-depth interviews.

According to results of the research; effects of some of these socio-economic and personal factors on political participation were observed but it was also seen that especially some other factors as income, generated no differentiation between participants. There have been gained some implications not in accordance with mainstream literature. However, political perception and interest of people show us that act of voting and political parties are seen as the main, even only, actors of political participation. In other words, people seem having a narrow political interest and perception. In addition, findings of the survey suggest that some initiatives should be composed on the initiative of municipal administration to encourage participation of people in politics.

Keywords: Participation, Age, Gender, Education, Income

ÖZ

YEREL KARAR ALMA SÜREÇLERİNDE HALKIN KATILIMI, BODRUM ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü
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Gelir ve eğitim gibi sosyoekonomik faktörler ve yaş ve cinsiyet gibi bireysel faktörler ile politik katılım arasındaki ilişkiye dair birçok varsayım bulunmaktadır. Genel kabul gören bu varsayımların doğruluđunu test etmeyi amaçlayan bu çalışma öncelikle sosyo-ekonomik faktörlerle (eđitim ve gelir) bireysel faktörlerin (yaş ve cinsiyet) politik katılım ile olan ilişkisini inceler. İkinci olarak, insanların siyasi katılımını arttırmak amacı güden bazı siyasa önerileri getirebilmek için insanların politika ve yerel yönetimler hakkındaki ilgi ve algıları araştırılmıştır. Bu faktörlerin insanların katılımı üzerindeki etkilerini açığa çıkarmak için Bodrum'da ikamet eden insanlar üzerinde bir araştırma çalışması yapılmıştır. Araştırma anket ve derinlemesine görüşme yöntemlerini içermektedir.

Arařtırma sonularına gre; bazı sosyo-ekonomik ve bireysel faktrlerin siyasi katılım zerindeki etkileri gzlemlenmiřtir fakat zellikle gelir gibi bazı faktrlerin de bireyler arasında herhangi bir farklılařmaya yol amadığı grlmřtr. Ana akım literatrde olduėundan farklı birtakım ıkarımlar elde edilmiřtir. Ayrıca, insanların siyasi algı ve ilgileri gstermiřtir ki, oy verme eylemi ve siyasi partiler, siyasi katılımın bařlıca, hatta tek, aktrleri olarak grlmektedir. Diėer bir deyiřle, katılımcılar dar bir siyasi algı ve ilgiye sahip gzlmektedirler. Bunun yanında, alıřma bulguları kentlilerin siyasi katılımını arttırmak amacıyla belediye ynetiminin nclėnde bazı inisiyatiflerin geliřtirilmesinin faydalı olabileceėine iřaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Katılım, Yař, Cinsiyet, Eėitim, Gelir

To Elif

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment for Animals
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Institute

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Participation of people in politics is an issue which involves various factors and dimension. In any political systems, people engage in political field not coincidentally but with incentives of some socio-economic, socio-cultural, personal or some other factors. People who are engaged in politics somehow might have similar socio-economic or cultural backgrounds but this is not a rule. People from similar socio-economic and cultural backgrounds do not necessarily engage in politics but some common implications could be engendered. Such as people from upper education possibly have more engagement in politics than people who are poorly educated. It is obvious that socio-economic level characterized by occupation, income, education and social status, can give various opportunities and abilities for participation process and cognition of politics. Therefore, each single individual can not be expected as he/she identifies himself/herself with political system in similar extents due to similar socio-economic and socio-cultural terms. Even if socio-economic factors have an undeniable portion for cognition of politics and political issues, they are not the only factors shaping participation of people. There can be many other factors effecting participation of people in politics. Gender and age are two of them called personal factors. Various aspects related to the social positions of individuals, such as education, gender or age, are elements present in any standard model to explain political participation. The fact that those from advantaged backgrounds participate to a larger extent in politics is indeed one of the most consistent findings of many empirical researches.

1.2. Aim of the Study

As mentioned above there are many factors effecting participation of people in politics. Those are socio-economic, psychological, legal, political and some other factors. Our research focuses on socio-economic and personal factors which influence participation of people in politics. Our aim is to understand the participants that what perceptions they have about politics and participation and to reveal the factors affecting their participation in politics and finally to discuss proposals for increasing participation of them in politics.

The research based on a case study of a touristic coastal town of Turkey, namely Bodrum. The study involved interviews conducted with a broad amount of individuals living in Bodrum, covering education, age, economic power, employment and gender. The key objectives of the study are to investigate:

- The nature of individual's political interest and engagement, and the factors which have influenced or motivated their engagement or disengagement with politics.
- The way in which people conceptualize politics and participation considering images they have of politics and the areas which politics covers.
- What are the effects of gender, age, education and income on political participation?
- The validation of these factors within political field.
- The ways in which people could be encouraged to take more interest in or be more engaged with politics.

1.3. Scope of the Study

The study discusses some socio-economic and personal factors effecting participation of people in politics. For that, a survey was implemented on people living in Bodrum City Center. The study consists of chapters on the participation of the people in politics in addition to the introduction, methodology and conclusion chapters. The thesis mainly consists of six main chapters. In the first introductory

chapter provides a background to the study by identifying the aim and scope of the study as well as pointing to the direction and limitations of the study. Chapter II related to the literature provides definitions of political participation, causes and types of political participation which are mentioned under the title 'Theoretical Framework'. Chapter III on methodology of the thesis includes research design and sampling, content of questionnaire and in-depth questions, data collection and data analysis. Chapter IV is about the factors influencing participation of people in politics. Some fundamental knowledge is revealed about the factors. The factors are fundamentally personal and socio-economic variables. Another bunch of factors are psychological and political variables. In this chapter, some socio-economic and personal factors is analyzed as to data gained from questionnaires and in-depth interview. In Chapter V, we seek the ways of accelerating the participation of people in politics by proposing some policy recommendations. Finally in the Chapter VI, a general evaluation is designated and proposals are listed in order to find some solutions for obstacles in front of participation of people in politics both within municipality administration and other public or private bodies.

In addition, the research was run throughout three branches. These branches are the clusters of similar ways of involvement in politics. Firstly, effects of factors were handled within individualistic actions of political participation. Individualistic political participation includes the activities which are proper to act individually and independently from other members of the society. Collectivist actions of political participation form the second dimension. It points out the actions which necessitate collaboration and union of people, such as arranging meetings and demonstrations for reacting against a decision of politicians. The third and final dimension is about perception, attitudes and interest of people about politics.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Definition: Political Participation

Political participation simply means “influencing to the process of administration as voters or governors or as any other ways”. But this definition is very restricted. There are many aspects of participation; such as in urban planning, budgeting, environmental protection, referendum, withdrawing the governors from chairs, consulting the public, social movements (Geray, 1995). Keleş defines it as a kind of interaction between individual(s) and the organizations of political society (Keleş, 2003).

School of Modernization used the term in mid-1960's for revealing the economic and political development of undeveloped countries. After a break, it again turned to agenda in the second half of 1990's. The organizations as World Bank, United Nations and IMF made contributions to the term by using governance, social capital, subsidiary and empowerment as building stones of development (Akdoğan, 2004).

Democracy urges or motives individuals to participate to the formation and operation of organizations of political society. There is a tendency toward considering participation as a mean of accessing to some further target rather than considering it as a final aim. In other words, the aim is not to raise the quantity or quality of participation but to gain some favors from it. The anticipated favors from participation are such as to accelerate the effectiveness, minimize the costs; to be educated in political or administrative manner, upgrade the level of political culture and to strength democracy. The profits of participation are more than those. Citizens may easily embrace the services which they play part in formation of them. They

abide their quota of cost of the services. If citizens are invited to the process of establishing rules by the central or local administrations, they do not resist to the rules as before even if their propositions are not considered. Furthermore, the sense of self-confidence improves if citizens are included in to the processes of decision-making.

2.2. Democracy, Local Administration and Participation

The phenomenon “local administrations” has maintained its entity accompanied by some changes so far. In the process, the social, economic and cultural background has influenced to the characterization of local administrations. There has been a comprehensive consensus that the local administration should embrace the concepts autonomy or as Keleş calls it “freedom”, efficiency and participation. We should focus on the relation between democracy and local administration and also focus on the progress of this relation for better apprehension of what “the participation” means and the role of participation that composes the core of local administration. I’ll initially discuss the origins and the basis of existence of the participation in democracy. Subsequently, I’ll reveal the theories about the relation of democracy and participation in literature.

Participation and democracy have been penetrating each other for decades. As we look at Abraham Lincoln’s definition of democracy, “government of the people, by the people, for the people”, we can see the democracy indicating participation. Indeed, democracy is a system of governing based on participation of people. Participation of people in primitive forms of democracies, called direct democracy, was obvious sample of dense participation very before the modern democracies. Overall participation refers participation of all citizens in national or local scale. This notion seems utopian in indirect democracies as well as it can be perceived reasonable in direct democracies.

Increasing the level of participation is an agreeable struggle for democracy. But there have always been barricades in front of participation both in primitive and modern forms of democracies. The barricades in front of participation into elections as voter or candidate can be enumerated as tax giving or not, gender, slavery etc. in primitive

forms of democracy. Those were overcome by progress of systems but new barricades took former's place. For example, a deviation has occurred as population had enormously increased and prevented the applicability of direct democracy. The solution was 'representation' for this impasse. Governing via representation was both a solution and the beginning of problem about participation. Even, it can be told that the channels of participation for extensive participation are heritages of representation.

The participation is barely "imposing to the process of governing via voters or candidates". But this definition is deficient. As Turgut Göksun says that participation in local or nation-wide is perceived as electoral participation and then representing people after the elections. This perception is really deficient and restricted one in current political systems. In national or local view, political parties are common instruments for bringing citizens into political processes. Individuals can participate or be represented via political parties. The question, "is the level of participation via political parties satisfactory?" must be asked as well as political parties are one which is crucial for participation. The answer will probably be negative.

Bringing governors to power and throwing them out due to the failures through elections play a key role in democracies. Individuals can feel deficiently represented by governors. Individuals may be discontented when the party does not keep promises or the perception of individuals toward political parties may change. Furthermore, individuals may seek some new institutions except elections if they feel deficiently represented by governors. Non-governmental organizations are one of the most conspicuous institutions in developed democracies. These bodies present means of participation as political parties. Mc Kenzie sees non-governmental organization superior than political parties.

We can see participation of citizens attached to various definitions of democracy. Local administrations are usually referred to these definitions. There are local administrations in the historical roots of democracy. Urban democracy of Greek-Rome Civilization is the beginning of political culture of modern times (Yusuf Pustu, 123). Both being an administrative and a democratic body, local administrations are

at the core of debate. Participation as a common point reveals the relation between local administration and democracy. The term participation has become important in 1960 and 1970's (Şerif Öner, Uğur Yıldırım, 2004).

We can see dependence of local administration and democracy in the statements of Ortaylı: “the fundamental contribution to the glorious democracy in England belongs to continuous and effective local administrations”. There are some approaches on democracy-local administrations in literature. Some approaches state local administrations as inevitable factors of democracy. Furthermore, they mention equality between democracy and local administrations. Those groups support effective local administrations.

John Stuart Mill handles democracy-local administrations as a compulsory union. Also, Mill considers local administrations as means of education preparing citizens for national policy. Local administrations also implant the notion of democracy into brains of citizens throughout involving them in to the administration affairs. Alex de Tocqueville supports the same notion. McKenzie considers local administrations as means of politic education and bodies that performing some public services efficiently.

Another group of approaches refuses the compulsory relation between democracy and local administrations. George Langrod, in contrary to Mill, does not consider local administrations as means of education because he alleges that just a minority of political pioneers came from local administrations. According to Langrod, there is not a compulsory relation between democracy and local administrations. This group of approaches takes local administrations as just bodies performing some public services and ignores political sides of them.

2.3. Scope and Types of Political Participation

People participate in politics due to four main reasons. Those are individual commitment, solidarity, interest and sense of citizenship. Participation based on individual commitment is usually seen in rural areas of underdeveloped countries or in the regions which have low socio-economic development. In those areas, people

tend to participate in politics due to individualistic commitment to traditional leaders. Participation based on solidarity is an attempt indicating commitment of the social group which of she/he is a member. Participation based on interest clusters around some individualistic incentives, benefits from local communities and sectoral interests. Finally, participation based on sense of citizenship is the participation related with moral responsibility and sentiment and thus participation happens spontaneously. Participation of individual could take root from just one reason as well as it could take root from several reasons (Özbudun, 1975). Political participation can appear in various levels and types. According to Kapani, political participation encompasses an extensive attitude and field of activity which reaches a dense activity from a plain interest. Taking political participation just as act of voting or attitudes and behaviors in terms of elections is a cursory attempt (Öztekin, 2001). Baykal classifies political participation under three titles as to density. Firstly, 'watching political events' encompasses following political events via mass media; attending to party congresses and party meetings as audience and discussing political issues. Secondly, 'adopting a definite position on political events' encompasses a more dense participation than the first. In this case, individuals want to be a party to political events and announce this around. Individuals do that via mass media (writing in newspapers, making speeches for radio and TV) or getting into a union, working in various positions, standing as a candidate, attending demonstrations and meetings. Also Milbrath summarizes political participation under three titles. Those are spectator activities, temporary activities and gladiator activities. Political participation is generally divided into two types. According to Güneş and Ayata, those are individualistic political participation and social political participation.

2.3.1. Individualistic Political Participation

Individualistic political participation refers the actions and activities affecting politicians in active politics or those who will be actively in decision-making process upon the decisions of people with their own decision (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983). According to Güneş and Ayata (1995), individualistic political participation is one of the civic duties. The most prominent feature of this kind of participation is that it does not necessitate interaction between individuals but can be performed individually. The most proper individualistic political participation is voting.

Individualistic political participation is inclined to be effected by the factors as socio-economic status, age, gender, religion, education and residence.

2.3.2. Collectivist Political Participation

Collectivist political participation necessitates a fair interaction and social actions in opposition of individualistic political participation (Güneş and Ayata, 1995). The fundamental types of collectivist political participation are membership in political parties and associations, taking active duties, being candidate in elections, attending to demonstrations and meetings.

2.4. Why People Participate?

2.4.1. Instrumental Participation

The theory assumes that participation is intended to promote or defend the goals of participants with the minimum of costs and the maximum of effect. Instrumentalism is here interpreted widely in that these goals may be altruistic or more narrowly self-interested or more likely a mixture of the two. Verba and Nie say that “participation is to us most importantly an instrumental activity through which citizens attempt to influence the government to act in ways the citizens prefer”. It’s assumed that the fundamental reason why some people participate, whilst others do not, is that the participants consider that action is likely to bring them benefits in excess of any costs involved.

There are important differences between scholars who share this broad instrumentalist perspective on participation. On one hand, the social-psychological school of thought suggests that certain people develop civic attitudes which predispose them to participate. Their upbringing and personal environment encourage the development of skills and resources which are conducive to political interest and involvement. Civic attitudes include an interest in, and knowledge of, politics, a sense of political effectiveness and also a feeling that there is an obligation to participate. Such civic attitudes are more likely to emerge amongst upper-status individuals. These individuals are better educated and hence more knowledgeable

about politics. Knowing how to move around the political arena, they have a greater sense of efficacy. Their financial security permits them to invest time, energy and money on organization which can gain political advantages. The prominent exponents of the socio-physiological approach call it as “socio-economic status model”.

On the other hand, the economic model of participation suggests that people act in very strict instrumental terms and assess the value of public involvement in terms of the likelihood of achieving their objectives, compared with time, energy and frustration which could be anticipated. The reason of why some people are impelled to participate would commence with the issues, needs and problems which they face and with their economic and social interests. People’s needs, interests and desires are abundant and various. They may be shaped by people’s economic position, their education, their residence, their leisure pursuits or their religion. Thus, if one is unemployed, or has children in primary education, this will tend to push one’s participatory activity in certain directions rather than others.

2.4.2. Communitarian Participation

The theory suggests that one motive, or justification, for taking part in politics is not an instrumental calculation of benefit to oneself, but a concern for the community of which a person is a part. The higher the people are integrated into the local community and the stronger they are identified with it, the participation will be higher. In these circumstances, people have a more detailed understanding of local needs and problems and recognize that these needs are often shared with their neighbors. When people perceive their interdependence with others, they will seek to act to sustain their communal relationships. It is often thought that this sense of community identity is greater in smaller, more tightly-knit societies. Accordingly, one explanation for the relatively low levels of participation in modern societies is that these societies are excessively centralized and remote from their citizens. Milbrath and Goel allege that a country like Britain is highly urbanized and characterized by complex patterns of social and economic interactions which can stimulate participation. Such participation would be based more on interests, which

are shared by social and economic groupings than on any sense of community identification.

Plant suggests that people are as likely to feel a sense of communal identity with those who share their interests and life style than with people who are simply their neighbors. Such people feel sympathy with other workers in the same industry in different parts of a country- and sometimes strike in their support.

2.4.3. Educative Theory

Taking part in the processes of decision-making is said to be an education in political life which will develop the citizen's sense of competence and responsibility. The citizen's knowledge of politics increases through involvement in it. John Stuart Mill believed that this would have a moral influence as people came to appreciate more fully the interests and aspirations of their fellows. A more participatory society would be one which was more likely to be integrated and trusting.

2.4.4. Expressive Participation

In some instances, people may not participate in the expectation of directly achieving a goal or out of a concern for their community. Rather, they act in order to express their feelings or to display their stance about a matter. Their activity is an expression of their political identity. At its broadest, this may be a form of symbolic participation.

2.5. The Determinants of Participation

Political sciences aim at finding the questions "who participate in politics?", "how and why they do it?"; "which factors facilitate political participation?" and "who do not take part in political participation and why?" Other scholars have already undertaken work on political participation. For instance, Jennings uses variables such as age, gender, education and membership to explain different types of participatory acts. Many scholars mention these variables as the main determinants of participation. However, in many researches; age, gender, income, education, family

etc. are the major stimulants of political participation. As well as they are widely used in many studies they are not solely responsible for political participation. There more of those. For example there are some psychological factors in the ways in which people relate to politics and participation. In a study, if voting is thought the main way of political participation, the participation is influenced by three major factors: the perceived worth of the elections themselves (0.30) regularity of electoral procedures (0.19) and fairness of electoral procedures (0.17). In other words, if an election is deemed to be fair and legitimate and follows regular procedures, there will be a higher degree of political participation. Then, gender (0.11), income (0.12) and educational (0.13) level also have some impact on elections to some extent. Of course, there are many other factors influencing participation of people in politics but here we will deal with gender and age as personal factors; and with and education as socio-economic factors.

2.5.1. Personal and Socio-Economic Factors

2.5.1. 1. Gender

Gender is one of the main matters of discussion whilst political participation is the case. Gender is considered as a crucial factor playing role in participation of people in decision making process. For some, as Aristo and Campbell, gender is a focus point. According to them, basically, women have different political thinking than men. This notion carries the matter to “politics is business of man”. So, woman and politics seem converse. In other words, politics is not compatible with woman. According to Carnaghan, women participate in political field through different ways, ratios and causes. Actually, political participation could be implemented in various ways. Such as if political participation is considered just as membership to political parties, participation of women could be considered inadequate and gender is one of the factors highly influences political participation. However, participation does not consist of just membership to parties. Some indirect ways are also available as the ways of making politics such as attending to fund drives for the poor, elderly people and homeless people (Wintringham, 2005). Diversifying the ways of political participation brings different dimensions. For some others, such as Pattie et al.’s findings suggest some gender differences in the ways in which men and women

relate to politics and participation. They found that all forms of participation, individualistic or collectivist, whilst related to age, education and socioeconomic status, were not related to gender. However, they also found that women were less knowledgeable about and interested in and likely to talk about politics than men.

2.5.1.2. Education

Many researches indicate a reasonable relation between educational level and political participation because educated people are thought that they can easily access to knowledge and ability required for political activities. Education brings in income and status. Education increases inclination of people for political participation because education increases level of knowledge about political issues, ability and conscious of analyzing political issues (Acar, 2002). Effects of education on political participation can be listed as below:

- Increasing level of education makes political participation a civic duty.
- It brings in ability and trust to understand political and administrative institutions and structures.
- It provides income and social status. Especially in under developed countries this case is more conspicuous.
- Educated people have more adequacies to gain personal abilities and maintaining those.
- Educated people are more active participants for establishing relations with political environment.
- Political surroundings of educated people are broader than others for they are in many groups and classes. (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983)

2.5.1.3. Age

Another political source, which is determined out of own volition as gender roles, is age. According to Çukurçayır, individuals should reach a particular age to be equipped with some values, beliefs and expectation and also to be effective in political system (Çukurçayır, 1999). Age is crucial since age groups show different political behaviors due to influence of different socialization in various ages. Youth

is expected to have little attention for conventional ways of participation. Furthermore, researches demonstrate that young individuals are prone to the ideologies which are against to rooted and conventional structures.

In later years, political preferences of individuals become firm and effects of external factors on political preferences decrease. So, that implies a direct relationship between increasing ages and rate of political participation. In many empirical researches on density of youth's political participation, youth, between 18 and 25, are in politics in low-density and irregular fashion. Participation of them in politics increases when they enter their middle age. Then, after 60, their political participation and interest decreases (Turan, 1986).

2.5.1.4. Income

Participation in politics puts demands on people's scarce resources working on a political campaign requires time; writing a letter requires verbal acuity; making a donation to a candidate requires money; signing a petition requires a sense of personal competence. Participation in politics, that is, has a price, a price that is some combination of money, time, skill, knowledge and self-confidence. Some people are better able to pay the price than others. In economic life and social life they have more chances to do what they want. Likewise it's so in political life. People with money, time, skill, knowledge and self-confidence devote more resources to politics, not because politics give those more in return but because they can more easily afford it.

According to many political scientists, an increase in income may cause an increase in political interest (Baykal, 1970). Differences in income can affect many factors but firstly life style. Investigations about relation between income and political participation show that political interest of the people from lower income is less than people from upper one. It also shows that participation of them is lower than those from upper income. The main reason of this case is struggle of people from lower income for meeting basic needs and disinterest of those for social area out of family problems. Therefore, political participation of the people increases as the level of

income of those increases, so it can be said that individuals, whose income and education rise, will want to take part in political activities (Güçük, 2006).

Moreover, opportunity of the individuals, who are at the top level as to income, for being engaged in politics and being self-confident, is much more than other members of the society (Baykal, 1970). Although there are some researches implicating rises in income deepen the participation in politics, it's hard to tell the level of income necessarily raises participation anytime and any occasions. Some researches show that in spite of increase in income and upper socioeconomic conditions, sometimes a decrease in political participation is observed (Dursun, 2006). Even if a case like that is infrequently observed, a linear relation between income and participation is accepted in literature.

2.5.2. Psychological and Political Values

2.5.2.1. The sense of Effectiveness

The sense of “effectiveness” is one of the most important psychological factors revealing political participation. Briefly, it refers that feeling or not feeling being capable himself/herself about the issues around his/her environment. Seeman makes a clear definition of effectiveness: It is a feeling of being capable or incapable while the individuals struggle to influence the processes to in order to get some profits (Seeman, 1966). The individuals are tied to political system through personal relations. Individuals participate and support the political system if they believe that if they can gain some benefits in favor of themselves (Almond and Verba, 1963). Some individuals feel optimistic and have self-confidence about the problems surrounding them as well as some others demoralize in the presence of pressures and feel insufficient to overcome the conflicts and difficulties. The exposition above gives some clues about why some individuals are eager for participation while some other is not.

On the specific side, the concept revealing participation is “political effectiveness”. It takes root from the individuals who feel themselves sufficient at gaining some interests via political participation and feel themselves ready to use the paths of

political participation. Almond and Verba's researches support the link between the sense of effectiveness and participation (Almond and Verba, 1965). The sense of effectiveness rises participation up and also the participation creates the sense of effectiveness (Dahl, 1962).

2.5.2.2. Empathy

If the individual can think in a way putting him/her instead of someone else, this refers empathy. Lerner suggests that entity of participatory societies depends on "empathy". Briefly, a link is assumed between empathy and the model of participatory society human (Baykal).

2.5.2.3. Notion of Civic Duty

The title is intimately related to the sense of effectiveness. Individuals may feel essentially being added in to the political processes in any ways about the country or local bodies as a civic duty. This kind of feeling can make individuals be active in policy more possible. The research on this issue shows that high-leveled education and social-economic conditions raise the notion of civic duty.

2.5.2.4. Political Cynicism

Whereas a sense of political efficacy forms part of a citizen's view about his or her own role in the polity, political cynicism is one aspect of the individual's attitude to that polity. In particular, it is that element of the political culture which relates to how the authorities are perceived (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992). The term may seem equivalent to being opposite to a political party or an ideology but it's incoherent because cynicism and being opposite to a party or an ideology is different terms. Cynicism refers radical pessimism to the political life or system as a whole. Cynic individual adopts a definite and negative position to the political system. Characteristics of the term are distrust, skepticism and hostility to the political life.

2.5.2.5. Alienation

Alienation implies a receding between individual and political system. The political system is no more meaningful for the individual, does not meet his or her needs and prevent the individuals to achieve their purposes. The terms alienation has preventive effects on citizen towards participation. Ergil says, we should handle the alienation not as a behavior but as an attitude. Alienation may include inefficiency, anomy, distrust and incapability. Also it may arise as the result of those. Or we can handle the case as individual inefficiency, anomy, distrust and incapability may make contribution to alienation (McClosky and Schaar, 1965). Igor S. Kon asks three questions to enlighten us on the issue. Firstly, who alienates? Secondly, what individuals alienate from? Finally, how the alienation come into scene? (Kon, 1967) Ergil answers the questions as: 1. Citizens alienate 2. They alienate from the overall political system or a part of it 3. Individuals word it in some expressions. There are various reasons of alienation from political system. Many researches about the source of alienation emphasize on the relation between alienation and socio-economic status of alienated individuals but alienation is a negative function of socio-economic status. It is a predominant factor but not enough alone. Perception of political system is also important for entity of alienation. But there is more than the perception of political system for alienation: trust, effectiveness, capability, anomy etc. (Ergil, 1980)

2.5.2.6. Political Parties

As Geraint Parry, George Moyser and Neil Day suggest that parties play a very important role in facilitating and mobilizing participation amongst that small group of citizens who are individual members (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992). There is a strong connection between party membership and political participation. Party membership proves a most powerful stimulus. For relation between participation and party membership, Parry, Moyser and Day's survey is figured in the table. Initially, the abyss seems between non-members and members. On one side, members of party have a high percentage of overall participation. On the other side, non-members' rate is in bottom. Another difference is observed about party membership. There are variations between parties as to the impact that membership has on overall activity.

Many studies in different countries have similarly found that citizens with intense party preferences participate more.

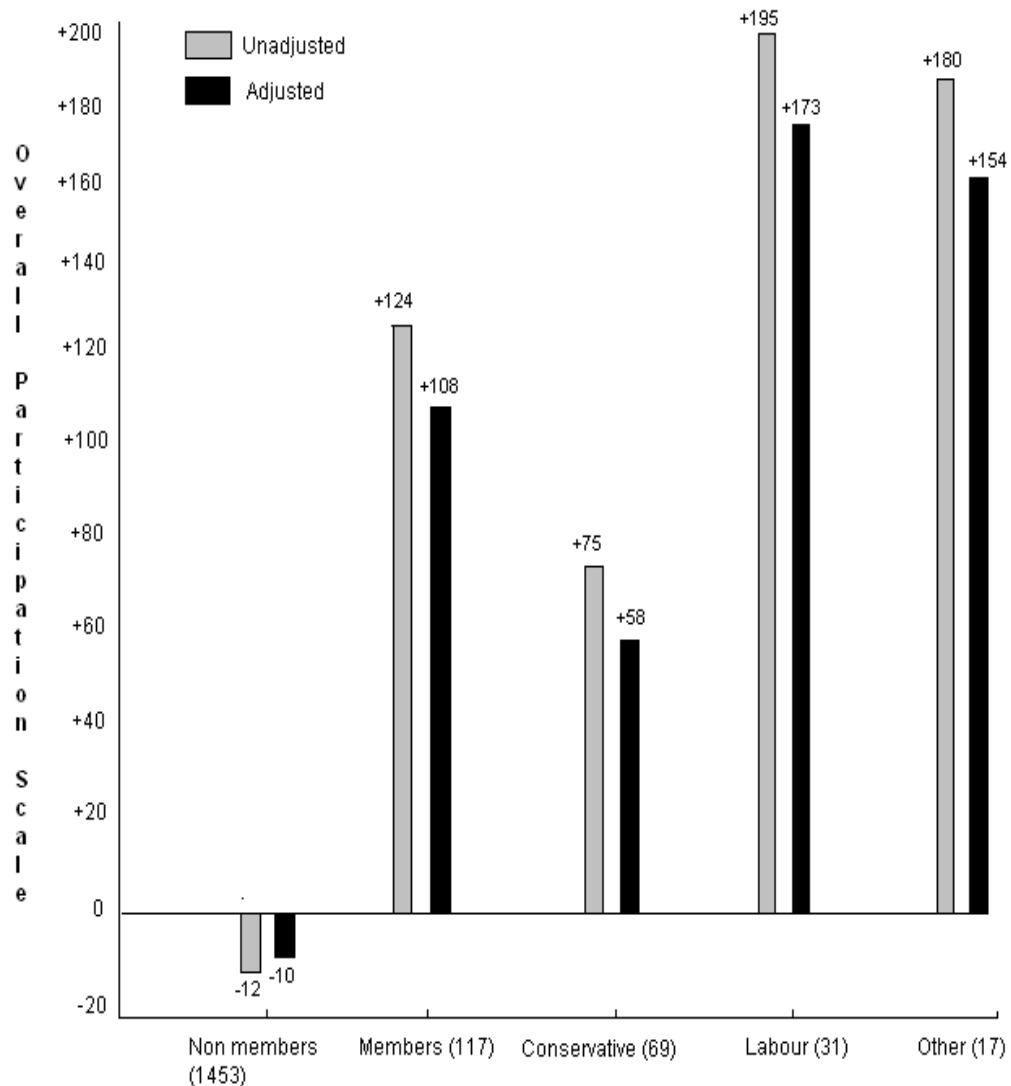


Figure 1: Overall participation by party membership in UK

2.5.2.7. Ideology: Left and Right

Parry (1992) alleges that the individuals who hold radical value positions either on the left or right participate well above the average. But there is inequality between the both wings. The left wing partisans are told more active than right. Centrists and moderates distinctly under-participate in comparison to radical leftists and rightist. They seem much less motivated by their moderate values to get behind the parties in their part of the spectrum.

2.5.2.8. New Concepts

Some actual and new concepts in modern societies are dominant on the agenda. Some of them are; nuclear weapon, environment (Green Peace), status of woman (feminist action), rights of animals (PETA), etc. The issues trigger many people to do something about humanity or the earth. Such as, feminist action stimulates people for demonstrations on violence against women. Or the supporters of nuclear disarmament arrange country-wide or larger-scaled campaigns, demonstrations or protests.

Those issues are not as familiar as common political issues. So the ordinary ways of participation do not meet those new concepts. All those issues brought about new types of participation and made some common ways of participation more actual and usable in most countries.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1. Research Design and Sampling

Having faithful knowledge and proper decisions are basics in scientific researches. Therefore, we have to reach correct information and generalize the information earned. Science is aggregate of knowledge which can be generalized. It is impossible to research all components detailed because of limited time and material provisions. Analyzing bundle of information consume too much time and effort. If limited information is enough, it's unnecessary to work on bundle of information. Therefore, the population, which researcher study on and represent all the features of target population is called 'research population' (Karasar, 2005).

Sample is a small cluster which is selected from a definite population and assumed having adequate representation. Researchers are usually implemented throughout samples and generalized for related population. In other words, correct knowledge about target population is tried to be reached by using knowledge abstracted from the sample (Karasar, 2005).

The population of this study is the people who live in Bodrum City Center. The target population is about 26.000. Sample size is 110 within ± 0.10 sample errors.

The research was structured initially upon a review of the literature, questionnaire and in-depth interview form. The questionnaires encompass 110 individuals and in-depth interviews encompass 24 individuals, totally 134 people took part in overall

study. The rationale for sample selection was to ensure diversity of coverage across certain key variables. These ensured diverse coverage within the following variables:

- Age
- Gender
- Education
- Income
- Occupation

The purposive nature of the sample selection ensured the sampling criteria were met across variables and that people from a wide range of different circumstances and backgrounds were included in the study. As a consequence, the sample was composed of females as one-third and males as two-thirds across three age groups. Sample was divided into three education level as primary school, high school and university or further education in close rates. As for income, the sample was divided into 4 fragments which imply different level of monthly earned income. About two-third of sample is married as well as one third is single.

3.2. Data Collection

There are several types of data collection. Those are questionnaire, observation methods, experimental methods, document review and interview method. In this study, three of those were benefited: document review, questionnaire and in-depth interview. Questionnaire is fundamental method. Providing a dense data at one attempt, reliability and legality due to converging to the population with a great sample are the basic reasons of usage of this method (Yazıcıoğlu, 2007).

110 questionnaire forms were fulfilled as reading the questions to the participants and writing what they declared to questionnaire forms. No recording apparatus were used for editing data. Participants were informed about the aim of this research to get reliable and genuine answers.

Also, in-depth interview method was used. This method was used to get views of participants about knowledge, attitude and behavior of participants to compensate limitation of questionnaire method. Interview method provides data about abstract

and complicated issues. Also it give chance to test the reliability and validity of the answers.

Feeling comfortable and confidential is one of the principles of interview method. Participants should define themselves easily. For providing a reliable environment, participants were told that some special information as their names won't be used in study.

Finally, document review was applied to compose theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

3.3. Content of Questionnaire

Questionnaire form was designated as twofold. In the first part of the questionnaire, there are 15 questions about demographic features as age, gender, education, income, occupation etc. The second part of the questionnaire consists of five subsections including 42 questions. Participation of people, views, attitudes and interest of people in political issues are tried to be observed through the sections. The first subsection measures participation of people in elections. The second subsection is about membership in associations and organizations. The third and fourth subsections are about individualistic and collectivist political participation. Finally the fifth subsection encompasses the questions for understanding interest and attitudes of people in politics.

3.4. Content of In-depth Interview

In in-depth interview form there are 32 open-ended questions to reveal interest and attitudes of people about politics. Aim of those questions is to deeply understand people's views about politics.

3.5. Data Analysis

The data gained from questionnaires were processed in SPSS 16.0 Statistic Programme and analyzed throughout. Frequencies and cross-tabulations were

composed and used in analysis. Data abstracted from questionnaire forms were evaluated with data of in-depth interview forms and arguments in literature. Views of participants about research base were used in the evaluation verbatim.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This part of the study consists of three sections. In the first section, demographic data about participants take part. Age, gender, level of education and income, and occupation of participants are mentioned in this section. In the second section, effects of socio-economic and personal factors on participation of people in politics will be discussed. In the last section, there will be some evaluations imposing how the participation of people in politics can be encouraged.

4.1. Demographic and Socio-economic Data about Participants

4.1.1. Age

Age factor has been divided into three groups as to responses of 110 participants and analyzed within this categorization. 33.6% of participants are at the ages between 18 and 29 which is called young age group. 31.8% of participants are at the ages between 30 and 49 called middle-age group and finally 34.5% of participants are at the age 50 and above. The rates of age groups are nearly equal to each other.

4.1.2. Gender

There are 35 female participants corresponding to 31.8% of all participants. The number of male participants is 75 corresponding to 68.2% of all participants.

4.1.3. Education

The rates of three education groups are close to each other. 37.3% of participants have primary school education. 29.1% of respondents have high school education and 33.7% of respondents have university graduation. Frequency of the education groups is close to each other.

4.1.4. Income

Economic power of respondents was categorized as to monthly income they gain. Therefore, it was divided into four fragments. The first group represents the participants who earn more than 750 TL in a month corresponding 28.2%. The second group as defined earning money between 750 and 1250 TL monthly is 24.5%. The third group is composed of the participants earning between 1250 and 2000 TL while it corresponds to 32.7% of all respondents. Third group is 32.7 %of all respondents. Finally the fourth group is 8.2% of all respondents which is determined as to 2000 TL and upper monthly income.

4.1.5. Occupation

Occupation of participants is shown below:

Self-employed 30 (27.3%),

Worker 17 (15.5%),

Civil servant 15 (13.6%),

Housewife 12 (10.9%),

Retired 13 (11.8%),

Employer 4 (3.6%),

Student 6 (5.5%),

Other 7 (6.4%)

4.1.6. Employed – Unemployed

Some of participants are working as well as some others are not. 68.2% (75) of all respondents have a job. 20.9% (23) were not working. Besides, 12 people corresponding to 10.9% of participants are retired.

4.1.7. Marital Status

Participants were asked whether they are married or not. According to data, 63.6% (70) of all respondents are married and 35.5% (39) of all respondents are single.

4.2. Socio-economic and Personal Factors Influencing Participation of People in Politics

Participation in politics requires some abilities; working on a political campaign requires time; writing a letter requires verbal acuity; making a donation to a candidate requires money; signing a petition requires a sense of personal competence. In other words, participation in politics has a price; a price that is some combination of money, time, skill, knowledge and self-confidence. Some people are better able to pay the price than others. In economic life and social life they have more chances to do what they want. Likewise it's so in political life. People with money, time, skill, knowledge and self-confidence devote more resources to politics, not because politics give those more in return but because they can more easily afford it.

4.2.1. Personal Factors

4.2.1.1. Gender

Gender is one of the factors which effects political participation. Differentiated roles and behaviors between men and women through gender effect political participation. Studies about political participation imply that, in all societies, women participate in politics less than men (Tekeli, 1982).

Effectiveness of women in politics is shaped by social conditions. Lane argues that image about the role of woman causes a differentiation in political behavior of them. According to this image, “politics is business of men”. People are satisfied with participation of women as a profession in social life, but participation of women in political life is rejected by people. Acquiring of political rights later than men has a great effect on this case. Women have self-determination in daily life in developed European countries as well as they have no self-determination in underdeveloped countries. Their choices are mostly shaped by their father or husband. The women are depoliticized and orientated in patriarchal societies. Findings of the survey show that some male participants indeed do not want their wives participate in politics. According to those husbands, politics is not business of women at all. So women should avoid from political life. Those are not the only husbands opposing participation of their wives in politics, but also there are some others who would support their wives in politics.

Political affairs are seen as a milieu that must be granted to men as a result of rigid roles of gender (Baykal, 1970). Kalaycıoğlu (1983) talks about the relation between political participation and gender briefly; firstly women, who are proportionally in low level of socio-economic terms than men; participate in political life less than men. Secondly, as a result of having mass media less than men have, political interest, getting informed, political efficacy and organizational efficacy are in deep levels for women thus political participation is weak among women. Thirdly, differentiated roles of gender among men and women influence participation. Women mostly commit household roles and thus they are employed in occupations which have effeminate features such as teacher, nurse etc. Men commit the roles out of house; they have functions mostly out of family. Therefore, political life is observed close to men and far to women because of rigid roles of gender. Due to division of labor as to gender, women prefer to participate in political activities which necessitate little time and energy and are performed with family members together. Men are interested in politics more than women are (Levin 1970, 359). The fundamental motive of disinterest of women in politics is hidden in socialization of them. Thus, women who are grown up more passive in social life than men, maintain their attitudes in political milieu. Women are controlled in political arena by the ‘control myths’ which are characterized values ‘morality’, ‘good manners’ and

‘passiveness’ (Rinehart 1992). As Rinehart argues politics is thought as an area specific to men by some people.

Low level of participation of women in politics than men has been observed in most of the researches about political participation and political behavior (Tekeli, 1982). There are some rigid biases about the role of woman and man in the society. These biases make pressure on people to respond to the perceptions on women and men. It’s less anticipated, for the women than men, having education, spirit of entrepreneur etc. for out of the family life and thus, this perception causes misinterpretation as the women have less political ability and opportunity than men (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983).

Findings show us that there are not any big obstacles in front of women’s individualistic political participation and no prevention was observed in front of individualistic political participation of women. Güneş and Ayata (1995) imply a harmony between the act of voting and traditional system. Act of voting does not bring women extra tasks out of family affairs; even it can’t change family life of women and relations with out-of-family. The statistics show that the women do perform passive political participation at least as men do. The social status of women is inconsiderable at passive actions of participation. Socio-economic status, as being literate or illiterate, employed or unemployed, married or single, poor or rich, educated or uneducated, old or young etc. are inconsiderable. Hence, there are no serious problems at the act of voting but the political behaviors of them are affected by these. A case like this was observed according to findings of the survey. The answers show us rate of female voters in recent general elections is no less than men’s, even it is more than men’s attendance. According to the table, 97.1% of female participants and 89.3% of male participants voted in recent elections. This finding seems as an evidence of insignificance of gender for individualistic political participation.

Table 1: Did you vote in recent elections?

	Did you vote in recent elections?		Total
	Yes	No	

Table 1 (Continued)

Gender	Female	34 97,1%	1 2,9%	35 100,0%
	Male	67 89,3%	8 10,7%	75 100,0%
Total		101 91,8%	9 8,2%	110 100,0%

Besides, individualistic dimension of political participation shows us that 99% of women in the world take part in individualistic participation (Altindal, 2007).

The choices of married women in elections are affected by their husbands because there seems political similarity at preference between wives and husbands and decisions are determined collectively (Baykal, 1970). From this perspective, most of women's answers to questions like 'which factors are you attracted by while you are deciding your political preferences? Is your husband's view, suggestion or choice important for you?' do not agree with this notion. Most of them said that they make their own preferences without their husband's compulsion or inspiration. This case shows that husband's inspiration on his wife is not as strong as old-times. This case seems as an ancient custom. In recent years, women tend to compose their political preferences on their own. Women's growing economic independence and social conditions may be potential reasons of such a transformation.

People try to gain some benefits from public bodies throughout various instruments. Petition usage is one of these. It can be evaluated as an individualistic political participation. According to findings, number of women in usage of petition is less than men. 20% of women and about 39% of men use petition as a participation channel. In an overall evaluation, level of participation of women as an individualistic way is not significantly different than men's participation. Individualistic participation channels do not necessitate too much time and effort. As such, women can tend to make those activities. Those activities can be taken as the exceptions of 'division of labor as to gender'. That is to say, division of labor as to gender compels women to be busy with domestic affairs within the family but those types of participation allow women to partially engage in politics because it

necessitate little time and effort. Also those activities are more proper to hold women together with family.

Table 2: Have you ever signed petition?

		Have you ever signed petition?		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Female	7 20,0%	28 80,0%	35 100,0%
	Male	29 38,7%	46 61,3%	75 100,0%
Total		36 32,7%	74 67,3%	110 100,0%

The main differentiation between genders comes true when collectivist participation is the case. Females can't spare time and effort for participation due to their heavy obligations in their lives (Kart). In contrary to individualistic political participation, there are some prominent differences in collectivist political participation between genders. These differences are not special to just a definite region, group or society, but seen in any part of the world from developed societies to traditional societies (Altindal, 2007). It can be said that participation of women in collectivist political participation and the number of women in power and decision-making processes is rather low. The table below shows the differences of both gender's political participation.

Table 3: Attending to demonstrations, protests, meetings etc.

		Attending to demonstrations, protests...		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Female	6 17,1%	29 82,9%	35 100,0%
	Male	27 36,0%	48 64,0%	75 100,0%
Total		33 30,0%	77 70,0%	110 100,0%

According to the table, participation of women in demonstrations, protests, meetings etc. is less than men's participation. About 17% of women and 36% of men participate in such activities. These rates disclose women's relatively low level of participation. On the other hand, female participants take such activities useful for society. According to the findings, 65.7% of female participants and 52% of male participants chose 'yes' option for the question "Do you see demonstrations, protests and meetings useful?". Most of women see such activities as effective instruments for influencing politicians.

In the table below, there are rates of men and women's collectivist political participation in terms of elections. According to table, rates of women and men who watch political party meetings in terms of election are close to each other. If watching political party meetings is evaluated as an individual political participation, it can be seen as an evidence of indifference of gender on participation. Both genders participate in party meetings for watching but rate of men who take active duties in party meetings, attend to party convoys and distribute advertisements are much more than women. Those activities can be seen as collectivist political participation.

Table 4: Supporting political parties in terms of elections

	Supporting political parties in terms of elections						Total
	Watching party meetings	Active duty in party meetings	Atten. to Party Conv.	Adv. Distr.	No support	More than one	
Gender Female	13 37,1%	1 2,9%	1 2,9%	0 0,0%	19 54,3%	1 2,9%	35 100,0%
Male	30 40,0%	7 9,3%	6 8,0%	2 2,7%	30 40,0%	0 0,0%	75 100,0%
Total	43 39,1%	8 7,3%	7 6,4%	2 1,8%	49 44,5%	1 0,9%	110 100,0%

Perception and attitude of both men and women are crucial indicators about participation of women in politics. Political effectiveness of women is shaped by societal conditions. Women have self-determination in daily life in developed European countries as well as they have no self-determination in underdeveloped countries. Their choices are mostly shaped by their father or husband. Women are depoliticized and orientated in patriarchal societies. According to data of the survey, some male participants told that they really do not want their wives participate in politics. According to those husbands, politics is not business of women at all. So women should avoid from political life. Those are not the only husbands opposing participation of their wives in politics, but also there are some others who would support their wives in politics. It is a crucial axis that what do women and men think about participation of women in politics. As such, we asked respondents the question 'Does point of view toward woman affect engagement of woman in politics?'. Both women and men responded the question. Most of the women haven't got positive expressions about the question. From thinking of women, they see being woman as a barrier in front of making politics. They talk about disadvantages of being a woman in political and daily life:

It certainly affects participation of women. Such as, a woman is never assigned to a ministry as a minister. They are confined.

It is really effective. Being a woman in life is hard, in political life in particular. Women are not as free as men in most of areas.

I do not think that it prevents women from politics. Any woman can engage with politics.

As for men, they approach to issue not as negative as women. They think that being a woman is not a negative circumstance for making politics. According to them, point of view toward women is insignificant for engagement in politics. They see this case as an incorrect perception. Another question was asked to male respondents to test their positive perception about participation of women. They were asked "What reaction do you respond if your wife or a woman in your family engages in politics? Did a case happen like this before? To what extent you support them?". Views of male respondents agree with former question. Answers show that male respondents

appreciate engagement of their wives or women in their families. They declared that they give any support or they respect to them at least:

I appreciate it. There happened a case like that in my family but she was not my wife. She was someone from my family. Besides our family has a tradition that satisfies women engagement in politics.

I respect if such a case happen in my family. I give any support.

My wife or any woman in my family does not engage in politics. But I do not advise her even if she wants. I do not want my wife spare her time for it. This is just my desire but I do not know what reaction I give to my wife. But I do not want it.

In contrary, sight of women is crucial for this issue. If notion of women about the question above is taken with their own thinking and observation, men's answers will be cross-checked. So in another question we asked to female respondents whether their husbands, families or friends give support to them or not in case of desire of making politics. Indeed, answers show us that women are not allowed easily to make politics by their husbands. Their husbands usually do not want them to be engaged in politics or at least they seem reluctant about participation of their wives in politics. Declaration of women's opinion reveals a contradiction between men's opinions and women's. Although men declared that they appreciate participation of their wives, women's declaration belies men's appreciation:

My family and close friends give any kind of support but I think that my husband never want me to engage in politics.

They do not give support to me. Indeed, I do not appreciate politics so I do not want to engage in politics.

I suppose that all of them support me. Unless my husband consents, I do not want to be in such an activity. He may not impede me for that but I want my husband encourage and support me. Otherwise, it's hard to participate in politics for me.

According to many investigations in different parts of the world, there are many differences in attitudes, interest and perception of women and men about political issues. Several reasons can be listed for low level of participation of women in

politics. Wintringham designates four reasons: responsibility concerning the family, lack of education and affinity for participation, discrimination and socialization of gender role. Females haven't got enough education, affinity and qualifications for participation, even if they desire to participate (McGlen, O'Connor, 1995). In fact, females can't spare time and effort for participation as well as some other activities, due to their heavy obligations in their lives (Kart). Image about the role of woman causes a differentiation in political behavior of them. According to this image, "politics is business of men". In recent years, interest of women in politics has increased visibly. Even if political arena is not seen equally belong to both men and women, statistics indicate an increasing concern of women in political issues. Data of questionnaire show us that nearly half of women are interested in problems and administration of district. 48.5% of women chose the "strongly interested" or "interested" options. This is 61.8% for men.

Table 5: Are you interested in problems and administration of the district?

	Are you interested in problems and administration of the district?					Total
	Consid. Interst.	Interested	Indifferent	Not interested	Never interested	
Gender Female	11 31,4%	6 17,1%	11 31,4%	5 14,3%	2 5,7%	35 100,0%
Male	33 44,0%	18 24,0%	11 14,7%	7 9,3%	6 8,0%	75 100,0%
Total	44 40,0%	24 21,8%	22 20,0%	12 10,9%	8 7,3%	110 100,0%

Besides, most of female participants (71.4%) chose 'yes' option for the question 'Do you want to serve within the organizations working behalf of the district?'. Women showed their sensation about struggling for their living space. As for men, nearly half of them (57.3%) chose 'yes' option for the question. Even if level of participation of women is restricted in daily life, their sense of civic duty seems advancing. It can be

useful to seek the factors preventing women’s interest and sensation turning in to political participation.

Representation of women both in national parliamentary and municipal councils is another area where an evident differentiation in political participation between women and men is observed. The women have acquired the right of voting in most of the countries in twentieth century. But the right of voting wasn’t enough for being selected in parliamentary elections. The period is rather slow. There were female members of parliament in just 26 countries in 1945 and the percentage was just 3% (Walby, S). Despite the increase of percentage it’s still inadequate. In 2008, the rate of female members was 18.2% in parliaments of 188 countries all over the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008). In Turkey, the highest percentage of female members of parliamentary was in 2011 general elections, at a rate of 14.18% (TUIK, 2011). Data about members of Municipal Council of Bodrum can be seen as an evidence of low attendance of women in politics. According to data, there is just one female member who is employed in municipal council in 2012 as well as 14 male members take part in Municipal Council of Bodrum. Likewise, rate of women in Municipal Committee in Bodrum implies low attendance of women in politics. There is just one woman in Municipal Committee as well as remaining 4 are men. Both men and women were asked their views about representation of women in politics. The answers of participants to the question “How is the representation of women in municipal council?” are shown on the table below. According to findings, 34.3% of women selected “strongly represented” or “represented” options for the representation of women in municipal council. For the men, who selected “well represented” or “represented” options for representation of women, the rate is 46.7%. Nearly half of men indicate high representation of women in local council. Women are more pessimists about rate of women in municipal council.

Table 6: How is the representation of women in municipal council?

	How is the representation of women in municipal council?					Total
	Strongly Representen.	Represented	Indifferent	Not Represen.	Never Represen.	

Table 6 (Continued)

Gender Female	2	10	8	10	5	35
	5,7%	28,6%	22,9%	28,6%	14,3%	100,0%
Male	9	26	15	13	12	75
	12,0%	34,7%	20,0%	17,3%	16,0%	100,0%
Total	11	36	23	23	17	110
	10,0%	32,7%	20,9%	20,9%	15,5%	100,0%

As a result, although an insignificant moderation is observed in participation of women in politics, gender is still an effective factor which engenders a differentiation in participation of women in politics. In fact, women's participation in education and working life increased thus political, social and economic relations have increased with regard to old generations. Factors of political socialization influencing both women and men resemble each other than before (Trevor, 1999). Effect of gender on participation of women is observed throughout various participation channels. There is not a differentiation for the genders about individualistic political participation. It's observed that individualistic participation of women is at the similar levels as men's. The most prominent feature of this kind of participation is that it does not necessitate interaction between individuals and be performed individually. So societies necessarily do not have to acquire advanced socio-economic background. Briefly, there are not any big obstacles in front of women's individualistic political participation and no prevention was observed in front of individualistic political participation of women.

Differentiation between genders emerges especially in case of collectivist political participation because this type of participation necessitates interaction between people. This indicates underdeveloped societal conditions of women. The quality of social conditions of women can influence effectiveness of women in daily and political life. For example men attend activities about political parties in terms of election or rate of men in demonstrations, meetings etc. is more than women's attendance. Those seem evidences of ineffectiveness of women in collectivist political participation.

A significant part of women seem interested in political and administrative issues. They see themselves as interested as men in political issues but engagement of them is not similarly at the close percentages as men's. There are some basic reasons of this. Especially in patriarchal societies, women are depoliticized and orientated; choices of women are mostly shaped by their husbands or fathers. Even if some progress has been observed in human relations within social life encouraging engagement of women in politics, men, particularly husbands, generally seem unwilling for the participation of their wives or women in politics. Views of female participants show that status of women in society has some negative effects on self-determination and participation of women. According to statements of women, there has been observed an accepted perception that women are in difficulty in societal and political life because of attributed role of women in society.

4.2.1.2. Age

A number of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics have great importance on level of engagement of citizens in political process. The presence of age, gender, income, education and occupation can all impact the degree to which political participation is exhibited. Age is one of the important factors influencing participation in politics. The time period people live in is a crucial indicator for point of view about politics and political participation. Youth between 16 and 20 feel an interest in politics at minimum levels or do not seem interested in political issues or engage in politics at minimum levels nearly in all societies. According to Öztekin, the basic reasons of this are displacement of youth for some reasons (education, occupation), not widening their circle; also they have no membership in some non-governmental organizations and some other organizations. An increase in participation happens in case of advantages of rising ages, such as increasing knowledge, experience, permanent residence, occupation and status. Therefore, political interest and knowledge increase as age rises, at the middle ages between about 30 and 50, participation reaches to topmost level (Tekeli 1982, Öztekin 2001). Maximum level of participation is observed in the people between the ages 25 to 50 for the people at these ages have consciousness of responsibility, a stable world-view and ability for commenting political and societal events (Öztekin, 2001). Political

participation decreases after 50 as it reaches to minimum level after 65 (Tekeli, 1982). Öztekin relates this fact to diminishing expectation of people and the disbelief that political participation will bring them no changes in their lives anymore. In general, political participation is low among youth between the ages of 18 to 30, reaches peak level between the ages of 30 to 50, after that age interest and participation decreases, then it reaches to minimum levels after age 65.

Age as a research base in most studies shows us that being more engaged in political process comes with rising ages. As Verba, Nie and Kim imply that the general character of the influence of age seems to be one in which participation rises in the early ages, peaks in middle-ages and falls in later years of human life.

According to participatory democracy theory, there is a unique way of making individuals having voice in policies which are related with lives of individuals, its participatory democracy. This approach addresses participation of individuals in politics to a wide extent throughout various instruments. There is participation of people in core or essence of democracy in decision-making process which binds anyone. Political participation is a key conception which is almost equal to democracy. Democracy as a type of administration can't be handled without participation. The feature which democracy prevails throughout is engagement of people in politics. The aim of participation is to influence the administration and politics. The ways people engage in politics through are various. Some people just prefer to vote in elections. Some other uses different kind of instrument to engage in politics. Such as signing petition, attending demonstrations, joining a pressure group are some of them. Participation of people from different ages could be at different forms and levels. As age rises, people more densely participate in politics. We have found a reasonable relation between age groups for voting behavior in terms of elections. Rate of voting is less among young voters. Our data show that 86.5% of first age group, 91.4% of second age group and 97.4% of third age group voted in recent general elections. Likewise, as the age rises, participants want to vote in elections.

Table 7: Did you vote in recent elections?

		Did you vote in recent elections?		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-29	32 86,5%	5 13,5%	37 100,0%
	30-49	32 91,4%	3 8,6%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	37 97,4%	1 2,6%	38 100,0%
Total		101 91,8%	9 8,2%	110 100,0%

Table 8: Do you want to vote in next elections?

		Do you want to vote in next elections?			Total
		Yes	No	No idea	
Age	18-29	33 89,2%	2 5,4%	2 5,4%	37 100,0%
	30-49	33 94,3%	2 5,7%	0 ,0%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	37 97,4%	0 ,0%	1 2,6%	38 100,0%
Total		103 93,6%	4 3,6%	3 2,7%	110 100,0%

There is a differentiation between age groups for the activities performed by age groups to support political parties in terms of elections. 63% of middle-aged group attend political party meetings, takes active duties in political parties, attends party convoys or distributes advertisements. This rate decreases the young age group. Just about 38% of the young age group takes part in such activities. The rate is 52.6% in the elderly group. That shows us participation of people is low in the young. It increases in middle-aged and again decreases in the elderly.

The effect of age on participation of people shows itself in case of occurrence of problems in the street or environment where they live in. People were asked whether they would take any initiatives or would not. About one-third of participants said that some negative events happened in the street they live in. Almost none of young participants took any initiatives in case of such an event. Two-third of the second age group and half of the third age group took some initiatives. This implies more participation among the elderly.

Table 9.1: Did anything happen affecting your environment/street negative in recent 3-5 years?

		Did anything happen affecting your environment/street negative in recent 3-5 years?		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-29	11 30,6%	25 69,4%	36 100,0%
	30-49	13 37,1%	22 62,9%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	12 31,6%	26 68,4%	38 100,0%
Total		36 33,0%	73 67,0%	109 100,0%

Table 9.2: Did you take any initiative for that?

		Did you take any initiative for that?		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-29	1 9,1%	10 90,9%	11 100,0%
	30-49	4 30,8%	9 69,2%	13 100,0%
	50 and +	6 50,0%	6 50,0%	12 100,0%
Total		11 30,6%	25 69,4%	36 100,0%

A 23 year-old-man said about this issue:

Many problems happen in district I live. Such as it was last year, the roads were distorted and filled with lots of chasms because of the rain. The roads were really terrible not just to ride car but also to walk on it. Even if we complained about this, municipality administration didn't meet our requirements. They repair the roads when they want. So, I think it's useless to tell municipality about such a problem.

People from middle or upper ages are expected to apply to the instruments providing benefits and services more than people from the young because of their level of experiences and knowledge. For example, people try to get some benefits from some public bodies by way of petition. Rate of petition usage shows us there is a reasonable relation between age groups. In the other words, adults and the elderly use petition as an instrument more densely to address their desires to authorized public bodies. The young uses this instrument less than the elderly.

Table 10: Have you ever signed petition?

		Have you ever signed petition?		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18-29	9 24,3%	28 75,7%	37 100,0%
	30-49	12 34,3%	23 65,7%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	15 39,5%	23 60,5%	38 100,0%
Total		36 32,7%	74 67,3%	110 100,0%

People may directly consult to administration of municipality to get some benefits. The table below shows turnouts of people who apply to municipal administration to get some services or benefits. According to table 11, 21.6% of the first age group, 37.1% of the second age group and 42.1% of the third age group consulted to municipal administration for their requests or complaints. The rate of consultation

increases as age rises. Young people consult to municipality less than other age groups.

Table 11: Have you ever consulted to municipal administration for any request or complaint?

		Have you ever consulted to municipal administration for any request or complaint?			Total
		Wanted but was not allowed	Yes	No	
Age	18-29	5 13,5%	8 21,6%	24 64,9%	37 100,0%
	30-49	3 8,6%	13 37,1%	19 54,3%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	1 2,6%	16 42,1%	21 55,3%	38 100,0%
Total		9 8,2%	37 33,6%	64 58,2%	110 100,0%

Another area showing the effect of age is attendance to demonstrations, protests or meetings which are called as instruments within collectivist political participation. A linear relation between age groups and rate of attendance has been observed. 18.9% of the people between the ages of 18-29, 22.9% of the people between the ages 30-49 and 26.3% of the people over 50 have been in such activities. This relation can be seen as a proof of low attendance of young people in collectivist political participation.

Middle-aged people are expected to be more interested in politics and areas that politics covers than the young. People were asked whether they are interested in political issues related with the district or country or not. Data of table-12 verifies high interest of adults and the elderly in political issues. According to table-12, about 80% of the first age group is interested in problems of the district and the country even rarely. About 90% of the second age group and approximately 100% of the third age group sees themselves interested in political issues about the district and the

country. A likewise rate seems about feeling an interest in administration of district. Mostly middle-aged people feel interest in administration of district.

Table 12: Are you interested in problems of the district and country?

		Are you interested in problems of the district and country?				Total
		Usually	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Age	18-29	15 40,5%	13 35,1%	2 5,4%	7 18,9%	37 100,0%
	30-49	16 45,7%	13 37,1%	2 5,7%	4 11,4%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	23 60,5%	11 28,9%	3 7,9%	1 2,6%	38 100,0%
Total		54 49,1%	37 33,6%	7 6,4%	12 10,9%	110 100,0%

People who are not interested in politics related with district or country put different reasons forward. According to the people between the ages of 18 to 29, most of them do not feel an interest in political issues because political issues are business of municipal administration so they do not have to be interested in political issues. People from older age groups put various rationales for that. They are not interested in politics because they are busy with their occupations all day so there is not enough time to think about political issues. Some other thinks that they are not interested in politics because their opinions are not canalized into decision-making processes.

However, older people are expected to be more knowledgeable and sensitive about political issues but according to data, such a differentiation couldn't be observed. Such as there is not a differentiation among three age groups about the relation between municipality and democracy. Findings of the survey show us about one-third of participants believe that municipality administrations are the cradle of democracy. The people who agree with this notion are 34.3% of the first age group, 22.9% the second age group and finally 42.9% of the third. Besides, people at a

similar rate couldn't see a relation between municipality and democracy. The last one-third of participants has no idea about the relation between democracy and municipal administration. Mostly the oldest group sees municipal administration as a source of democracy. Briefly, according to data it's hard to mention a differentiation between the young and the elderly groups about relation between local administrations and democracy.

Table 13: Is municipal administration cradle of democracy?

		Is municipal administration cradle of democracy?			Total
		Yes	No	No idea	
Age	18-29	12 32,4%	16 43,2%	9 24,3%	37 100,0%
	30-49	8 22,9%	12 34,3%	15 42,9%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	15 39,5%	9 23,7%	14 36,8%	38 100,0%
Total		35 31,8%	37 33,6%	38 34,5%	110 100,0%

According to a majority of people, municipalities are crucial public bodies which meet desire of people living in the district. Also most of the people want to choose anyone whom they want to see in the chair of the district. As a local administration, head of municipality is decided by elections but not by appointment. Most of age groups (79.1%) support this notion. Of all age groups, 81.1% of the first one, 74.3% of the second one and lastly 81.6% of the third one oppose such an initiative determining the head of municipality by appointment. Even if some people couldn't see a relation between democracy and municipality administrations, all age groups are pleased with a head elected within a democratic way.

Table 14: Do you agree with opinion “mayor must be appointed instead of election”?

		Do you agree with opinion “mayor must be appointed instead of election”?			Total
		Yes	No	Neutral	
Age	18-29	4 10,8%	30 81,1%	3 8,1%	37 100,0%
	30-49	7 20,0%	26 74,3%	2 5,7%	35 100,0%
	50 and +	4 10,5%	31 81,6%	3 7,9%	38 100,0%
Total		15 13,6%	87 79,1%	8 7,3%	110 100,0%

Even if people want to have a voice in determining the head of a municipal administration, there is a common opinion that head of municipality and municipal council are far to people. About half of participants think that municipal administration and council are not close to any part of society. 48.6% of the first age group, 54.3% of the second age group and 42.1% of the elderly group have such an idea. A differentiation couldn't be observed among age groups for distance between municipal administration and people. Such a high rate is undoubtedly a negative case. Putting a distance between people and administration is a big trouble for administration.

First of all I want to find enough to eat. Then, I want to have a good job to work and earn my life. Thus if my desires are met, then I might think politics. If I have no job, it's impossible to think good things about politics. Anyway, I do not see administration close to me because any affair of them opposes to my ideas. Any decisions of them do not reflect my ideas.

Working of mayor and quality of municipal services is another issue about municipal administration. Most of respondents find mayor successful in municipal affairs. According to people living in the district declared that mayor meets their

expectations because he performs services properly. All age groups seem close to this view. When we asked respondents whether they are pleased or not with services performed by municipality, we observed a descending rate. Appreciation increases as age rises. 24.3% of the first age group, 25.7% of the second age group and 34.3% of the third age group was pleased with services of municipality. The people who are displeased with performance of municipality state various reasons for this. For the first age group, the main reason is the problems in decision-making mechanism of municipal administration. For the second and the third age groups, it's because of fiscal problems. As age increases, people tend to form a relation between money and success. If people believe that they influence administrators in decision-making process, they embrace administration densely. Thus people may support and believe in administration in its decisions.

Data do not refer a differentiation among age groups. There are some implications that people at younger age believe that they influence municipal administration in its decisions as citizens. Middle-aged and the elderly do not believe that they influence the decisions of municipal administrations as the young. According to data, there is not a reasonable differentiation between all three age groups about municipal administration. Age groups have similar kind of thinking in many issues about municipality administrations.

Findings show that age is not a strong determinant in case of act of voting. Most of the individuals are sensitive in various age groups for act of voting. There is little differentiation in rate of voting as to age groups. An important differentiation was observed in some other ways of individualistic political participation. Especially people from middle-aged are more engaged in politics with regard to younger participants. Also a movement was observed that as people grow older, rate of them in both individualistic and collectivist political participation increases accordingly. Briefly, people engage in politics in older age. Rate of young respondents in participation in politics is relatively low. Some reasons lie beyond this case. First of all, young respondents indeed see voting as a fundamental right which provides hope to themselves and country. They see the urgent necessity of voting but political parties are seen as an obstructive element. Main cause of voting abstention among the young seems as unbelief to political parties. Most of young people think that

parties never give value to them. That is to say they feel themselves insignificant in the eyes of political parties.

The rate of young participants within the activities assumed to be performed individually, as presenting requests and complaints to state officials, petition usage and some others are also relatively low. Young participants do not use these ways much because they see the ways as useless and ineffective to influence state officials and to gain some benefits. So they prefer to stand reluctant. This reaction seems as alienation. Likewise, attendance of people in collectivist political participation such as in demonstrations on environment, health, rights of women etc. is low among all respondents. Especially youngest respondents are most disengaged in this way of participation because they do not believe that they will get solutions or solve problems through. So, their disengagement happens as alienation for disbelief to effectiveness of this kind of activities. Finally, attitudes, perception and interests of respondents indicate some clues about nature of engagement of people in political processes. Views of respondents about politics and political life are crucial. Respondents mostly see participation on a ground based on political parties and act of voting. They draw a narrow description of participation but feel themselves interested in problems of their districts and country. Some ways of democracy are seen as the ways of solving problems but respondents are usually not to be told as believing in political system. Youth theoretically believes the necessity of institutions of political participation but is not hopeful enough to be engaged in political system and to gain some advantages. All of those show us that people especially young participants, who have minimum engagement in politics, seem alienated from political bodies and politicians. This alienation seems one of the factors keeping people away from politics.

4.1.2. Socio-Economic Factors

Socio-economic status determined by income, education and occupation is one of the factors which effects political participation (Yeşilorman, 2006). Huntington and Dominguez (1985) argue that political participation is shaped by socio-economic development. People who are well-educated and from high income groups and prestigious occupations, participate in politics more densely than the people who are

poor, uneducated and employed in inconspicuous occupations. According to Dahl, there is a relation between socio-economic development and political participation implying that as socio-economic development increases, political participation increases as well (Minibaş, 1996).

Education is one of the most important socioeconomic factors. The more educated a person is the more likely he or she is to participate in politics, even when controlled for other factors such as income and class that are closely associated with education level. Income has some effects independently; wealthier people are more likely to engage in politics, regardless of their educational background. There is some debate over the effects of ethnicity, race and gender. In the past, these factors unquestionably influenced turnout in many nations. Nowadays, the consensus among political scientists is that these factors have little effect in Western democracies when education and income differences are taken into account. Occupation has little effect on turnout, with the notable exception of higher voting rates among government employees in many countries.

4.1.2.1. Education

Education has a great importance on socialization and politicization of individuals. It seems evident that education should be strongly associated with political participation for women and men. Burns, Schlozman and Verba assert on the basis of decades of research into the factors influencing citizen's engagement in politics, that education is an especially powerful predictor of political participation (Goetz, 2003).

Well-educated people are more likely to take part in politics than the less educated one. Educational experience fosters democratic values and nurtures a sense of citizen competence, both of which encourage participation. More importantly, however, education provides skills that facilitate participation in politics. As Wolfinger and Rosenstone argue, "education imparts information about politics and cognate fields and about a variety of skills, some of which facilitate political learning. Schooling increases one's capacity for understanding and working with complex, abstract and intangible subject, that is subjects like politics." According to Baykal, educated individuals follow political events and election campaigns intensely, have more

knowledge about political issues, talk about political issues densely and to a wide range of people easily, feel themselves stronger for influencing political institutions. Results of the survey show that, in contrary to expected; there is not a reasonable relation between educational level and rate of voting. According to data of questionnaire, the most attendance in recent elections belongs to participants of primary school graduate group (95.1%). Then, high school graduate group (90.6%) follows them. The less participation was observed amongst university graduate group (89.2%). Likewise, 97.6% of the first education group, 93.8% of the second education group and 89.2% of the third education group purpose to vote in following elections. The act of voting does not necessitate too much time, effort, intelligence and knowledge. Both educated and uneducated participants vote in elections. So education as a socio-economic factor, like gender and age, seems insignificant while people go to the polls. However, a differentiation occurs when cognizing the result of the recent elections. According to Turan, if educational level increases, interest for politics increases and thus people deal with political issues, think and make suggestions about political events, produce political notions and actions. According to this, findings show that there seems a differentiation between educated and uneducated people for the knowledge about the results of elections. 89.2% of university graduate group knows the results of 1999, 2004 and 2009 local elections. Besides, 81.2% of high school graduate group and 75.6% of primary school graduate group follow it. As a conclusion, although level of education is not significant in case of going to the polls, it shows its effect on level of knowledge about results of elections.

According to Kalaycıoğlu, education can have impacts on participation of people in politics by stimulating their sense of civic duty and engendering political affinity. Those seem prone to participate in political activities. The table below verifies this correlation. As level of education increases, rate of application increases. Rate of petition signing for gaining some benefits from political bodies is at peak level for university graduate group. 37.8% of this group used petition in their lives before. High school graduate groups follow them with a rate of 31.2% and 29.3% of primary school graduate group use this way.

Table 15: Have you ever signed petition?

	Have you ever signed petition?		Total
	Yes	No	
Education Primary	12	29	41
	29,3%	70,7%	100,0%
High School	10	22	32
	31,2%	68,8%	100,0%
University +	14	23	37
	37,8%	62,2%	100,0%
Total	36	74	110
	32,7%	67,3%	100,0%

However, there may not necessarily be a relation between education and participation. For example, this case was observed through the rate of the people who consulted to municipal administration for their requests or complaints. The rate of educated people is expected to be more than uneducated people but attendance of all three education groups is similar. That is to say, education didn't create a differentiation among people. It's obviously seen on the table. According to table-16, 34% of the first education group, 34.4% of the second education group and 32.4% of the third education groups chose 'yes' option for the question.

Table 16: Have you ever consulted to municipal administration?

	Have you ever consulted to municipal administration for any request or complaint?			Total
	Wanted but was not allowed	Yes	No	
Education Primary	1	14	26	41
	2,4%	34%	63,6%	100,0%
High school	5	11	16	32
	15,6%	34,4%	50%	100,0%
University +	3	12	22	37
	8%	32,4%	59,4%	100,0%
Total	9	37	64	110
	8,2%	33,6%	58,2%	100,0%

A well-educated person can feel herself/himself more willing and intelligent to take part in political life due to her/his high level of knowledge about political system (Turan, 1987). So participation of those is expected to be more than those whose political knowledge and intelligence is weak due to lack of education. This implication seems not in accordance with rate of educated people taking part in activities in terms of elections. According to the questionnaire, as educational level increases, attendance of people in the activities in terms of elections decreases. 31.7% of primary school graduate, 43.8% of high school graduate and 59.5% of university graduate chose the 'no support' option for the question 'do you support political parties in terms of elections?'. Likewise, the rate of attendance of educated people in party convoys and meetings is relatively lower than uneducated participants. In brief, effect of education on participation runs conversely in case of the activities during election period. Being more educated does not necessarily result in such a dense political participation. Similarly, educated people are expected to have sense of civic duty and effectiveness more than less educated people so they possibly tend to take part in political or social initiatives for a specific aim. For example attending to demonstration, meeting or protest for that is although a way of having voice on decisions of politicians, level of education does not create a differentiation. Rates of three education groups who are taking part in such collectivist political activities are almost equal to each other. 31.7% of primary school graduate group and 32.4% of university graduate group declared themselves as taking part in such activities in their lives. Surely the rate of educated people who take part in demonstrations, protests or meetings in favor of society is much more than the rate of less educated people. It's observed that as level of education increases, support of people to such activities increases too. According to findings of the questionnaire, 39% of the first group, 59.4% of the second group and 73% of the third age group chose the 'yes' option for the question 'do you take attending of people to demonstration, protest, meeting etc. and expressing themselves positive?'. Indeed, more educated people declared their support for such activities but in practice, they do not take part in such activities. Therefore, there seems a controversy between their declarations and effectively participation in such collectivist actions.

Educational level of the participants were investigated whether there is a differentiation or not for the interests, perception and attitudes of people about political issues. Findings show that there is not a strong or reasonable differentiation between education groups about political interests at all. Interest of people seem independent from educational level of them. Participants were asked whether they are interested in the problems of the district and the country or not. A significant part of first group (90.2%), second group (84.4%) and third group (94.6%) chose ‘usually + sometimes + rarely’ options for the question. This shows that there is not a reasonable relation between education groups for their political interest and perception.

Table 17: Are you interested in problems of the district and country?

	Are you interested in problems of the district and country?				Total
	Usually	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Education Primary	15 36,6%	18 43,9%	4 9,8%	4 9,8%	41 100,0%
High school	16 50,0%	11 34,4%	0 0,0%	5 15,6%	32 100,0%
University +	24 64,9%	8 21,6%	3 8,1%	2 5,4%	37 100,0%
Total	55 50,0%	37 33,6%	7 6,4%	11 10,0%	110 100,0%

However, a differentiation was occurred within perception of participants about the relation between local administrations and democracy. Participants from upper education established a relation between democracy and local administrations. 24.4% of the first group, 34. %4 of the second group and 37.8% of the third group establish such a relation. That is to say that as educational level increases, tendency of establishing a relation between local administrations and democracy increases. Another conspicuous point is the overage of people who has ‘no idea’ among less educated. This rate decreases among more educated participants. This shows us that people form opinions with higher education.

As for the relation between local administrations and democracy, 24.4% of the first group, 34.4% of the second group and 37.8% of the third group chose ‘yes’ option for the question ‘is municipal administration cradle of democracy?’. Most educated participants are closest to this notion. This shows that educational level is a crucial factor for establishing a relation between the two.

Table 18: Is municipal administration cradle of democracy?

	Is municipal administration cradle of democracy?			Total
	Yes	No	No idea	
Education Primary	10 24,4%	12 29,3%	19 46,3%	41 100,0%
High school	11 34,4%	9 28,1%	12 37,5%	32 100,0%
University +	14 37,8%	16 43,2%	7 18,9%	37 100,0%
Total	35 31,8%	37 33,6%	38 34,5%	110 100,0%

In this context, people tend to support the necessity of democratic institutions with the rising educational level. Most educated group (83.8%) supports the way of getting in administration through elections rather than appointment. Then, high school (78.1%) and primary school graduate (75.6%) groups follow it. It’s observed that people from higher education are aware of and respect to democratic values more than less educated.

Level of intelligence and knowledge about political issues probably shapes interest or perception of people about politics. As educational level increases, rate of people, who think that uneducated people can’t hand political participation, increases. In other words, education seems as a necessity to be able to achieve something in politics. According to less educated group (56.1%), economic power is a more important factor for level and quality of political participation. 43.2% of university

graduate group thinks that education is the most crucial factor determining level of participation.

Entity of a positive relation between education and political participation, that is to say as educational level increases, level of participation increases, was proved through many researches in various countries (Baykal, 1970). According to findings of our research, education does not seem as a strong determiner in participation of people in politics. There haven't been observed an evident differentiation among education groups with the exception of some insignificant differences. For example majority of people who vote for political parties do not come from a definite educational level. Similarly, most of the attendance in activities in terms of elections does not belong to educated group. Interestingly, rate of attendance of most educated participants is less among all three groups. To put it another way, education is not able to create a differentiation among them, even it seems as a factor preventing educated from the activities in terms of elections. It should be considered that the act of voting does not necessitate some socioeconomic or personal factors as other types of political participation. One of the differentiation as to educational level is level of knowledge of educated participants about results of past elections. The rate of knowing the results of elections is highest in educated group. As seen in other political issues, education seems bringing people more knowledge about politics. Rate of people in other types of political participation shows us that education is still an insignificant factor especially in practice. Effect of education seems in some types of political participation as well as it is rather inconsiderable in some other types of political actions. For example, people from higher education group are used to sign petition for fulfilling their purpose within public bodies but the rate of uneducated people is much less than those. Conversely, the rates of educated and uneducated people who apply to administration of the municipality for informing their requests or complaints are similar. In literature, it's expected that attendance of educated people to be more than the uneducated due to level of sense of effectiveness, knowledge and some other skills.

Moreover, education couldn't create a differentiation between rates of attendance in collectivist political participation. The attendance of educated participants in demonstrations, protests or meetings does not carry weight in general attendance.

Both education groups attend in such collectivist political actions at similar rates but perception of educated group is different than the uneducated. Most of the educated participants mentioned about advantages of such activities for society as well just a minority of uneducated group see these activities as useful initiatives for society.

Findings shows that people from all three education groups seem interested in political issues both in local and general administration. Education is not able to engender a differentiation among education groups. Differentiation occurs rather about perceptions of people about political issues. Educated people seem more sensitive and knowledgeable about political issues than uneducated people. Especially there is a considerable difference between education groups about values in democracies. For example, the people who believe in the relation between local administrations and democracy are mostly among educated participants. Furthermore they are pleased with the elections as a democratic way. Briefly, as the educational level increases, beliefs for the values in democracies increase.

4.1.2.2. Income

In our study income, separately, is not a determinant for shaping participation at all. As is known, rate of voting is not deeply affected by socioeconomic factors for its nature which does not necessitate too much time, effort and knowledge to perform. Results of the questionnaire fit this generalization through overall study. As such, economic power is meaningless for voting rates but could be crucial for political choices. Data shows us that all four income groups participate in elections with close percentages. As for the other individualistic and collectivist actions of political participation and political interest and perception, income does not seem as a significant factor which determines the participation of people. However, most of the participants believe that economic power is a strong provision for making politics. There is a common belief that if people do not have enough money, they can't afford to enter the political life especially in structure of a political party. Moreover, being a politician in a key position is impossible without enough economic power.

In literature, indeed, the relation between income and participation is not absolute. According to Milbarth, there is not a reasonable relation between income and

participation in Japan referring to a survey in Japan by Yasumasa Kuroda. Almond and Verba draw attention on the narrow link between income and participation. They allege that the differences about participation between the groups of economic categorization diminish when the educational case is ignored. Correspondingly, income, alone, does not create a differentiation among people about political participation. ‘The income’ should be taken in hand not separate from some other socioeconomic factors, as one of the variable of a high socioeconomic status, to make it sense for establishing a relation between participation and income. Education would be a proper variable to relate income with participation. In conclusion, there hasn’t been observed a reasonable relation between income and level of participation. So the data about income weren’t shown in this part of the study.

4.3. Typologies

Table 19: Participant Typologies

Variables			<i>Typology-1</i>	<i>Typology-2</i>	<i>Typology-3</i>	<i>Typology-4</i>
Gender		3-4	Female	Female	Male	Male
Age		2-4	18-29 years	30-49 years	18-29 year.	30-49years
Education		1-4	University	University	High Sch.	University
Income			2.000 +	2.000 +	750	2.000 +
Participation Methods	<i>Degree of Pol. Aware.</i>	Total Pol. Awareness	(6 Particip.)	(4 Particip.)	(12 Particip.)	(5 Particip.)
1. Pol. Party Activities (membership or other supports)	(5)	280 (56*5)	5 (1*5)	5 (1*5)	30 (6*5)	20 (4*5)
2. Joining demonstration, protest...	(4)	100 (25*4)	8 (2*4)	8 (2*4)	12 (4*4)	8 (2*4)
3. Petition	(3)	108 (36*3)	6 (2*3)	9 (3*3)	6 (2*3)	3 (1*3)
4. Voting	(2)	202 (101*2)	12 (6*2)	8 (4*2)	22 (11*2)	10 (5*2)
5. Pol. interest	(1)	101 (101*1)	4 (4*1)	4 (4*1)	7 (7*1)	5 (5*1)
	Av. Pol. awaren.	7,2 (791/110)	5,8 (35/6)	8,5 (34/4)	6,4 (77/12)	9,2 (46/5)

All four typologies are listed on the table. Near the typologies, also some participation channels take place with a point marking the degree of political awareness of participants. 5 participation channels are listed on the table. Each channel has a numeric value under the title “degree of political awareness”. Point 5 is the maximum point meaning highest political awareness as well as point 1 is minimum point meaning lowest political awareness. According to this numeric system, supporting political parties through membership or any other support value 5 points. In our study, voting is considered as another important indicator of political awareness. Joining demonstrations, protests or meetings follows voting as another indicator of political awareness. Attending such activities which show political awareness of people to a broad extent corresponds to 4 points. Signing petition is the third participation channel which values 3 points. Voting is the fourth way of political participation corresponding 2 points. Finally interest of people upon the political and administrative issues of the country or the district is handled as another indicator of political awareness. The people who are interested in such issues are expected to have more awareness of politics. However it indicates political awareness, we have given it 1 point because of being one of the passive actions of political participation. Briefly, these ways of political participation have been valued as from 5 to 1. In one hand, 5 points imply highest political awareness. On the other hand, 1 point is the indicator of lowest political awareness. Table shows that an average participant corresponds to 7.2 points. In other words, the numeric value which is an indicator of political awareness of a participant is 7.2 as average of 110 participants. The value 7.2 is our constant in analyzing process. Each typology is evaluated as to this constant value. So, each typology has a numeric value indicating political awareness of participants. Some of them are up and others are down of the constant value, 7.2. Above 7.2 refers a participant who has more political awareness. Reversely, below 7.2 implies low political awareness. Briefly, evaluation is based upon the values above or down of the constant value.

We have formed four typologies which indicate various types of participants. In each typology, participants who have similar socioeconomic conditions take place.

4.3.1. Typology-1

In this typology, there are 6 participants. Those are female participants, who are between the ages 18 to 29. They are also university graduated and their monthly income is over 2.000 liras. These participants are less engaged in politics. Average of political awareness is 5.8 for this typology. This value shows us that each participant in this typology is under the general average of political awareness.

4.3.2. Typology-2

There are four participants in this typology. Key features of this group are: all participants are female and they have university graduation. It resembles typology 1. Sole difference is about age. Participants of this typology are between the ages 30 to 49. Interest of participants of this typology in politics is much more than the first typology. Numeric value of participants is 8.5 which is much more than 7.2. Positive gap between two numbers indicates dense political awareness.

4.3.3. Typology-3

This typology refers lower socioeconomic conditions in comparison with former two typologies. 12 male participants between the ages 18 to 29 are high school graduate and also they earn about 750 liras monthly. Information about typologies is shown on the table below. According to the table, political awareness of participants of this typology is low. Numeric value (6.4) of it is under the constant value.

4.3.4. Typology-4

5 participants compose this group. All the members of this typology are male who are between 30 and 49 years old. Their socioeconomic indicators are similar to participants in typology 1. All of them earn more than 2.000 liras per month. Similarly all 5 participants have university graduation. Numbers show that political awareness of this typology is above the average. Numeric value of this typology is 9.2 for each participant. So, this value is apparently above the average value.

4.3.5. Findings of Typologies

Participants, in four typologies, hold various personal and socio-economic features. Surely, these features influence political participation of them to some extent. We have decided to study on political awareness to investigate effect of age, gender, education and income. Our evaluation is based upon this fact. Before evaluation, we shall write the typologies again to see them at a single glance:

Typology 1: Gender: Female, Age: 18-29, Education: University, Income: 2000 TL

Typology 2: Gender: Female, Age: 30-49, Education: University, Income: 2000 TL

Typology 3: Gender: Male, Age: 18-29, Education: High School, Income: 750 TL

Typology 4: Gender: Male, Age: 30-49, Education: University, Income: 2000 TL

It will be useful to write the value of average political awareness again:

Typology 1: $5.8 < 7,2$

Typology 2: $8.5 > 7,2$

Typology 3: $6.4 < 7,2$

Typology 4: $9.2 > 7,2$

As it seen, typologies 1 and 3 are below the average constant value, as well as typologies 2 and 4 are above the value. That is to say, in one hand, political awareness of typologies 1 and 3 is low. On the other hand, political awareness of typologies 2 and 4 is dense.

Typology-1 draws a participant portrait which indicates university graduate women between the ages of 18 to 29 with 2.000 liras monthly income. This participant profile seems to be above the average political awareness That is to say, participants of typology-1 have rather low political awareness. According to observations in literature, political participation of individuals, who belong to high-level education and income groups, is expected to be intense (in our study political participation corresponds to political awareness). In addition, effect of gender on political participation should be considered in debate. According to findings in literature, gender attenuates political participation of individuals in politics. In light of the

foregoing, participants in typology-1 have low political awareness. However, age of the participants (18-29) in this typology should be comprised in account. Mainstream literature tells us that political participation is usually experienced more intensively between the middle-aged people and moreover it is limited between the young. There are various obstacles in front of political participation for people between the ages 18 to 29. A consequence could be extracted throughout all those: In spite of improved socio-economic conditions which facilitate political participation, participants in typology-1 can't have a dense political awareness above average political awareness because of being female and too young. In light of the foregoing, taking a look at the participation profile in typology-2 may be meaningful. Sole difference between typology-1 and 2 is age. Participants of typology-2 are between the ages 30 to 49. This difference solely influences the results. Numeric value of this typology which implies political awareness is 8.2. This value shows us that political awareness of this typology is pretty high. Political awareness of participant profile rises strikingly for age factor moves up to 30-49 from 18-29. It is an evident sample for influences of age on political participation. Furthermore, we have seen that level of income and education solely couldn't influence political participation.

A likewise argument can be gendered in between typology-3 and 4. These two profiles of the typology are composed of males but all other variables are different except gender. We mentioned that level of political awareness of typology-3 is below average political awareness as well as level of political awareness of typology-4 is above it. In this sample, participant profile of typology-3 is like that: in between 18 and 29 ages, high school graduate, 750 liras monthly income. Accordingly their political awareness is rather low, in numeric value it is 6.4. On the other hand, participant profile of typology-4 is considerably different from typology-3: in between 30 and 49 ages, university graduate and 2.000 liras or up monthly income. Value of political awareness of this typology is 9.2, which is above average value. Whilst level of age ascends and socio-economic indicators are advanced, results changed rigorously. Political awareness reached to 9.2 from 6,4. In other words, political awareness went beyond average political awareness. These findings agree with mainstream literature. Thereby, we have seen that level of middle-age and advanced socio-economic factors make a contribution to participation of people in politics.

It is also possible gaining some reasonable findings by analyzing typology-2 and 4 together. Participant profiles in both typologies are similar except gender. Political awareness of both typologies is 8.5 and 9.2 in turn. Political awareness is above the average. Although, we could look over gender, sole difference between, if we want to understand the numeric difference between two values. Participants in typology-2 are female while participants in typology-4 are male. Difference of gender possibly caused such a difference. Even if gender causes a decline in political participation, amount of decline is limited. In analysis of two typologies, it's seen that other variables, income, education and age, are more influential. Specifically, socio-economic variables are very determining because they probably provide participants some advantages to be able to take part in political channels. In addition, variables in typology-2 and 3 are drastically different. Thus, level of political awareness is dissimilar. Participants in typology-2 are composed of women, who are between the ages of 30 to 49, graduated from university and earn 2.000 liras or more in a month. Their political awareness is over average value by 8.5. Participants in typology-3 are composed of men, who between 18 and 29 ages, graduated from high school and earn around 750 liras in a month. Their level of political awareness is under average value by 6.4. We have observed effect of gender in former paragraph. In this evaluation, education, income and age absorb effect of gender in political participation. Political awareness of women in typology-2 is higher than political awareness of men in typology-3. As a result, gender, by itself, couldn't generate a reasonable change in this evaluation.

CHAPTER 5

ENCOURAGING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This chapter draws together some of the key themes raised throughout the questionnaires and interviews to discuss the obstacles in front of participation of people and thus to seek the ways of increasing engagement of people in decision-making process. Some proposals were put forward for engaging greater interest and participation in politics. Briefly, struggle for encouraging people to participate in politics initially emphasizes on enrichment of political perception and interest. There are some proposals in direction of enforcing political consciousness and interest. Then it emphasizes on relations between people and municipal administration for revealing the problems within. Thus, we aim to seek the ways of integrating people in decision-making process within municipal administration.

First of all, perception of people about politics and political participation was tried to be portrayed as much as possible. It provides an insight into how people conceive of politics and political institutions. Knowing boundaries of apprehension of politics and particularly of political participation in the mind of people can give some implications for seeking the ways of encouraging political participation and political interest. Perception of people can be listed as:

- Views on political participation were clustered around voting and political parties,
- There is a negative approach to politicians considering them as self-interested and insensitive,

- There are some biased opinions toward some actions of political participation,
- Lack of political knowledge.

5.1. Conceptualizing Politics

In some cases, voting was seen as the only legitimate way in which people could express their views and take part in politics. Others, however, based their judgment on whether the government would be directly involved in some way. For these people, a political action might involve a range of different methods which includes signing petitions, taking part in demonstrations, protesting government policy, joining a political party or lobbying. Whereas others interpreted the definition of political participation even more loosely and included any activity which might directly or indirectly be related to politics. Action in this latter category includes joining a union or pressure group, writing to the press and protesting the local bodies. This chapter draws a picture of politics and participation in the mind of people. However, views of people on some political institutions such as elections, political parties, non-governmental organizations, demonstrations and protests are revealed below. Thus, views of people on these conceptions will be incisively understood and allow us to draw the limitations of politics and area covered by politics in the mind of people.

4.1.1. Image of Political Institutions

Image of politics and politicians

As a comprehensive field, even there is not a common description; politics is a process by which groups of people make collective decisions. The term is generally applied to the science of running governmental or state affairs, including behavior within civil governments. It consists of "social relations involving authority or power" and refers to the regulation of public affairs within a political unit. Perceptions of people on politics and politicians may provide an insight into how people conceive of politics, political institutions and politicians. A great part of

participants have a negative and narrow perception about politics as seeing it as an activity just hovering around political parties and act of voting in terms of elections:

Making policy reminds me pesky dialogues between politicians who debate about problems of country, fight like children without any solution and whom paid lots of money.

Politics means making different views to boil in a casserole.

Vein promises come to my mind which is done by political parties to attract people around. Then, mostly unreal statements and false declarations come. It's s world of insincerities and lies.

It means political parties and efforts done by them.

I think politics separates people from each other.

Just lies

It does not make it sense to me.

Amongst those with a broader conceptualization of politics, some viewed politics positively, as means of representing views and realizing hopes. Indeed, some people suggested that politicians and politics were responsible for facilitating people's lives:

Politicians should ensure unity of people and country considering and respecting different cultures in the society. Politics also should perpetuate independence of the country. Politicians should consider what people need in their daily lives and so should apply proper policies accordingly. It should promise wealth to people to fulfill their aims.

Concept of political participation

Political participation has many aspects via various instruments directing people into politics. These instruments show themselves in many shapes from a formal organization to an informal occurrence. Being member of a political party, using petition, attending a demonstration against a political decision are some of them.

Image of political participation is rather stuck in a narrow limitation in people's minds. Most of the people major on voting and political parties. They seem unique ways of participation for a majority.

I can say that first method flashed in my mind is to enroll to a political party as a member.

The main method of participation is giving vote in elections.

Some other sees political participation from a wider angle. According to them political participation, going beyond voting, is also to reach a particular political consciousness and to enlighten the people around.

Participation basically means the act of voting. Citizens can be members of parties that they espouse which reflect their opinions or ideologies. Reaching and advanced political consciousness and therefore informing around are indirect ways of participation. Overdrawn activities of some political parties come to my mind ...

Briefly, there is a restricted definition of political participation predominantly believed by most of the people but there are some others taking political participation as a concept which has multiple dimensions.

Voting

According to the data of questionnaire, people seem eager to go to election poll. Most of them declared their attendance in elections. Here the key issue is what attributes people to vote. A large number of people see voting as a very initial way of participation in politics. They believe that they express themselves via voting so it is a crucial instrument for those. Even voting does not necessarily conclude in direction of their desires, it's at least a right presented to people:

Voting is crucial. Because you can say yourself 'At least, I have done my duty as a citizen and so I have right to say a word about politics and politicians' even if it's a hopeless activity. I see voting as a right that citizens use because I think that the values which I believe are the most favorable ones for my nation.

It's important. Voting is a platform which citizens may have chance to declare their opinions throughout. As such, it's a civic duty. Also I go to election poll with great hopes.

Most of people believe that each vote has huge importance for designating future of the country. If they vote as sensitive electors, capable and worthy people are likely to be chosen for administration of the country. Therefore, those believe that they should be aware of whom they vote for. Besides, few people look at the issue in a more negative insight. They do not see act of voting as an instrument which brings them some benefits. According to them, whenever they voted for the parties that they support, their parties weren't able to win the elections:

Voting is so crucial for some and not for some others. As for me, it's not crucial because whenever and whichever I had given my vote, only any other different parties have won. So voting is not important for me.

Demonstration, protest and meeting

These are some of the methods frequently used in advanced democracies to influence politics, politicians or political decisions. These instruments of participation were not directly mentioned by the people as participation channels except few persons but when it was asked most of people declared their support to these activities because they believe that they could seek justice by doing those. According to them, people can achieve what they want via these instruments because those are very effective methods for influencing politicians. People from different thoughts may meet together on a platform for a common purpose and that attempt engenders a power. For those, moving together is a source of power:

I appreciate and support collective actions such as demonstrations in case of an underrepresentation in parliament. According to me, these kinds of activities are very effective and impel someone to think one more time. They evoke society and make people conscious of some issues. Activities held by people from different way of thinking so as to fulfill common interests get people together in similar platforms.

Data of table-20 refers that 56.4% of the participants find demonstrations, protests and meetings in favor of society. For the people who accept these activities useful, there are some reasons explaining supports of them. According to them, these

activities are very effective for stimulating people especially in small administrative units as in Bodrum. Some other sees these activities more noteworthy and so they awake people. For some others, people may find chances to express their feelings and demands. Also there are some expressions taking these activities as democratic rights for people.

Table 20: Do you support the ways people express themselves through by attending demonstrations, protests, meeting etc. except other types of participation channels?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	62	56,4	56,4	56,4
No	43	39,1	39,1	95,5
No idea	5	4,5	4,5	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

Not all of the people appreciate demonstrations, protests and meetings. According to table above, 39.1% of participants do not support people attending demonstrations, protests or meetings. Some of them take these activities as harmful for society and the country. These activities are not democratic ways of participation because of violence involved:

I never appreciate demonstrations and protests. They are not proper ways because people beat each other and broke anything. Police uses violence. There happens fighting and quarrel. They are just disgrace.

According to those, demonstrations, protests and meetings are ineffective methods to influence administrators. For them, indeed, administrators do not take these activities seriously. Even they are useless and inessential activities. For some others, these kinds of ways violate the order in the district and exhaust society because of violence involved. Also some people advice using press instead of these activities. According to them people can't get any positive results so some other ways should be preferred to have a voice in politics.

Political parties

As Geraint Parry, George Moyser and Neil Day suggest that parties play a very important role in facilitating and mobilizing the participation of a small group of citizens who are (individual) members. There is a strong connection between party membership and political participation. There is a common understanding on political parties, blaming them for becoming self-centered and hypocritical units. Nevertheless, a majority of people see political parties as necessary foundations:

All political parties struggle for power. Being government is their unique targets. Once they become power, they move just for their own gains and do nothing for other people. Even so, I am ready to perform any task given to me for the political party which I support.

Most of the people think that they couldn't find what they expected from political parties.

According to table-21, on one hand, only 15.5% of participants believe that political parties meet expectations of electors. On the other hand, 73.6% of participants think that needs of people couldn't be supplied by political parties at all. This shows that a significant number of people do not believe in political parties and do not take political parties as the units which meet expectations of people.

Table 21: Do political parties meet expectations of electors?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	17	15,5	15,5	15,5
No	81	73,6	73,6	89,1
No idea	12	10,9	10,9	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

Another part of people emphasizes on economic power. According to them, economic power determines level and content of partisanship. In former years, ideology was *a sine qua non* for political parties but now this emphasis is weak. Rather, economic power shapes political parties and politics.

Non-governmental organizations (NGO)

As known, a non-governmental organization is a legally constituted organization which is operated independently from any government. The term is normally used to refer to organizations that do not form part of the government and are not conventional for-profit business. The term is usually applied only to organizations that pursue some wider social goals that have political aspects, but those are not overtly political organizations such as political parties. The term "non-governmental organization" has no generally agreed legal definition. In many jurisdictions, these types of organization are called "civil society organizations". These organizations should be improved for a participatory, pluralist and liberal democracy. What images those constitute in the mind of people is a crucial issue. Actually, the majority of people do not know anything about NGO's or give some negative attributions give attributions to those. According to them, these organizations sometimes meet just to make worthless conversations.

But for some others, NGO's are really important and necessary formations. They believe that these organizations could make the world a more livable place:

Those facilitate our daily lives as separately from governments. They show activity to Omake the world peaceful. We should support those as citizens. Sometimes tiny steps may turn into huge steps for society. There are lots of examples of that.

4.2. Municipal Administration

The founding principle of local governments is that citizens have the right to influence the decisions that affect their lives and their communities. Sometimes they may exercise this right through personalized services and sometimes by influencing local services. This chapter focuses on views and perception of people about municipal administration. This would be enlightening for seeing obstacles in front of people to influence decision-making processes within municipal administrations. As such, people were asked some questions about what they think of municipality. There is a strong relation between democracy and local governments (Görmez, 1997). It's easier to implement participation, principle of majority and accountability

as necessities of democracy in local governments. Participation is more intense and direct in local governments than in general administration (Hill, 1974). Improvement of local governments as democratic units was a difficult and long process. Strongly and continuously improved local governments have main role in glory of democracy of today's England (Ortaylı, 1985). Implementing individualistic freedom is easier in local governments. Local governments are initial units for liberalizing people, implementing democracy and giving people democratic education (Görmez, 1997). Belief and knowledge of people about necessity of local government and the relation between democracy and local governments are important. The number of people who believe "municipalities are cradle of democracy" is in minority. 31.8 % of people associate local governments with democracy. Half of remaining 68.2% couldn't relate local governments with democracy. Second half has no idea about the mentioned relation at all. In conclusion, findings show us that there seems a lack of knowledge about essence of local governments. People seem not having enough attention and intelligence about position and content of local governments in democracy and relation between democracy and local governments. So people should assimilate importance and essentiality of participation of themselves in local governments. In brief, people should be educated so as to pay attention of them for democratic and participatory sides of local governments. This could be implemented especially by leadership of some non-governmental organizations by assistance of municipal administration. As such, education programmes, information meetings and symposiums can be arranged to raise awareness and intelligence of people. Local TV channels would be useful instruments for spreading those to a great extent in district.

Hypothesis 1: Municipalities are cradle of democracy.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Agree	35	31,8	31,8	31,8
Do not Agree	37	33,6	33,6	65,5
No Idea	38	34,5	34,5	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

These rates show us that a majority of people are not aware of content and meaning of local governments or can't establish a relation between local governments and democracy. This means that most of the people do not give sufficient importance to local governments. A lack of knowledge has been observed about democratic aspects of local governments.

In local administrative units, decisions should be made and implemented by participation of people. Form of decision making process is closely related with participatory democracy. Providing participation of people in decision making process and in implementation of these decisions is an appearance of democracy in today's apprehension. Democracy is a conception which necessitates participation of people in processes for solving their own problems. Providing participation of people in decision making process is an obligatory factor (Görmez, 1997). Additionally, people may want to be closely involved with decisions. This seems a reasonable demand in participatory democracies. First of all, views of people about decision making mechanism in municipal administration should be known. According to the table-23, 21.8% of participants chose agree option (strongly agree + agree) for hypothesis 'decision making mechanism of municipal administration is enough'. This shows that only few people are satisfied with the way of making decisions within municipal administration. In addition, there is a crucial case that some participants seem hesitant about the issue.

Hypothesis 2: Decision-making mechanism of municipal administration is enough.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly agree	11	10,0	10,0	10,0
Agree	13	11,8	11,8	21,8
Do not agree	14	12,7	12,7	34,5
Strongly do not agree	32	29,1	29,1	63,6
Indifference	40	36,4	36,4	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

A significant part of people are not satisfied with the way of making decisions within municipal administration. According to them, municipal administration should have a more participatory administrative structure. 77.3% of people see participation of people in decision making process necessary. According to them, development of district is not duty of only local administration but also of people living in there. Only 10.9% of participants chose do not agree (strongly do not agree + do not agree) option for the hypothesis ‘development of district is duty of just local administration and there is no need for participation of people in decision making process’. Findings show us that people want to be engaged in decision making process densely within municipal administration. According to them, municipal administration is not the only actor responsible for development of the district.

Hypothesis 3: Development of district is not duty of just local administration and there is also need for participation of people in decision making processes.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	54	49,1	49,1	49,1
Agree	31	28,2	28,2	77,3
Not Agree	7	6,4	6,4	83,7
Strongly Not Agree	5	4,5	4,5	88,2
Indifference	13	11,8	11,8	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

In representative democracies, the representatives typically serve in a chamber such as a senate, a parliament or similar government bodies. In a direct democracy, the citizens themselves would draft bills, debate them and vote to pass them into law. Representative democracy instead allows the citizens to elect people who handle those responsibilities and tasks for them. This might seem as though it creates unnecessary separation between the people and the laws that are being made, but the intention is that the representatives receive the education and training that are necessary to better understand the complicated needs of their jurisdiction. Consent of people is at the root of representative democracy. Therefore, people want to elect representatives for head of administration.

According to table, most of people believe in system which allows them to choose the person as mayor in district. 79.1% of participants do not agree with the hypothesis ‘mayor should come into head of municipality by appointment instead of election’. The people who agree with this hypothesis are only 13.6% of participants.

Hypothesis 4: Mayor should come into head of municipality by appointment instead of election.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Agree	15	13,6	13,6	13,6
Do not agree	87	79,1	79,1	92,7
Indifference	8	7,3	7,3	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

The fundamental rationales for the people who do not agree with this statement can be categorized as:

- It is not compatible with democracy,
- Decision of people would be ignored,
- People would elect more proper persons,
- Appointed ones would not be unprejudiced,
- They might not be close to people.

Other people who agree with the hypothesis above reported some expectations furthering the quality of administrators. Expectations which were put forward by those can be categorized as below:

- More intellectual and skillful persons would be appointed,
- It can be an alternative because just wealthy people are elected in electoral systems,
- It would bring impartial chairmen,
- Appointed chairmen might be stronger and effective.

An effective and mutual communication system should be improved between local authorities and people for informing people about plans, programmes and implementation decisions of these units and for exercising this information right (Özer, 2000). A local authority without contribution of an informed society would be meaningless to discuss (Hill, 1974). People should be informed about activities of administration and the ratio of expenditures/service. Administration of municipality and municipal council should be fair to people (Pustu, 130).

According to the questionnaire, the table refers 63.6% of participants reported that they hear decisions of the municipal administration. Remaining 36.4% declared that they do not hear the decisions. Although a majority of people are informed about decisions, more than two thirds are uninformed.

Table 21: Do you hear decisions of municipal council?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	70	63,6	63,6	63,6
No	40	36,4	36,4	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

As one of the most institutional and extensive foundations, City councils which starts dialogue between local authorities and civil society might facilitate participation of people in local decision making processes. Likewise, according to the table below, knowledge of people about City Council is really unsatisfactory. Almost 60% of participants have never heard about city council and about 21% of participants have heard it just as name but do not know what it means and its activities. Participants who choose 'know' and 'know well' options are approximately 20%. These show us that most of the people do not know City Council.

Table 22: Have you heard about City Council of Bodrum Municipality?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Never	64	58,2	58,2	58,2
Heard just name	23	20,9	20,9	79,1
Know little	16	14,5	14,5	93,6
Know	7	6,4	6,4	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

However, people should be informed about foundations, especially City Council, within municipality. Entity of such foundations should be spread to most of the people living in the district. Also, the rate of people who hear the decisions of municipal administration might be increased to upper levels. The higher the rate is, the more compatible, transparent and accountable administrative units and participatory democracy will be. Therefore, the rate should be increased by municipal administrators in various methods. People are informed about decisions of municipal administration throughout local TV channels and newspapers, live announcements, advertisements, environment etc. Although especially local press informs people, it also provides control and surveillance on municipal administration (Pustu). Findings of the questionnaire show us that people hear the decisions of the municipal administration mostly by people from their surroundings. Local newspapers and magazines are in second rank. Advertisements and announcements of municipality are in third rank among the ways of informing people. If 36.4% of people, who are uninformed about decisions of municipal administration, demand to be informed, municipal administration should take some informational initiatives to reach more people. A specialized and effective committee undertaking this task should be a good option to inform more people.

If people living in district do not see state authorities far away from them, that is surely a useful case for pulling people into decision making process. People should believe that actually they are represented by local authorities. Even, they should feel close to administration. Administrative bodies and staffs should not be perceived as

if they are inaccessible units by individuals. According to table, 46.4% believe that presidency and membership of municipal council are open to all part of society:

General administration stands at an unapproachable point and so it is far to us. Local administration is closer to us because it is easier to access and even if partially we have a voice at local administration. General administration is far because we vote in vain. Although results have already been designed, we just use our votes as moppets. Nevertheless, we save our little hopes with expectation of reaching some political demands.

In contrary, 48.2% of participants do not agree with this idea. That is to say, approximately half of participants believe the entity of a distance between society and municipal administration.

Table 23: Are presidency and membership of municipal council open to all people?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	51	46,4	46,4	46,4
No	53	48,2	48,2	94,5
No idea	6	5,5	5,5	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

For feeling administration close to me, firstly I should have a voice at administrative processes at least indirectly. Unless I am not given a right like this, I do not feel as president and members of municipal council are close to us and represent our ideas. However, it's harder in general administration. I do not feel we are well represented in general politics. I do not trust them at all. So, general politics is far to us more than municipal administration is.

The general perception puts a draw between general administration and local administration. In other words, most of the people are pleased with local authorities rather than general administration. However, half of the people see local authorities far from them. Although the perception about general administration can't be turned in to positive in the short run, municipal administration should seek the ways of convincing the people to eliminate this negative perception in local milieu. The factors which make people feel excluded from decision making process should be detected and fixed. Local authorities should develop some dispositions for that.

People were asked whether they are pleased or not with services of municipal administration to measure their satisfaction about municipal services. 28.2% of participants chose ‘strongly pleased’ and ‘pleased’ options; 31.9% of participants chose ‘strongly not pleased’ and ‘not pleased’ options and 40% of participants are hesitant.

Table 24: Are you pleased with municipal services?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly pleased	12	10,9	10,9	10,9
Pleased	19	17,3	17,3	28,2
Not pleased	18	16,4	16,4	44,6
Strongly not pleased	17	15,4	15,4	60
Indifference	44	40	40	100,0
Total	110	100,0	100,0	

For the people who are not pleased with services of municipal administration, reason of inefficacy of services is initially related with lack of financial resource. Municipal administration couldn't perform services properly because of lack of allocations. They put forward problems in decision making mechanism. According to them, some decisions are not proper and rational for the district.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study is declared to investigate the factors effecting political participation to provide some answers to the following questions; “to what extent and how do personal and socio-economic variables (age, gender, education and income) effect political participation?”; “Are the effects of those absolute just like in mainstream literature?”; “What means political participation in the eyes of people?” and “What can be done or which strategies should be improved to attract people into decision making process?”.

In order to provide some convincing answers to these questions, an empirical research was carried out in Bodrum involving some interviews with the local population. The interpretative statistical data analyses stemming from this research revealed that impact of age, gender, education and income factors on participation are not as strong as it is claimed in the literature. That is to say that participation of people in politics, at least in Bodrum case is not strongly affected by these variables. Before dealing with background of the difference between our findings and mainstream literature, I put forward our findings on effect of age, gender, education and income on level of political participation.

First of all, political participation, interest and perception of people about politics are effected by many factors. Education and income, as just two of them, called as socio-economic factors and age and gender called as personal factors are some of them. Participation of people in politics may change depending on the level of education, income, age or gender. Each variable was handled under a different and independent

title so as to see the effects of each variable separately. Additionally, study is based on these factors through individualistic political actions, collectivist political actions and perception, interest and attitudes of people about political issues. According to the survey, as mentioned above, effects of both personal and socio-economic factors are not as strong as in mainstream literature. However, personal factors (age and gender) seem more effective than socio-economic factors. Findings show that effect of these factors has been observed especially in certain types of political participation. Age, as a personal factor, is one of the factors shaping level of political participation. People of different ages participate in politics through various channels and densities. As is seen in mainstream literature, participation of middle-aged people is much more than the young and elderly. Indeed, findings show that middle-aged people and part of older people are engaged in politics more than young participants. Their attendance both in individualistic and collectivist form of actions is more usual than other age groups. In other words, factually participation increases with the rising ages. For example, rate of people who signs petition to get some benefits from public bodies is highest within older age groups (34.3% for the second age group and 39.5% for the third age group). As for the act of voting, data show that a great number of participants use their votes in elections. Although voting turnouts are increasing as people age, indeed, age does not seem as a strong determinant for voting. Due to practical nature of voting behavior, it's not a confusing portrait at all. So this portrait should not mislead us as if age is effective in the event of election. Differences as to age rather show itself at other kinds of participation which necessitate more time, interest, knowledge and intelligence. Those skills seem as the main triggers of why older people are more engaged in politics. However, a differentiation has been observed among age groups about political interest of them. For example, although rate of those who described themselves as interested in issues about the district and the country is over 80%, the older participants seem more concerned with those. This rate decreases in the case of younger people. Additionally, even if there has been observed such a differentiation among age groups, data also show that people from all three groups have similar way of thinking about the municipal administration and its level of importance in democratic processes. . For example all three age groups assume a relation between local administration and democracy and also they are pleased with election method for bringing mayor to power. In brief, even if there is a differentiation about political

interest, perception and attitudes of age groups, actually they have similar attitudes. On the other hand, disengagement of young participants shows itself in the form of alienation from politics. Most of young participants think that they have no faith in politics and politicians and they think that they could not gain any benefits by participating in politics through various instruments.

As for gender, it still seems as an effective factor which generates a differentiation in political participation. However it was not possible to identify a gender effect on the level of individualistic form of participation. It's observed that individualistic participation of women is similar to the levels of male participation. The most prominent feature of this kind of participation is that it does not necessitate interaction between individuals. So societies necessarily do not have to acquire advanced socio-economic backgrounds. Briefly, any comprehensive obstacles haven't been observed in front of women's individualistic political participation and no prevention was observed in front of individualistic political participation of women. Contrary to individualistic political participation, there are some prominent differences in collectivist political participation between genders. Gender based differences emerge especially in case of collectivist political participation because this type of participation necessitates interaction between people, time and some skills. According to our findings, rate of attendance of women in different political activities verifies this claim. Interest and perception of women about political issues is not much different from male perception. In some cases, women seem more willing and interested in political issues. For example, a high percentage of women declared that they would want to take part in some initiatives for fulfilling a particular target such as about solving a problem in district. Also according to declarations of women, being woman is sometimes a barrier both in social and political life. According to some female participants, although there are still some prejudiced opinions of men toward participation of women in political life, preventing and repressive compulsions of men are not as strong as it was in the past.

Education and economic power are the factors considered within socio-economic factors. There have been some surprising findings contrary to the findings of mainstream literature. More educated people are expected to be more engaged in politics. Research findings show us that there is not any meaningful differentiation

among education groups. Contrary to the expectations, participation of high school graduate and university graduate group is less than primary school graduate group in such activities related to elections. Also, attendance of less educated group is not lower than of more educated groups. Although participation of educated participants is much more than of uneducated participants, there is not any significant effect of educational level for participation of people in politics. This implication can be extracted from the interest and perception of education groups about politics and political issues. Data show us that there is not any strong or reasonable differentiation between education groups about political interest at all. Interest of people seem independent from their level of education. Likewise, with exception of few cases, economic power does not generate a difference among people. Income of people seems most inconsiderable among all factors. Level of income seems unrelated with political participation, interest and attitudes of people. This is because economic power would be a meaningful variable in case of considering it with some other variables interactively such as with educational level and occupation.

Having discussed the effects of age, gender, education and income on level of political participation we could proceed to deal with the differences between our findings in this study and dominant perception of the related literature on the effects of age, gender, education and income. Our research found that perception of people about political participation is very limited. Participation or politics in general, is an activity revolving around political parties and elections. This perception confines people in political arena. In other words, if an individual wants to participate in politics, she/he expects to be member of a political party or to work for a political party in terms of elections. This notion draws desperate limitations on participation. Most of people are not either aware of different ways of participation channels such as non-governmental organizations or demonstration as if they are not legal institutions. This is one of fundamental causes of the difference. Lack of various participation methods and channels is another cause. For example, despite of latest municipal law, city council in which representatives of various social strata attend assemblies is not an active formation within structure of the Municipality. Moreover, pioneering of public bodies is deficient in the district. In addition, the study found out that if these variables are evaluated together or interrelated, some meaningful findings can be identified. So some participant typologies were composed to discover

potential effects of the variables (gender, age, education and income) by evaluating these variables interrelatedly. Four typologies were formed. Members of each typology are composed of similar age, gender, level of education and income. In addition to this, we determined a profile of an average participant by using political awareness. Thus, we gave a constant value to a participant that designates average political awareness. Also, we rated our four typologies by using data of questionnaire. We obtained some data and findings by comparing each typology with the constant value for an average participant and comparing typologies within themselves. Most reasonable findings appear while the variables were evaluated interrelatedly. For example while variables 'age', 'gender' or 'education' were handled separately, effects of them weren't visible. It was difficult to find a reasonable relation between the variables and level of participation but typologies showed us that if variables are considered together, they influence people to participate in politics or not. For example, in typology-4, numeric value of participants who are between the ages of 30 to 49, have university graduation with 2.000 or more liras monthly income and also male is more than average political awareness ($9.2 > 7.2$). Features of this typology separately imply high political participation in literature. In other words, middle-age, high income, being male and university graduation is an advantage for involving in politics easily. In our study, even if these variables could not substantiate political participation solely, they influenced level of participation positively in case of in a holistic approach. Typology-4 can be quoted as an instance for this situation. Participants, in typology-4, are socio-economically better off and in middle-age group. Even if these factors are not decisive on their own, all of these factors as a whole give some advantages to people to take part in decision making process.

Other dimension of the debate is on what people think about politics, political issues and political participation. If participation process is considered as a multiple structure, as state, non-governmental organizations and society, participants could be considered to be human capital of this structure. As being a crucial element, attitudes and perception of participants have been evaluated as parts of participation process. We gained some meaningful insights. First of all, participation of people in decision making process is an expected result of participatory democracy. There should be mechanisms letting people penetrate in decision making process. Findings show that

picture of political participation is rather limited in the mind of people. According to a majority of people, political participation and politics are activities almost turning around political parties and act of voting. For them, political participation is not more than voting and political parties. Voting rates are high for it is conceived as main, even only, way of political participation. People believe that voting mechanism could present themselves opportunities for the future of the country. Even if there is a positive attribution on voting and elections, politicians and political parties are not seen as reliable and hopeful actors for society. Most of people think that politicians and political parties are self-interested. In other words, they only seek the ways of being power without considering interest of people. However, people tend to give support political parties through voting or some other activities. In general, most of people have some negative images about politics as blaming it useless and decomposing. Also, level of political knowledge of people seems very narrow, especially about non-governmental organizations. People did not pronounce even a word about non-governmental organizations, demonstrations or protests against a decision of politicians when ways of political participation were asked to them. After reminding these institutions to people, some of them declared benefits and favors of collective actions of political participation for society. Perception and way of thinking of people should be improved about the ways of involving them into decision making process. Especially, if awareness and relation between non-governmental organizations and people are improved, there is a possibility to create some opportunities for setting people in decision making process.

Last debate is about relations and understandings of people about municipal administration. Local administration, as main instruments implementing participatory democracies, is such a unit closer to people than general administration. We found out in this study that people can not feel municipal administration close enough to them. Even if people are ambivalent and hesitant, they generally claim right to speak more in politics. However, 'more right to speak' is a vague claim; a great number of people are discontented for their position in decision making process and want to be more involved in it. So, we asked some questions to reveal perceptions of people about municipal administration, the relation between democracy and municipal administration, performance of administrator, decision making process, and necessity of involvement in politics. Findings show that only about one third of participants

(31.8%) establish a relation between local administration and democracy. This refers a lack of awareness about democratic aspect of local administration. Another area is about decision making mechanism of municipal administration. According to the survey, about one fifth of people think that decision making mechanism of municipal administration is enough and there is no need for extra channels. However, a significant number of people are not pleased with the decision making mechanism. More than 75% of participants see participation of people in administration as a necessity near administrators. Most of people (79%) are also pleased with the way of electing mayors. They oppose to see mayor at top of administration by appointment. They want to choose mayor according to their desires because they believe that their choices are accurate. Most of them want to maintain their rights to speak for determining mayor.

Although most of people see local administration closer to themselves than general administration, a significant number of them think that municipal administration and council are not open to all parts of society at all. 48.2% of participants have such an idea. This view is surely a negative portrait for administration. If participation of people in decision making process is to be increased, administrators should destroy such a perception. Finally, 63% of all participants declared that they somehow hear the decisions of municipal administration. This means that more than half of the people have opportunity to reach the decisions. Likewise, most of people are not aware of City Council of Bodrum Municipality. According to finding, people really do not know almost anything about City Council. Data of the questionnaires show that most common source of hearing decisions is through the friends and close environment. Newspapers and magazines is the second source of information. Municipal administration is the third one in reaching the information and decisions.

It may be a useful attempt to generate some novel instruments and mechanisms for informing people about decision and activities of municipality. Likewise we could identify some structural defects in the municipal administration in the field of participation. These defects put barriers between people and administration. The closer the dialog generated between them, the more efficient participatory democracy will be. In what follows we would like to develop some suggestion to improve the participation at the local level.

Policy Suggestions:

First of all, it is important to mind that participation has various dimensions and these are dependent on each other. Thus, a policy attempt should take all the dimensions of participation into account.

Secondly, findings of the thesis show that variables are not meaningful if considered individually. That is to say, target audience should be set accurately. For example, if being female in society is a negative condition in front of political participation, this generalization should not direct us to women as if they are necessarily disconnected from politics. Being female should not be a measure alone because a woman could have improved socio-economic conditions as well. Thus, we may see this woman in very core of decision making process. Thereby, policy proposals should be designed accordingly and interrelations between variables necessarily should be taken into account for accurate solution.

Another point is peculiarities of the district. The district has a dense tourism industry. Workload is very dense especially in summers. Most of people are occupied in service sector including various strata of society. Even if an individual has ability and ambition to participate in politics, she/he may not involve in politics due to density of working life especially in peak season. For instance a participant in typology-4 has lots of advantages to involve in politics but he may not able to be in politics due to other factors except the age, gender, education and income. Consequently, policy proposals should consider all these points for more realist and practical solutions.

People participate in politics through various instruments such as signing petitions, taking part in demonstrations, protesting government policies or joining a political party. As told before, findings of the survey show that perception and interest of people in politics is restricted. The ways in which people engage in politics throughout are not expansive among participants. Act of voting and activities around political parties are mostly accepted and widely-used ones. In other words, politics and political participation almost equal to an apprehension hovering around political

parties and voting. For most of people, election is a hopeful action. They want to trust in elections. Although most of people focus on political parties, as main instrument of political participation, especially young people are not pleased with structures of political parties. For those, political parties are units which basically focus on ways of getting in power without taking care of people. So, according to interviews, almost all of political parties do not pay attention to especially youth within structure and policies of them. This picture is like a reflection of how politics is implemented in national level. Therefore, this picture is not peculiar to Bodrum but is a generally accepted condition in the country. Thereby, this untrustworthy atmosphere as a part of general political culture could be healed by not just local policies but especially national policies. Therefore, this fact is a limitation for policy suggestion within the thesis. In here, there will be suggestions to be applied just for local-wide. Nation-wide policies are out of scope of our thesis.

Firstly, negative perceptions should be overcome to form a meaningful participatory environment. For that, political parties should improve their branch structures in provinces. Especially youth does not think that they are given importance by political parties. Target should be distance between political parties and citizens. This requires new channels of participation. These channels are required to take the group differences. In such a framework, there is a special need for new and novel forms of platforms especially for young people.

Mechanisms allowing people to be involved in decision-making process do not consist of just political parties and elections in participatory democracies. Citizens should be promoted to have a voice in decision-making process and thereby to build new participation channels or enrich current ones. Finally, for making sense of such an enterprise, concern of people should be canalized into participation channels. Concern of people mentioned in next paragraph is another key point of this thesis.

Findings of the survey show that a significant number of people seem ambivalent, uninterested and ignorant about ways of political participation out of political parties and elections. For example, a large number of people have a doubtful image about non-governmental organizations; even a considerable number of them know nothing about these organizations or functions of them. Likewise, there are some people who

doubtfully approach to some collectivist instruments of political participation. Such as, a considerable number of people consider attending demonstrations, meetings or protests as dangerous and ineffective ways for influencing politicians. They put various reasons for opposing these actions. For example these activities include violence within and so destroy peace of society. Doubts impel some others to prefer other types of participation channels instead. This kind of perceptions seems as obstacle in front of participation for it detains people from political participation. Therefore, prejudiced views and misperception should be eradicated so as to increase engagement of people in various participation channels which we presented in former paragraph as a crucial part of solution. After all, an actor deficit appears. Who will be the actors of the solution? Surely, state is responsible at first hand. Local administrations should take initiatives. Due to distance between administrators and citizens, non-governmental organizations should undertake some initiatives. Findings of the survey indicate lack of ties between NGO's and people. So the role of NGO's is crucial for that.

As for the relation between people and municipal administration, most of the people are not pleased with decision making mechanism of the municipal administration. A significant number of people think that mayors and councilors are not open to all part of society. They declare that views and ideas of people should be represented densely in administration. That is to say, municipal administration should take people into account more than current case. Participation of people should be intensively insured in decision making process. Besides, people consider participation of themselves necessary for a better administration and improvement. So, politicians and administrators should take some precautions for reflecting and canalizing views of people into decision making process. Such as, municipal administration can apply residents to learn their views about political and administrative issues.

The findings of the thesis show that the biggest problem preventing participation is the lack of trust in the political system. People do not believe in politicians and existing institutions such as political parties. If this is true, then the most important, but also most difficult task is to solve the problem of trust in the political institutions. Without solving this problem it is hardly possible increase the people's participation in local politics. Likewise any afford to build new channels will be a futile attempt.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Demografik

1. Cinsiyet?

() Kadın

() Erkek

2. Bodrum'a kaç yıl önce geldiniz?

.....

3. Bodrum'a nereden geldiniz?

.....

4. Medeni durumunuz?

() Evli

() Bekâr

5. Eğitim durumunuz?

- Okur-yazar değil
 İlköğretim
 Lise
 Lisans ve üstü

6. Çalışma durumunuz?

- Çalışıyorum
 Çalışmıyorum (işsiz)
 Emekli

7. Mesleğiniz?

- Serbest
 İşçi
 Memur
 Ev kadını
 Emekli
 İşveren
 Öğrenci

8. Evli iseniz eşinizin eğitim durumu?

- Okur-yazar değil

- İlköğretim
 Lise
 Lisans ve üstü

9. Evli iseniz eşinizin çalışma durumu?

- Ev hanımı
 Çalışıyor
 kendi işinde
 ücretli olarak bir kuruluştadır
 İş arıyor
 Emekli

10. Kaç çocuğunuz var?

- 1
 2
 3
 4
 5+

11. Çocuğunuzun/çocuklarınızın eğitim durumu?

1. Okula gitmiyor 2. Okula gitm. 3. Okula gitm. 4. Okula gitm.
 İlköğretim İlköğretim İlköğretim İlköğretim
 Lise Lise Lise Lise
 Lisans ve üstü Lisans ve üstü Lisans ve üstü Lisans ve

üstü

12. Aylık kazancınız? (TL)

0-750

750-1250

1250-2000

2000 ve üzeri

13. Kitap/dergi/gazete okuma durumunuz nedir?

	Sıklık	Tür
Kitap		
Gazete		
Dergi		

14. İş dışında kalan zamanı değerlendirme

Tiyatro, sinema vb. gitmek

Arkadaşlarla buluşma

Etkinlikler düzenleme/katılma

Piknik, gezme

Evde çocuklarla ilgilenme

.....

15. Aileniz veya akrabalarınız arasında fiili olarak siyasetle uğraşan kişiler var mı? Varsa kimler ve ne tür?

Var

Yok

Yakın akrabalar

Uzak akrabalar

Aile

16. Geçmiş yerel seçimlerde oyunuzu kullandınız mı? Evetse son kaç dönem?

Evet 1

Hayır 2

3

4

5 +

17. Bir sonraki yerel seçimlerde oy kullanmayı düşünüyor musunuz?

Düşünüyorum

Düşünmüyorum

Kararsızım

18. 1999, 2004 ve 2009 yerel seçimlerinde Bodrum'da seçimi hangi parti/partilerin kazandığını biliyor musunuz?

Biliyorum

Bilmiyorum

19. Seçim dönemlerinde oy verdiğiniz siyasi partiyi destekleyici görevlerde yer alıyor musunuz? Ne şekilde?

Seçim mitinglerini izleme

Seçim mitinglerinde aktif görev alma

Seçim konvoylarına katılım

Afiş dağıtma

Maddi destek sağlama

.....

20. Ülke siyasetini yönetenlere duyduğunuz tepki ya da sempati sizin yerel siyaset meselelerinde daha aktif ya da pasif bir tavır takınmanıza neden oluyor mu? Derecelendiriniz.

Evet 1

2

3

4

Hayır 5

21. Üyesi olduğunuz dernek/vakıf/kulüp vb. organizasyon var mı?

İsim	Üye niteliği	Aktiflik düzeyi	Üstlenilen görev

22. Bu organizasyonlara katılımınızda ailenizin ya da arkadaşlarınızın dolaylı ya da dolaysız herhangi bir etkisi ya da teşviki var mı? Derecelendiriniz.

Var () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Yok () 5

23. İlçeye hizmet veren kuruluşlarda boş zamanlarınızda gönüllü olarak çalışmak ister misiniz? Hayırsa neden?

() Evet

() Hayır

.....
.....

24. Belediyenin verdiği kararlar konusunda eleştiri ve taleplerinizi ilettiğiniz oldu mu?

() Talebim/eleştirim oldu ancak yetkililerle görüştürülmedim

() İlettim

- İletmedim
- İstedim ancak yetkili bulamadım
- İlettim ama sonuçsuz kaldı
- İlettim ve sonuç aldım

25. Eleştiri ve taleplerinizi iletemiyorsanız bunun nedeni nedir sizce?

- Gündelik koşuşturmalardan vakit bulamıyorum
- Dikkate alınacağını düşünmüyorum
- Hangi yolla iletileceğini bilmiyorum
- Bir işe yaramayacağını düşünüyorum
-

.....

26. Son 3–5 yıl içinde yaşadığınız çevreniz/mahallenizle ilgili olarak yaşamınızı olumsuz etkileyen bir gelişme oldu mu? Olduysa bu duruma yönelik herhangi bir girişiminiz oldu mu ve nedir?

- Evet
- Evet
- Hayır
- Hayır

.....

.....

27. İşyerinizde işyeri sahipleri tarafından işten çıkarılmak gibi bir haksızlığa maruz kaldığınızda yapacağınız ilk şey ne olur?

- İşverenle görüşme
- Sendikayla görüşme

- Yeni bir iş arama
 Hiçbir şey yapmam

28. Herhangi bir kamu kurum ya da kuruluşuna dilekçe ile başvuruda bulunduğunuz oldu mu? Hangi konuda?

- Evet
 Hayır

.....
.....

29. Herhangi bir kamu kurum ya da kuruluşuna toplu dilekçe ile talepte bulunduğunuz oldu mu?

- Evet
 Hayır

30. Yerel yönetim kademelerinde ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarında akrabalarınız ve yakın tanıdıklarınızdan görev alan var mı? İhtiyacınız olduğunda onlardan yardım almayı dener misiniz?

- Evet Oldukça
 Hayır Ara sıra
 Nadiren
 Hiç

31. Grev, boykot, eylem, protesto vb. faaliyetlerde bulunduğunuz oldu mu? Sesinizi duyurmada ve çözüm bulmada bu yöntemlerin işe yarayacağını düşünür müsünüz? Derecelendiriniz.

- Evet Evet 1
 Hayır 2
 3
 4
Hayır 5

32. Deniz, çevre, hava kirliliği, sokak hayvanları, engelliler, kadın hakları gibi güncel konularla ilgili gerçekleştirilen eylem, yürüyüş ya da bu konularla ilgili kuruluşlarda rol aldınız mı?

- Evet
 Hayır

33. Ülke ve ilçe sorunlarını takip eder misiniz? Derecelendiriniz.

- Evet 1
 2
 3
 4
Hayır 5

34. Bodrum Belediyesi kent konseyi hakkında bilginiz var mı? Evetse ne düzeyde?

- Hiç duymadım
 Sadece ismen duydum
 Az-çok bilgim var
 Yeterince biliyorum

35. Belediyenin hizmetlerinden memnun musunuz? Memnuniyet seviyesine göre derecelendiriniz.

Evet () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Hayır () 5

36. Belediye imkânları ölçüsünde hizmetleri en iyi şekilde yerine getirmiyorsa sizce bunun nedenleri neler olabilir?

() Kaynak yetersizliği

() Kimi hizmetlere aşırı önem verilmesinden dolayı diğerlerinin ihmal edilmesi

() Karar alma mekanizmasındaki eksiklikler

() Yolsuzluk

()

37. Yerel seçimler döneminde oy kullanmak dışında, belediyenin ilçe ile ilgili almış olduğu kararları dolaylı da olsa etkileyebildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Derecelendiriniz.

Evet () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Hayır () 5

38. Hayırsa, sizce bu etkilemeyi engelleyen unsurlar nelerdir?

- Yönetenler bizlerden kopuk durumda
- Bizim de fikirlerimizi yansıtacak mekanizmalar/araçlar yetersiz
- Fikirlerimizi aktardığımız halde dikkate alınmıyor
- İlçeye ilgili işleri tamamıyla seçtiğimiz kişilere bırakmayı tercih ediyorum
-
-

39. Belediye şu an ki yapısıyla yeterli mi yoksa sizlerin de fikirlerinizi daha çok dikkate alacak yeni bir yapılanmaya ihtiyaç var mı? Derecelendiriniz.

Yeterli 1

2

3

4

Yetersiz 5

Fikrim yok

40. İlçenin sorunlarına ve yönetimine ilgi duyuyor musunuz? Sizce ilçenin en önemli sorunları nelerdir, önemine göre ilk 5'ini numaralandırınız?

Evet 1

2

3

4

Hayır 5

- Trafik
- Yol
- Otopark
- Deniz kirliliđi
- Hava kirliliđi
- Grlt kirliliđi
- Altyapı
- Elektrik kesintileri
- Su
- p
- Dzensiz yapılařma
- Eđitim
- Kltrel aktivitelerin yetersizliđi
-

.....

41. İlgi duymuyorsanız ya da ilgi eksikliđiniz varsa sizce bunun nedeni ne olabilir?

- iřten ve maddi nedenlerden tr byle meseleleri dřnmeye vaktim kalmıyor
- belediyenin iři olduđundan bu konuların beni ilgilendirmediđini dřnyorum
- fikirlerimi ynetime aktarma imknım olmadıđı iin fazla nemsemiyorum
- fikrim yok

.....
.....

42. Size göre Bodrum'daki sivil toplum kuruluşları yeterince etkin mi? Evetse ne düzeyde? Derecelendiriniz.

Evet () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Hayır () 5

Fikrim yok ()

43. Belediyelerde en etkin kesimin kimler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

() Siyasetçiler

() Bürokratlar

() İş ve çıkar çevreleri

() Yerel halk

()

.....

44. Belediyelerin demokrasinin beşiği olduğu yönünde bir inanış var; katılıyor musunuz?

() Katılıyorum

() Katılmıyorum

() Fikrim yok

45. Belediye başkanının başarılı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz; niçin? Derecelendiriniz.

Başarılı () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Başarısız () 5

Fikrim yok ()

.....

47. İlçenin kalkınmasını sadece yerel yönetimlerin görevi mi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz yoksa kalkınmada yerel yönetimlerin yanında halkın katılımını da mı gerekli görüyorsunuz? Derecelendiriniz.

Gerekli () 1

() 2

() 3

() 4

Gereksiz () 5

48. Belediye meclisinin almış olduğu kararları duyuyor musunuz? Duyuyorsanız ne şekilde duyuyorsunuz?

() Evet

() Hayır

() Yerel televizyon kanallarından

() Yerel gazete ve dergilerden

- Çevreden
- Belediye afiş veya bildirilerinden
- Bizzat
- Fikrim yok

49. Siyasal Partilerin seçmenlerin beklentilerini karşılayan bir yapıda olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

Hayırsa nedeni

.....

50. Belediye başkanlıklarının ve meclis üyeliklerinin toplumun her kesimine açık makamlar olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

Hayırsa hangi kesimlere açık?

.....

51. Belediye başkanlarının kişilikleri yönetim anlayışında ciddi bir fark yaratabiliyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

52. Belediye başkanları ve meclislerinin seçim yerine Valilik ve Kaymakamlıklar tarafından yapılan atamalarla oluşması fikrine katılır mısınız?

() Evet...Neden?

.....

() Hayır...Neden?

.....

53. Aşağıdaki kesimlerin belediyelerde temsiliyeti nasıldır?

Esnaf	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor
Avukat, mühendis vb.	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor
İşçi ve memur	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor
Gençler	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor
Yaşlılar	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor
Kadınlar	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() temsil edilemiyor

54. Belediyenizin performansını aşağıdaki konularda nasıl buluyorsunuz?

İmar konuları	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü
Temizlik	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü
Turizm	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü
Kültür	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü
Halkla ilişkiler	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü
Altyapı	() Çok iyi	() iyi	() orta	() kötü	() çok kötü

55. Sizce yerel halkın belediye ve benzeri türden kanallar yanında, protesto etmek, yürüyüş yapmak, bildiri dağıtarak görüşlerini duyurmak gibi yolları kullanması olumlu mudur?

() Evet... Neden?

.....

() Hayır... Neden?

.....

56. Halkın eğitim düzeyi ile katılım arasında nasıl bir ilişki kuruyorsunuz?

() Eğitimi olmayanların katılımın hakkını vereceğini düşünmüyorum.

() Eğitimle katılım hakkı arasında bir ilişki kurulması gerekmez

() Eğitim kadar, belediye ilişkilerini bilmek önemlidir.

() Mevcut durumda mali olarak güçlü olmak eğitimden daha önemlidir.

57. İdealinizdeki belediye başkanını bir kaç cümle ile tanımlar mısınız?

.....

.....

APPENDIX B

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

1. Siyaset yapmak denince aklınıza neler geliyor? Size çağrıştırdıkları nelerdir?
2. Sizce siyasetin görevleri neler olmalıdır?
3. Vatandaşın siyasi katılımından ne anlıyorsunuz? Katılım yöntemleri hakkında bilginiz var mı?
4. Aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizce demokratik bir hak olarak olumlu katılım biçimidir? Oy verme, şikâyet/talep dilekçesi, protesto gösterisi, mitinge katılma, dernek kurma vs. Olumsuz görünenler varsa neden olumsuz görüyorsunuz?
5. Günümüz toplumunda oy verme ya da vermeme sizce önemlidir. Önemli ya da önemsizse niçin öyle? Oy kullanmayı siyasi bir ödev olarak mı yoksa bir vatandaşlık hakkı olarak mı değerlendiriyorsunuz? Sandığa gitmek sizin için neyi ifade ediyor; büyük umutlarla gerçekleştirdiğiniz bir eylem olarak mı yoksa sıradan bir aktivite olarak mı değerlendiriyorsunuz?
6. Sivil toplum kuruluşları ne gibi işlevler görürler? Bu kuruluşların önemi hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?
7. Bugünün Türkiye'si'nde gençlere değer veren bir siyasal parti görüyor musunuz? Görüyorsanız bu farkı yaratan nedir? Görmüyorsanız gençliğe yönelik bu negatif tutumu neye bağlıyorsunuz?

8. Siyasete ilginiz ne düzeyde? Kendinizi siyasete ne kadar ilgili görüyorsunuz? İlgisizseniz sizce bunun nedeni nedir?
9. Kendinizi devlete ya da yerel yönetimlere ne kadar yakın görüyorsunuz? Uzak görüyorsanız sebebi nedir?
10. Size fırsat verilseydi ulusal (parlamento) düzeyde mi yoksa yerel düzeyde mi siyaset yapmak isterdiniz? Neden?
11. Siyasal kararlar alınıp uygulanırken bir vatandaş olarak kendinizi hangi konumda değerlendiriyorsunuz?
12. Siyasetin bir vatandaş olarak sizin fikirlerinize önem verip vermemesi ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Bunu gerekli görüyor musunuz?
13. Yasal gösteri yürüyüşü ve eylem gibi aktiviteleri destekler misiniz? Bu gibi aktiviteler hakkındaki görüşünüzü belirtiniz.
14. Seçimlerde oy kullanmanın siyasi sisteme katılmada ne denli etkin bir yöntem olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Oy kullanmayı yüksek bir vatandaşlık bilinci ile mi yoksa yasal zorunluluk olmasından dolayı mı yapıyorsunuz?
15. Siyasi partiler hakkındaki genel kanaatiniz nedir? Bir siyasi partiye sempati duymanın dışında onu destekleyici faaliyetlerde bulunur musunuz? Hayırsa neden?
16. Sivil toplum kuruluşlarına üye olmayı düşünür müsünüz? Evetse, hangi beklentiler ile bunu yaparsınız?

17. Siyasi katılımdan ne anlıyorsunuz? Halkı siyasi sisteme dahil edecek yöntemler nelerdir? Yani hangi yollarla sesinizi yönetime duyurabileceğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?
18. Çevre, kadın hakları, sağlık gibi konularla ne kadar ilgilisiniz? Örneğin çevre gibi sosyal boyutu olan konularla ilgili faaliyetlerde yer almak ister misiniz? Hayırsa neden?
19. Siyaset yapabilmek için insanların mali gücünün olması gerektiği yönünde bir görüş var, bu görüşe katılıyor musunuz? Bu konuyu kendiniz açısından değerlendirir misiniz?
20. Siyasetin kirli olduğu düşüncesine katılıyor musunuz? Katılıyorsanız niçin?
21. Çevrenizde siyaset yapan birileri var mı? Bu deneyime ilişkin görüşleriniz nedir? Engelleri nasıl aştıkları ile ilgili.
22. Eşiniz ile siyasi konularda tartışma yaptığımız oluyor mu?
23. Kadına olan bakış açısı kadınının siyasi katılımını etkiliyor mu? Etkiliyorsa nasıl?
24. Siyasi tercihlerinizi yaparken nelerden etkileniyorsunuz? Eşinizin fikirleri, tercihleri ya da telkinleri etkili oluyor mu?
25. Sivil toplum kuruluşlarına üye olmayı düşünür müsünüz? Evetse, hangi beklentiler ile bunu yaparsınız?
26. Son siyasi seçim sonuçları hakkında bilginiz var mı? İlgilenmiyorsanız neden?

27. Yaşadığınız çevrenin sorunlarına karşı ne kadar duyarlısınız? Sorunlara karşı herhangi bir inisiyatif almayı düşünür müsünüz? Hayırsa neden?
28. Eşinizin/ailenizdeki bir kadının siyasete aktif biçimde katılması konusunda tavrınız ne olurdu? Böyle bir durum oldu mu, olacak olsa tavrınız ne olur? Nereye kadar destek/izniniz olur?
29. Kadınların siyasete aktif biçimde katılımı konusunda çevrenizde nasıl bir tutumu var? Gözlemlerinizi nedir? Engelleyici bir tutum görüyor musunuz? Neden?
30. Siyasete katılmak isteseniz eşiniz/aileniz/yakın çevreniz destek verir mi? Yoksa tersi yönde bir tutum mu takınırlar; engelleme olur mu?
31. Çevrenizdeki kadınlardan siyasete aktif katılan var mı? Varsa bu konuda nasıl gözlemlerinizi oldu? Ne tür engellemeler oluyor? Başarılı olabiliyorlar mı?
32. Yerel siyasette başarılı kadınlar görebiliyor musunuz? Ulusal siyasette başarılı bulduğunuz kadın siyasetçiler var mı? Sizce bu kadınlar nasıl başarılı oluyor? Engelleri aşmalarını ne sağlıyor?

APPENDIX C



TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

.....

.....

.....

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası

Tarih