DIFFERENT DYNAMICS OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN MARDIN, TURKEY

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

DIFFERENT DYNAMICS OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION
IN MARDIN, TURKEY

Konuralp, Özge
M.S.; Social Policy
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This study aims to find out different dynamics of youth participation in Mardin, which is one of the least developed regions of Turkey. Throughout the thesis I try to find out different dimensions that influence the level of participation and the different dynamics through which young people differentiate in terms of their social, cultural and political participation.

Beyond youth participation researches conducted with young people living in urban areas, I decided to conduct the research in Mardin/South-eastern Anatolia which has one of the lowest scores in terms of human development indicators, in order to reveal the different dynamics of youth participation linked to space.

The region has many structural inadequacies such as limited employment opportunities, social provisions as well as insufficient social services, so the level of social and cultural participation of young people in the region is also lower than the state average. Beyond structural barriers that affect young people living in the region equally, it is observed that factors that affect youth participation are not homogenous

and vary according to different social, cultural and political states. In this sense, one of the main findings of the study is that the level of youth's social and cultural participation, recognition of civil, political and cultural rights, as well as their political participation, differs depending on their ethnic consciousness, political standing and gender aspect. Thus, young people who have participated into the interviews are classified and analysed under three different categories. The first category is composed of young people who have a certain extent of ethnic consciousness, claim constitutional citizenship rights without excluding any ethnic origin and religion, and who are aware of right abuses as well as conscious about their social, cultural and political rights. The second category is composed of young people who have a conservative political approach which is more close to the policies of the ruling party (Justice and Development Party-AKP) and who do not emphasize certain rights or ways of participation, but consider the youth activities/projects as a source of cultural participation. Lastly the third category is composed of young women who face with gender discrimination in terms of their social, cultural and political participation and mainly stuck between conservative society and family.

In addition to the classification of young people under three categories in terms of their different patterns of participation, it was revealed that young people, independent of their level of participation, within the structured conditions are reconstructing a unique public sphere, set of values and new means of social, cultural and political participation.

Keywords: Youth, Participation, Youth Study, Citizenship, Active Citizenship

ÖZ

GENÇLERİN KATILIMININ FARKLI DİNAMİKLERİ
MARDİN, TÜRKİYE

Konuralp, Özge

M.S.; Sosyal Politika

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıoğlu

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'nin en az gelişmiş bölgelerinden biri olan Mardin'de gençlerin katılımının farklı dinamiklerini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma boyunca gençlerin katılım düzeylerini etkileyen farklı boyutları ve sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılımlarını etkileyen farklı dinamiklerini ortaya çıkartmaya çalıştım.

Hali hazırda kentlerde yaşayan gençler ile gerçekleştirilmiş araştırmaların ötesinde, bu çalışmayı özel olarak Türkiye'de insani gelişmişlik indikatörlerine göre en düşük puanlardan birine sahip olan Mardin'de/Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde, bu bölgede yaşayan gençlerin katılımının farklı dinamiklerinin mekan ile olan ilişkisini de kurarak gerçekleştirmeyi amaçladım.

Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi yapısal yetersizlikler, kısıtlı istihdam olanakları, yetersiz sosyal yardımlar ve servislerin yanı sıra, gençlerin katılımının da ülke ortalamasının altında olduğu bölgeler arasında yer alıyor. Bölgede yaşayan tüm gençleri eşit düzeyde etkileyen yapısal kısıtların ötesinde bölgede gençlerin katılımını etkileyen faktörler homojen değiller ve farklı sosyal, kültürel ve politik

koşullara göre değişkenlik gösteriyorlar. Bu bağlamda, araştırmanın en önemli bulgularından biri gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılımlarının; sivil, siyasi ve kültürel haklarını algılama biçimlerinin ve politik katılımlarının, etnik farkındalıklarına, politik duruşlarına ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine göre farklılaşıyor olduğu. Buradan hareketle, araştırmaya katılan gençler 3 farklı grup altında ele alındı. Buna göre, birinci kategori altında sınıflanan gençler belli düzeyde etnik farkındalıkları olan, herhangi bir etnik grubu veya mezhebi ayırt etmeden anaysal haklarını talep eden, hak ihlallerinin ve sivil, kültürel, siyasi haklarının farkında olan gençlerden oluşuyor. İkinci kategori daha çok muhafazakâr bir siyasi görüşe sahip olan ve çoğunlukla iktidar partisinin (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- AKP) politikalarına yakın duran, belirli hak alanlarına ve katılım şekillerine vurgu yapmayan, ancak gençlik projeleri/aktivitelerini daha çok bir kültürel katılım aracı olarak gören gençlerden oluşuyor. Son olarak üçüncü kategori belirli düzeyde toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ile karşılaşan ve çoğunlukla muhafazakâr toplum ve aile arasında sıkışıp kalmış genç kadınlardan oluşuyor.

Araştırmaya katılan gençlerin katılım düzeylerine göre üç farklı kategori altında sınıflanmasının yanı sıra, araştırma sırasında gençlerin katılım düzeyleri ve şekillerinden bağımsız olarak bulundukları alan içerisinde, değer yargılarını, sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılım araçlarını yeniden ürettikleri özgün kamusal alanlar oluşturdukları ortaya çıkıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gençlik, Katılım, Gençlik Çalışması, Vatandaşlık, Aktif Vatandaşlık

To my mom, dad and brother…

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Besides my academic education, from the day I have started to work in Community Volunteers Foundation I consider the importance of youth participation into the decision making mechanisms and social life for sustaining a democratic and equal society. For that reason, I want to express my greatfulness to my collegaues and young volunteers who gave me the idea to work deeply on the dynamics of youth participation. I also would like to express my deepest gratitude and admiration to the youth workers of Youth and Culture Houses in 9 cities of South-eastern Anatolia governed by GAP (South-Eastern Anatolia Project-Regional Development Administration). Their precious comments and guidance help me to better understand and search the dynamics of youth participation in one of the least-developed regions of Turkey.

I also would like to express my genuine thanks to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kezban Çelik for inspiring me during her lecture to work on youth participation as well as her guidance and invaluable intellectual contributions to my work that particularly focus on social, cultural and political participation of disadvantaged young people.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim:

Throughout pre-modern and modern times, the definition of 'youth' has diverged according to the distinct policies of nation-states, while those policies have also been identified according to how 'youth' had been structured. The concept 'youth' is a matter of social institution which is defined and changed bounded to the social, political and economic changes and the notion of 'youth' was not universally accepted as age-dependent. After feudal communities have evolved to new 'modern' urban areas; the consequently changing social and domestic relations lead to reconceptualization of the term. For instance, before the rise of modernity, 'youth' has been a locally defined concept in feudal societies that revolved around domestic production; while after the emergence of industrial society, the traditionally defined social roles have become largely controlled by market and state policies. Besides historical and political dynamics, according to the changing perception, different disciplines such as sociology, criminology, psychology and educational studies constructed the fragmentation of the concept.

'Youth' as a political and social entity has been defined by market, society, state and changing socio-economic variables. Before 1950's 'what occupation one has' has been identifying 'who you are'; however especially after World War II and the rise of the welfare state, the changing meaning of citizenship has highlighted the importance of 'social rights'. This ideological change especially evolved when the equality of citizens against unequal capitalist production relations began to be taken into consideration.

In 1940's and 1950's, youth has become an important leading force for new policy developments and welfare reforms. For instance, youth protests against economic downturn in 1945 Britain have been concluded by the reconstruction of major welfare reforms. Youth as a social institution, before and after modernity, has always been considered as a dependent social group, who should be educated for the sovereignty of the empire or the nation state of the time (France, 2007). The ambiguity of the concept of youth also correlates with the changing structure and perception of citizenship from medieval times to contemporary society. Citizenship, from the times in which it was considered merely as a "privileged status", as in ancient Greece and Roman Empire, with the emergence of liberal state and welfare policies has turned into a more inclusive concept by giving more emphasis to "equality of status" and "membership". Indeed, within every particular dimension, citizenship requires the economic, social and political full-participation of the members. Young people, who are excluded from market integration by extended education period, beside political participation, stand as an uncategorized social group in a transition period from 'dependent childhood' to 'independent adulthood'. In addition to that, Smith argues that if young people are to be recognized as 'individuals', a more comprehensive understanding of membership is needed beyond an employment-oriented model to build up a more inclusive approach for young people (Smith, 2005, in Dönmez&Enneli, 2011).

During 1970's, especially after the change of liberal policies within social welfare state, the devastating impact of rising neo-liberal policies have been tried to be compensated by economic stabilization policies. Foundation of European Union also has a significant impact on the restructuring of the social rights considering both gender, ethnic, cultural and age differences of individuals. By this way, youth participation has also become reconstructed with more liberal notions and putting more emphasis on youth participation. While nation-states struggle to survive and major social, political and economic changes have been challenging the subsistence of states, youth has been recognized as both 'threat' against the maintenance of status-quo and 'resources' for the surveillance of the state. Depending on the

heterogeneous entity of youth, the understanding of the question of youth has also varied by gender, class and ethnicity as well (France, 2007).

In this respect, young people's integration into society, beyond citizenship debates, needs to be held from a broader perspective with a more comprehensive approach, such as 'participation'. Although examining youth participation through citizenship rights and duties is significant and supplementary in order to better comprehend youth problem, young people's participation in social, cultural and political life requires a mutual understanding far beyond a narrow understanding of participation through rights and duties. Young people, who are not only the 'passive recipients' of state provisions and ideologies, should be regarded as the creators of today's new social dynamics as well as institutions.

In 20th, and now in 21st century youth participation in politics and social life has expanded by newly emerging public spheres like 'civil society', 'youth councils' and 'youth projects', especially by the establishment of European Union and highlighted notion of 'social exclusion' and 'participation'. In terms of social and political integration policies of Europe, empowering young people and creating favourable conditions for them have been set as substantial objectives in order to ensure the social, political and economic participation of youth. European Commission prioritizes youth participation in democratic institutions and is in a continuous dialogue with policy makers for the sound functioning of the democracy and sustainability of the policies (Loncle et al., 2012). Considering both interventionist policies of states on youth, worldwide economic downturns, crises of trust and confidence towards traditional forms of representation and the rising individualisation, since the last quarter of 20th century European Union is trying to develop civil, social, political and economic inclusion policies by especially putting more emphasis on active participation of young people in the decision making mechanisms. It is also underlined in the documents of UN that youth participation is directly related to human development opportunities like education, health, employment and poverty alleviation (United Nations 2007). It is important to note that this recently developed contemporary concept of 'participation' also includes an

intellectual challenge between its inclusive aspect and its ideological perception by nation-states.

In Turkey; since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, youth has being conceptualized as the guardians of the regime who should sacrifice themselves for the wealth of the young Turkish state. From this period, education of the young people and their physical improvement was designated as the prior goals of policies developed for youth (Enneli, 2011; Lüküslü, 2009; Nemutlu et al., 2008; Neyzi, 2001; Kabacalı, 2007). Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, in-school and leisure-time activities for young people are mainly constructed on sports activities for creating a healthy generation. On the other hand, in terms of the political participation of youth in Turkey, 1970's and 1980's have witnessed very harsh intervention of the state in political activities of youth, which ended up with military coup in 1980. After that day, the politically 'radical' youth has turned into 'apolitical' youth who has being labelled as passive consumers of capitalist society (Lüküslü, 2009; Neyzi, 2001). Mainly in the beginning of 21st century, by the strong effect of European Union accession process in Turkey; youth policies, youth services and social rights have begun to be improved including a more participatory approach and particularly youth services has begun to be varied by mainly EU supported youth projects; yet state ideology on youth has not dramatically changed (Enneli, 2011).

This thesis aims to contribute to the latest debates on youth participation in social, cultural and political life. In order to draw a broader understanding of youth participation, I focused on how young people living in one of the least developed regions of Turkey experience social, cultural and political participation and what are the different dynamics of their participation. In order to understand the link between capabilities and participation, I chose to conduct the research in South-eastern Anatolia which has the lowest scores in Turkey in terms of human development indicators. Indeed, I also considered criticisms on youth studies according to which 'youth' has been developed as a concept which referred to mostly middle-class privileged young people and according to which only young people who are coming from privileged socio-economic backgrounds can be able to benefit from youth activities.

My main research ground was Youth and Culture House of Mardin, which is one of the Youth and Culture Houses in South-eastern Anatolia founded within the scope of a United Nations youth project (*Social Progress for Youth)* implemented by South-eastern Anatolia Project-Regional Development Administration (GAP). In South-eastern Anatolia, especially young people face various disadvantages. The region has one of the lowest level of youth employment and higher education and also lowest level of social participation. In order to understand different parameters of youth participation, interviews were conducted in Mardin Youth and Culture House of Ministry of Development – South-eastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration, with young people between the ages of 18 and 25 who are actively participating into the youth activities and projects implemented by the Youth and Culture House.

For the data analysis, I use both qualitative and quantitative data. In terms of the qualitative data I have conducted face-to-face interviews with 29 young people between the ages of 18 and 25, who are actively participating into the activities of Mardin Youth and Culture House of Ministry of Development-South Eastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration. The questionnaire includes both quantitative and qualitative data on demographic profile of the family members and respondents; civil, social and political participation of youth and lastly, the part for citizenship perception. In order to better understand the link between participation and capabilities through rights and duties, I tried to find out how young people perceive and define ‘being a citizen’, as well as ‘citizenship rights and duties’ by using open-ended questions. Additional to that; I also used *Likert-Scale* method for ascribing quantitative value to qualitative data and made a correlation between the open-ended questions and Likert-Scale statements. Regional data of the GAP Youth Survey (2009), Türkiye’nin Kapısındaki Fırsat: 2025’e Doğru Nüfus; Education and New Developments (Eğitim ve Yeni Açılımlar) by Eğitim Reformu Girişimi (2004); Youth Participation in Turkey Research by KONDA Research and Consultancy (2013); Human Development Report; Youth in Turkey by UNDP (2008); Young People’s Transition to Adulthood: Progress and Challenge by United Nations, World Youth Report (2007); Türkiye 'Gençlik Halleri' Araştırması by

YADA Foundation (2008) and Youth in Istanbul: Does NGO membership create a difference? by Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (2007) are also used as quantitative analysis in order to make a comparison with the country in general.

1.2 Organization of the Study:

The key concepts used in this study are youth, participation, youth study, citizenship and active citizenship. Throughout the thesis, historical and conceptual definitions of these concepts will be discussed, complementary aspects will also be drawn out to discuss the changing dynamics of youth participation within a comprehensive understanding.

The second chapter aims to discuss the historical evolution of the 'youth' terminology by identifying its structural and political dynamics; also, the evolution of participation approach, relatively changing world wide and national youth policies, and youth participation question including social, cultural and political participation are discussed. In this chapter, I also reveal the relation between participation and capabilities through citizenship approach by discussing the complementary role of rights in terms of full-participation of young people in the society. In addition to that, I intended to briefly summarize the youth policies in European Union, United Nations and in Turkey in order to make ideological and structural comparison between different youth approaches.

The third chapter includes the research methodology with the definition of the basic concepts, method of the study, research questions, data and the scope of the research and the limitations of the study.

Regarding the outputs of face-to-face interviews with young people, the fourth chapter analyzes the participation of young people in three stages; in terms of how they recognize and experience their social, cultural and political participation. At the first stage, I tried to define the demographic profile of the young people in order to reveal the impact of structural barriers and capabilities such as access to education, social security, employment services, etc. The following parts of the chapter aim to

analyse the changing patterns of social, cultural and political participation of youth in relation with gender, social rights, structural entity of participatory mechanisms, and participation in civil society and youth projects. In this context, participation of young people is analysed in terms of their social participation (e.g., participation in public spheres, youth projects, civil society organizations etc.), cultural participation (e.g., attending school or higher education, occupational level, participation in vocational and cultural courses) and political participation (e.g., participation in political parties, voting in the elections, participation in city councils of local municipalities, *in contemporary means* participation in social protests and civic organizations). According to the findings of the face-to-face interviews, apart from the structural barriers behind youth participation, young people are classified under three different categories in terms of their ethnic consciousness, political standing and gender, when it comes to their social, cultural and political participation. It is observed that young people who are more conscious about their ethnic identity are more actively involved in right-based youth activities as well as international exchange programmes; they claim their social, cultural and political rights and can make a clear definition of rights and duties. In the second category, young people who have a conservative political standing that is more close to the approach of the ruling party, are classified regarding to their preferences for social, cultural and political participation. In this sense, young people classified under second category mainly prefer to participate in leisure time courses and cultural activities for self-improvement and skill-development, and recognize Youth and Culture Houses as a place to improve their social and cultural capital. Gender perspective is also found to be a significant dimension which affects the level of social, cultural and political participation of young people. Additionally, young people's recognition of their social and political rights, their mutual relationship with the political participation mechanisms reveal that young people do not perceive themselves as the members of the society or equal citizens of the state.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter, the thesis is finalized with a general evaluation of the research by indicating concluding remarks and summing up with the policy recommendations regarding the social, cultural and political participation of youth

and particularly region specific policies for disadvantaged young people living in Mardin.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE ON YOUTH AND PARTICIPATION

2.1 Aim

It is a very common understanding of 'youth' as a transition age group passing through childhood to adulthood. The conceptualization of youth as a biological age is universally accepted as **15-25** by national and international legislations, while the evolution of the concept includes more complicated process which is defined by social and political theories. Historically, it is possible to say that the period of transition from childhood to adulthood during the labour intensive agricultural production was much shorter than today. In the medieval times, children and young people were regarded as little adults who were a domestic labour force within the family's means of production[1]; however, after the industrial revolution, the role of the family has been replaced by state. The status of children and young was identified and protected by law, including the market regulations. 'The modern labour force, childhood exclusion, was formalised through the prohibition of child labour, and the extension of compulsory education altered the nature and definition of the working population. Modern definitions of economic activity rates are measured amongst the population between the ages of 15 and 65.'[2] Beyond this, 'youth' is a concept which is also defined by worldwide economy, national and international policies, international agencies and legislations (like European Union), society, class-conflicts and the social sciences like psychology, biology and

[1] **Lüküslü, G.Demet.** "Farklı Kitaplardan, Farklı Açılardan "Gençlik" Analizleri. Halleriyle İmajlarıyla Gençlik

[2] **Perry, Matt.** 2000. "Bread and Work: Social Policy and the Experince of Unemployment". Pluto Press. London

sociology. In this part of the study the evolution of 'youth' concept is going to be sorted out in terms of its relation with state regarding their social, cultural and political participation as a citizen; within its own culture as a subgroup, and changing youth policies in Europe and Turkey.

2.2 Theoretical Framework of 'Youth' and 'Participation'

The perception of 'youth' as a social category could be correlated with the emergence of modernity; however in order to analyse the evolution process, it is better to look at its development throughout the pre-modern societies and their socio-economic relations. The most important component of modern community can be definitely identified by the dissolution of feudal structures and the transition of agricultural production to a market-based capitalist economy. The change in '*mode of production*' and dissolution of traditional social and economic relations also brought with it the reconstruction of social relations. 'Modern' life requires the emergence of 'citizens' as an extension of newly organized urban life and industrialization process. The transition of feudal mode of production and the *commodification of labour*, relates with the reidentification of 'individual' by market regulations.

> *"The industrial revolution and wage separated work from everyday life of family, home and the natural and liturgical calendar. In the 1950's and 1960's, social historians scrutinised this separation. With the expansion of wage-labour, work evolved from being task-oriented to time-disciplined, time was no longer one's own. The clock sharply divided work and leisure time, rather than being blurred by custom, as before."*[3]

Individuals have no longer been identified by their social ties only. In other words, individuals who had been socially constructed and disciplined by family and society before, now have come to be reconstructed according to their place in market

[3] **Perry, Matt.** 2000. "Bread and Work: Social Policy and the Experince of Unemployment". Pluto Press. London

economy; and 'what occupation one has' begins to define 'who they are'. This phenomenon creates the distinction between 'childhood' and 'adulthood' in which the full participation of the individuals in the society as a citizen has begun to be correlated with their participation in the labour market. Accordingly 'youth' concept has come out as an ill-defined stage between childhood and adulthood; between dependence and independence[4].

In terms of the ambiguous identification of 'youth' as a social category, it has come out as a politically and economically dependent concept whereas the precondition of being a citizen, with regard to rights and duties, differs according to state policies and legislations. The participation process of youth to political, social and economic sphere is a very controversial issue which includes a mutual relationship between youth, society and state.

Throughout the World War II, state intervention on youth by national policies has began to be concerned over the condition of health, while a healthy generation of soldiers and workers was needed in order to serve for the territorial hegemony and market economy of the nation state. In this sense youth employment, poor schooling and educational opportunities became major policy concerns of the states (Davis 1990 in France 2007)[5]

On the other hand, the capabilities[6] of young people conflict with their *given* 'social rights' especially where citizenship begins with market inclusion[7]. In this respect, young people, who are excluded from market by extended education period and market legislations, could not benefit from social security services apart from their families. Youth, stuck between childhood and adulthood, stand like undefined, restricted citizens who could not fully integrate into social security system and decision making mechanisms.

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[4] **Dean, H.** 1997. *"Underclassed or Undermined" in Youth and Social Exclusion*. London and New York.

[5] **France, Alan.** 2007**.** *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. Open University Press. London.

[6] **Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko.** 2003. The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities. pp. 301-317.

[7] **Turner, Bryan S**. 1990. "Outline of a Theory of Citizenship". 1990. Vol.24.no.2

Regarding the discussions on social rights and economic integration processes of youth, the leading question here has emerged as ***where does young person stand in social and political arena as a citizen?***

While explaining the youth question in ***Chicago School*** we see the influence of ecological factors identified by sociology as well. The school tries to investigate the consequences of rapid urbanisation by both internal migration from rural areas to urban areas and international migration by the rising effect of globalization. The school also tries to identify the socio-economic consequences of migration especially on poor residential areas, by focusing on social cohesion and crime levels. In their explanation, Chicago School stress the term *'zone of transition'* while defining the poor areas where newly immigrated families live. The perception of 'youth' as it was discussed before was fragmented in modern society by social and state regulations. Before modernity, the socialization process of individual was lead by the family and strong social ties. This attempt announced the socialization process of the 'young' *who were preparing for their adulthood.*

> *"When the definition of 'youth' has been made as a 'transition to adulthood' 'youth' has perceived as the process going through the adulthood. In other words this transition process highlights the perception of 'state of deficiency'."*[8]

In terms of the emergence of crime, the main concern is the regulation system that shifts to state by the emergence of urban areas and migration. When the state could not afford to fulfil the gap that has appeared by the dissolution of traditional social and family ties, disorganization and crime has arisen. Shaw[9] stresses that crime is a result of 'social disorganization' that especially appears within the indigent neighbourhoods. In this sense, state uses two important regulation tools; punishment system and youth services like local youth centres. The approach argues that the tension is based on the working-class' and middle class' struggle which is a consequence of the capitalist system. 'The solution for young people was to create

[8] **Nemutlu, Gülesin.** 2008. "Gençlik Çalışması Özne-Özel Sınıflandırma Modeli".

[9] **France, Alan.** 2007. *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. Open University Press. London.

subcultures that rejected dominant middle-class values and allowed the young people to develop alternative social systems where adjustment to their environment could be made. Deviance was clearly a collective activity and subcultures were mechanisms used by young people to gain high status in their own working-class communities (rather than a response to middle class discrimination)'[10]

On the other hand ***Functionalist School*** by the contribution of leading thinkers Talcott Parsons (1942) who is strongly affected by Durkheimian terminology of *'organic solidarity'*, argues that 'society functions as a whole body'. The natural balance of the body is a metaphor of the society whose agencies compose a unity. In this sense, Functionalist school accepts 'youth' as a part of the body, which has a vital function. Herein, it is important to stress that according to this point of view the attempts to regulate 'youth' contradicts with the perception of 'youth' as a part of the whole body which should function as other parts. The contradiction arises from the gap between the approaches which accept youth as an active citizen and a dependent age group who should be prepared for future. On the other hand, youth as a part of the society, should have the basic 'capabilities'[11] in order to function properly. This matter of fact requires a reciprocal relationship between state, society and individual. In this respect, it might be relevant to argue that the failure of the balance of this relationship engenders the youth problem.

According to 'Structural Functionalism', in mid-1950's being young has become to be understood as an ***institution.*** Functionalist arguments suggest that in all communities, children have to be socialised for being an adult. Talcott Parsons argues that the socialization of children begins in the family and then continues in school. The school, as a public sphere, is the place where they learn how to behave in society. This modernist approach identifies the process within the modern industrialized society, in which the role of the family is replaced with the state.

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[10] **France, Alan.** 2007. *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. Open University Press. London.

[11] **Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko.** 2003. The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities. pp.301-317.

> *"In the pre-modern and primitive societies the family undertook these roles, but in modern and industrial society there is a 'structural gap' where families fail to fulfil this function. Modern society therefore needs to create special institutions to make sure this process takes place. As modern society grew more complex...identity crises for young were created."*[12]

'Citizenship' approach, within its most known form of rights and duties that was developed by T.H. Marshall, constitutes one of the most significant aspects of 'youth' concept. In terms of the narrow conception of citizenship such as employment-oriented model, citizenship concept perceived as something starts with adulthood[13]. T.H. Marshall, the founding father of citizenship approach, describes young people as 'citizens in making'[14] and this is the main reason why most of the youth policies are concentrated on the transition period to adulthood. Having a job is an important aspect of being adult; in this sense, the citizen rights of young people have been initially discussed in relation to employment and early youth policies has begun to be established to ensure young people's better inclusion into the market. On the other hand, full participation of young people as an equal citizen to the society is not limited with their economic integration. Especially after the new neo-liberal policies and remodelling of welfare state, citizenship has gone beyond these narrow boundaries of rights and duties while new dimensions have emerged like "social citizenship" and "active citizenship" regarding young peoples' engagement into politics, decision making mechanisms and civil society.

Citizenship is defined as multi-dimensional relationship between the individuals and state which claims 'equality of status'[15] for all citizens. In this respect, civil, political and social rights and duties stand as a complementary aspect between the active

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[12] **France, Alan.** 2007**.** *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. pg. 35.

[13] **Smith, Lister, Middleton, Cox**. 2005. "Young People as Real Citizens: Towards an Inclusionary Understanding of Citizenship". Journal of Youth Studies. Vol.8, No.4, pp 425-443

[14] **Marshall, T.H.** 1950. *Citizenship and Social Change*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

[15] **Marshall T.H.** 1965. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc.

participation in the society and their capability to achieve involvement. In an evolutionary approach, Marshall reveals three basic forms of citizenship: civil, political and social. The civil aspect of the citizenship involves a set of individual rights as liberty, freedom of speech, equality before law and the rights to own property-*which arose with the emergence of bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century*-[16]. Political rights involve the access to decision making mechanisms by voting in the elections, political participation in the choice of parliament, emerged in the nineteenth century. And finally social rights, emerged in the twentieth century, involves welfare forms like social security, health and education. This new term comprehends a broader definition from state specific welfare definition to 'freedoms' for human well-being. Rights, and in particular, social or welfare rights are accepted as the central idea of citizenship since they help to define the extent and quality of a citizen's substantive welfare entitlements and are also often the focus of wider welfare debates and struggles (Dean, 2002). Many scholars argue that in order to achieve 'equality of status', beside the formal equality that is brought with 'equal status' claim of citizenship, there should also be equal opportunities and capabilities in terms of access to resources and participation in decision making mechanisms. In this point, 'social exclusion' concept gains importance to define structural and ideological boundaries due to the economic, social, cultural and political differences between citizens (Mac Donald and Marsh, 2005). Accordingly; gender, sexual identity, religion, ethnic identity, socio-economic status of individuals may be regarded as facts that influence the form of 'social exclusion' and inequality.

'Participation', in its conventional definition, can be identified as the inclusions of citizens into the critical decisions about their public life and as the process influencing these decisions. Beyond this conventional definition, participation can be identified as a key concept for an understanding of social, political and cultural integration of citizens in modern and late modern societies in which the involvement of individuals-citizens play a crucial role in terms of political involvement and active participation (Loncle, et al., 2012). Latest debates on participation stress that since 1960's participation has become a significant tool to fight against the decreasing

[16] **Marshall T.H**. 1965. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc.

legitimacy of political institutions and the crisis of trust towards traditional forms of representation. In particular, debates on participation of young people, which mostly derives with economic downturns of 1940's and 50's youth participation have been primarily correlated with economic integration. However, this conservative understanding of participation has replaced with multi-dimensional policies targeting young people's social, cultural and political full-participation in the society.

In addition to the deficits of citizenship in terms of the provision of equal status for all citizens, youth has come out as an undefined social category that faces with multiple forms of social exclusion. Thomas and Percy-Smith (2010) argues that for children- and young people- between the extended schooling period and increasingly commodified worlds, 'participation' offers a possibility of realising a sense of citizenship and inclusion through active involvement in local decision making. Although participation appears in different forms and meanings according to different social and political contexts, in terms of the contemporary youth participation policies, social, political and cultural participation of young people has being considered within their growing mainstream ideal definitions.

In terms of the identification of European Commission, 'participation in society' has been considered as being part of the workforce or being enrolled in education (European Commission, 2007). However, participation of youth in the course of time has obtained more inclusionary aspects such as, social, cultural, political participation as well as economic participation. Similarly in the documents of United Nations participation is defined as consisting of economic, political, social and cultural dimensions (United Nations 2003; 2005; 2007) It is also underlined in the documents of UN that youth participation should go side by side with other human development opportunities like education, health, productive employment and poverty alleviation (United Nations 2007).

While ***social participation*** refers mostly to membership, particularly active membership in associations, civil organizations; ***political participation*** refers to citizen's engagement into institutionalized political processes within nation-states and relationship between citizens and the political system (Loncle et al., 2012). On

the other hand, in discussing political participation two important aspects have come out. The first one is the significance of political participation as a tool to reduce distrust against political institutions and the second one is the post-materialist ways of political participation such as demonstrations, new forms of social movements and protests as well as participation in civil society organizations and/or initiatives. Herein, Loncle (et al., 2012) reveals that, since political and social terms of participation include individual and collective aspects, somehow they have been overlapping. Different from social and political participation, ***cultural participation*** mostly refers to social assets that promote social mobility beyond economic means such as access to education, having adequate skills for employability, having access to information, having access to resources for skill improvement etc. Beyond the conventional perception of participation in its narrow understanding of economic integration and participation through certain rights and duties; social, political and cultural participation, mostly related with symbolic means of social and cultural capitals such as social networks "which have a value" and non-financial symbolic elements such as skills, credentials, posture, material belongings etc. (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991).

Both in terms of the equal provision of social rights for young people and ensuring the full participation of young people in the society, European Council defines a set of indicators in terms of enabling full participation of young people including a comprehensive approach and social policies such as education, employment, social services, mobility etc. In this respect social, economic, cultural and political inclusion of young people have been identified by European Council (2003) by indicating significant youth policies that have been listed as follows: Lifelong learning programmes, access to information; equal access to healthcare services and social security; right to sheltering; access to paid employment; freedom of movement; access to justice; equal opportunities for active citizenship and participation; cultural and social activities; sportive and open space activities; participation in national and international exchange programmes; and safe and secured public spaces.

World Youth Report (2005), *"Young people today and in 2015"* put great emphasis on significant obstacles against equal participation of young people into social, cultural, political and economic life. According to the report, one of the most significant obstacles is the youth poverty that mostly appears as chronic poverty, life-course poverty and intergenerational poverty. It is indicated that youth poverty is a serious development problem, that large numbers of young people living in absolute poverty in developing countries. Many scholars and reports reveal that youth are more likely to experience poverty than those in other age groups because of the uncertainties and dynamism characterizing the transition from childhood to adulthood (particularly with regard to relationships and responsibilities), or owing to age-based discrimination, especially in labour markets. (Loncle et al, 2012; France, 2007; United Nations, 2005-2007-2008, Yenturk, 2008)

On the other hand, various researches on youth participation reflect that **participation in social life** differs among the youth according to age, gender, income, education, social class or cultural background (France, 2007; Yentürk et al., 2007; YADA, 2008; Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010, KONDA, 2013). ***Social participation*** mainly refers to young people's participation in public life through leisure time activities, volunteer activities, sportive activities, in contemporary means, in civil society organizations and youth activities/projects. After 90's another important aspect of social participation has also emerged as the expansion of information and communication technology (ICT). Although leisure time is simply seen as "free time activities", World Youth Report of United Nations (2005) underlines that leisure time activities bestows much more than this, such as access to opportunities in terms of employment and education. Indeed, young people's equal participation in the social life is directly related with their socio-economic background and their capabilities. Jones (2002, in France, 2007) argues that class and gender remain important influences on how young people experience transition into adulthood. World Youth Report of United Nations (2005) reveals that in developing countries, young men tend to have significantly more leisure time than young women do, as the latter spend more time in household labour than their male counterparts. Moreover, participation in social life increases as the socio-economic status improves

(United Nations 2005). France (2007) argues that after the mid 90's, in the light of criticisms towards the conservative 'underclass' view, 'social exclusion' concept has become to be taken into account to emphasize the structural barriers and inequalities in redistribution of resources against the full participation of different social groups, not only to economic life, but also social, political and cultural life. Another important aspect of social participation is the equal access to resources through sufficient provision of social rights. As T.H. Marshall argues social rights have a significant role in terms of minimising the devastating effect of capitalist market rules. Nonetheless, it is important to note that social rights include state specific welfare forms while the provision of specific rights differs in terms of the different welfare structures of nation states.

Political participation, on the other hand, has been considered as one of the vital citizenship rights that basically refer to 'right to vote'. Political participation in its classical definition represents a more passive involvement in political issues through political parties and voting in the general elections, while in terms of its contemporary and post-materialist definition it represents a more active and revolutionary character, such as political participation through civil society organizations or social protests. Marshall, who is one of the founding fathers of the term 'citizenship', is mentioning two types of citizenship; ***passive and active citizenship,*** considering whether the formation of citizenship in every particular country developed by the state *(from above)*, or gained by the right claims of different social groups *(for instance trade unions).* Active rights of citizenship include participation in democracy by influencing policies *(through institutionalized organizations or social protests)*; while the passive aspect of citizenship comprehends the actual rights covered by laws. In this sense, the revolutionary character of the active citizenship has a historical battle with passive rights in terms of widening the narrow boundaries of the rights that were endorsed by laws. Within its legal identification **political rights** refer to the rights associated with political participation of every particular social group of community including minorities, aliens and refugees, freedom of association and protest. In terms of the broader definition of citizenship rights and duties Janoski (1998) indicates that political rights

includes right to vote and participate in political processes not only by forming or participating into a political party but also by forming associations, fund raising, campaign organization and lobbying for particular policies. Beside *organizational rights*, political rights also give emphasis on *naturalization rights* and *oppositional rights* which express the provision of political participation of poor, gender groups, ethnic/racial groups, age categories, immigrants etc. by giving emphasis on right to information on naturalization process, refugee rights, and fair treatment against law, right to protest and demonstrate against existing exclusionary policies. Last, but not least, oppositional rights include rights to conduct political inquiry and freedom of information which is quite crucial in terms of the transparency and accountability of government policy implementations.

The political participation of young people as active citizens has usually been considered as volunteering for community welfare. In its contemporary forms political participation such as civil society organizations and social protests are not always welcomed by the authorities for being regarded as a threat against their hegemony. However, political participation of young people requires a broader definition and inclusionary aspect than its conventional and institutionalized definition. Many scholars argue that states needs to recognize the political and social engagement of young people into decision making mechanisms to overcome the decreasing legitimacy of mainstream political institutions and to sustain their political democracy. It is also argued that young people do not interested in conventional politics for a various reasons but mainly due to lack of trust to politicians and political mechanisms (Dönmez and Enneli, 2011; Loncle et al., 2012; Lüküslü, 2009; Yentürk, 2008).

Accordingly, the issue of youth political participation has a significant role in terms of the equal participation of young people and equal access to their social rights. United Nations Human Development Report - Youth in Turkey (2008) takes the attention into the lack of responsive, responsible and accountable institutions that young people can participate for influencing the decisions and express their concerns on the issues related with their environment.

> *"In the absence of such an institutional environment, active citizenry is not going to bring about the expected benefits and without the hope and confidence inspired by democratic institutions, general participation levels will continue to be undermined." (UNDP Human Development Report- Youth in Turkey, 2008)*

Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that the right to vote and participate in politics is a human right (United Nations 1948). Since that day, political participation has been an important aspect of the human rights as it enables people to claim for and use their other rights.

Cultural participation of young citizens, different from social and political participation conceives owning adequate social assets to engage in employment, social life and education. France (2007) argues that the question of 'culture' different from its traditional definition within class analysis has been replaced with the approaches that emphasize 'social reproduction'. In this respect, access to education, having adequate skills for employability, having access to information, having access to resources for skill improvement can be regarded as significant entailments for cultural participation of young people. According to Bourdieu (1991), person's economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital shape their lifestyles, social networks and tastes which helps individuals to identify themselves with a certain space and provides them resources for further advancement. In this respect, cultural participation of young people involves their equal engagement in education, employment, cultural activities, in their relationship with young people's socio-economic background and social and cultural capitals.

2.3 Youth Policies and Services of European Union and United Nations

Youth question is not just a matter that is handled within state entities. The widening content of public sphere structurally changes the relation of youth within their social integration processes. As a very general definition, 'public sphere' is the area between individual and state, which includes mass media tools, market consumption,

and civil society and so on. The 'public sphere' also relates to institutionalized public communication wherein individuals can campaign for juridical rights[17]. Civil society, on the other hand, under this definition defines the process of social participation and coordination within institutional and associational forms.

The fluidity of the term 'public sphere' associated with globalization is thus a de-territorialized speeds from the local processing of information by people in their lives to the global turnover of financial capital that runs into billions of dollars. The changing and widening meaning of the public sphere is explained in four ways: The new emerging form of leisure and consumption patterns which could also be associated with means of mass communication, the global economic public spheres like World Bank and IMF, the global political publics that act as 'states' like EU, UN, UNESCO, and global non-governmental organizations along with global social movements as Amnesty International.

In this respect, public sphere as the arena of social and political participation of youth has widen regarding the content, with the integration of European Union and United Nations' Youth Commissions and comprehensive youth policies.

In the following part of the chapter, different youth policies and projects that have been developed in national and international arena are going to be discussed with regard to the sensation of youth within the conceptual framework of international public sphere and ideological perception of 'youth' within the boundaries of a nation state. In this context, the youth programmes of European Union, United Nations and Turkey are examined in order to reveal different implementations of international and national strategies, also to understand the ideological background of the youth policies on active citizenship and participation.

In terms of the world wide youth policies, youth has become to be taken into consideration in two important eras. The first one reveals by the impact of 'youth movements' arose in 1960's and 1970's, where the promises of modernism has become to be questioned; and where youth has become a 'problem', as the second one is the migration problem emerged during the international market integration

[17] **Crossley, N.; Roberts, J.M.** 2004. *After Habermas: New Perspective on the Public Sphere*.

process in 1980's when the states failed to regulate the sheltering of both internal and external migrants.

> *"First World War and into the war years we see the fullness of the modernising project taking hold. The nation state and its bureaucratic infrastructure, liberal democracy and capitalist forms of production all become established. This does not necessarily lead to more stability as there are two world wars, the decline of the British Empire, the Great Depression continued class conflict over the sharing of the benefits of industrialism."*[18]

In 1940's and 1950's by the great impact of Keynesian Policies in order to resolve the negative effects of the war years and economic downturns, state intervention on education and employment of youth has dramatically increased[19]. The same years also witnessed the emergence of 'youth services' concerns over leisure-time and physical training as a central part of youth policy. These youth services focusing on education and socialisation of youth were also criticized as being 'respectable youth' oriented, and excluding the 'unattached' ones. Then in 1970's, when Keynesian welfare model went into crises and liberal approaches has become to rise by the impact of New Right ideology[20], youth policies focusing on 'inclusion' shifts into the policies based on 'control' in order to ensure the economic sustainability and growth of the nation state. The contemporary approach on youth is based mainly on social, family and state control by national policies along with the newly emerging international organizations like European Commission, who are working on the creation of comprehensive youth policies for social, economic and political integration of youth.

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[18] **France, Alan.** 2007**.** *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. pg. 12

[19] **Davies (1986) in France (2007)** argues that anti-poverty programmes and welfare reforms for young offenders was the result of strong recognition of 'social inadequacy' and that's why covers the improvement of educational opportunities for the working class.

[20] **Topal, Aylin.** 'Küreselleşme Sürecindeki Türkiye'yi Anlamaya Yarayan Bir Anahtar: Yeni Sağ'. Praksis 7, pp 63-84

The European Union describes youth in two aspects; ***demographic*** and ***agency oriented*** perspectives. According to the demographic perspective 'youth' is described as an age group (15-29) (by European Union) and according to agency oriented perspective 'youth' is described under its own sub-entity that acts relatively according to their age group and has a unique culture as it is discussed while examining Chicago School theory.

Youth policies especially are constructed by the attempt of ***European Council*** and ***EU Commission*** that is fragmented by the reports of the member states. The main goal of the programme is to provide services for youth in order to support their self-improvement and to encourage young people to become 'active citizens'. In this sense, European Council summarizes its main targets as, to guarantee the mental, physical and psychological well-being of youth, provide sufficient education opportunities (both formal and informal), and to support their political and social participation in the society.

European Commission *(The executive organ of EU)* is the second executive organ of EU that provides youth policies. Between the years (1989-1995) the commission has begun to conduct projects as *Youth Programme for Europe* (Avrupa için Gençlik Programı) in order to support youth studies within European Countries.

European Youth Forum is the primary executive organ of EU on youth policies. The terminology of 'Youth Studies' firstly established by *European Youth Forum.* Youth programme for Europe that was established in 1988 has been conducting studies to support youth issue between the years 1989-1995. 32 member states have been representing with their *National Youth Councils*. Turkey is one of the candidate states which does not still have a national youth council and is not represented in this organization. Herein, it is important to stress that there is no need to have a youth council in order to be represented in this platform.[21]

National Youth Councils are the executive organs of nation states which regulate the country wide youth policies. Their jurisdiction may vary in terms of the constitution

[21] **Nemutlu, Gülesin; Yentürk, Nurhan; Kurtaran, Yörük.** 2008**.** *Türkiye'de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi. İstanbul.

of states. In some countries youth councils have legitimate sanction on policies by participating into policy making processes, while some of the councils act as a consultative committee. Moreover, the councils are also constructing social responsibility projects and campaigns to raise awareness on some political and social issues, while organizing and executing global youth studies in their countries. They are largely composed of representatives from non-governmental organizations, youth clubs and youth centres.[22] For instance, Ireland established their youth council 40 years ago and the council have the authority to influence the content of draft bills.

The international coordination of the national youth councils and international youth policies have been organized by ***Open Coordination System*** which is also established by European Commission in order to support youth active citizenship. The *Open Coordination System* is relatively new source of international governance which depends on the voluntarily participation of the states. The member states are in charge of the implementation of decided targets on youth issues and responsible with introducing activity report in two years period. According to the outputs of the given reports a new activity plan has been constructing.

The European Youth Forum focused on 4 basic issues on youth issue for becoming an active citizen, those are; participation, knowledge, volunteer activities, recognition of 'youth' and its problems.

White Paper[23] was initially launched by European Commission in November 2001 with the purpose of developing a political cooperation on youth policies beyond the existing EU Programmes and political debates. 'No democracy without participation' is one heading in the European Commission's White Paper on Youth 2001 (European Commission, 2001, p23). Since then the issue of young people's participation has been on the top of European youth policy agenda; an issue which has also been evidenced by the Council of Europe's European Charter.

[22] **Nemutlu, Gülesin; Yentürk, Nurhan; Kurtaran, Yörük.** 2008. *Türkiye'de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi. İstanbul.

[23] http://ec.europa.eu/youth/archive/whitepaper/index_en.html

The development of White Paper initially relies on the creation of a *Green Paper* by the governments and European Commission on the existing policies and implementations. This Green Paper later on is opened up to discussion, ideas and recommendations of the relevant beneficiary young people, experts in the youth-field, national authorities and NGOs in the member states and beyond. When the White Paper favourably approved by the Council of Ministers, it could become the action programme for the Union.

Another important concrete common policy on European Youth Policy is "Indicators of a National Youth Policy" document including the list of measurable indicators in terms of the monitoring process of existing youth policies.[24] The document could be accepted as a recommendation letter that might be a reference point for the analysis and improvement of the youth services. Definitely; the structure of the youth services and accordingly indicators would vary with respect of different countries. However, in the light of the indicators, the policy making cooperation between civil society organizations and governmental bodies is standing so crucial for the smooth implementation of the youth policies in a country.

Within all these policy and means of policy discussions, it is hardly possible to mention an explicit definition for *"youth study";* while the definition is also changing in different contexts of related country policies and how they define 'youth'. That could be stated as the main reason of why we could not be able to talk about a more or less standard definition of youth study. As all the countries have their own ideological and structural formation in the context of their own welfare state model, their policies on young people are also changing to the extent how they want to conceptualize youth. In that sense, this statement also one of the main reasons why there does not exist any binding regulation covering all the related countries in terms of their youth policies.

The comprehensively interpreted youth policies that are designated by European institutions include an ideological background in relation with the historical evolution process. It is obviously seen that the emergence of the youth studies

[24] http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/CoE_indicators.pdf

correlates with the eras where worldwide political and economic turmoil has emerged. According to the European Commission the initial objective of the youth participation is described as empowering young people and creating favourable conditions for them to develop their skills, to work and to participate actively into the society, primarily for the sake of economic and social sustainability of the European Union. It is also mentioned that youth participation in the public debate and decision making mechanisms, in a continuous dialogue with policy makers, is essential for the achievement of social policies and participatory democracies (European Commission, 2007, pp 2-9)[25]. Herein it is obviously seen that the notion of 'creating favourable conditions for the young people', and to 'develop young people's skills' are addressing the concerns of societal reproduction. As Kelly (2001)[26] argues at the end of 19th century; youth were seen as the main actors of the territorial hegemony; in which the dominant approach was based on the idea concerning 'youth as a resource' for society.

> *"Young people – a resource, not a problem!*
>
> *The indicators underline the importance of looking upon young people as a resource, as not as a problem that needs to be solved. A problem-oriented approach to youth policy is by nature captured in a short-term and ad-hoc perspective, because it will have a focus of trying to "extinguish fires" and solve problems whenever and wherever they appear. To the contrary, perceiving young people as a resource focus on long-term solutions, identifying needs and developing policies in order to let young people realise their full potential as citizens and let society benefit the most from its intellectual capital."*[27]

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[25] **Loncle, Cuconato, Muniglia and Walter**. 2012. *Youth Participation in Europe; Beyod Discourses, Practices and Realities*, Great Britain

[26] **Kelly, P.** 2001. 'Youth at risk: processes of individualisation and responsibilisation in the risk society', Discource: Cultural Studies in the Politics of Education, vol.22, no.1, pp23-33.

[27] http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/CoE_indicators.pdf

During the 20th century, and particularly after the World War II, the image of 'youth as a resource' has been transformed but still exists; that means that the contemporary meaning of the youth has become 'human capital' rather than soldiers. The lasting perception of youth as a human capital for the future of the states critically stands away from the emancipatory potential of the youth studies. In other words, considering youth as a potential resource is the opposite of recognizing them as the subject of their own lives[28].

After the World War II, this traditional approach accepting 'youth as a resource' has turned into 'youth as a problem' while the social and economic integration of the young people were not ensured by only political or economic policies. Giddens (1994) also argues regarding the European Commissions' youth policies that, if the young people do not behave as 'active citizens' it would damage the political legitimacy of these institutions[29].

Similarly, in terms of the youth policies, **United Nations** has developed a comprehensive approach of youth participation:

- Economic integration (working and development)
- Political integration (decision making mechanisms)
- Social integration (society and environment activities)
- Cultural integration (art and music and cultural activities)

In terms of supporting youth studies UN legislation, till 1976, has been giving the primary concern to volunteer activities for development and social participation. By the reinforcement of United Nations' organ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 73 youth council and 35 youth centre has been established in Turkey. In the documents of United Nations, as European Union, participation was defined as a substantive right of all children and young people, moreover, it is underlined that youth participation should be guaranteed by the provision of sufficient human development opportunities such as equal access to health, education, employment

[28] **Neyzi, Leyla.** 2001. "Object or Subject? The Paradox of Youth in Turkey". No.18. pp.101-117

[29] **Loncle, Cuconato, Muniglia and Walter**. 2012. *Youth Participation in Europe; Beyod Discourses, Practices and Realities*. Great Britain

and social participation mechanisms (UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, 1989)

2.4 Youth Policies and Services in Turkey

In this part of the study, the national youth services and policies are being introduced and discussed by revealing their foundation objectives in order to evaluate the political structure of youth services along with their ideological perspective and capacity on youth participation in Turkey.

Firstly, the debate on active participation and youth policies in a particular country can only be possible with the well definition of state ideology and how social rights are being stratified.

> *"The national education in Turkey more or less is in the quality of 'political instruction'. It is not wrong to claim that The Turkish national education ideology, in a sense endeavour to make the citizens act obedient from "cradle to grave."*[30]

From the 18th century the age of Enlightenment has begun and in 19th century, the rise of the nation-states, sports and physical training has become one of the fundamental objects in terms of the mobilization of youth. Especially in the western countries several of physical strength based sports which is also described as "paramilitary activities based on national uprising and revenge"[31] have emerged. One of the leading collective sports generated in England was scouting; which is also one of the primary activities of Ministry of Youth and Sports in Turkey. The founding father of scouting, Baden Powell has also military background, while the main objective of scouting based on the military training of the boys first.

Similarly in Turkey, along with the foundation of the Republic in 1923, mental and physical training of the youth has taken into primary initiative, while their initial duty

[30] **Kaplan, İsmail.** 1999. *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi*. İstanbul, İletişim yayınları; p.392.

[31] **Mardin. Ş.** 1999. *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908i*. İstanbul; İletişim Yayınları; p.301

was defined as to protect and improve the unity of the country. The progressive approach of those years, for sure, appeared as the nation-state ideology, based on the idea of 'one nation' and 'one identity', which mainly shelters on the sense of belonging through duties rather than rights. The education that would be given to the next generations reserves the prevailing political ideology of national sense of belonging besides the aim of creating a healthy generation to guarantee the future of the republic. In this sense the activities and trainings targeting young generations are based on this national and physical territorial ideology.

In Turkey there are 4 basic actors for youth policies;

Ministry of Youth and Sport
Ministry of National Education (MEB)
Turkish National Agency (UA)
General Directorate of Child Services (Ministry of Family and Social Policy)

The national youth policies have being established by Ministry of Youth and Sport and its sub-entities like General Directorate of Sport and General Directorate of Child Services since 2011; and youth projects and activities have been conducted like Youth Camps and Youth Centres. It is also important to state that there has not existed a National Youth Council in Turkey yet, which functions as an independent organization to develop recommendation documents in order to discuss and determine national youth strategies and policies.

In the constitution the approach for the youth in Turkey are described under the Article 58 and 59 of "Protection of the Youth and Development of Sports" respectively:

Article 58: *"The state shall take measures to ensure the training and development of the youth into whose keeping our state, independence, and our Republic are entrusted, in the light of contemporary science, in line with the principles and reforms of Ataturk, and in opposition to ideas aiming at the destruction of the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation. The state shall take*

necessary measures to protect the youth from addiction to alcohol, drug addiction, crime, gambling, and similar vices, and ignorance."

The article about development of sport;

***Article 59*:** The *state shall take measures to develop the physical and mental health of Turkish citizens of all ages, and encourage the spread of sports among the masses. The state shall protect successful athletes."*

Herein, it is important to stress that this extravagant concern to the physical well-being does not exclude politization of the young people, adversely the totalitarian regimes require a strong political commitment in order to demonstrate their strength and command, that is why the hegemony needs devotion to the state.[32] However, this devotion does not embrace political polarization and criticism, and also desire to create the 'ideal' youth.

Ministry of Youth and Sport[33]; is the executive agency which manages and organizes youth centres, youth camps, youth clubs, cultural activities, youth projects and international relations and is the public authority where the country wide youth policies are being provided.

Before the foundation of Ministry of Youth and Sport the mission of the Youth Centres of General Directorate of Youth and Sport had been defining as follow;

"*Executing youth services to interpret leisure-time activities, establishing training courses for improving knowledge and skills, protecting youth from harmful addictions, developing and managing scouting and sport programmes out of school."*

[32] **Lüküslü, D.** 2008. *"Günümüz Türkiye Gençliği: Ne kayıp bir kuşak, ne de ülkenin aydınlık geleceği"*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

[33] The General Directorate of Youth and Sport' has turned into 'Ministry of Youth and Sport' in 2011

After the structural revisions of youth and sport services, it is observed that the vision of the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the mission of the youth centres' have not dramatically changed;

"To state the needs, interests and problems of the youth; to develop supporting policies on social and sportive areas in cooperation and coordination with relative partners, to develop, implement and support projects based on continuous education and progress and by this means to raise leader young people who are an active member of the social life, innovative, self-reliant, aware of the national and moral values and representative."

"Youth centres were established in order to utilise leisure-time activities, to lead young people to social, cultural, sportive and art activities, to contribute their progress, to offer consultancy and guiding services, to raise awareness on harmful addictions by introducing social and cultural activities, trainings, organizing historical and cultural tours along with youth camps and sportive activities."

There exist 146.000 young people per every youth centre which shows the inadequate capacity of youth centres. To render service for youth is within the responsibilities of municipalities, which are legislated by Municipality Law. The municipalities also have a departed budget for social responsibility projects and youth services; however they do not have qualified personnel and relative youth action plan to conduct region specific youth strategies.[34]

The statement about the activities of Youth Centres clearly reveals that they are identified as protective and configurative applications to create *"mentally and physically healthy generation"*[35]. It is not wrong to argue that the participation of young people to decision making mechanisms is undermined while formulation of physically healthy generation is overemphasized. This situation summarises the

[34] **Nemutlu, Gülesin; Yentürk, Nurhan; Kurtaran, Yörük**. 2008. *Türkiye'de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları.* İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi. İstanbul.

[35] **Buckingham, David**. 2000. *The Making the Citizens: Young People.* Routledge. New York, London.

ideological perspective of 'youth services' in Turkey. The main content of the services examined as an "investment for future", which means that 'youth' perceived as *'an age group that cannot afford to make right decisions yet about their lives'*. It is also seen by the statistics that the proportion of youth centres, when we compare with the youth population is very insufficient according to the participation of young people.

Youth Social Development Programme (GSGP) (Japan Social Development Programme) Japan Government Donation

The programmes and projects that are developed and executed by *Youth Social Development Programme* are especially constructed to improve the quality and content of the services provided by *Department of Youth Services* and also aim to develop strategies to widen the given services. The beneficiary agencies are the Youth Centres and officially registered Youth Clubs of GSGM and the target group of the programme is the age group of 13-30.

Youth Social Development Programme (GSGP) functions registered to *Youth and Sport Foundation* while giving their reports directly to the *Department of Youth Services*.

South-eastern Anatolia Project (GAP) Youth and Social Development Project

Within the Project in 9 provinces of South-eastern Turkey, Adıyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Şırnak, Şanlıurfa, Siirt; *Youth and Cultural Centres* are administered with membership system. The Executive Committee is composed of young people who are chosen by a democratic election within young candidates. Additional to the activities of youth centre of *General Directorate of Youth and Sport* the Youth and Cultural Centres aims to provide cooperation with local NGO's and local initiative in order to create region specific development strategies and in order to combine them around a particular goal. The activities of Youth and Cultural Centres could be summarized as; capacity building trainings, employment improvement services, cultural activities, cooperation with local and national non-governmental organizations, development strategies specific to regions.

Turkish National Agency (UA) Centre for European Union Education and Youth Programmes

Turkish National Agency was founded in 2003, registered to *State Planning Organization* as an agency which has financial and administrative self-government. The Agency is primarily executing Life Long Learning and Youth in Action Programmes in Turkey that were established by European Commission.

The agency also acts as an administrative and intermediary organ for international youth exchange and education programmes of Socrates, Erasmus, Leonardo DaVinci and Local Agenda Projects (2003-2007). The National Agency announced that between the years 2003-2007 1476 projects have been developed and executed, while there were 20.000 beneficiaries from these projects.

2.4.1 Political and Social Participation of Youth in Turkey

In 2008 the annually publishing Human Development Report of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has reported *"Youth in Turkey"*[36] and *"Youth Perspective Research"* which reveals the level of political and social participation of youth in Turkey. The research brought up dramatic outputs about integration levels of youth. In terms of the findings of the report young people in Turkey do not and cannot participate in social and political life due to the economic and cultural restrictions as well as political factors.

According to the report, the percentage of young people who actively integrated in a non-governmental organization is %4; and the %46 of them is university students or university graduate. The percentage of youth who actively integrate into political parties is %4.7; and the three fourth of the rest of %95.3 are reluctant to participate in any political parties.

Moreover, "Youth Participation in Turkey Research" (KONDA, 2013), which is one of the latest broad participation research on youth in Turkey, reveals that the majority

[36] ***UNDP.*** 2008. "Human Development Report: Youth in Turkey"

of the young people (%61,7) do not participate in civil society organizations due to lack of time and lack of interest towards civil society organizations as well as finding them as unnecessary organizations.

Research studies about social life participation of the youth in Turkey focus on the leisure time activities (Abadan 1961; Kılbaş 1995; Konrad Adenauer Foundation 1999; YADA 2008). Recent research studies by Konrad Adenauer Foundation and YADA 50 analyzed the relationship between young people's leisure time activities and their social characteristics. The 'State of the Youth' (YADA 2008) survey argues that young people in Turkey do not involve in sports regularly, do not strive for improving their hobbies and also do not strive for improving their mental and physical capacities.

One of the most important indicators of youth conception in Turkey is political history of the country that has suffered a military coup in 1980. The politically active youth in Turkey till the beginning of the 1980's have disappeared from the political arena by the strong influence of the military coup. In that period, especially, young people who are trying to be active in political arena were labelling as 'anarchist', while after 1980 this labelling process has turned into another negative view which perceives young people as 'selfish' and 'neglectful' age group[37]. This situation has laid the groundwork for the reconstruction of youth policies in terms of the state ideology; while leading the creation of a disadvantaged generation regarding the capabilities and social rights, who do not afford and will to actively participate in the political decisions. As distinct from the common admission of youth as passive citizens, Demet Lüküslü, in her study on "Youth Legend in Turkey"[38] stresses that particularly after the strong effect of 1980 military intervention, she does not prefer to regard youth in Turkey as apolitical. In the scope of her research, regarding the interviews that have been made with 80 young people between the ages of 18-25, Lüküslü argues that young people are not living in an imaginary world by the promises of market economy; on the contrary, they are afraid of being unemployed,

[37] **Kabacalı, Alpay**. 2007. *Türkiye'de Gençlik Hareketleri*. Gürer Yayınları. İstanbul.

[38] **Lüküslü, Demet.** 2009. *Türkiye'de "Gençlik Miti", 1980 sonrası Türkiye Gençliği.* İletişim Yayıncılık. İstanbul

to be cracked and to get sick in a country where social security services are insufficient. Above all, the outputs of the research bring out that the attitude of young people that has been regarded as apoliticism might be regarded as a political standing.

2.5 Conclusion

Youth, within its own demographic and agency oriented perspective, has both a concrete and an intricate definition. The concept changes relatively according to state ideologies, while on the other hand has been perceived as an age group which has a legitimate definition on national and international arena. The intricate structure of youth concept results with different policy implementations; in which, the social and political participation of youth is a relative issue that differs according to the supplied resources and social rights by states.

On the other hand, the international youth training and exchange programmes, implemented by European Union and United Nations, could be accepted as the breakup of ideological conception of youth by state and could be related with the emergence of new *public sphere*[39] in which the participation of young people to the society was held with a broader perspective of 'participation' including social, cultural, economic and political aspects.

However, both in Turkey and in Europe, the question of participation within the scope of nation state ideologies and different welfare systems still represents a political challenge. The participation of the young people into the public life is a controversial issue in terms of economic, political and social participation of the young people, since it is not possible to consider citizenship apart from the nation state formation in which the limits and content of participation in social and political institutions are defined by the state.

Similarly, the recent terms like "active citizenship" and "participation" also represent an intellectual challenge in terms of the fragmented definition of active citizenship.

[39] **Crossley, N.; Roberts, J.M.** 2004. *After Habermas: New Perspective on the Public Sphere*.

Usually 'being active' is perceived as helping the neediest people in the society making one's voice heard and voting in elections as a sign of conventional citizenship duty (Dönmez & Enneli, 2011)[40]. Comparative research has also shown that activation has different meanings in different welfare states. Activation in the social life and participation in this sense are directly related with each other while both of the concepts are characterised by different welfare systems and state ideologies. Since, in many countries youth is accepted as the 'future of the strong nation state', they are perceived as the resources who should be morally improved and educated as 'the main source of economic stability and competitiveness'.

> *"The state of Youth was not a moral issue but also one of security and economic success (Davis 1990). Tensions existed over attempts to create a powerful nation state that was an economic power base that could be competitive. Tensions existed over attempts to create a* ***'powerful nation state'*** *needed to recognise the positive contribution youth could make…"*[41]
>
> *"From the 1880's until the Second World War social reform was also aimed at improving the moral condition and attitudes of the young"*[42]

On the other hand, distinct from the common construction of youth in public discourse as passive recipients of state ideologies, youth should be considered within its own social and political dynamics, who express themselves through different means of participation, new media and newly emerging public spheres apart from the mainstream political participation tools[43]

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[40] **Dönmez, Rasim Özgür; Enneli, Pınar.** 2011. *Societal Peace and Ideal Citizenship for Turkey*; "The Turkish Young People as Active Citizens: Equal Participation or Social Exclusion?" p.257-280. Lexington Books.

[41] **France, Alan.** 2007. *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. pg.12-13.

[42] **France, Alan.** 2007. *Understanding Youth in Late Modernity*. pg.12-13.

[43] **Neyzi, Leyla.** 2001. "Object or Subject? The Paradox of Youth in Turkey". No.18. pp.101-117

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to find out the different dynamics of youth participation and changing patterns of social, cultural and political participation of young people living in Mardin between the ages of 18 and 25 who are actively involved into the youth projects of "Mardin Youth and Culture House". In this respect, I aim to analyse young people's social, cultural and political participation through their ethnic identity, political belonging and gender perspectives. In order to reveal different dynamics in its relation with citizenship notion including civil, political and social rights and duties will also be discussed by Likert-Scale method and open-ended questions on citizenship. In particular, within the scope of the study, young people who are actively involved into the activities and youth projects of "Mardin Youth and Culture House" were interviewed in terms of searching for the different patterns of participation and its relationship with certain citizenship rights and duties. In this respect, this study aims to reveal different patterns of participation of young people by drawing its relationship with citizenship rights and duties.

3.1 Definition of the Basic Concepts

Youth: While the definition of youth is changing in different contexts; in this study, the standard definition of United Nations (UN), which is identifying youth as an age group between the ages of 15-24, has been taken into account. The definition is also corresponding with almost every source on youth issue. However, during the field research I have taken in consideration that the age group of 15-18 are still dependent

on their family, so that only the age group of 18-25 were included into the survey sample.

Participation: In this study; "participation" in a very general sense is interpreted as social, political, economic and cultural integration into modern and late modern societies while the meaning of the concept is changing at regional, national and European level. The economic participation is directly related with being an adult and being involved into the labour market, while social, political and cultural integration includes more contradictory items. In this point, in terms of identifying the diversity between being involved into the structured social and political activities of public institutions and being involved into the decision making processes needs to be separately handled. For the definition of the concept, I used the European Union identification of participation, to be able to make comparison between the existing regional policies and European Union policies on youth participation.

Citizenship: In this study the tripartite classification of Marshall's conception of citizenship was used with its extended version of Janoski's classification of citizenship. In this sense civil, political and social rights and duties of young people will be discussed in terms of measuring the equal inclusion of youth into the social, economic and political life. In this sense, active and passive nature of citizenship was taken as a baseline for investigating the role of rights and duties in terms of the elimination of inequality and equal participation of all citizens into social, political and economic life. Turner[44] (1990) argues that citizenship as participation can be measured by the analysis of level of social membership along with the level of citizens' political and economic participation. Moreover Dwyer (2004, p.6) also emphasizes that social citizenship offers a crucial capacity to explain the dynamics of social division/exclusion by taking in different dimensions; for example, class, gender, race, disability, age etc. when assessing the causes of inequality in society. In this respect, while carrying out debate on citizenship perception of young people living in Mardin, where Kurdish and Arabic minorities are mainly living; referring to

[44] **Turner, Bryan S**. 1990. "Outline of a Theory of Citizenship". 1990. Vol.24.no.2

ethnic identity is also an indispensable phenomenon. That is why the questionnaire has been designed in order not to miss the crucial statements of young people on how they experience and perceive the structured rights and duties.

Active citizenship: While the concept of citizenship has been in a continuous evolution through centuries, the definition and the nature of citizenship has also evolved concurrently. According to the early debates on citizenship the first concerns of passive or active nature of citizenship were developed on whether citizenship (rights and duties) is constructed from above (state) or from below (society itself, grass root organizations, trade unions etc.). On the other hand, in terms of the contemporary definition of citizenship, a conservative view of citizenship (as passive and private) has replaced with a more revolutionary entity of active and public citizenship (Turner, 1990). In this study active citizenship will be discussed as a part of civil, political, social rights and obligations which is also defined as an essential tool of youth participation in the society by contemporary understanding of citizenship rights and obligations.

Youth Study: In this thesis "youth study" is acknowledged as, all the studies (including projects, trainings, exchange programmes and workshops) which were designed to encourage young people to become active citizens while taking care of the young people's needs to achieve themselves. In European Union countries, EU Youth in Action Programme of European Commission is the place where projects, trainings and workshops on various issues about youth were being developed. In Turkey, youth studies and training facilities have being coordinated by Turkish National Agency[45], Centre for European Union Education and Youth Programmes, which, in the research I am taking as the reference point.

3.2 Method of the Study

In this study I tried to find out the different dimensions of participation attitudes and the relation between ethnic identity, political belonging, gender and participation.

[45] http://www.ua.gov.tr/

This kind of approach requires a multi-dimensional research in order to reveal the relations between demographic orientation, current social policies and the impact of the youth studies. To better understand the possible impacts of youth projects, I used face-to-face interview technique including both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The questionnaire had been established after examining earlier regional, local and international surveys and studies on the subject. Based on these materials, a 73 total number of questionnaire including open and close ended questions have been developed.

I used research methods in two steps;

- Literature review
- Face-to-face interviews

The questionnaire constitutes of 4 parts. The first part of the questionnaire is focusing on **demographic profile** of the respondents including the age, number of siblings, marital status, place of residence, social insurance, monthly income of the household and ***cultural participation*** of young people such as educational level, patterns of employment and how they found these jobs, internet access and scholarship. This section was constituted to seek for the link between the socio-economic backgrounds, structural barriers towards their participation in the youth projects and the level of cultural participation of young people. The open ended questions on civil/social participation also reveal significant input in terms of the different dynamics of young people's cultural participation, these findings will be analysed within data analysis chapter.

The second part '***participation in the civil society',*** is trying to reveal the level of social participation including the variety and the subject of the projects and activities that the respondents had involved. The open-ended questions placed in this section are also focusing on young peoples' relationship with Youth and Culture House in terms of cultural participation, and how they are identifying the meaning of participation in terms of their engagement with youth projects and activities. The third section is called ***political participation,*** which is established to analyse different patterns of political participation including institutionalized means of political

participation such as political parties and youth councils as well as participation in associations and/or unions as contemporary means of political participation. In this part participation attitudes of the respondents are being analysed including being involved into the structured decision making mechanisms like city councils[46] and youth councils; following up the political agenda, taking part in the demonstrations and being involved into any political party.

It is important to state that the study does not directly intend to debate on the efficiency and democratic entity of the local participation mechanisms like 'city councils', however it is relevant to discuss the issue with respect to the respondent's declarations.

The last part of the survey on ***citizenship perception*** is composed of two subsections. The first section has been constituted with a questionnaire which is designed with **'Likert Scale'** method and the second section is established with open-ended questions. This last part of the study generated the independent variable of the research which is proposed that, they are affected by other 3 sections of the survey. Likert-Scale analysis has been selected as the research method while the study intended to see how citizenship is being conceptualized by the respondents and how they conceive the relationship between the citizenship rights and participation. All the quantitative data collected from questionnaire were analysed by SPSS to be able to develop a qualitative analysis. In this manner, with the second section of the ***citizenship perception*** by open-ended questions I tried to develop a complementary questionnaire in order not to skip verbal identification of citizenship rights and duties and these two different methods are combined in order to get a broader analysis of citizenship perception of young people.

[46] "City councils" are the local participation structures which were founded with the Municipality Law No 5393 and City Council By-Law No 26313. The foundation objective of the city councils are summarized as "Development of an urban vision and citizenry awareness in urban life, protection of the rights and the law of the city, sustainable development, realization of the principles like sensitivity of environment, social solidarity and cooperation, transparency and accountability, participation, governance and decentralization"

3.2.1 Research Question

Within the scope of the four complementary parts (demographic profile, participation in civil society, political participation and citizenship perception) of the research questionnaire, beside the questions related to cultural, social and political participation of young people, social rights that enables young people's equal participation in society has also been asked in order to analyse the link between capabilities, social exclusion and participation. Furthermore, the open ended questions of how they interpret citizenship as well as rights and duties, provides us an idea on how they experience their civil and political rights. Apart from the structural opportunities and existing social rights for young people's equal participation, during the interviews I realised that young people's social, cultural and political participation practices and approaches differentiate according to their ethnic consciousness, political belonging and gender. In this respect, besides analysing the legal background, demographic profile, institutional opportunities and social rights, young people are classified and analysed under three different categories diversified according to their ethnic identification, political belonging and gender.

The categorization of the questionnaire in terms of the cultural, social and political participation in relation with the citizenship rights (civil, political and social) is clarified in detail below.

The questions 1-23 were designed to reveal an overall demographic profile of the household including the number of family members, age, educational status, occupational status, income level, social security, type of accommodation, previous job experiences and how they get these jobs as well as labour market information programmes, job creation services, internship opportunities. These questions are designed in order both to reveal the level of cultural participation by analysing educational and occupational status, how they get these jobs, the level of internet usage; and **social rights** such as access to social assistance, social insurance, scholarship opportunities, and access to internet.

The questions 24-33 were basically established in terms of revealing the patterns of **social participation** of young people by analysing their level of participation in civil society organizations, leisure time activities, youth centres of GAP-RDA & Ministry

of Youth and Sport and international/national youth projects as well as how they interpret these participation tools or whether they find them sufficient for youth participation.

The questions 34-42 were designed to understand the level of **political participation,** both on local and national scale, including participation in decision making mechanisms, participation in associations/unions/chambers, political parties, contemporary local political participation tools like city councils and youth councils, and participation in social protests.

Lastly, the questions after 43 were designed with Likert-Scale method and open-ended questions on how young people interpret being a citizen and citizenship rights and duties.

The related pioneering questions are listed below;

- Is there any relation between how young people experience their socio-economic background/ their social, cultural and political participation?
- Is there any relationship between participation and the birth place, educational level, marital status, place of residence, income of the household of the respondents?
- Is there any relationship between low income of the household and having high number of siblings and their participation in youth projects?
- How do young people meet their financial needs?
- Is there any relationship between access to internet and participation in the youth projects?
- Does the accommodation, transportation, availability of health and education services affect the participation of youth into youth studies?
- Is there any relationship between the content and scope of the youth projects and the young people's political and social participation?
- Is there any relationship between their response to social movements and demonstrations and the content of the youth projects they have participated in?

- How do they realize the content of the trainings or the youth projects in their daily life?
- Is there any relationship between different patterns of participation and age groups?
- Is there any relationship between social, cultural and political participation and ethnic identity?
- Is there any relationship between social, cultural and political participation and gender?
- Is there any relationship between participation and traditions and cultural structure?
- How do traditions and cultural structure affect the level of social, cultural and political participation?
- How does the existence or lack of civil, social and political rights affect the level of social, cultural and political participation?
- Is there any relationship between the political participation of young people such as participation in demonstration, right based civil society movements and organizations and their political standing?

3.3 Data and the Scope of the Research:

In order to research different dynamics of youth participation in Mardin, the research sample has been determined as the young people between the ages of 18 and 25, who are actively involved into the youth projects of "Mardin Youth and Culture House" which was founded as the subcomponent of the 'Social Progress for Youth Project'[47] of the 'Ministry of Development/ South-eastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration'. 29 in-depth interviews with the young people between the ages of 18 and 25 (17 males and 12 females) were conducted.

[47] http://www.gap.gov.tr/projects-and-activities/general-coordinator-of-humanitarian-and-social-development/social-projects/social-progress-for-youth

The “Social Progress for Youth” project has started to be implemented by the GAP Regional Development Administration and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the financial support of the Swiss Government while the project is also supported by the Habitat and Agenda 21 Youth Association (YAHA). Moreover, Youth and Culture Houses have also been trying to set up cooperation with local governments, national and local civil society organizations and international organizations till the day they were founded.

The objectives of the “Youth and Culture Houses” could be summarized as; “encouraging youth to take part and act as a driving force in the process of development by encouraging youth initiatives, building volunteer working schemes and solidarity networks for community development, imparting or developing social and economic skills, enhancing interaction and solidarity by bringing youth from different provinces together, enhancing youth’s participation to employment and making them productive and enabling positive environments to youth”[48].

The target group of the Youth and Culture Houses are composed of disadvantaged young people (in terms of education and socio-economic background) between the ages of 15-24. The scope of the activities holding in Youth and Culture Houses are listed by GAP-RDA as below;

- Social-cultural programmes,
- University preparation courses for the age group 16-18
- Programmes for vocational skill building target unemployed youth,
- "Start your business" programmes for potential young entrepreneurs
- Exchange programmes/summer schools (high school/university).
- Regional GAP-Genç Festival
- Regional Street Art Festival

Additional to these activities, Youth and Culture Houses have been implementing seasonal youth camps, peer to peer trainings on youth rights in coordination with

[48] http://www.gap.gov.tr/projects-and-activities/general-coordinator-of-humanitarian-and-social-development/social-projects/social-progress-for-youth

civil society organizations such as Community Volunteers Foundation (TOG)[49] and Habitat Development and Governance Association[50].

The region has a population of 7.958.473 by 2012, which is 10.52% of the overall population of Turkey. The gap between the population living in urban and rural areas is rapidly growing. By 2012, the percentage of the population living in the urban areas is 68% while this ratio is 56% in 1990's. On the other hand the population living in rural areas was also counted as 26% while it was 40% in 1985's. Throughout the country, the region still has the highest rate of out migration, mostly because of the highest rates of unemployment.[51] The problems caused by rapid and unsystematic urbanization were trying to be reduced by the preventive social and economic policies of the GAP Administration.

According to the 2012 statistics of Tigris Development Agency (Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Şırnak) 41% of the regional population is between the ages of 0-14, while this ratio is 26% countrywide. Moreover, the age group between the ages of 15-24 constitutes 26% of the regional population; it is 17% countrywide[52]. More specifically, in terms of the current General Population Census (2014) Mardin has a population of 788.996. The 22% of the population is between the ages of 0-14, while 13% of the population is between the ages of 15-24[53], which means, the city has a very young population. In this sense, the demographic structure of the region explicitly reveals the importance of the social services towards children and youth while the existing social policies were critically so limited.

In terms of the structural barriers that youth living in the region, unemployment can be stated as one of the basic problems of the region. By the end of 2012, the rate of unemployment in the region is 13%. The rate of unemployment is highest in the province of TRC3 (Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Şırnak) 12.7% while it is even higher among young population. To be more specific, the unemployment rate in Mardin is

[49] www.tog.org.tr
[50] www.habitatkalkinma.org
[51] GAP-RDA Administration Progress Report-2012
[52] www.dika.org.tr
[53] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/

stated as 9.1%. Batman is the province where we see the highest rate of unemployment (12.6%)[54].

It is also important to state that, beside unemployment problems there are so limited studies and resources on training, leisure time activities, courses, social and cultural activities for young people. Besides 'Youth Centres' of Ministry of Youth and Sport, it can be said that the Youth and Culture Houses of GAP-RDA is the only place where young people living in the region can facilitate from the youth activities and projects.

In order to enhance the relativity of the thesis various countrywide reports and projects were investigated. One of the most important of them is the 'State of the Youth Survey' which is developed by YADA Foundation during the establishment of "Youth in Turkey; National Human Development Report" of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The survey had been conducted with 3.322 young people from 12 cities of Turkey; in 2007. On the other hand, within the scope of Bilgi University, Centre of Civil Society Studies, 'Youth Participation" project, more up to date statistics on youth has been published[55]. The data and current content on European Union Education and Youth Programmes and EU youth policies were obtained from the web site of National Agency[56], EU Turkey Delegation[57], EU Youth Portal[58], EU Commission[59] and EURODESK[60]

3.4 Demographic Profile of the Family Members

While 18 out of 29 young people are between the ages of 18-22 and 11 young people are between the ages of 23-25 **(See Appendix A, Table 1.1).** In terms of the

[54] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/
[55] http://www.genclikcalismalari.org/sebeke/
[56] http://www.ua.gov.tr//index.cfm
[57] http://www.avrupa.info.tr/DelegasyonPortal.html
[58] http://europa.eu/youth/
[59] http://ec.europa.eu/youth/index_en.htm
[60] http://www.eurodesk.eu/edesk/

education level within the interviewers none of the respondents dropped out of primary school or were only primary school graduates. Only one of the male respondents dropped out of from high school for economic reasons; the rest are 13 high school students (7 females, 3 males), 9 undergraduate students (3 females, 6 males) and 1 graduate student (1 male) **(See Appendix A, Figure 1.2).** It is obviously seen that high school graduation is higher within female respondents while university graduation amount is higher among male respondents. In comparison with the ages of the respondents it is reasonable that 10 of the female respondents are between ages of 18 and 19; but despite this, it is not wrong to state that the university preparation rate is lower than male respondents.

27 of the respondents have more than 4 siblings, while 2 of them have higher than 8 **(See Appendix A, Figure 1.3)**. The research also reveals that more than half (15) of the young people have lower than 1.200 TL household income level which means they live under poverty line in comparison with the level of household income and number of siblings. Fathers of 17 young people have been working as labourer (secured) and self-employed; 3 of them are unemployed and the rest are working as civil servant, public official and farmer. Only one of the fathers declared that he was working without social security. **(See Appendix A, Table 1.1)**

The majority of the mothers (21 out of 28) are illiterate **(See Appendix A, Table 1.1)** and 26 of the female family members are declared as “housewife”. While collecting information about “occupation”, housewives are typically unemployed; consequently, they are deprived of regular wage and social security. Herein, it is also important to state that the employment ratio among women is so low, while the job opportunities for women especially are not sufficient in the region. Thus, most of the women prefer to stay unemployed in order to be able to benefit from the social security of their husband. Nevertheless, this does not mean that they are not involved into the labour force; however they are deprived of all social security benefits of any employed individual. Moreover, the employment ratio among female sibling of the respondents are not dramatically differs from the statistics of mothers. According to the information collected majority of the fellows are elementary school graduate while 8 of them have left high school before graduation. Even if the schooling ratio

between male and female fellows does not dramatically differ from each other, the employment ratio of the female fellows is so low in comparison with the male fellows. The majority of the female family members, including mothers, are unemployed. Most of the female fellows are leaving their job after marriage or generally do not enter into the labour market. Most of the respondents stresses that their sisters are leaving school in order to help to her mother and to look after her fellows. This situation also affects the leisure time activities and the participation rate of the young women into youth activities and projects; which I will also discuss in the fourth chapter.

3.5 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

According to the questions based on having access to social rights and social assistance services, it is observed that the responses of the young people contain homogeneous characteristics, while only differentiate in terms of gender statistics.

The level of income and high amount of siblings results with insecure/precarious employment of the young people. 21 (out of 29) of the respondents had been working in at least one temporary occupation; 13 of them declared that they had been working without social security and 18 (out of 21) of the respondents declared that they had been earning lower than the minimum wage (803,68 TL)[61] **(See Appendix, table 2.1 and 2.2)**.

Another important fact is the reason of leave; since 17 out of 21 of the young people had been working during the semester holidays in order to save money for their school and contribute to the household income **(See Appendix, table 2.3)**. All of the male respondents had been working in more than one formal/informal occupation, while 5 of the female respondents had marked the question as "yes". In total 18 of the participants answered the question of the *"Did you aware of the services of Turkish Labour Agency"* as "yes" **(See Appendix A, table 2.4)**; however the ones who had made application or seek job by the help of the agency, express that they do

[61] 2013 net wage amount; Ministry of Labour and Social Security

not find the employment services efficient. Moreover, regarding the way of finding job, 14 of the respondents (out of 21) reflects that they have found their job by the help of their relatives **(See Appendix A, table 2.5)**. During that seasonal occupation, many of the male young respondents declared that they had been working in informal sector as construction worker, small scale operator, waiter, salesman, apprenticeship, accountant etc. 6 of the male respondents has worked as a construction worker, while 7 of the male young people has worked as a waiter, temporarily during the holidays. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, the young people are generally involved in labour market usually without social security and get involved in ***precarious occupations***[62]. The occupation patterns of the young people dramatically display the lack of region specific youth and social policies in order to ensure the social and economic integration of the young people. Especially many of the young man have to work in order to sustain their education, while young women have to be involved into the household affairs. The precarious occupation is the only solution for the youth to contribute to the household income and to be able to continue to their education. Most of the male respondents declared that they had been working in various kind of occupation since the age of 9-10 and have continued to work seasonally.

Precarious occupation is one of the outputs of the last thirty years of global economic reconstruction. Especially during 1990's and 2000's fragile, precarious and insecure employment models have emerged not only in the developed countries but also in the developing countries. Regarding the measurement of the precarious employment levels of the countries nonstandard employment forms are observed in the developed countries, while informal sector has been taken into consideration in the developing countries. In Turkey example pre-carious employment forms usually seen among young people, while social policies for youth on scholarship and credit opportunities are not sufficient and this form of employment has being used as a source of economic exploitation. Only 4 of the respondents (2 males, 2 females) have being supported by a welfare fund (mainly by Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation). On the other hand, while only 1 young woman is getting scholarship, in

[62] **Temiz, H.E.** 2004. "Eğreti İstihdam: İşgücü Piyasasında Güvencesizliğin ve İstikrarsızlığın Yeni Yapılanması"; Çalışma ve Toplum 2004/2

total 8 young people are getting scholarship from Credit and Dormitories Institution and Community Volunteers Foundation.

> *"Another reason of precarious employment is definitely "poverty". Poverty and precarious employment are two phenomena which influence and direct each other. Hence, precarious employment may emerge as a consequence of poverty, while poverty may emerge as a consequence of precarious employment as well…. Poverty is a fact that prevents the involvement of individuals to the formal labour market. The reason poor people have limited or no access to the education, health and other relevant services, directs them to informal sectors. Unequal or poor education opportunities of indigent families inhibits the continuation of their children to the school and results with the early integration of youth into the labour market."*

The increase in the labour force supply, economic crises, relevant social policy deficiencies are major social and economic problems. According to the "Youth Participation of Turkey Research 2013"[63] young people are economically dependent to their families since %50.1 of the young people reveals that they could not be able to manage a day without their family support.

Similar to the finding of this research, in the "Youth Participation of Turkey Research 2013" of KONDA[64], the questions on job seeking instruments, reveals that public services are not efficient to meet the needs of young people. 71% of the young people declares that they could only find job by the help of their relatives/family/friends, and only 3% of the young people find their job by the mediation of public organizations like Turkish Labour Agency (İŞKUR).

Young people are economically dependent to their families since 50.1% of the young people reveals that they could not be able to manage a day without their family support. According to the data from State Institute of Statistics, in these four cities, the level of national income per capita is considerably under the country average.

[63] **KONDA** Research and Consultancy. 2013. Youth Participation in Turkey Research

[64] **KONDA** Research and Consultancy. 2013. Youth Participation in Turkey Research

The income per capita in TRC3 region (which includes Batman, Şırnak, Siirt and Mardin) is 4.689$, while the country average is 9.244$.[65]

When we take into consideration the answers given to the survey, within 29 respondents, 50% of the household income is based on self-employment and 43.3% is based on agriculture. And the following are; 9% public servant, %3 animal breeding and 1% private sector.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

During the research, I have not faced any remarkable obstacle while researching because I have previous connections with the Mardin Youth and Culture House and GAP-RDA Administration before. The major obstacle could be stated as the conservative cultural entity of the region; while some of the female respondents refused to attend to the interview, some of them could not get permission from their families. In order to overcome this obstacle, I used snowball technique and succeeded to gain the confidence of the young female participants.

Another important obstacle was the time limitation while every particular survey takes at least two hours. Most of the young girls who were participated in the interview have had limited time, since most of them need to help their mother on house affairs and/or look after their siblings.

The statistical data according to the region were reached from Turkish Statistical Institute and GAP-RDA Administration; however, the regional data is very limited while Turkish Statistical Institute has been collecting the data countrywide. Moreover, it is not easy to attain decomposed regional reports. For instance, the only comprehensive report on Mardin could be taken from Tigris Development Agency, while again this report includes very limited sources. Similarly there aren't any countable data on political participation and voting customs of youth, like participation in civil society and political parties.

[65] **TURKSTAT**, 2011

In terms of the scope of the research, the study does not allow making comparison between the young people who are participating into the youth projects and who do not. However, it is observed during the field study that the young people participating into the youth studies are not homogeneous and show very critical differences within themselves. Widening the sample may cause the lost of the focus; so that comparing the sample within them makes the study more accountable.

Besides the limitations of the research I also want to conclude with the strengths of the study. The questionnaire has been established both covering qualitative and quantitative methods to reduce generalizations on the data collecting from participants. Even if, there is a lot of study about the positive effects of the youth studies and projects on young people, there are very limited researches directly focusing on the patterns of participation, perceptional transition of young people and how they are really affected by those youth studies while concerning the external structural factors like socio-economic background, unemployment, political structure, social policies etc.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENT DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN MARDIN

4.1 Introduction

Dr. Can Fuat Gürlesel, in his report ***"Türkiye'nin Kapısındaki Fırsat"***[66]**,** highlights that, between the years 2000-2025 Turkey has entered a process of *"window of opportunity"* which means that the labour force between the ages 15-64 is at its higher proportion within the whole population.

Another important statistics is about the qualification of the youth people in Turkey. The study also reveals the feature of the youth population and directed to a very important point, which is that, within 20 years the youth population, between the ages of 15 and 25, will be at the highest level within European countries. The Human Development Report that was published in 2008 on youth issue in Turkey[67] also highlights similar statistics. The report proposes that, the population between the ages of 15 and 64, which also means the productive ages, is going to become 64, 8 million in 2040 and will decline after. This situation also stresses that, after 2010, the youth population (15-24) also started to decline. It is also an important information that, 70% of the Turkey's population today living in urban areas.[68] In this sense, when we consider the decreasing level of fertility within educated population, it is

[66] **Gürlesel, Can Fuat**. 2004. "Türkiye'nin Kapısındaki Fırsat: 2025'e Doğru Nüfus, Eğitim ve Yeni Açılımlar". Eğitim Reformu Girişimi

[67] **UNDP.** 2008. "İnsani Gelişme Raporu; Türkiye'de Gençlik".

[68] **UNDP.** 2008. "İnsani Gelişme Raporu; Türkiye'de Gençlik".

important to state that higher proportion of youth will be placed in the least developed regions.

Regarding the regional socio-economic differences of Turkey, many studies show us that Eastern and South Eastern Anatolia are the least developed regions of Turkey, with also a high fertility level. The UNDP report published about the evaluation of mitigation exercises of poverty in South Eastern Anatolia[69], takes attention to the high fertility, unemployment, illiteracy, in and outmigration rate of South-eastern Anatolia.

> *"Population increase rate in four cities is significant. For instance, in Diyarbakır, Southeast Anatolia's most crowded city, the population was 305.000 in 1985 and increased to 501.000 in 1997, and is still increasing."*[70]

Especially, the high unemployment rate is observed within young people between the ages of 15 and 25. With respect to the socio-economic profile of South-eastern Anatolia, **Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin** and **Şanlıurfa** has been clustered in terms of their socio-economic development and poverty indicators. All of these four cities have the highest level of outmigration and unemployment level, when we compare with the other cities of South-eastern Anatolia. They also have the highest level of fertility in Turkey.

> *"…when one considers the percentage of 0-14 and 15-64 age groups in the entire population, the differences between selected cities and the country in general are striking. For instance in Batman, the percentage of 0-14 age group in city's total population is 45% and the percentage of 15-64 age group is 50%, while the overall country rates are 29,9% and 64,5%, respectively."*[71]

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[69] "Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Yoksulluğun Etkisini hafifletme Uygulamaları: Bir değerlendirme". 2004. Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği&UNDP.

[70] "Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Yoksulluğun Etkisini hafifletme Uygulamaları: Bir değerlendirme". 2004. Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği&UNDP.

[71] "Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde Yoksulluğun Etkisini hafifletme Uygulamaları: Bir değerlendirme". 2004. Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği&UNDP.

In this context; it is important to emphasize that 'poverty' is not taken into account as 'owning minimum resources to survive', the capability approach and the term 'deprivation'[72] has become important in order to explore different aspects of poverty. The approach stated that beyond the classical neo-liberal disclosures like basic needs, income per capita and annual economic growth, social dimensions of poverty should be taken into consideration. For this reason, while searching for the reasons of poverty and social exclusion the geographical and socio-economic differences of the region were taken into consideration. The region also has the lowest level of social and cultural participation among young people, dependent on the lack of sufficient social provisions, structures and social policies specific to youth.

It is well known that Kurdish identity had become one of the major socio-political problems of Turkey, that for years, Turkey wasn't able to come up with a solution. In accordance with the justifications above, the research question has been established on understanding the relation between the deprivation, capabilities and social, cultural and political participation of young people while investigating the efficiency of youth studies that have being conducted in the region. In the following section of the fourth chapter patterns of political and civil society participation of the young people will be revealed. In the third section, social, cultural and political participation of young people under three different categories will be analysed.

4.2 Institutional Opportunities and Common Social and Political Participation Practices of Young People in Mardin

In this part of the study, social and political participation patterns of the young people including participation in the youth activities and projects, youth councils, political parties, civil society organization will be analysed.

Regarding the participation in youth activities and projects, all of the participants introduce that they have participated in at least one of the youth centres (RDA Youth and Culture Houses and Youth Centres of General Directorate of Youth and Sport).

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[72] **Sen, Amartya.** 2000**.** "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny, Social Development". Social Development.

Within the surveys 6 (out of 29) of the young people reveal that they are participating into both of them. With respect to the question about the efficiency of the activities and services of the youth and culture house, 25 (out of 29) young people find the activities sufficient. On the other hand, it is important to reflect that, with respect to the open ended questions, some respondents stated, there should be more activities and services for employment.

As it is also stressed among the objectives of Social Progress for Youth Programme of South-Eastern Anatolia Project-RDA", beside leisure time activities and youth projects; youth houses targets the improvement of self-expression skills of the young people and enhancing their participation in the decision making mechanisms, by conducting various kind of courses like *computer based accounting, English and Arabic Courses, project design and implementation training, drawing and music courses, university preparation courses, career planning and CV preparation*[73]. Consequently, Youth and Culture Houses are not only designed for the social participation of the youth but also have been trying to compensate the economic participation of the young people by supporting them with occupational courses. The occupational trainings that have being arranged by the Youth and Culture Houses differs according to the cities, regarding the regional requirements. Initially, the social projects for youth under "Sustainable Development Programme in the GAP Region" were jointly launched by the GAP Regional Development Administration and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with the financial support of the Swiss Government. The implementing partner of the project was designated as Habitat and Agenda 21 Association while the objectives of the programme are defined, by giving reference to the primary participation principles of United Nations, as building cooperations with local governments, local civil society organizations, private sector and international organizations.

[73] http://www.gap.gov.tr/projects-and-activities/general-coordinator-of-humanitarian-and-social-development/social-projects/social-progress-for-youth/capacity-development-programmes

United Nations defines youth participation as:

- Economic participation (work and development)
- Political participation (decision-making processes)
- Social participation (community involvement)
- Cultural participation (the arts, cultural values and expression)

Almost all of the participants, while expressing their feelings about Youth and Culture House of Mardin, use the definition that "Youth and Culture House is everything to us". In terms of the capabilities of the Youth Houses young respondents reveals that they could not be able evaluate the services objectively, since they have never cultivated a sense of standard.

Male, 21 years old, Preparing for the university;

> *"To be honest, some may consider the activities sufficient, in terms of the region perhaps. But not sufficient in general."*
>
> *"Let me tell you something. Being the young in Mardin, asking us about the sufficiency of activities or how could it be, we starve for these so we do not have a standard yet. So I cannot really say if the activities are sufficient or not, because we do not have a standard, nothing to compare. Some e may say it is not enough, that they need more, but there is no standard yet. I haven't been outside South-eastern Anatolia. Well I went t Diyarbakır, I studied there, but conditions in Diyarbakır are not very much different from Mardin. If I reach some sort of standard, only then I can tell you if these are sufficient or not. But they trained you in almost all kinds of sports here, this Youth Centre was good in social activities. Well, as far as I could tell it was good, people came from Europe, America, from different countries, so you mingled. The come to your house, you sit there, different things happen. I like the activities here. Festivals, cinema festivals take place. I like those here. But I cannot tell if these are enough, because we do not have a standard yet."*
>
> "*No, but how could I explain this, you see, to be 21 in the east you need to be 40 years old. Some say, how to put it well, like "I am 20, but I feel 70 inside". I am not exaggerating, I am 21 years old, but I feel like I am 33. Like I said, I've been working since I was 9 years old, spending the weekends here. Then, I don't know, I get emotional talking about this."*

Female, 19 years old, university student;

> *"I mean when we were at school, we did not have any, nothing in other places, so these were enough actually. Now we want more, know more, but then it was enough, even those were over the top at the time."*

27 out of 29 young people have never been involved in "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality which is one and only local participation mechanism. Regarding their changing attitude and citi**z**enship perception the participation rate of the young people to the
Youth council is dramatically low. Even if, this study does not aim to carry out a particular debate on the effectiveness of city councils and youth councils, discussing the democratic inclusion approaches of the public bodies such as the city councils in order to clearly understand the historical evolution of democratic participation mechanisms and ***governance*** practices in Turkey and the behaviour patterns of the young people.

The term "good governance" firstly exists in the "Sub Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth; A Long Term Perspective Study" report of World Bank and in the following years the term has begun to be used frequently by International Monetary Fund-IMF, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development-OECD and United Nations Development Programme-UNDP[74].

From the beginning of 1980's strong effect of globalization resulted with various political changes in state comprehension. One of the most vital structural changes was needed in terms of the public administration approaches, since the traditional way of public administration and representative democracy had become inefficient and weak towards the changing needs of contemporary industrial society. Herein, the traditional role of the state has started to evolve from productive state to regulatory

[74] **Kerman, U., Altan, Y., Aktel, M. ve Lamba, M.**. 2011. Yerel Yönetişim ve Kent Konseyleri, Kent Konseyleri Sempozyumu, 6-7 Mayıs, Bursa, pp.13-29.

state.[75] In this sense the former public administration approaches has tried to be replaced with more transparent, accountable, equitable and participatory public administration systems.[76] Participation of the local community into the decision making processes in order to produce more effective solutions to the social and economic challenges has become the primary concern of the public authorities. The impact of the European Union accession process and the effect of the United Nations policies regarding the development of participatory democracy in Turkey are incontrovertible.

City Councils that have been established as the city-wide participatory mechanisms (City Councils and other platforms), consist of the representatives of local partners, including members such as the Governor, Mayor and Parliamentarians of the respective province, elected local councillors and neighbourhood heads, and the designated representatives of foundations and associations, professional chambers, private sector organizations, trade unions, academic institutions, etc., as well as the representatives of working groups and platforms for women, youth, elderly and children. Local Agenda 21 City Councils, which are unique to the Turkish context, were established to constitute an example of "governance" that manages to bring together central government, local government and civil society within a collaborative framework of partnerships. In general, the central government and municipal representation constitute about one-third of the city councils, with the remaining two-thirds consists of NGOs. In virtually all cases, the local authorities support the activities and decisions of the City Council by including these decisions in their respective agendas to accommodate the demands of the City Council. The establishment of City Councils has become a legal obligation for the municipalities in Turkey, by the declaration of city council legislation in 2006. The number of city councils has increased very rapidly as a source of democratic participation mechanism, however failed to achieve the expectations for local democracy.

[75] **Toksöz Fikret,**. 2011. İyi Yönetişim El Kitabı, TEPAV, İstanbul.

[76] **Toksöz Fikret**. 2011. İyi Yönetişim El Kitabı, TEPAV, İstanbul.

Youth Councils that were established as the sub-working groups on specific thematic areas like youth, women, and disabled councils has been working as the speciality commissions under city councils to promote democratic participation of the civil organizations and members of the local community. The foundation process of the youth councils has begun under the coordination of the Youth for Habitat International Network. The Youth Councils and Youth Centres were designed to launch youth activities in partner cities. The initial foundation aim of the Youth Councils had been designated as to bring together the youth organizations, as well as students, employed and unemployed youth in partner cities. They conduct training programs to make the unemployed 're-employable'; help find jobs for them and collaborate with local authorities to expand the range and improve the quality of services provided.

Youth for Habitat[77] International Network has been established in 1995/Copenhagen, while the United Nations Development Summit, by the participation of 300 representatives of youth organizations from different countries. Till the end of the summit **Youth Association for Habitat and Agenda 21** of Turkey has been serving as the secretariat of the network and implementing projects for Habitat Agenda and Agenda 21 at the national level. This initiative that had been started as the part of an international network, has begun to its activities by organizing the youth programme of United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) Summit which was held in Istanbul, 1996. The Youth Association for Habitat and Agenda 21 which was involved into the Local Agenda 21 Programme, has been working for the improvement of the cooperation between youth and local authorities and private sector and while working for the establishment of the local youth centres. Another programme that has begun to be implemented by the association in the scope of the **Local Agenda 21 Programme** was the development of Local Agenda 21 National Youth Parliament which is comprised of the regional youth councils[78]

[77] www.youthforhab.org.tr

[78] **Nemutlu, Gülesin; Yentürk, Nurhan; Kurtaran, Yörük.** 2008. *Türkiye'de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi*. İstanbul.

After the concrete results achieved during the City Summit, Youth for Habitat II transformed its organizational structure and was renamed as "Youth for Habitat". The International Youth Follow-up for Habitat and Agenda 21 held in Eskisehir-Turkey adopted the name of the organization as "Youth for Habitat International Network."

"Magnifier to the Address"[79] Project, that was held with the cooperation of Bilgi University Youth Studies Centre; Bilgi Uni. NGO Training and Research Centre and Community Volunteers Foundation who are working on the youth rights field, is an advocacy project which is based on the monitoring of youth services by the primary beneficiaries, young people, by using participatory monitoring method. In the scope of the project Youth Councils; Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport; Medico-Health, Culture and Sport Department; Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institution and EU offices of universities have been monitored. According youth Councils section of the report, it has been revealed that the youth councils that were established with the partnership of Local Agenda 21, National Youth Parliament programme includes successful examples of participatory democracy, on the other hand many of the youth councils fails to achieve the foundation goals of the participatory democracy. One of the most important problems that were expressed in the monitoring report is the dependent entity of the councils to the municipality in terms of their budget allocation. According to the report, youth councils do not have an independent budget and they do not have effective impact on the budget allocated for the youth services. The administrative costs of the youth councils are compensated from the budget of the municipalities by the intervention of the city councils. In terms of the regulation law of city councils and youth councils the participatory democracy processes, accountability and transparency of the councils are not clearly and sufficiently defined and this arbitrariness results with the ineffective use of councils as a participatory democracy tool. In this sense, most of the young people perceives youth councils as the youth branches of the political parties and find them politically dependent to the municipality.

[79] **Magnifier to the Adress**: Civil Monitoring Report of Youth Field. 2011. Istanbul

In addition to all these determinations, one of the respondents reveals a very important fact that affects the participation patterns of young people. He finds youth councils unsuccessful in terms for managing participatory democracy and emphasizes the decisive power of family members or friends. Young people trust to their families or friends more then they trust to the accountability of the public institutions. In this sense, it is obviously important that the participation attitudes of young people are generally shaped by their existing social relations. The same participation attitude is also relevant for the Youth and Culture House. 90% of the young people responded to the question of how they learned about Youth and Culture House, as "from my friends or "from my siblings".

"I didn't, I didn't have such environment.."

> *"Why I never participated? We don't have such thing yet, participatory democracy. Without this notion of participatory democracy, I didn't feel the need to participate. Not "did not feel like participating", I just didn't, I didn't have such environment. Perhaps if a cousin, or a friend of mine participated, may be then I would have checked it out, but I didn't. So…I didn't participate because it was politicized. Too much politics involved, I mean for example it's not like there aren't any places where youth can express their problems; there are, but those places are sort of politicized, are in the hands of various politically inclined organizations, in a bad sense of the word….Ha-ha yeah. May be then if my cousins, people I trust and whose opinion I trust and about whose actions I would say "well, he knows what he is doing…", and whose ideas I would trust… If there was a Youth Parliament that would be nice, but I mean if it was unbiased, like impartial Youth Parliament, that would be really nice …"*

Male; 25 years old, university graduate;

> *"I mean if you ask why, it's because on paper even elections there worked differently. There is a candidate. Ok, there is an election but that candidate is always elected anyway. That is interesting. Election of the same candidate all the time costs difference of opinions. For me at least. I think yeah ok, the name is known, so the votes will be given to him. Everyone votes for him."*

Some young people express their recommendations regarding the smooth implementation of the participatory democracy and they proposed the establishment of district councils for ensuring the participation of every different segments of the community into the decision making mechanisms.

> *"There could be a Youth Centre in every city or in every neighbourhood, a Youth Parliament. These Youth Parliaments could have chairmen, deputies, who could come together in the cities to discuss the problems … It could be like in participatory democracy, where parties have those neighbourhood things, like gatherings, it could be like that. But without reflecting any party, so that anyone could participate. Here, there are Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Christians, so some of them get excluded. Like, Kurds come together or Arabs come together or Christians get together or Assyrians get together. I want everyone to get together. It would be great if everyone was participating together."*

Regarding the outputs of the interviews it is obviously relevant to argue that young people who have been involved into the activities, projects and trainings of youth and culture house have created their own 'public sphere'[80], where they both socialize, learn, create and improve. While some of the young people consciously rejecting being a part of mainstream participatory mechanisms like city councils, some of the respondents have never intended to participate while their fellows do not attend to. This fact will also be analysed in detail in the political participation section of the thesis, however it is important to stress that young peoples' aspect and position towards to the decision making mechanisms and towards all public bodies is controversial. In this context, the Youth and Culture Houses might be regarded as 'collective agencies'[81] where young people actively involved in public decisions in public sphere with a collective aim and take initiative to promote some basic capabilities as; equal chance for economic integration, advocacy for women rights, right to vote and equal access to education and health services. Accordingly, many of the respondents reveal that they accept the youth and culture house as the only place to both improve their capabilities and to promote the collective agency.

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[80] **Crossley, N.; Roberts, J.M.** 2004. *After Habermas: New Perspective on the Public Sphere.*

[81] **Sen, Amartya.** 2000. "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny, Social Development". Social Development.

Concerning the questions about the political participation, only one of the young people declares himself as a member of a political party. During the interviews it is found out that while many of the respondents are politically active in civil society, they do not prefer to be actively involved in any political party. On the other hand, only two of the young people responds to the question about participation in any kind of protest or civil action as "no", while the rest replied positively, which is quite meaningful**.** Herein, it is important to state that the participation ratio of the young people into politics or political parties should not be interpreted as incuriosity, insensitivity or passivism. Most of the young people do not find political parties as worthwhile to get involved and as active instruments of the democracy. Almost all of the young people do not find the participatory mechanisms accountable and transparent. The same attitude has also been observed regarding the participation ratio of the "Youth Councils" of the local municipalities.

Male, 20 years old, preparing for university entrance exams

> *"For the moment, I do not think democracy, I mean democracy in Turkey is sufficient. That's why I do not consider joining any of the political parties. Because for example if I joined, in the future I would think I did something wrong. Like for example I would regret that I did it. For example let's say I joined a party, participated in their works, but if the ideas of the party leader do not reflect me, do not correspond to my ideas then in the future I would feel remorse for joining that party. What I really want is to participate in a party that truly reflects me, my ideas, but right now, parties, even the closest ones, do not reflect me completely."*

According to the question about "voting in the elections", only one of the young women responded negatively, while the rest of the respondents answered as "yes". Although the voting ratio in the elections is quite high, most of the respondents express that they do not trust to the political parties and they do not recognize them as the sources of democracy.

Male 21, preparing for the university;

> *"Before election all of them made promises, but it is all lies, just words, empty promises."*

4.3 Young People Classified Under Three Different Categories In Terms Of Their Different Level of Social, Cultural and Political Participation

"Being a citizen in Turkey... it's difficult… it reminds me of difficulty…"

Lüküslü and Yücel (2013) in their study "Being Young in Turkey in 2000's" (2013) in which they have collected the studies of different writers who focus on class, identity, cultural and political dimensions of youth studies, underlines the lack and need of region, gender, LGBTI specific studies on youth question which might reveal many critical aspects and dynamics that affect being young in Turkey. Lüküslü argues that, space, undoubtedly plays a very crucial role in terms of determination of the identity and capabilities of young people. Thus, they highly emphasize the need on researches which will particularly focus on space-youth relation in rural areas.

This study particularly aims to investigate the different dynamics of social, cultural and political participation of young people living in Mardin, in the pivotal of class, identity, culture, gender and politics. In this chapter social, cultural and political participation of young people is analysed considering their ethnic origin, gender, class and age and their level of social, cultural and political as well as economic integration into the society as equal citizens. The participants of the research, as being young, have a special social status, which should be covered with special provisions in order to prevent social, political and economic exclusion. In this respect, the negative and positive rights defined under citizenship theory of T. H. Marshall are considered in order to analyse the link between the sufficient provision of rights and level of participation of young people. While the *negative rights* represents civil and political rights which are generally formed by states as 'individual freedoms' from coercion and interference, social rights represent *positive rights* that includes the capacity of preventing social inequality within society and minimise diversities between class, gender, race, disability, age division/exclusion. For that reason, citizenship rights have become one of the fundamental aspects of debate while it represents the main emancipatory aspect for ensuring the full participation of excluded and most disadvantaged groups. According to the positive

rights and considering their special position derived from “being young”, the social, economic and political factors that make them advantaged or disadvantaged, their social and cultural participation, their needs as young citizens, their access to civil, political and social rights, their sense of belonging and identity, their approach and participation in the public decision making mechanisms were considered.

In terms of the finding of this study, although young people do not dramatically differentiate according to their socio-economic status or demographical background; regarding their cultural, political and social participation, they dissociate into three categories. Young people who have participated in the research are classified under three categories in terms of their ethnic consciousness, political standing and gender diversity. Based on the responses of young people to the questions on social, cultural and political participation, it is observed that young people diversify and demonstrate the same characteristics according to their consciousness about ethnic diversity, being in the same political standing with the current conservative government and experiencing gender discrimination regarding their social, cultural and political participation.

According to the findings of three categories, young people who are clustered under the first category and who has a high level of ethnic consciousness are more demanding than their peers in terms of the provision of social, cultural and political rights as well as claiming the recognition of their cultural differences. The young people of the first category also have a high level of consciousness on their citizenship rights, following the daily political agenda and are consciously determining their level of political participation. In terms of their cultural participation, they mainly prefer to participate in youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects and trainings on rights-based issues. The second category is composed of young people who have a conservative political standing, sympathise the neo-conservative policies of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government and who recognizes Youth and Culture Houses and Youth Centres a source of cultural participation by enhancing their social and cultural capital, mainly by participating into vocational and cultural activities and courses. They are more distanced and deliberate towards political activities, do

not interest in political agenda and express their consent on the governments' conservative approach and policies including religious codes. The last category is composed of young women who differentiate from their male peers regarding their restricted social, cultural and political participation. It is clearly observed that young women, especially living in rural areas are stuck in the conservative society due to the gender roles and cannot be able to experience their rights on the same level with their male partners. The third category is also classified under two categories including the ones who have a certain extent of ethnic consciousness and who have participated in trainings on rights-based issues, youth projects of civil society organizations, and the others who could not have that chance due to the social restrictions of their close community. While the study reveals that the provision of sufficient civil, social and political rights specific to young people is not adequate to ensure their equal participation in the social, cultural and political life, women have a more disadvantaged position compared to men and influenced much negatively from so-called inequalities.

In each category information about their socio-economic status will also be analysed in order to reveal a possible correlation between their socio-economic status and their participation. In this sense, in each category, particularly their education level, employment status, and social security will be compared with their level of their social, cultural and political participation. Respondents' citizenship perception has also been asked through questionnaire which is designed with 'Likert-Scale' method and open ended questions in order to reveal the relation between the provision of citizenship rights and social, cultural and political participation of the young people.

4.3.1 First Category: Different Dynamics of Social, Political and Cultural Participation Related to the Ethnic Consciousness of Young People

The first cluster is composed of young people, who have a high level of ethnic consciousness and particularism including cultural, linguistic and historical differences as well as indicating the same patterns of social and cultural participation, recognition of state ideology and political standing.

The definition of an 'ethnic group' is identified by its members' perception of having a distinct identity mainly based on descent or cultural elements like language and religion. Ethnicity also refers to the set of behaviours, habits and other cultural elements function to distinguish an ethnic group in their daily life (Erden, 2010). The non-Muslim communities in Turkey constitute ethnic minority groups on the basis of religion, while Kurds in Turkey constitute the major minority ethnic group on the basis of language and myth of common descent.

The Turkish Republic which is based on one-identity nationalism, since its foundation, creates an ideological basis for systematic state violence and ethnic discrimination towards minorities. This violence and ethnic discrimination is mainly based on state-building nationalism that was deeply influenced by the French civic-republican model, which puts more emphasis on duties more than rights. Thus, Kurds, as many other minority groups, has been in a never-ending battle of rights with the state throughout a half-century.

Kadıoğlu (2008) argues that Turkish citizenship has been established on the way through creating Turkish national identity by expecting all citizens to become a member of this unified identity. Indeed, Turkish national identity had been achieved by the exclusion of different ethnic, religious and linguistic origins represented by Kurds, Arabs, Alevis, Cherkes, Georgians, and Lazs living in Turkey. Kadıoğlu also argues that this approach is not only peculiar to Turkey, since all of the modern national identities have been established by the identification of "other".

Kurdish problem in Turkey has turned into ethno-nationalist terrorism after the severe pressure of the state on ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity of the Kurds. 'Kurdishness' which is a different ethnic and cultural identity was suppressed with violence and spreading fear especially after the military coup of 1980. Kurdish language, publications, songs were banned as well as Kurdish civil society organizations and political parties were restricted too. This pressure and assimilation policies on Kurdish society resulted with more than 30 years of struggle. The Kurdistan Workers Party - Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan (PKK) - was established in 1978 and the cultural and linguistic claims of Kurds have turned into autonomous actions that were adapted to a more conventional guerrilla style of violence.

Today still there is a social and ideological rupture between republicans and Kurds, since Kurds was labelled as terrorist and separatist society who betrays to the unity of young Turkish Republic. Along with the last 40 years, the right claims of Kurds have always been considered as a separatist activity to divide Turkey into two and found another Kurdish country (Gürbey, 1996; Yeğen, 1999). On the other hand, I believe that the interviews with the young people, especially with the first group apparently unroll how state threatens its citizens from different ethnic origins when they do not compromise with the expectations and ideologies of the ruling class. Interviews with the young participants also reveal how right claims of Kurdish people might turn into different forms of opposition when all the paths to political and cultural participation of minorities are closed.

All of the young people who are classified under the first category are male. Almost the entire participants of the first category are university students or university graduate/graduate student **(See Table 3.1).** They all engaged in a way, in various precarious occupations throughout their primary and high school education due to the limited income level of their household. All of the young people declare that they have found these jobs by the help of their relatives or friends. Another important fact that plays a significant role in terms of their engagement in labour market is '*hemşehri*'[82] relations and their family ties. Çelik (2006) in her thesis argues that

[82] *'Hemşehri'* is a Turkish concept that represents a kind of local and cultural disposition between the people from same city or region.

‘family’ is one of the most important institutions for young people to cope with the unemployment problem due to the weak welfare state implementation and limited number/low quality of jobs created in the labour market. She also argues that, youth, who are mostly dependent on their family support, could only cope with poor resources and unemployment in two ways: early or postponed adulthood.

Male, 24 years old, university student

“Well, for example my first job...I did not have my family with me. I am rather independent. Just pocket money, it was enough, I was working, coming and going. I was staying at the work place anyway. Working, getting along with the craftsmen at the work place. They were mostly local. They asked me to come before the next summer.”

“When I went to Istanbul for work, I went to my big brother. He told me that I did not have to work, that he would take care of me, wanted to stay with him, he hasn’t seen me in years... I said no, I want to work because I need to study … Then some old acquaintance came up, when I was looking for work. They saw me and asked if I was from Mardin, I said yeah I am… They said come work here, we are also from Mardin. The boss was from Diyarbakır. Well, so I worked there, and it never stopped, working life, I worked in many places, like I told you.”

The young people who classified under the first category is composed of young people who mainly prefers to participate in the international youth exchange projects, trainings on right based issues, activities and trainings of other civil society organizations, youth projects of National Agency.

Table 3.1- The level of education of the respondents by the categories of respondents

		Educational Status					Total
		High School Abandon	High School	Preparing for University	Undergra duate	Master's degree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	1	1	3	1	6

According to the survey only one third of the respondents have participated in the international youth exchange projects (7 young people), youth projects of civil society organizations (9 people), trainings on right based issues (9) and youth projects of National Agency of Turkey. In comparison with the participation rates to the courses of Youth and Culture Houses and youth festivals like 'GAP Genç Festival' and 'Mardin Street Art Festival, 27 young people have participated in the courses of Youth and Culture House (in which the participation number of women and men are almost equal); while 17 young people express that they have participated in 'GAP Genç Festivals' that were organized in Mardin and other South-eastern Anatolia cities and Street Art Festival of Mardin **(Table 3.2)**

Table 3.2- Participation of the young people into Courses, Vocational Courses of KOSGEB, Street Art Festival and GAP-Genç Festival implemented by Youth and Culture Houses, by the categories of the respondents

		Courses	Vocational Courses of KOSGEB	Street Art Festival	GAP-Genç Youth Festival
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	5	1	4	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	2	8	6
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	12	0	4	5
Total		27	3	16	17

Considering the participation of youth into youth activities in both Youth and Culture House and Youth Centre of Ministry of Youth and Sport it was clearly observed that the categories that were established during the data analysis are dramatically differentiate in terms of their participation in the right-based activities and exchange projects such as **"youth projects of civil society organizations", "international youth exchange projects", "trainings on right based issues", "youth projects of national agency"** that mainly established to increase capacity of young people to

ensure their active participation in the society**.** In this sense, while almost all of the young people within the Category 1 participate in the youth projects of civil society organizations, 'international youth exchange projects and trainings on right based issues, no more than 2 young people (out of 11 young people) from the second category have participated in these activities. There is no young woman who has participated in 'youth projects of National Agency of Turkey'. On the other hand, young women who participate in these 4 activities are more than Category 2; and as it will also be discussed within the analysis of the third category, which totally consists of young women, some of the young women, especially the ones who have participated in these trainings and youth projects of civil society organizations & National Agency of Turkey express almost the same statements with the young people in the Category 1. **(Table 3.3)**

Table 3.3- Participation of the young people into "Youth Projects of National Agency", "International youth exchange projects", "Youth projects of civil society organizations", "Trainings on right based issues", by the categories of the respondents

		Youth Projects of National Agency	International youth exchange projects	Youth projects of civil society organizations	Trainings on right based issues
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	2	4	5	5
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	1	2	1
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	2	2	3
Total		4	7	9	9

According to the questions that have been asked under the social participation section and within the scope of the open ended questions on how they evaluate the change they have experienced after participating into theses youth activities

coordinated under Youth and Culture House of GAP (and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport, if they are participating), young people mainly emphasize the positive impact of cultural and social capital that they have gained by meeting with new people and participating into instructive courses. Young respondents of the first category, as well as a group of young women who reflects the same statements as the first category, put emphasis into the positive impact of the Youth and Culture House by addressing the capacity improvement in terms of their cultural and social participation. They mainly underline that they become aware of their rights and gain self-confidence in terms of being an active citizen and also has become a self-confident person in their social relations.

Male, 20 years old, preparing for university exams, working in the cafeteria of Youth and Culture House

I never talked, I did not consider myself a social person; now I can express myself, can demand my rights from official institutions. I am aware of my rights now. My vision expanded. I found what I wanted to do, I found it here. In addition to all activities here I would also joined a writer's course, if they had one, or a violin course.

Female, 19 years old, associate degree;

Many things changed… I mean the way me come and go, friend circles, people we know. For example when I was in high school I did not go out much, nowhere to go except that place … That place was enough; I saw different people, things, not like at home. That was better, new people, new things.

Almost all of the respondents from all categories underline three significant benefits of the Youth and Culture Houses: (1) They have met with various new people, enhance their network, and by this way release from their prejudices and have new friends even in other cities. (2) With national and international youth exchange projects they find chance to travel to different cities and countries which improves their social and cultural participation. (3) Many of them develop a business relation or awarded a scholarship to enter into university. Young people in the first category differentiate from other respondents in terms of their political standing and

participation in right-based activities more than other groups; however, they share the same opinions regarding the benefits of Youth and Culture Houses and Youth Centres as being the only resource for young people which enables them to improve their social and cultural capitals. According to Bourdieu social and cultural capital refers to symbolic values which are untouchable but culturally significant and can be exchanged with status, authority as well as material values such as occupational status (Bourdieu, 1991). In this sense, the social and cultural capital that young people reach by participation in Youth and Culture House can be identified with their increasing educational status, occupational status, business relations that they develop, as well as art and cultural studies such as language and folk dance courses which improves their skills.

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

"Leaving the city, going somewhere else was pretty exciting. Like you go somewhere else, to Çanakkale for instance, for the first time. There was a meeting, we went to Gökçeada. As these happened, we started to embrace the youth house. Like you asked for something, and it happened It was a project. St the time, we did not know much of it, so it was a project for us. Like they asked "do you want a computer? Do you want that kind of things?' and we would say yes. And computers started coming. In 2005, I, my friend N. and my cousin Y., who was the member of the youth house, were talking among ourselves that we wanted to make a movies, and how we could do it. At that time, a delegation came from South-eastern Anatolia Project. A woman told us that she would give us an email address where we could write and ask, perhaps they would help us. She gave us the email address. The guy answered that he volunteered to come here to train us .. Apparently this guy was a documentary director from BBC. We took the course, 3 of us.. He came for us. Made 3 short films, 2 minutes each. After this course I got really interested in cinema. The same year our school opened a course, a cinema course. After that course I earned 100% scholarship, to Istanbul Culture University. Now I came back here. I give courses here. In the beginning, we were here, taking courses, participating in activities, and now I volunteer to teach here.

Male, 24 years old, university student

"This was my place 10 years ago. I had problems. I thought it was a rehabilitation centre. Our greatest purpose is to rehabilitate people who are sort of outsiders, who have problems; to make them socialize, talk. To make them abandon their bad habits, give themselves to learning. I have seen many examples of these."

I believe that Bourdieu's 'habitus' is well fit into this last explanation about Youth and Culture House as being a rehabilitation centre for young people living in Mardin. Distant from the transnational perception and implementation of youth policies and youth studies, it is obvious that young people are creating their own habitus by redefined objective set of values. Harker (et al., 2001) argues that Bourdieu introduces this term 'habitus' to refer individuals' own knowledge and understanding of the world, which makes a separate contribution to the reality of the world. In this sense, habitus is never fixed with place and time and supported with symbolic values such as social and cultural capitals. Lüküslü (2013) mentions Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and argues that every public sphere that is reproduced according a habitus, has its own rules and principles about being young/adult and elder.

In regard to 'respect to diversities', Mardin is a cosmopolite place that hosts communities from different ethnic and religious backgrounds such as Assyrians, Arabs, Kurds, Alevis and Sunnis. Even if some of the respondents reflect that they learned a lot in terms of having respect to human rights and different political ideas, they also underline that they have a conventional sense of respect due to living within different communities.

Male, 20 years old, preparing for university exams, working in the cafeteria

"I grew up with Assyrians, so I always had respect for foreigners. Like for example when children in our neighbourhood threw stones at tourists I would get mad at them, mad at my friends for doing such things. Then I learned that I should respect them for being humans, not for being foreigners. Suddenly, really fast, my opinions started to change, except for politics. I mean my political opinion has always been the same, I always try to improve myself to nurture those ideas, always read and learn."

In comparison with the activities of Youth and Culture Houses of GAP, some of the young participants expressed their dissatisfaction towards insufficient services and activities of Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport. They think that youth centres are mainly sports oriented and have limited different activities for young people. As I discussed within the 'Youth Participation' chapter, national youth policies that were established by Ministry of Youth and Sport are mainly based on

collective sports and physical training. Lüküslü (2009) argues that the physical training policies in Turkey and in Europe were emerged as a part of the modernization of education, while these policies are also based on the national principles that aim to discipline younger generations. Michel Foucault also argues that 'body' is a political sphere in which patriarch and power relations can act and interfere, in order to use it as an economic resource and security force for protecting the entity of the nation. One of the most important symbols of this physical training oriented youth policies of Turkey is 'May 19-The Commemoration of Ataturk, Youth and Sports Day". The celebration activities of that day are mainly based on parade and gymnastic displays of young people that symbolically represents the beginning of "Turkish War of Independence" which gives young people floor to show their commitment and devotion to the Republic.[83]

Male, 23 years old, university student

"I don't participate because I think the opportunities are very limited there. Why? Because when I participate, there are only one or two projects a year, and those projects do not appeal to me. And I see that they focus on certain things, like for example Youth Sports do something, a project that takes a year, it's about sport only and nothing else. Or take a trip project for example. There are only two options or three at most… It is limited, so it did not satisfy me, it's all sports sports sports …"

Many scholars (Dönmez and Enneli, 2011; Lüküslü, 2009; Yentürk 2007, 2008, İnanır, 2005; Kabacalı, 2007; Neyzi, 2001) evaluate the political engagement of young people in Turkey based on three fundamental periods. The first period starts with the foundation of the Republic and was interrupted by the military coup in 1980. During this period many young people were arrested, political parties and civil society organizations were closed while some of those young people were sentenced to death. This period has finalized with the regression of young people from political arena and the second period has begun in which young people are labelled by 'apolitical' youth. Finally in the last period, starting in the 2000s, young people have

[83] For an in-depth analysis of sports oriented youth policies of Turkey you may investigate the inspiring study of Demet Lüküslü. 2009. *Türkiye'de "Gençlik Miti"/"Youth Legend" in Turkey*. İletişim Yayınları.

started to appear in social and political life mainly by getting involved in voluntary activities through civil society organizations, but are rarely engaged in political parties. South-eastern Anatolia, as one of the least developed regions of Turkey in which political engagement is usually expected to be one of the lowest of all country, indicates almost the same ratios with nation-wide. As it was figured out in the previous sections, 'Youth's Status-*Gençlik Halleri'* Research of YADA Foundation (2008) reveals that only %4.7 of the young people were involved in political parties. Similarly, KONDA 'Youth Participation in Turkey Research' (2013) reveals that participation rates did not dramatically change, such as only %9 of the research participants are active members of political parties, or at least member of their youth branches.

In terms of the social and political participation of the first cluster, even if almost all of the young people are voting in the general elections; actively involved in the civil activities, youth projects or social protests; they consciously reject to be involved in the public spheres like youth councils or city councils. None of the young people from the first category have ever involved in any political party and they express that they have never been willing to get involved. Conversely, in terms of the question on whether they will participate in any right-based protest, they express their willingness to participate, if there is. Regarding the question on have they ever written a petition to local authorities, only one of the young men said yes, while the rest stressed that they have never intended to, due to the reason that they never believe that they would get a satisfactory concrete answer from the public institutions. **(See Appendix A, Table 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8).** Consequently, according to the answers that the first category express on political participation, their common approach contains important elements like consciously refusing to get involved in public institutions, political parties and also decision making mechanisms like youth councils of city councils by regarding them anti-democratic and unaccountable as well as blaming them implementing a symbolic means of participation.

Male, 24 years old, university student

"I do not participate because the City Council and Youth Parliament are in the hands of the youth department of the leading party. I do not partake because they impose their ideas and work in their own fields of interest with people of their own. Yes we were invited many times. We have friends who are involved there… But I never accepted the invitation, politely refused, thanking them for their interest but I did not want to participate. Because whoever has the municipality, the activities are controlled by them."

Lüküslü (2009) in her study on youth in Turkey argues that the youth keeps themselves away from politics for various reasons such as they think that 'politics' is contaminated and they think that politicians (and political parties as well) work for their own benefits instead of public well-being. Moreover, many scholars and researches on youth argue that the established political participation structures do not let young people to influence policies and decisions in real terms (Lüküslü, 2009; Loncle et al., 2012, Yentük, 2007; UNDP, 2008). Roger Hart (1997) in his study on young citizens and children's participation introduces a 'ladder of participation' to discuss different forms of participation. Hereunder, Hart argues that some levels/forms of participation can mean no participation at all, since in real terms they are not established with the intention of taking into consideration the recommendations of young people and regardingly proceed structural changes on policies. In the first three steps of the participation ladder, Hart regards young people's participation as "non-participation" by referring to 'manipulation', 'tokenism' and 'decoration'. The rest of the steps include increasing degrees of participation such as: 'assigned but informed' - 'consulted and informed' - 'adult-initiated, shared decisions with youth' – 'youth-initiated' – 'youth-initiated, shared decisions with adults'. Lüküslü (2009) also states that public institutions should blame old modes of political mechanisms which exclude the youth from participation instead of labelling youth as 'depoliticized'.

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

(About Youth Council of the Local Municipality): Well I used to go, how, you know, like visiting them. We were in the youth and culture house. We went there as well, to discuss what and how we could do something. But it did not happen … I mean if you ask why, it's because on paper even elections there worked differently. There is a candidate. Ok, there is an election but that candidate is always elected anyway. That is interesting. Election of the same candidate all the time costs difference of opinions. For me at least. I think yeah ok, the name is known, so the votes will be given to him. Everyone votes for him… But I follow them on Facebook. They make good parties …(laughs)… in cafes.

In the last 15 years, internet, and mainly social media tools has become one of the most important digital public spheres for young people in terms of their political, social and cultural participation and access to information. Collin (2015) argues that with respect to the 'network society' non-governmental organizations has become prominent policy actors and digital media is progressively opening up a space, especially for young people regarding their political participation.

Access to internet has also been asked to observe whether internet makes a difference considering their level of cultural, social and political participation or access to information. In this sense, even if the young people do not dramatically differentiate in terms of their use of internet, it was seen that all of the young people who belong to the first category have been following news portals, social media channels and also search for daily news on internet, while other categories mainly use internet with the purpose of being socialized **(Table 3.9, 3.10)**. Indeed, young people of the first category use social media tools to be informed about recent political agenda and social developments, as well as current youth activities. Nevertheless, none of the respondents states that they found out the existence of Youth and Culture House from internet or social media accounts, but they have participated by the advice of their close friends of relatives.

Table 3.9- How often young people use internet in a week by the categories of the respondents

		How many times a week do you use Internet?					Total
		Less than 1 hour in a week	2-3 hours in a week	Less than 1 hour everyday	2-3 hours everyday	More than 3 hours everyday	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	2	3	1	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	3	2	2	2	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	1	5	3	3	0	12
Total		3	10	8	6	2	29

Table 3.10- The websites young people visit by the categories of the respondents

		Facebook	Twitter	Google	News Portals	E-mails
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	6	2	5	6	5
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	11	3	10	9	5
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	9	0	11	9	5
Total		26	5	26	24	15

While talking about digital media that young people usually visits, one of the respondents, at first, did not want to pronounce one of the web sites that he usually visits, but then express that he is following 'Fırat News Agency' which was one of

the banned news portals that broadcast news in Kurdish. Later than he explained one of his unfavourable memories on how his access to this news site was restricted by the university administration:

Male, 23 years old, university student

"No I mean the access at school was denied for this website... in my university I couldn't access. In fact the university seized and reset my computer twice … because of the websites I accessed. Formatted it. Finally, I had to leave my computer here in Mardin …"

Regarding to the open-ended questions on how young people visualize citizenship, as a common disposition, young people who belong to the first category mostly express that they do not feel themselves as equal citizens of the Turkish Republic, primarily because of their Kurdish ethnic origin.

According to the statements of the participants one of the most important turning points for young people on the recognition of the state is their humiliating experience of being discriminated by virtue of their native language. While answering the open-ended questions about the definition of citizenship, most of the young men have shared their memories in primary school about their first encounter with insulting attitude of Turkish speaking teachers. Another important breakup was experienced due to the systematic violence and insult by security forces and discrimination during recruitment process in the public institutions. Almost all of them stress that just because of this discrimination they had experienced, citizenship does not make any sense for them.

Male, 24 years old, university student

"Citizenship … Very discordant word for me, I don't know why. May because it does not make me feel citizen-like or allegiance. I was beaten up by police many times for speaking Kurdish, and since the police and soldiers are the citizens of this country, I do not want to be put in the same category with them. I mean I remember being beat up by the same cop for three years just because I spoke in Kurdish. The expression 'Türkiyeli' (from Turkey) appeals more to me. And the word 'Anadolu' (Anatolia) is even better. I like even more being the child of this country.

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

"When I opened my eyes – I mean when I started going to school – I was beaten. Until 3rd grade. Well, because you are a citizen but you could not speak the language of the country. You have to speak the language of the country you are a citizen of. Turkish language. Isn't that the greatest challenge, the greatest difficulty? I was constantly beaten up. In the morning, my mother used to wake me up early for school. I used to hide in the neighbourhood, telling I was late, you see... My mother used to beat me up for that. Both my mother and the teacher at school. My mother for not going to school, my teacher for going to school …"

Kadıoğlu (2008) argues that Turkish Nation state was constructed from above by the Republican Elite by means of certain measures derived from six principles of *nationalism, secularism, populism, republicanism, etatism* and *revolutionism*. Hence, the main principles of Turkish Republic have ascribed more responsibilities than rights, given the priority for 'ensuring public order and the defence of country'. This responsibility which was attributed to the all citizens of Turkey includes intellectual challenges while people from different ethnic origins, minorities, socialists, communists etc. were seen as the ones who threaten the unity of the nation state. Dönmez (2011) argues that as in fascist regimes, the state is perceived as the primary representative of the society and thus, the aim of the police and military is defined as the continuation of the nation-building as well as homogenous, classless nation.

Murat Somer (in Keyman, 2007) argues that people living in Turkey- both with no Kurdish back ground and Kurds has been experiencing a period of significant ethnic differentiation and systematic discrimination in a discursive and cognitive sense. In this respect, in order to better examine the Kurdish question we should focus on the ideational characteristics of Turkish modernization. Somer, argues that these characteristics include authoritarian, state-centric, diversity-phobic, assimilationist and interchangeably ethnic-exclusive and civic-inclusive (but ethnic-blind) elements and values. The main features of this state-centred ideology are generated on a public-political discourse that completely left out Kurdish language and identity.

Accordingly, regarding the following questions on self-identification about "being a citizen in Turkey", almost all of the young people emphasized the vital importance of pluralism regarding the legal formation and perception of citizenship. All of the

young people of the first category, in terms of their civil rights, strictly disagrees with the statement that "regardless of their ethnic origin and religious beliefs, every citizen are equal in the eyes of public institutions and equally treated" **(Table 3.11)**

Table 3.11- *Likert Scale questions*- "I think that, regardless of ethnic origin and religious beliefs, every citizen are equal in the eyes of public institutions and equally treated" by the categories of the respondents

		I think that, regardless of ethnic origin and religious beliefs, every citizen are equal in the eyes of public institutions and equally treated				
		Strictly agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	Total
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	2	4	6

Male, 24 years old, university student

"As a 'Türkiyeli' (from Turkey)I can have a sense of citizenship when individuals in this country in different regions can get along despite differences in society, language, religion, race, I mean only then, only in such environment I can say yes I am a citizen. Only when I am not intercepted walking down the street in Kırşehir, or when I am not beaten up in Yozgat, only then I can call myself a citizen of this country."

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

"…For example, in the 90s, or may be in 1999 or 2001, can't remember exactly, there was a period when you could become a policeman if you were Kurdish, despite the fact that you are a citizen of Turkish Republic. Let me tell you an incident that happened to a friend of mine: he goes to Diyarbakır for an interview, interview to become a policeman. Someone says you nose is crooked. His points were good, the interview went well so far, and then someone says that his nose is crooked. Apparently, they were looking for an excuse to dismiss him, so they came up with a crooked nose idea. Your nose is crooked they say. Because he is Kurdish. So my friend was dismissed because he had a "crooked nose". The word citizenship is void here. But if you were a Swiss citizen for instance, you would have the same rights with anyone from Switzerland. So I do not know how right this is, but no one labelled me, when I went to Switzerland. When I was there for the first time, I went to my cousin's … estate. I was so surprised, astonished even. There were so many flags like this. On the balconies of the apartments. Everyone hang their flag. I was astonished.."

Based on the right claims of Kurds through inevitably antagonistic policies, Arakon (in Dönmez and Enneli, 2011), Yeğen (2007) and Olson (1996) argue that there has emerged an emotional distance and societal rupture between Turks and Kurds in Turkey as well as systematic exclusion from public institutions. It is not wrong to argue that cultural, social and economic participation of Kurdish youth has been restricted mainly by the assimilationist and oppressive policies of the Turkish Republic. The most challenging obstacles towards social and cultural participation of Kurdish people have remained to be the lack of right to education in the mother tongue, freedom of expression in Kurdish, or right to speak Kurdish without any practical obstacle. Beside structural obstacles, social discrimination is another vital problem that the Kurdish people have been experiencing in their daily interaction with society by being labelled as 'terrorists' and 'betrayers'. The scholars further argue that the resolution of this distance and rupture could only be possible by finding a new paradigm of citizenship in Turkey which suggests a new model of civic rights such as non-discrimination on religious, linguistic, cultural and political levels.

With respect to the open-ended questions on how they define their citizenship rights & duties and youth rights, it is clearly observed that young people in the first cluster are aware of their citizenship rights and they have a common sense on patterns of abuse of these rights. Furthermore, they can distinguish the particular rights of young people while they have a clear awareness on the idea that the negative and positive rights such as free access to health, education, employment, sheltering, leisure time activities are not favour, but their rights, which should be compensated by the social state. The level of following the daily political agenda and internet is high among this category. Most of them are following daily news, news portals on Internet, however do not prefer to watch television.

Male, 24 years old, university student

"I always read newspapers. There are always new books about the agenda, which is my area of interest, not literary books. I buy those and read, read the political pieces, books that provide insight, like 5 years ago, 5 years after, 20 years after etc.. And I read magazines. Always follow the news on the internet when I can. I spend my time on internet, I do not watch TV much, so I cannot say that I follow the agenda from TV."

They have a clear political standing about the necessity of provision of adequate social rights. Due to the fact that almost all of them are university students or graduates, the possible impact of being a university student or undergraduate should also not be underestimated by taking into account the impact of social mobility.

According to the citizenship perception almost all of them have high level of consciousness on their civil rights and they evaluate the deficiencies of capabilities as the lack of sufficient welfare state provisions and region specific social policies. The lack of sufficient social rights, as being the fundamental complementary aspects of social, political and cultural participation, mainly results with social exclusion of the young people.

According to the youth rights of Turkey one of the young women declares that even if the social rights are not insufficient there is significant problems in the implementation process of the policies and elimination of the gender discrimination towards young women.

"For example young people are unable to express themselves. It's not enough. That is the biggest problem for young people, they cannot do what they want to do. The environment is insufficient in most places. Even if they have enough rights, those rights are not implemented properly. Especially for girls … I mean in the east, most families treat girls differently when it comes to school. They think, why bother, she is going to get married and bring up children anyway. School is of no use is the prevailing opinion there, in villages or elsewhere. Even here. For example families think our daughter is going to get married anyway, she does not need to earn her own dime, why bother. This idea is wrong, we realize that but too late, we realize it too late. This side of the things is bad."

While defining this negative approach towards the state, they emphasize concrete statements on rights and duties. Education in native language, access to social assistance, prevention of discrimination, freedom of speech, right to organization, freedom of assembly are some of the civil, political and social rights they underline that they are deprived of. Almost all of the young people, that belong to the first category, strictly disagrees with the statements on sufficient provision of civil and political rights such as sufficiently being informed on their citizenship rights (as a political right), feeling as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic, having equal rights

and freedom as well as put a great emphasis on education in native language **(See Appendix A; table 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17)**

On the other hand, some of the young people define the concept 'citizen' as *the one who claim and even fight for their rights and the one who protects other citizens rights* as well.

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

"I mean the word 'citizen' should mean someone who claim's his rights and defends those whose rights are violated, a good citizen I mean … Being a citizen means claiming one's rights. I mean what am I if I don't seek, claim my rights. I mean claiming the right is not just screaming and calling out …

As Faulks (2000) argues, in the liberal tradition, rights gives space to individuals to fulfil their interests and potential free from other individuals and from the community as a whole; and the first liberal theorists such as Locke and Paine, emphasizes that individuals needed to be protected from the growing power of the state. On the other hand, regarding the definition of citizenship, Faulks also implies that citizenship may have different dimensions such as formal and substantive citizenship, in which many ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in relation to both. While, *'formal citizenship'* refers a legal sense of being a member of a nation state, *'substantive citizenship'* covers a more inclusive rights of welfare, regardless of having a legal status. Brubaker (1992, in Faulks 2000) argues that many minority ethnic groups face exclusion in terms of both formal membership and substantive rights due to racist policies or because of their different cultural/religious practices differing from an idealised and national norm.

With respect to the provision of both their political rights covering 'individual freedoms' and social rights, which represent positive rights that includes the capacity of preventing social inequality within society and minimise diversities between class, gender, race, disability, age etc., the young citizens living in Mardin with Kurdish origin, feel discriminated and hindered from their civil, political and social rights. Dönmez (2011) argues that the citizenship regime in Turkey and political monopoly in the public sphere that was mainly built on state-led nationalism has not allowed

the emergence of free political participation, active citizenship and polarization of the political sphere.[84]

According to the civil activism and civil society organizations that were supported by the public authorities in Turkey, they also criticize the independency of the civil society organizations and underline the vitality of the existence of opponent CSOs who could fight against rights abuses and who could claim for their acquired rights. They develop a citizenship definition by emphasizing the rights that were guaranteed by international treaties that Turkey also has signed.

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate

"In Turkey, when you speak of civil society organizations what comes into mind is chamber of commerce, chamber of industry, body of lawyers, etc. But they are not. These are the substructures of the political structure, business people sheltered in the shadow of the politics. Or in the shadows of the politicians. They are all connected. None of their protests actually affect anything. And none of the works are effective either. Like something happens, some civil society organization in Diyarbakır protests something under some body of lawyers. Or blah blah protested blah blah under Confederation of Public Labourers' Union. There is no such world. I mean not all groups. If only one group coordinates its actions with its city organizations, many things would changed in this country. We couldn't prevent Tekel, we couldn't prevent Telekom, we couldn't prevent Tedaş. We couldn't prevent anything. We couldn't prevent hydro electrical plants. We couldn't prevent anything. We do not have this sense of union, because we are not civil. Civil society organizations are not civil."[85]

Considering particular social/youth rights that should be provided to the youth in Turkey, the young people belong to the first category strictly underlines concrete social provisions that were also identified in the international arena, like European Union and United Nations, for equal integration of young people into the society. In

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[84] Besides highlighting the ethnic identity problems within citizenship discussions, this study does not particularly aim to jump in Kurdish question debates. For more information, the following articles&books might be examined:

Yeğen, Mesut (2007). "Turkish Nationalism and Kurdish Problem". Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 30, No.1, pp. 119-151

Yeğen, Mesut (1999). Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu. İletişim Yayınları; ***Arakon, Maya***. "The Making of Modern Turkey and the Structuring of Kurkish Identity". Societal Peace and Ideal Citizenship. Dönmez & Enneli (2011). pp 49-69.

[85] 'Türk Telekom' is the biggest telecommunication enterprise of Turkey which was established by the Turkish state. In 2013, the company has experinced one of the massive strike with the participation of all its labourers with the right claim for wage increase.

this respect, particularly the lack of sufficient economic support like scholarship or special social assistance for disadvantaged families, many young people in Mardin have been engaged to precarious occupations since their very early ages. On the other hand, most of the young participants express that even if they win the university entrance exam they could hardly afford to move to another city just because of insufficient sheltering/dormitory opportunities. Considering the social rights in terms of special social provisions for young people they reflect that, merely it shall be enough for Turkey to implement the requirements of the international treaties that Turkey has already signed. Apparently, what is more important than the provision of social rights is that they face double discrimination both as a young and a Kurdish citizen.

The international reports and treaties explicitly mention that investing in youth actually means fulfilment of youth rights, welfare entitlements and/or work infrastructure. In European countries these welfare entitlements are usually defined by White Paper, by specific recommendations which drive the main vital means of social inclusion. In this respects, since decades this open method of coordination for the mainstreaming of youth issues discusses the importance of equal participation of youth into social, economic and political life by the provision of special assistance like 'right to education', 'right to accommodation', 'right to movement', 'rights to participation in the decision making mechanisms', 'free access to health services' etc. **(Loncle, Cuconato, Muniglia and Walter; 2012).** The lack of these special social provisions, almost in every country results in social exclusion and subordination of young people.

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate

"It would be sufficient to implement the articles of the declaration of human rights and children rights. Anyone younger than 18 years old is a child, but in this country, children start working at the age of 8. This country is flooded with street children. It is flooded with Institutions for Protection of Children. It is flooded with glue-sniffers, homeless people. There are civil society organizations that work in these fields. This country spends trillions on flower decorations in Istanbul, but unable to build a shelter for street children. It would be sufficient to implement the articles of the declaration of human rights and children rights.

Right of education, right of language, right of shelter, health rights, safety rights … If those were applied that would be enough... It would e enough to implement the basic human rights."

"…For example in universities, before we could do anything about equal education rights, undercover policemen, counter-terrorism units were already waiting there. There was no permission, no place. Normally this is your right, to gather, to talk, to inform the press or to protest something within the territory of the university campus, it is your right to be able to do so, but there was no permission. The number of police is greater than the number of students… There were more of them than us …"

In 1970's, after the 2nd military coup in the history of Turkish Republic, Turkey has witnessed to one of the severe intervention of military to political parties and youth movements derived within these political parties and universities. The political struggle between young people from different political views and in universities has been abolished by the harsh intervention of security forces and military, and even resulted with the execution of many young people. In the following years this harsh intervention has turned into a systematic control and oppression mechanism through security forces settled in especially universities.

Male, 25 years old, university student in a city different from Mardin;

"Among those services for example, the right of education, it is very important. Right of education does not only mean to go to school and enter classes, it also has a financial aspect. Because how much is the state scholarship? 260 TL. Now how can anyone living in Istanbul or in any other city live on 260 Tl per month... I mean my rent is 600 TL and I live alone right now. I am student. Now I cannot hand out this house. It's a matter of time before school starts. I mean now when you say right of education, it does not mean merely going to school etc… there is the financial aspect of this.

"Our other rights for example. In my opinion, the young people should have the right to ***wander and travel****. Like the right to go somewhere in certain periods, with the budget allocated for example. Also... In my opinion, young people should also be in the Parliament. Because there is such a thing as to think young, you know…. Like thinking young, in the time given, like our ancestors used to say, these are young, they do not think… well that's not true, the youth in their time was very different from the youth of our time, the ideas are different. For this reason I think the Parliament must have a group of young people in it."*

As it is also revealed in the findings of 'Youth Participation in Turkey' Research of KONDA (2013), one out of every three young people express that they cannot afford to survive even one day without the financial support of their family. More importantly %70 of the young people is living with their families. Including the ones who are living with their relatives it is observed that at least four young people out of every five are living with their families and/or close relatives. The research reveals that family is one of the most important belonging of the young people in their life. In many cases, this interdependence results with economic and ideological dependency as well as moral obligations. This situation creates a fundamental barrier behind their free thought and emancipation. On the other hand, of the top priority needs of young people are aligned as financial supports/scholarship, sufficient sheltering, freedom of movement and right to association.

One of the young participants from the first category takes our attention on how young people especially who are willing to go to university, are obliged to cooperate with the dormitories or schools of some ideological groups (such as fellows of famous 'Gulen community') just because of the lack of sufficient accommodation opportunities.

Male, 25 years old, university student in a city different from Mardin;

*"**(About his friend staying in religious community dormitory)** This guy was, well, he was staying in those religious community dorms… so they exiled him, just because he was actively participating in civil society organizations, joining meetings in different places, so they exiled him. They told him how could you participate, I mean the man could, why do you care, right? Now why is the man staying there? Well, simply because he has no money to stay anywhere else. He has financial limits, and the religious community has its financial powers … So, if the **sheltering opportunities** were sufficient, then no one would be forced in places like that, forced to bear such ideas. I mean he is young person, he has rights too. So why would he be forced by the circumstances and manipulated by others, I mean why is there such environment."*[86]

[86] *Especially in the last 20 years, also throughout the rulling of the current AKP government, the famous conservative Gulen movement (which is also known as *"Fethullahcilar"* or *"the followers of Fethullah"*) has appeared in both political and public sphere. The movement owns and runs more than 100 schools and training centres in which young people are taught about catechism as well as respect to their families and nation (Aras and Caha, 2000)

Male, 20 years old, preparing for university exams, working in the cafeteria of Youth and Culture House

"About young people; let me start with them. The state does not have like a budget or something idea allocated to us … Other than that, because I am Kurdish … As an individual I am Kurdish and I do not think that the state defends me much. Because I do not think that the rights of Kurdish people are implemented much and I do not think that the state represents me."… "The scholarship is not enough, healthcare is not enough, transportation conditions are not enough; for example a woman travelling alone would have problems; art activities are not enough, and even if there are some, people from the province cannot attend because of the transportation problems …"

Male, 24 years old, graduate student

"Education, the right of education in native language. This is the biggest thing I expect after all these. The right of education in native language is very important. Social rights, social security are important. Economic security is very very important because if you are a person living in this country a citizen, how do they say it, if you want to philosophize, you stomach must be full, your back must be sheltered. There must be economic values, the economy must be good. Then the civil society organizations must be set free. Protests must be allowed, without police violence or any other political violence. More democracy classes, like from elementary or primary school, even from birth you know, in the family. That is, these are what I want from the state."

In terms of the open-ended question on 'duties of the state towards citizens' almost all of the young people of the first category strongly mention the necessity of provision of their civil and political rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly right to be informed, as well as provision of sufficient social rights sensitive to the needs of different regions.

Janoski (1998) who has developed a framework of citizenship rights and obligations which both criticizes and extends the content of Marshall's typology, argues that the emancipatory aspect of rights and obligations stands crucial with respect to assurance of liberties and rights within every social group of the community. For instance, having respect to other's rights to liberty, protesting and overthrowing governments that violate rights, following political laws and regulations can be regarded as primary obligations of citizens in order to ensure common wealth and equity. Furthermore, within the scope of the obligations paying taxes for the continuation of

social provisions, contributing to insurance-based funds, respecting laws, maintaining a safe and clean environment, tolerating social diversity stands complementary while considering together with citizenship rights.

In contradiction with its emancipatory aspect, obligations may also be the source of exploitation and exclusion in cases of denial or in cases of security. Serving in military service, respect and cooperate with police in assuring legal rights may be misused by governments according to their territorial objectives or hegemonic state ideologies which may exclude diversities or different groups. In this sense, obligations that are diversely defined and implemented in every particular welfare regime may contradict with the individual rights and limits the emancipatory aspect of rights and duties.

In this respect, interviews with the young people of the first category obviously reveal their distrust against the state policies and its transparency in terms of the implementation of rights, government and participation in the decision making mechanisms. Young people requests for transparency in terms of the use of public funds as well as transparency in the implementation of consultation and decision making mechanisms.

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate

"Transparency would have people, citizens to not have questions about the state. Only if transparency. Accountability as well. The deals, contracts."

Male, 24 years old, university student

"What it needs to do is...to listen… and care about the people and their thoughts, to care about them a little more."

Male, 25 years old, university graduate, film director

"You could count many things, but the first would be setting free,. To do what they will to do. I mean, now that we are talking about native language, let me tell you something, it should be said at least you know, speak your own language. Opening schools is not as important at this point as speaking native language. People should be able to, you know, because in the 90s, people were beaten up for not speaking Turkish, for speaking Kurdish."

Male, 20 years old, preparing for university exams, working in the cafeteria

"There should be more opportunities for education, a peaceful environment… If they ask 10 things from me, they should provide me with 10 things… Healthcare services, social activities, cinema, theatre must be provided. Transportation services for the entire city, provided and inspected, with consideration of environmental rights, I mean the nature has rights, just as humans do…"

While describing the duties of citizens towards state and society, young people of first category inevitably referred again the insufficient provision of rights of citizens and stresses that before expecting the fulfilment of duties the state should accomplish its duties towards their citizens.

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate

"If the state fulfils all of its obligations, so will the citizens. I mean citizens do their duty anyway. They go to death for an unknown cause when they are enlisted in military service. They pay taxes that they are unaware of, that go God knows where. These poor citizens do not even object to the state. I mean the citizens fulfil their duties regardless of the state, good or bad. Because they have to."… "It would be enough to implement the children rights and human rights. The state's responsibility against its citizens is to serve. The state must embrace the idea that it exists for the people. State is for the people, but in this country we kept saying praise the state, praise the state and now we don't have a proper state or people left. All over the world, the states exist for the people, but here, the people exist for the state. We kept using cliché phrases for state's survival and now we cannot talk, we cannot gather, cannot communicate and we cannot understand each other. Problem, problem, problem, problem. No. No state is more holy than the people."

In terms of the questions on duties of citizens, almost all of the young people agreed with the idea that voting in the general and local elections is the primary essential duty of the citizens. However many of them disagree with the statement on political rights that voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties, while some of them stay neutral **(See Appendix A; table 3.19, 3.20).** Even though they are accusing public authorities as being inadequate for the provision of particularly political and social rights, they strongly emphasize the importance of active involvement of citizens into the social life through civil society organizations or their everyday life. They all underline the significance of being a responsible

citizen for the resolution of social problems. With respect to the statements about political rights and duties "**following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed", "generating solutions is a civic responsibility"**, **"participating into the volunteer activities for a more equal society" and ensuring social peace as a citizenship duty"**, young people of the first category strongly believe in the power of individuals and civil society for ensuring a peaceful society and equal distribution of welfare provisions **(See Appendix A; table 3.21, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25)**. Moreover, they also overemphasize the role civil society organizations in the construction of an equal society **(See Appendix A; table 3.22).**

Male, 25 years old, university student in a city different from Mardin;

"….I think that if the protests and ideas are communicated to the state or to the people or institutions in opposition, it will be resolved. Because the masses exist that cannot be underestimated, so it will be resolved. I mean it's not one or 2 persons, its 30 million people let's say. If we worked as individuals, as unions, civil society organizations – and they do work – I mean if we continue to work then some social issues will be resolved. These social problems are not only political, and they shouldn't be… Let's take the violence against women… Civil society organizations with their protests and actions can actually prevent this violence, as a society as an individual. So it's not political, not really."

This active involvement of young citizens does not completely cover the statements of state policies in which the limits and structure of participation is defined by. While the participants took much of the active participation of citizens, they strongly reject the public means of political and social participation just because of their antidemocratic structure. As it was also discussed in the previous paragraphs of this section, young people are more enthusiastic for alternative ways of political engagement such as participating into protests and being members of NGOs. While they are standing against the state policies that regulates the limits of their active participation, almost none of them desire to participate in political parties.

France (2007) argues that "active citizenship" was a popular concept of 1990's conservative governments to increase young people's 'active citizenship' as a part of the process of becoming adult citizens through free acceptance of voluntary obligations to the community. On the other hand, governments had failed to ensure

the active participation of young people into the society since obligations and responsibilities did not attached to the provision of individual rights on an equal basis. In this respect, France (2007) defines active citizenship as a 'deficit model' which gives little attention to the rights and criticizes the general understanding of active citizenship that regards young people as irresponsible citizens and in need of attention. Nevertheless the origin of active citizenship was derived from its opposite (on the contrary of passive citizenship), the ideological definition of being active was diversified and recognized by political theory as well. Being politically active, within its conventional definition, refers to participating into the legal public means of decision making mechanisms, like general elections, local and national decision making mechanisms; while contemporary and unconventional means of participation, within a wider approach, includes protests, social movements and political participation through civil society organizations **(Norris, 2002).** However, these unconventional ways of political participation are not always welcomed by the public authorities and political elites while being regarded as disloyalty towards the state. Various studies reflects that contemporary political participation approaches has witnessed to a significant transform from traditional passive political participation, to protests and demonstrations and new social movements and participation in the new forms of civil society organizations **(Dönmez & Enneli, 2011; France, 2007, Loncle et al., 2012; Lüküslü, 2009; Norris, 2002)**. Demet Lüküslü, in her study on "Youth Legend in Turkey"[87] stresses that in contrast with the common opinion on the passiveness of youth, particularly after the strong effect of 1980 military intervention, she does not regard youth in Turkey as apolitical. According to the interviews that have been made with 80 young people between the ages of 18 and 25, Lüküslü argues that young people are not living in an imaginary world by the promises of market economy; on the contrary, they are afraid of being unemployed, to be cracked and to get sick in a country where social security services are insufficient. Above all, the outputs of the research brings out that the attitude of young people that has been regarded as apoliticism, may be a political standing.

By giving reference to political participation debates, the political standing of young

[87] **Lüküslü, Demet.** 2009. *Türkiye'de "Gençlik Miti", 1980 sonrası Türkiye Gençliği*. İletişim Yayıncılık. İstanbul

people of the first category directly corresponds with the contemporary approach of political participation which excludes traditional way of participation while welcomes genuine ways of participation.

Lastly, I believe that this impressive and staggering quotation below, devastatingly summarizes the assimilationist and exclusionist policies of the state towards ethnic minorities and intensive reaction of the young people towards state policies who has a high level of ethnic consciousness.

Male, 24 years old, graduate student

"The contradiction of being human, the contradiction of economical life, the contradiction of religious life. For example no one is able to live their faith and their values in full. No one who is a citizen of Turkish Republic. I don't think they can. Some of it is just for the show or just pretending. I see these as some kind of pretending. I mean living in Turkey is pretending, playing a game. If you are a citizen of Turkey, you play game in Turkey, you pretend. I mean you cannot make things tangible. You cannot turn abstract values tangible. And even if you try, you face a force against you. You are prevented from doing it. May be I am pessimistic about it, but I think this just a tip of the iceberg, there is so much more beneath these. The things I had to face in this life, my current situation, like I said before, I have no identity, I am abstract. I cannot make anything tangible, no value no feeling. And because of that I am not a healthy individual in the society you know, because I cannot make it tangible. Perhaps in the beginning, when I started this survey, this was the reason for my interest in social services. You know, like finding my personhood, or to make decisions. Not the search for true identity, not like leaving adolescence, nothing like that. This is one of the crimes committed by Turkey, an abstract murder. This is what it's like to be a citizen in Turkey.

4.3.2 Second Category: Different Dynamics of Social, Political and Cultural Participation Related to the Political Belonging of the Young People

In terms of the **social and political participation of youth classified under Category 2,** both on local and national scale, participation in decision making mechanisms, participation in civil society organizations, youth projects, political parties, city councils and youth councils, and participation in social protests has been asked. The second cluster is composed of 11 young males who are politically close to the conservative ruling party and who appreciates the government's policies in terms of social emancipation and economic growth. The young people of the second category are actively involved into the activities and courses of both Youth and Culture House and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport and concerning these youth centres as a source of socialization and self-improvement. This socialization and self-improvement process is deeply related with their cultural participation; hence different from the first category, young people who are clustered under second category recognizes Youth and Culture House and Youth Centre of Youth and Sport as a resource for enhancing their social and cultural capital.

As it is in the other categories, there is no remarkable difference between the young people in terms of their socio-economic status, educational and occupational level; however, young people of the first category are more engaged in university education different from the other categories. Regarding to their educational level, 6 of them is high school graduate, one of the young people is getting prepared for the university exams and 3 of them are university students.

Most of them have never participated in youth exchange projects, trainings or activities of other civil society organizations; however they have been regularly participating into the courses or social activities like youth or street art festivals. As a general disposition almost all of the young people clustered under **Category 2,** have participated in leisure time activities and vocational courses like folk dancing, sports, computer and information technology course, foreign language courses etc. In terms of the cultural participation of the young people of second category, they perceive the activities of Youth and Culture Houses as a source of skill improvement to get ready for labour market as well as to find a regular job. Four of the respondents

declared that they have their trainer certificate from Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport as a 'folk dance trainer' and started to work as a full-time folk-dance trainer in Community Centres. Nevertheless, participation in the vocational courses of KOSGEB[88] is low among all categories. Only one participant has involved into the vocational courses from the 1st category, while 2 young people from the 2nd category have only participated before **(table 3.2).** Their participation in the youth activities of civil society organizations, trainings on right based issues and international youth exchange projects is quite low **(table 3.3)**

Male, 23 years old, folk dance trainer in Public Education Centre

"Now, my cousin has been Switzerland's best salesperson, marketing specialist for the last 4 years. I remember the day he came to the youth house for the first time. In the youth house, he met one of our friends and decided to get involved in tourism, tourism marketing. He left school, did not go to university, said that he is going to become a tourism marketer. He achieved it through one person he met at the youth house. Now he has been Switzerland's best salesperson for the last 4 years. Miss Pınar that he met at the youth house, was a former manager of the youth house, she sent him to Antalya. There he started his career. He says from time to time: 'I am who I am today because of Miss Pınar. I came to the youth house, met her.' Right now my childhood friend opened a hairdresser shop in Istanbul in Şirinevler. When we first went to the youth house, when we were young

"A friend of mine, F. was coming to the youth house, walking with a rosary. The way he walked, the way he talked, behaved all of it seem so confident, but to tell the truth, it was due to his insecurities. He displayed to much confidence. He was coming to the youth house, but people were acting distant towards him. Because he seem tough, you know, his behaviour, he seemed tough kid. Now we meet in Istanbul from time to time, and he says that the youth house brought him where he is right now. He established business in Istanbul, but in those years when he was coming to the youth house, he was kind of rough you know, not in the house but in his life, tough and rough. But the youth house made him transparent you know, he tells me all the time, that now he has a business of his own, but then he wasn't like that, the youth house changed him. There are many examples."

[88] **Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization**; http://www.kosgeb.gov.tr/Pages/UI/Default.aspx

Table 3.3- Participation of the young people into "Youth Projects of National Agency", "International youth exchange projects", "Youth projects of civil society organizations", "Trainings on right based issues", by the categories of the respondents

		Youth Projects of National Agency	International youth exchange projects	Youth projects of civil society organizations	Trainings on right based issues
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	2	4	5	5
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	1	2	1
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	2	2	3
Total		4	7	9	9

Table 3.2- Participation of the young people into Courses, Vocational Courses of KOSGEB, Street Art Festival and GAP-Genç Festival implemented by Youth and Culture Houses, by the categories of the respondents

		Courses	Vocational Courses of KOSGEB	Street Art Festival	GAP-Genç Youth Festival
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	5	1	4	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	2	8	6
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	12	0	4	5
Total		27	3	16	17

Along with the vocational courses and job opportunities, almost all of the young people of the second category underline the positive impact of Youth and Culture Houses and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport on their self-confidence, socialization and tolerance to diversities. They mainly recognize Youth and Culture

House as a place where they "came out of their shell" and engage confidently in social and cultural life. This positive impact which is emphasized by almost all of the respondents from all categories reflects the negative impacts of conservative elements of society and state policies on youth and how contemporary youth activities enables environment for social and cultural participation of young people.

Male, 23 years old, folk dance trainer in Public Education Centre

"In the Youth House we used participate in almost everything. Volunteered you know… Together, I mean, there were competitions, so we went. And then we started enjoying it you know. How? Let me give you an example. There isn't much to do in Mardin, like really not much. I mean it's like if you are young, you go to an estaminet, coffee house, or to an internet cafe, not many activities to participate in. So the Youth House gave us alternative, like guitar classes, baglama classes, English courses, folk dancing and so much more. It gave us all these and we enjoyed it."

Male, 24 years old, folk dance trainer in Public Education Centre

"What changed… Before coming here I was like, I'll go here, there, but not with anyone, or anywhere where I could be seen… But after I started coming here, I became more social, started to express myself; talking to friends and people I did not know; to teachers for instance… I also started participating in courses, like I learned a foreign language a little. I learned folk dancing; found out a bit about theatre. I thing festivals are also good things for young people to come together…"

As it is revealed in the White Paper that was developed by the European Commission youth participation in social and economic life is much more related to creating favourable conditions for young people to develop their skills and participate actively into the society for the sound economic and social development.[89] On the other hand it is also underlined that youth participation in democratic institutions and decision making mechanisms is essential to the sound functioning of democracies and the sustainability of policies.

In terms of the questions that were raised to comprehend the change on their social participation, such *as "how would you like to evaluate the changes/impacts of youth*

[89] **Loncle, Cuconato, Muniglia and Walter**. 2012. Youth Participation in Europe; Beyod Discourses, Practices and Realities, Great Britain

projects implemented under Youth and Culture Houses and Youth Centres" upon you?", almost all of the respondents declared that they have been released of their prejudices towards people which they previously labelled as 'different' or 'uncommon' and they also express their satisfaction about meeting with different people. On the other hand, no any further improvement is observed regarding being politically active or the level of consciousness on their social or youth rights. They comprehend Youth and Culture House as the only place for the socialization of youth in Mardin and do not claim more than the Youth and Culture House as well as Youth Centre can offer.

Male, 18 years old, high school graduate; waiter in Mardin Cafe Life

"After joining this place… I, for example, was never involved with people using drugs or anything, I mean if I heard that someone from my circle was using, I would just distance myself, you know. I wouldn't deal with them you know, wouldn't tell them not to, wouldn't tell them that they were doing something wrong, wouldn't warn them. After joining this group I realized that I could talk to anyone. I realized that they were just like us, you know, waking up in the morning, go to sleep at night, eating and stuff. But they made different choices. Or you know, I realized that there were people with different sexual choices, you see them, communicate with them. You tolerate. For me the most tangible example would be tolerating different ideas."

Male, 21 years old, getting prepare for university

"Let me tell you something. Being the young in Mardin, asking us about the sufficiency of activities or how could it be, we starve for these so we do not have a standard yet. So I cannot really say if the activities are sufficient or not, because we do not have a standard, nothing to compare... No, but how could I explain this, you see, to be 21 in the east you need to be 40 years old. Some say, how to put it well, like "I am 20, but I feel 70 inside". I am not exaggerating, I am 21 years old, but I feel like I am 33. Like I said, I've been working since I was 9 years old, spending the weekends here. Then, I don't know, I get emotional talking about this."

Regarding to the open-ended questions on how they perceive and describe citizenship, as a common disposition, most of them were not able to emphasize concrete statements on rights and duties. They mainly express a definition not as a status but mainly as a membership, while underlining a sense of belonging to a particular place and culture.

Male, 21 years old, preparing for the university exams

"Countryman… I mean like people, nation, countrymen of the same land, of a country… Like born in that country, routing for that country. Those who were born here but live outside the country. These come to mind…"

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout

"Well, countrymen I guess, like people who live in the same country. When you say citizen, the entire world comes to mind. Everyone is a citizen. I don't want to go further.

"To be honest, it is a bit difficult to be a citizen in Turkey. I guess it is better not to be identified as such. I mean taxes, unemployment, these are being citizen. It is hard, and it's hardly equal. I wish we could be like EU citizens you know, without strings pulled. Right now anyone with money can pull strings. Or those who have people to pull stings for them. But those who don't have those are the people you know. The citizens of Turkey. But countryman concept is different, like for example we were so happy to see a Turkish person on our trip to Germany. I mean that is countryman I guess? I guess I like that word."

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, electricity technician

"To be a citizen, a person from any country, joining the population of that country, registered in that country… That's what I think….To be a citizen of Turkey means to be able to travel freely. To do anything freely… That's my opinion… I mean financially… being able to do anything. I can freely walk on the streets, on the boulevards. To me, being a citizen in Turkey is something like that. To live comfortable. Having no one to intrude in your life. You know…"

Although the link between 'citizenship' and 'rights' is not strong in the statements of the respondents, they, in a sense, figure out an ideal definition of citizenship that is based on 'equality' which is released from patronage, nationality and oppression. I believe that, this individual definition of citizenship contains important elements in terms of their social and political participation and their initial understanding of state and citizenship. However, the emphasis on 'nationality' and territorial perception of citizenship also reveals their conservative approach towards state and citizenship.

On the other hand, due to their ethnic origin, similar to the young people of the first category, some of the young people from second category reflect their negative approach towards the state by giving reference to the oppressive, exclusionist and violent treatments of security forces towards ethnic minorities. They emphasize that this oppressive policies and treatments towards citizens from different ethnic origins

results with distrust, anxiety as well as exclusion of disadvantaged people from social and cultural life.

Male, 19 years old, student in vocational high school, intern in a factory in Mardin

(About the definition of citizenship) *"It is associated with very bad things… Like when citizens of Turkey want to have their voice heard, the police beats them up, even the elderly…*

We are citizens in fact, but you know, to want your voice be heard, because if someone listened you wouldn't have to shout to protest, you would discuss and solve the problems, but instead you get violence… Perhaps its ignorance, or inability to express themselves or may be lack of confidence… To be honest, even if we are not that good, we are still good by ourselves, good countrymen… Like we are not insensible like some others, you know, when there is violence or a fight, some ignore, prefer not get involved, like who cares, let it be, but I cannot just stand there, you know, as a human being I try to intervene whenever I can."

In terms of the provision of civil rights, many of the young people belong to Category 2, express their satisfaction on the social and political reforms that were brought by the ruling party (AKP). Almost all of them have a level of optimism regarding the provision of social rights, socio-economic development and political rights by the impact of reconciliation process of Kurdish question. In the beginning of 2000s, when Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power, for the resolution of Kurdish problem various legal reforms started to be implemented; such as, Turkish Parliament removed the bans on Kurdish language, legalized private Kurdish lessons, and TRT[90] started to broadcast in Kurmanci (Arakon in Dönmez&Enneli, 2011). In additional to that, fundamental amendments were made; such as, change in the construction law which facilitates the establishment of sites of religious prayer for all religions. One of the most fundamental constitutional amendments was accomplished in 2004 by providing an addition to the Article 90 of the constitution comprising the approval of international treaties. This addition reveals that, *whenever conflicts arise between international treaties pertaining to fundamental human rights and domestic laws, the articles of the international treaties should prevail*. These amendments brought with it many emancipatory

[90] Turkish Radio and Television

aspects such as legally prevention of humiliation and degrade towards minorities and non-Muslim communities.

The majority of the participants pointed out that after the ruling party (AKP)[91] came into power, fundamental rights and freedoms have become mainly implemented and as Kurdish citizens they started to feel as an equal citizen. Particularly they indicate the positive impact of the reforms on education in native language and cultural freedoms. While expressing these positive statements almost all of the young people belong to the second category move from their previous personal experiences and reflects that they are not following the political agenda and aware of their citizenship rights. Furthermore, regarding their positive approach towards the policies of the ruling party, they appoint a strong relation between the prime minister's religious discourse and policy reforms.

Male, 23 years old, high school graduate

"How should I put it, well our prime minister, I really like him. Because he is both religious and just and brave. He is the best prime minister so far, though I only saw two prime ministers in my life time, but he is the best. That's why, because I like him, I am going to vote for him. That's my opinion…"

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, electricity technician

"Well you know it here, I am also Kurdish. I am proud to say that I am Kurdish. Like anyone is to say that about themselves, my mother is Kurdish, my father is Kurdish. I know Kurdish, my mother tongue. I sat with people from PKK[92], from DTP, from BDP, from CHP, from DYP but for me its AK Party. I look at AK Party, they made great changes in Mardin. They made great changes in Turkey. Then there was the Davos incident with Israel. These enlightened me. And in terms of Islam, I mean the prime minister uses such words as Islam and Allah all the time. He keeps his promises. He says that those are our brothers too That they should be given an opportunity too, but they do not take it, they do not want to take it. Now when you talk to people from PKK, they tell you "We want education in native language." or "we want to speak our mother tongue, we want to be defended in mother tongue". Well, they gave you education in native language. Today, there is Kurdish language education, elective courses in Kurdish. They gave you the right to be defended in native language. Then what it is you want? That's separatism, isn't it?"

[91] Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/ Justice and Development Party
[92] Kurdistan Workers' Party

Justice and Development Party (AKP) came into power in 2002 and since that time, the ruling party has been implementing 'new right'[93] policies by giving priority to the privatization of public services as well as following a nationalist and Islamist conservative ideology. Accordingly, Dönmez (2011) argues that AKP has borrowed the political engineering perspective and hegemonic nature of the Kemalist elite and linked it to radical neoliberal policies by building them on an Islamist ideology. In other words, AKP used popular Islam, merging it with liberalism, to create an instrument for arranging a new citizenship regime.[94] Different from the classical Turkish nationalistic identity which is patterned on Turkish language and complementary Islam, AKP follows a new path by developing more liberal discourse, however by giving more emphasis to morality. The ones who stayed out of this description such as gays, transsexuals, people drinking alcohol who do not internalize traditional lifestyles have being excluded and marginalized from the political discourse. The democratization efforts of public and political spheres by AKP government remain limited with its neoconservative ideology carried through Islamic philanthropic associations, Islamic sects and control over mainstream media. Different from the state elite who defines a modernization perspective through the construction of the Turkish authoritarian state, AKP has deconstructed and redefined the feature of 'being Turkish' in terms of morality and to what extent individuals practiced their religion. On the other hand, the neoliberal economic policies of the government have resulted in massive social movements and protests that we have experienced in Gezi protests in 2013. Gezi Park events of 2013 sparked nation-wide protests with the participation of 2.5 million people from 79 out of 81 provinces[95]. According to the KONDA Gezi Park Research, 79% of the protestors were people with no affiliation with political parties or civil society organisations[96]. For many, this was the first time that they were engaging in any form of social action or protest.

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[93] The "New Right" ideology which was previously appear in the political arena at the begining of 1970's, emerged as a peace settlement between liberalism and conservatism.

[94] **Dönmez, R.Ö.** (2011) "Beyond State-Led Nationalism: Ideal Citizenship for Turkey". *Societal Peace and Ideal Citizenship. Dönmez & Enneli.* pp 1-26.

[95] www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_eylemlerinin_bilancosu_aciklandi-1138770

[96] **KONDA Gezi Park Research** http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf

The authorities responded to Gezi and protests were severely punished, including taking some of the civil organising CSOs to court with "terrorism" charges[97]. In addition to the restrictions to civil organizations, during the power of AKP government, in 12 years, 14.455 labours were killed[98] in industrial accidents due to the lack of sufficient legal amendments in job security[99].

According to the comprehensive analysis of all the statements about the provision of civil and political rights, no significant disposition can be deduced according to the scorings. Considering both the outputs of open-ended questions and Likert-scale analysis it was observed that the young people who belong to the second category cannot be able clearly define and diversify their rights and duties. On the other hand, most of the young people respond negatively to the statements on *'sufficiently being informed on their citizenship rights'* as a political right; and *'feeling as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic'*, *'having sufficient rights and freedom as a citizen'* and put emphasis on education in native language as civil rights **(See Appendix A; table 3.13, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17).** Only one of the young people specified the defence between Turkey and European Countries in terms of the provision of civil/legal rights. Regarding to the open-ended questions on how they visualize their citizenship rights, as a common disposition, the young people, as it is in the first category, highly express that they do not feel themselves as equal citizens of the Turkish Republic, primarily because of their Kurdish ethnic origin. While defining this negative approach, different from the first category they do not primarily address the state but the society itself.

[97] Taksim solidarity, a platform of 128 organisations supporting the Gezi park events were charged with "forming a criminal gang", "inciting and participating in unlawful demonstrations". Post-Gezi, public/political discourse led by the ruling party has given the word "örgüt" (association) negative connotations as associated with terrorism, precisely the negative connotations that the STGM campaign "Freedom to Associate/Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü had tried to mitigate.

[98] One of the most terrific accidents occured in Soma mining accident in which more than 300 miners were killed (13 May 2014)

[99] For detailed analysis please see 2014 Human Rights Report of "Human Rights Foundation of Turkey" >> http://www.tihv.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TIHV_Dokumantasyon_Merkezi_2014_Yillik_Insan_Haklari_Raporu1.pdf

Male, 23 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

"No I think too little value is given to people. I think people in Turkey are not as valued as people in Europe. I think that human rights in Turkey are less."

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, electricity technician

"…I mean we do not have equal rights. To have equal rights we need to be like EU or something. We do not have equal rights. I mean it's a crime to from the East. How is that equality? It is not equality. It is crime to have Mardin written in your ID. For example, let me tell you what happened to us one time. I told in Yozgat and in Sivas. I know it's going to sound a bit weird. We were in Istanbul, going to İstiklal street, my cousin was with me he exclaimed loudly "Oooo bevan, biran"[100]. There were some police officers, they called us, asking "Are you from Mardin, man?", "Yeah I am". "look, it's not like its written on your forehead, I know. Come with us."Although we were not guilty of anything, the police forces interviewed us, took to the police station. When it became apparent that we were not guilty of anything, they let us go. I mean it's a crime to be from the East…"

Furthermore, with a sense of justice, most of them highlight the significance of having equal rights regardless of their ethnic origin, age, sex and religion. One of the young people indicates the unfair and segregated treatment of public institutions and security forces against citizens from different ethnic origins and socio-economic background. On the other hand, they distinguish the rights of citizens and refugees from each other and declare that the government should primarily give more emphasis to its own citizens.

Male, 23 years old, has associate's degree, construction technician

"I mean if a country has a concept of citizenship, if everyone is considered equal in terms of citizenship and called a citizen, then everyone should have certain rights, should be equal. I mean alright, you are the citizen of this country and so am I, but you have these rights and you have these rights, that's not right, everyone should have equal rights."

(About the question on what is associated with being a citizen in Turkey)… *"Idleness. I mean I don't think that there is an equal citizenship in this country, I don't think that people have equal rights here. Perhaps in the world, but there are many countries like that. Rich people, they have a concept of rich and poor in many places of the world. Rich people… different laws apply to rich people, different from the laws applied to poor people. In this matter I also do not think that there are any equal rights."*

[100] *Friend, brother

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, electricity technician

"I mean today we can say that too. Alright, people sent help to Somali. So did we. But let's look at our own citizens first. My neighbour starved to death, we had no idea. Because he was too proud to tell anyone. I mean he went to the governor, said "I am starving, I am 65 years old so I cannot work I cannot break stones at this age."The governor told him "Go away, do whatever". This man starved to death, he did not ask us for anything. If we knew, we would have helped you know. He starved to death, I mean who starves to death these days, no one. I mean not Somali, look at this place first. I am not saying that we should ignore Somali, of course we shouldn't. Yeah, they are black we are white, but we are all humans. Syrian refugees, alright they keep coming, and we welcome them. I myself bought some supplies for them, for like 200 300 millions. Because they were refugees, because they were our guests. But I think we care too much about problems outside, and not enough about the problems we have ourselves."

Similar to the young people in the first category, many of the young people clustered under second category also take attention to the insufficient provision of civil, political and social rights which deeply affects their cultural and social participation. Due to the lack of right to education in their native language young people express that they cannot be able to start to their education from the same place with their peers in West. The majority of the respondents are neutral or negative towards the statements about the sufficient provision of the social rights (such as right to education, educational assistance for special groups, labour market intervention policies, scholarship opportunities for ensuring equal participation in the society as well as sufficient and equal provision of health services) **(See Appendix A; table 3.12)**. Almost all of them express their deep concern about getting adequate education, entering into university, having appropriate qualifications for entering into the market competition and favouritism in the public and private offices. With respect to the questions on particular social rights that should be provided to young people, all of them declare the same statements on education and employment services and highly emphasize insufficiency of scholarship opportunities and special social assistance.

Male, 23 years old, high school graduate

"Education right. That should be the top priority… What else… everyone being able to say their unique ideas, to say what they want, everywhere to everyone. Nothing else comes to mind…"

"They give you the education right but keep the scores too high. I mean some people cannot afford going to training schools. Some can, and that is a problem. For example I myself cannot afford a training school and because I did not take extra courses in high school I see myself insufficient. For example others solve a problem in 1 minute, and I solve it only in 2 or 3 minutes…"

"Social activity must really be an activity you know… Like a trip somewhere. Organized by the state, to other countries, to other cities, for example. It should be organized. Nothing else comes to mind right now…"

Male, 19 years old, student in vocational high school, intern in a factory

(About the social rights) *"Well they provide most of it of course but at least with education, it would be nice to have, not like limitation, but like distribution of choices according to people's talents, like professional courses you know, I mean yeah you would read and learn I mean you should read and learn everything, but now it is difficult to get into university, very difficult, and they say that the training schools will be closed.."*

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate, folk dance trainer

"Right now thousands of students study in universities. After graduation they all just sit at home. For example, something could be done about that, you know, for all this effort for all these people. I mean you give 15 years to education and then in the 16th year, you get nothing out of it. The state could do something for these university students, like provide job opportunities or something. That's my opinion."… "Of course, a scholarship for example. The state would give you scholarship in accordance with your financial situation. But in reality it's not like that. For example, my roommate has one sibling, he got a scholarship, while I have nine siblings and no financial stability, but I was given a scholarship with repayment, a scholarship that I have to pay back in the future. I mean there is no equality here, this is something that can be fixed. Like a student with one sibling is not equal to student with nine siblings. I mean someone who has 9 siblings should be supported."

Male, 23 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

"Employment right…jobs for unemployed, those without a job. Those who graduate from universities and cannot get a job should have an employment right I think. Like the right for employment right away. That is all I think, nothing else comes to mind when you think of young people. What're you going to do?"

They also emphasize the negative effects of ethnic discrimination and class inequality behind their equal participation in economic and social life. Especially after 2009 the initiative of "democratic opening" of the ruling party (AKP) has led to constitutional amendments covering right to education in native language as well as proposing the removal of restrictive constitutional prerequisites such as "*everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk*". The "democratic opening" process that was held with the participation of both Turkish and Kurdish intellectuals as well as representatives of civil society organizations/bar associations proposed fundamental emancipatory aspects including the redefinition of Turkish citizenship without any religious, linguistic, racial, ethnic, gender or cultural discrimination (Arakon, in Dönmez and Enneli, 2011). Unfortunately these positive developments were interrupted again by the government itself, especially after the Gezi Park protests and their loss of power in the general elections held in May 7th 2015 and systematic violence and discrimination against the Kurdish society has re-emerged.

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, folk dance trainer

"…There are many people in the southeast who do not know their rights. Why? Mixing. Kids do not speak Turkish. I am a teacher, I teach children. I say to my pupils in Turkish, "How are you?", they answer in Kurdish, "thank you big brother". I say "I am not big brother", they say "alright mamoste". 'Mamoste' means 'teacher'. For example anywhere, like in a hospital, I can read patient rights easily, I am literate, I know how to read and write. But our mothers and fathers 40-60 years old, they do not, neither in Turkish nor in Kurdish. Some could say ok, let's put the patient rights in Kurdish, but they do not how to read in Kurdish either. If only someone could come and teach them to read and write, that would be great for the people. If they cannot attend, then someone should walk door to door to find out who can and who cannot read and write. Then like two persons could come and translate."

In terms of the political rights and duties, while almost all of the respondents agreed on the necessity of voting in the general and local elections, they do not prefer to actively involve into the political parties, city councils and youth councils of local municipalities and they declare that they do not have any concern and extensive knowledge about their operational body, objectives and activities. **(See Appendix A; table 3.4, 3.5, 3.8)** Regarding the reason of not participating into the youth councils

or political parties, far beyond a conscious decision, they emphasize the deterministic feature of their close friends or relatives.

The right to claim citizens' rights through diverse channels, as a political right is another important issue on analysing their political participation. Many of them mention that they are not following the political agenda, daily news or daily discussions; however some of them do participate in the social debates about their district by signing petition or declare that they will always support participating into protests on right claim **(Table 3.26, 3.27)**

Table 3.26- Participation in a social protest by the categories of the respondents

		Would you ever participate in a protest, if there was any?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	1	11

Table 3.27- Signing a petition to local authorities by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever signed a petition addressed to local authorities?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	5	6	11

Although most of the young people declare their consent on protests and social movements, they strictly ignore to shift into the political debates and prefer to stay away, mostly by following the warnings of their families. They also declare that politics is not their "business" and should be left to the ones who are responsible with those issues. Different from the first category, young people of second category favour to stay away from politics not because of their conscious political standing, but with a sense of fear and reluctance against politics and politicians. On the other

hand, some of the respondents emphasize the significance of right claims of citizens, apparently based on their previous experience resulted with social exclusion and state violence. They feel a sense of obligation and necessity to support and/or participate in social protests due to the prevention of rights abuses.

Male, 24 years old, folk dance trainer in Public Education Centre

"No, not politics, definitely… I mean I stayed away from that, I am student that's not my scene, so I kind of stayed away from it all, did not participate."

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate, folk dance trainer

"…Politics, my father especially is against it. He said don't get involved. We never will. I mean I watch the news and all, but I don't especially go and look it up on internet or something."… "I do not want to comment on politics as well… I mean I just do my duty. I do not think that what they are doing is right (supporters of political parties)…I mean we all are brothers after all. Some defend one side, the others defend the other side, and we end up being against each other, that's why I don't get involved with them."

Male, 23 years old, undergraduate, folk dance trainer

"…Because I also studied in a university, the same thing happened to me as well. Because if someone is discriminated, they should seek their rights, defend their rights; the same thing happened to me about these parties, like for example there is a lot of discrimination. I mean let me give example from university, I am Kurdish and everyone there was Turkish, and we are all brothers. Being discriminated there was hard for me. So I had to seek my rights, when there was a protest I had to participate. It was done to me as well, what happens to me today would happen tomorrow to my friend. So I think they were right in defending their rights. I mean no one, nothing happens without a reason. I mean I agree with them, regarding universities, I agree with them protesting, because nothing happens without a reason…"

Male, 24 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

"...The reason I stay away from politics, right now even here in Mardin, there is this horrible picture due to problems; we have been scared so much since w were kids, with this horrible picture, that I do not even have a desire. I mean since I was little, people get caught, arrested. So I have no desire left at all, never had any. That's my opinion."

(About the protests of unions and civil society organizations)*…"For example those guys they defend their rights, it means that their rights have been violated, so they chose this way, protesting… I mean no one in this country is heard, unless you are in a significant position or something; I mean this is Turkey, what can they do, this is the only way for them to be heard, and Turkish police has its ways and actions, you know…"*

The two of the most important determinant facts in terms of their unwillingness to participate in politics is due to their moral belonging to their families and historical political and socio-political factors which is full of restrictions, bans and violence against ethnic minorities. KONDA "Youth Participation in Turkey" Research (2013) reveals that young people mostly living with their families. They both are economically dependent to their families and have a moral obligation as the 'holder of their family's dreams', and this feeling emerges as a determinant factor in their daily preferences and political decisions. In this sense, many of the young people cannot be able to act freely in their political choices and many of them follow their families' preferences. The other important fact that prevents young people to engage in politics is that, in late 1980's the enforcement of emergency decree in ten Kurdish provinces (Bingöl, Batman, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Hakkâri, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli, Şırnak, Van). The enforcement has mostly occurred in South-eastern Anatolia and was intensified by military and police forces due to the internal war between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and national military (Gürbey; in Olson, 1996). This emergency decree in 1990's has led to massive inhibition of freedom including press and legal processes. Thus, many Kurdish families had to leave their villages or forced to cooperate with military forces to suppress PKK guerrilla activities. Today, many young people still refrain to engage in politics owing to the terrifying security implementations of 1990s.

Different from their unwillingness to engage in politics, according to the Likert Scale questions, only few of the young people express their unwillingness to participate in social protest and demonstrations. The ones who are not eager to participate in the social movements find these kinds of activities unnecessary or aggressive. Further to that, one of the young respondents indicates that participating into protests, if they were arrested by the police, would be damaging for their education about re-entering into school. Unlike young people in the first category, young people clustered under the second category are having conflict with their ethnic identity. They both overrate the importance of right claims of individuals, however are more close to conservative dichotomy in terms of the provision of rights and political activities of individuals.

Male, 21 years old, getting prepared for university

"I mean instead of shouting and calling out, they could just do something that tells about them you know, like they could sit on a sidewalk, hang their labels or just read or something. I mean if they all had books in their hands, reading, then someone would ask them what they are doing, what they are reading, why are they sitting there. I mean shouting and calling out harms them, their voices and the environment. There are more ideal ways for that. I don't know, may put a ribbon on their collars or something… Like I said, I do not like walking protests. All the shouting and stuff. I think it would be more effective in the ways I described."

Male, 18 years old, high school student, headwaiter

"I don't have any idea. I mean I think it's silly. What happened ,happened, it is idle to protest it now. Time does not go back. I mean no one has seen anything happen after these protests. It is not bad to seek your rights, but doing it knowing that nothing would change is stupid. I don't care for it much. I care about this place, so I would participate if it was about this place, about things here, teachers. But other than that, if it was something I didn't care about, like disabled or something, I mean they have teachers and groups to do that for them. They have people for that, I think. So I don't participate."

Male, 24 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

(About participating in social protests) *"…When you do something, police responds. Most of them don't happen, directly goes somewhere else. That's why it is a bit hard. Difficult for education also, when you get caught into it. Becomes hard to enter the education buildings, or any other places. So I do not participate in protests much. I don't want to."*

Young people's avoidance and reluctance about following political agenda and participating into political debates are mainly originated in a semi-conscious ignorance and fear rather than incuriosity. Almost all of the young people declare that they find political issues unnecessary and regard as a game of politicians to come to power. In addition to that, they cannot be able to distinguish political rights from individual liberties and express contradictory statements about civil and political rights. According to the interviews this contradictory statements mainly caused of the comparison between protests/social movements and antagonistic activities of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

Male, 23 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

"How useless, I mean all they do is to turn people against each other, nothing else"… "I think for the gain of the politicians, they create these problems for their own profit, just profit, nothing else I think."… "I am not interested because I see that most people do it for their own benefit, so I am not interested much. Everyone says "me me me" before the election. After the election, no one is around. I mean I've never seen anyone come to Mardin, ask about problems after the election. For this reason I do not care for politics much. Everyone is after money, status. It's obvious. So I do not care much for politics."

Male, 18 years old, high school graduate

"For example I went to a dental hospital this one time, there was a convict there, my sister-in-law asked what he was convicted for, the soldiers said "politics"; my sister-in-law felt sorry for him, but the soldiers said that they picked them up from the mountains, that they should be arrested and stuff, I mean that's what you think, all those parties, I am not saying that this party or some other party, I mean just kill those guys, see if any problems continue, I mean we are here, and we have no problem with each other, I have Arab friends, Turkish friends, and we get along just fine, but some people come out and say things and turn people against each other, that's what happens and I think it's stupid…"

Male, 21 years old, high school dropout, folk dance trainer

"…The rightists are against this and the leftists are against that. Frankly I follow politics from that you know. That's why I follow it. Because we live in a terrorist zone, that's clear. This is a terrorist zone, and we look and see people from PKK, people from AKP and people from MHP. We look between them and we are among them. No matter what we do. I mean we cannot find the way. No we look at PKK here for example. When we look at the west, the government is there, the state is there. And we look at this the difference is between Kurdish and Turkish. When we say Kurdish and Turkish not many things come to mind you know. If being human came to mind, then may be everyone would just shut up. Then the fighting would be over. But what we see: hey look at the difference between Kurdish and Turkish people. But in fact if only you changed one letter in these words, you would see that we are brothers. I personally have seen in. That people can be brothers. I myself have many brothers in every city, not by blood but by life you know. True brothers, who are not only Turkish, but Laz, Cherkes, Alevi, Dadaş…"

Faulks (2000) argues that politics, to which citizenship is closely related, is a set of methods and techniques, such as deliberation, compromise, diplomacy and power sharing, through which the problem of governance and power sharing can be solved non-violently. On the other hand, the use of violence in human relationships, whether

these relationships take place in the private or public sphere, represents the failure of politics.

In terms of the Likert-scale questions on political duties of citizens, almost all of the young people of second category agreed with the idea that voting in the general and local elections is the primary essential duty of the citizens. However many of them disagree with the political statement that voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties, while some of them stay neutral **(See Appendix A; table 3.19, 3.20).** Alongside of accusing public authorities as being inadequate for the provision of particularly political and social rights, they strongly emphasize the importance of active involvement of citizens into the communal life through civil society organizations or their everyday life. They all underline the significance of being a responsible citizen for the resolution of social problems. With respect to the statements about political and social obligations such as "**following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed", "generating solutions is a civic responsibility"**, **"participating into the volunteer activities for a more equal society" and "ensuring social peace as a citizenship duty"**, young people of the second category believe in the power of civil society for ensuring a peaceful society **(See Appendix A; table 3.21, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25)**. Moreover, they also frequently agree with the statement on the positive role civil society organizations in the construction of an equal society **(See Appendix A; table 3.22).** They mainly underline the necessity of equality and solidarity within the society; however these statements are mainly based on individual moral obligations rather than the provision of rights. In terms of the role of individuals on ensuring a peaceful society, some of the respondents oppose with the idea that individuals may have a positive impact on the construction of a welfare society. Many of them are pride of living in such a cosmopolite city, keep all different cultures and religions together and stress that without politics, people are living in peace and welfare.

Male, 21 years old, preparing for the university

"For example Mardin Arabs do not like Kurdish people very much. Neither did I when I was little. But here I saw that Kurds were not much different from us, that there were bad and good among them, as well as among Arabs. My friend circle includes Kurds, Assyrians,

Arabs, Armenians, Yezidi, and many others. I mean here we learn to be less judgmental, less prejudiced, more human you know. I mean here we can say I am Kurdish, I am Arab, without discrimination of religion, language or nationality. We say we are all human beings. We know that the past cannot be changed, but we waste time by being prejudiced, you know."

Male, 18 years old, high school graduate

"I don't think so. I believe it could be solved by those in power. Deputies, prime ministers, you know those in power, they can solve it, I believe so. Not by people. People are … I mean people are ready to jump each other's throats to dominate. That's why I don't think people can solve anything. Those in power may or may not resolve it…. I think, how should I put it? Nothing comes to mind you know. Humanity for equality in life… may be not humanity, but, nothing else comes to mind right now. I think those in power should get involved for the equality in living.

Male, 24 years old, high school graduate, folk dance trainer

"…We are no state, we are civilians, individuals. What can we do to resolve these… People cannot walk door to door to resolve these. Cannot just tell to resolve you know. May be it would be nice to have like an event, in someone's house, the whole neighbourhood could come together, that would be nice. There it could be told better, but some understand, others do not, that's the problem."

Different from the young people in the first category, young people of the second category who are more close to neo-conservative political standing, do not put emphasis on ethnic and cultural diversities, conversely they are eager to melt all ideological, religious and ethnic differences in the same pot. Also, different from the first category they indicate a more patriarchal tendency towards participation in decision making mechanisms and political activities. Some of the young people imply the significance of patriarch in terms of the resolution of social conflicts rather than emphasizing the will and competence of individuals.

Another important aspect of citizenship perception of the respondents in the second category is the perceptional difference between the young people from different occupational groups and socio-economic backgrounds. One of the young men, who stated that his father has been working as a civil servant (bodyguard of the president) and all his family is covered by social security, describes citizenship in a completely different way. While he is putting great emphasis to obligations compared to social rights, by giving reference to religious obligations as well, he highly regards the

sovereignty and continuity of the Turkish Republic. In terms of the provision of rights, he argues that the citizens who well discharge his/her citizenship duties, for sure will be 'awarded' by the state. He perceives social aids distributed by the government as not a right but a favour which government has been implementing to protect the citizens from poverty. Accordingly, in terms of the 'right to organize' he again emphasizes the high benefit of the state and highlights that it would only be useful if the organization was established with 'good' intentions.

Male, 18 years old, high school student, headwaiter

"Countryman, citizen, these words are associated with people for me, the folk, you know. Like the entirety of people living in a country. I mean the Constitution states that anyone who sees himself as Turkish is the citizen, the countryman of the Turkish Republic. These two words are in the Constitution. So that's what comes to mind… To me, being the citizen of Turkish Republic is a privilege, because we live in such a beautiful place, if only we see it we could have all those privileges. For example where we live, in Mardin, there is no separation, no political separation. There is no distinction between Turkish, Kurdish, Arab. This distinction is more in the west, like when I went to Bodrum, there is so much discrimination there. I mean separation is not here. Other than that, I do not have any ideas, I just think that being a citizen of Turkish Republic is privilege.…"

On citizenship rights:

"I am taxpaying citizen, you know, both in terms of legal deductions from my salary, and in terms of giving charity during Ramadan period, an ordinary citizen. I do what everyone is supposed to do… Now if citizens pay their taxes, bills and stuff properly, the state will provide them with shelter, transportation, freedom and other rights anyway. For example in Mardin, many places use illegal electrical power. Who pays for that illegal electrical power? We do. When people do not pay taxes, the road constructions cannot be finished, so the roads are bad. But if everyone paid their taxes like they are supposed to, the state will receive the money and will provide transportation, shelter, education and your freedom. If the state does not receive taxes, none of these can be done. That's why poor countries are poor."

"Me for example, my family receives payments from retirement fund. I work in a private company, with salary . When I go to a hospital, if I am treated then the state is implementing my rights. If I do not have any money and the state helps me, then the state is implementing my rights again. I mean people receive support from the state every year. Like our neighbours are poor, so the state gives them coal, so that they can heat their house in winter. Without it they would freeze. Mardin winters are tough."

On civil organizations:

"I mean if organization is in the good direction, it always contributes to the state, to the citizens. If the organization is in bad direction, it gives nothing to state or to its citizens. It would be harmful."

4.3.3 Third Category: Different Dynamics of Social, Political and Cultural Participation of Young People Related to their Gender

As many studies and researches reveals; in terms of the social, cultural and political participation of the young people, women always participate in labour force, social and political life less than young men. Both UNDP "Youth in Turkey" Report that was published in 2008 and "Youth Participation in Turkey Research" that was conducted by KONDA in 2013 reveals that in order to ensure full participation and equal opportunities for particularly young women gender discrimination aspect should be seriously considered and gender sensitive policies should be developed. Turkey has one of the lowest human development scores in terms of gender equality. According to The Global Gender Gap Report 2012[101] published by the World Economic Forum, Turkey ranks 124 out of 135 countries in gender equality based on data from 2012. The main challenges in this respect are violence against women, equal opportunities at the work place, paid and unpaid labour, hidden forms of discrimination and access to political decision-making and representation.

Considering the social and cultural participation of the young people to the youth projects/trainings the rate of participation of young women is quite low in comparison with the young men. Some of the young women states that usually they do not interest to participate in the international or national exchange projects, while some declares that they have never found that chance. Almost all of the female respondents pointed out the conservative social structure of the region, while they expressed that the participation of a young woman to those kinds of projects or activities are not welcomed in the society. France (2007) argues that young women are restricted to access to public offices, commonwealth business and all men

[101] **Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi**. The Global Gender Gap Report 2012. Rep. Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2012. Print.

dominated areas of administrative and public life. Especially in rural areas, while young women are expected to be involved in housewifery and domestic service young men usually entered occupations and apprenticeship that reinforced masculine roles (pp.7).

Regarding the quality of the social rights young women usually emphasize the restrictions of their families and environment rather than emphasizing the deficiencies of the state services. On the other hand, the critical aspect about the third category is that, almost half of the female participants express the same crosscutting points with the young men clustered under the first category. Regarding the level of awareness in terms of social and political rights, while the half of the young women was quite reluctant, the other half expresses almost the same concerns with the first category.

The third cluster is composed of 12 young women who actively involved into the activities and courses of both Youth and Culture House and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport. While 6 of the young women are high school graduate, 6 of them are getting prepared for the university exam or university students.

According to the interviews with young women it is observed that the ones who actively participate in the activities **"youth projects of civil society organizations", "international youth exchange projects", "trainings on right based issues", "youth projects of national agency"** do have almost the same ethnic consciousness with the first category and are more conscious and demanding about their rights. In this sense, while their participation in these activities is quite low among the third category, in terms of their political standing the ones who have participated especially into the 'trainings of rights based issues' and 'youth projects of civil society organizations' show a considerable difference other than their equivalents. Considering the size of the sample, young women who have participated in international youth exchange projects are quite low (only 2 young women) in comparison with the first category. There are also no women who have participated in 'youth projects of National Agency of Turkey' **(Table 3.3).**

Table 3.3- Participation of the young people into "Youth Projects of National Agency", "International youth exchange projects", "Youth projects of civil society organizations", "Trainings on right based issues", by the categories of the respondents

		Youth Projects of National Agency	International youth exchange projects	Youth projects of civil society organizations	Trainings on right based issues
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	2	4	5	5
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	1	2	1
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	2	2	3
Total		4	7	9	9

In terms of their cultural participation, most of them have never participated in youth exchange projects, trainings or activities of other civil society organizations; however they have been regularly participating into the courses or social activities. While all of the young women clustered under **Category 3,** has been participated in leisure time activities and courses like folk dancing, sports, computer and information technology course, foreign language courses, none of the young women have participated in the vocational courses of ISKUR and KOSGEB and very few of them have participated in the street art festival. Some of the young women express that they could hardly get permission from their family to participate in festival kind of organizations while almost half of them declare that they need to help their mother in housework and child care **(Table 3.28).** Moreover, their participation in the vocational courses of ISKUR is also restricted by their families as well as they cannot be able to afford to participate due to their university education.

In her article "Gender and Modernization in Turkey," Tulin Tuna[102] argues that employment of women in Turkey is considered as an additional income activity to the employment of men in economic terms and the activities of women in the house are not regarded as a productive effort. Similarly, cultural and religious factors reinforcing the traditional role of women as stay at home caretakers are also an important part of the problem.

Table 3.28 – Participation of the young people into Courses, Vocational Courses of KOSGEB, Street Art Festival and GAP-Genç Festival implemented by Youth and Culture Houses, by the categories of the respondents

		Courses	Vocational Courses of KOSGEB	Street Art Festival	GAP-Genç Youth Festival
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	12	0	4	5

Female, 19 years old, getting prepared for the university entrance exam

"I applied to İŞKUR for a job, but couldn't go due to my family… I participated in Youth and Culture House's computer courses and folk dancing classes… I also wanted to participate in a street festival, but my parents were against it…"

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate; cashier;

I had and heard that a lot. Like in high school period, when I was enrolling in high school. Like, why bother going to school, not like you would get into a good one anyway. We went for registration on the last day, the day the school opened for classes. People were talking, I had a brother-in-law, he was like so confident, and kind of rich, so he would say I'll go, I'll take her to vocational school, to health sciences school etc.. But he didn't. So we were forced to register on the last day... I mean what school would take you on the last day? Not a good one anyway. I mean we were not defending our rights, we did not know anything. We would think, like, they know, so everything would be handled somehow. But it's not true, apparently.

[102] **Tuna, Tulin.** (2012) "Gender and Modernization in Turkey." International Journal of Learning & Development, no. 5: 273-88. Available at: http://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijld/article/view/2554.

‘When the status of woman in Turkey is examined, it is observed that education level of woman is low and involvement in business life is inadequate’; says Tuna (2012), in her study on ‘Gender and Modernization in Turkey’. For improving the education level of women and reducing the rate of illiterate especially among women Turkish government since 1997 has developed many reforms and has taken concrete steps to diminish the gender gap, especially by targeting women living in rural areas. One of the most crucial reform movements was taken in 1997 by extending compulsory education to 8 years. Moreover, in 2008 Conditional Cash Transfer Program was developed which highly impacted girls’ secondary school enrolment.[103]In addition to social provisions and legal reforms, since 2002, AKP government came into power, nation-wide campaigns have been conducted both by the government and non-governmental organizations to raise schooling rates of girls especially in low socio-economic regions. In 2012 by the new education reform that foresees 4+4+4 system compulsory education has increased to 12 years, however this new reform pave the way for gradual and distance education for girls, after 4 years by removing obligation to go to school[104]. According to the monitoring report of Eğitim-Bir Sen (Labour Union of Trainers) in 2014, 36.401 girls did not registered to any kind of high-schools after graduating from the secondary school.

Similar to their schooling rate, women in Turkey are greatly underrepresented in the work force, making up only 29%. Compared to the 34 OECD countries, Turkey is ranked the lowest in the category for women inclusion (Country Statistical Profiles: Key Tables from OECD)[105]. Instead of improving, women employment rates have actually dropped since 1988. The ratio of female to male working-age population (ages 15–64) was at 0.423 in 1990 but it had dropped to 0.394 in 2012[106].

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[103] **Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi**. The Global Gender Gap Report 2012. Rep. Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2012. Print.

[104] **Eğitim Reformu Girişimi (ERG)**. 2012. Eğitim İzleme Raporu & Eğitimciler Birliği Sendikası. 2014. İzleme Raporu

[105] **ILO (2012)**. "Key Indicators on the Labour Market: 7th edition". Geneva

[106] **TURKSTAT. 2014**

There is a high demand of political participation among young women in terms of voting in general elections. Only one of the young women express that she does not prefer to be involved in politics and vote in the elections. On the other hand, according to the participation in local decision making mechanisms as a citizen, none of the young women have ever signed a petition to public institutions. They both think that signing a petition does not make sense for local public institutions, as well as they mainly have never intended to do so. For instance, regarding to the question on whether they would like to submit a petition to the local public institutions, one of the young women strictly stressed the cultural restrictions originated from the conservative social structure of their close society. **(See Table 3.29, 3.30)**

Table 3.29- Signing a petition to local authorities by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever signed a petition to local authorities?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Third Category Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	10	10

Table 3.30- Voting in the general elections by the categories of the respondents

		Are you voting in the general elections		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Third Category Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	11	1	12

Female, 19 years old, unemployed

"Actually, something like this, I mean especially in Mardin, a girl doing something like this, it is not taken well, it is not considered normal I think, so because of that, I mean both my family and people around us, not have people talk you know… I mean no, it is not wrong, I think it's normal but for the environment I live in I mean for them it is not normal. For my

family or for relatives, I don't know, so I think there is no need to get involved in something like that, that's it…"

None of the young women have ever participated in the city council and/or youth council of the local municipality. Similar with the other categories, most of the young women do not have enough information regarding the structure and purpose of the city councils and most of them have never heard about it. On the other hand, according to the question about political participation such as, participation in protests and social movements, even if most of the young women have never participated in such activities, most of them declared a positive approach towards participating into protests and social movements or giving support to right based campaigns. Only few of the young women express their unwillingness to get involved such kind of political activities. **(See Table 3.4, 3.5, 3.6)**

Table 3.4- Participation in a political party by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever been involved in/are you involved in a political party?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	6	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	1	10	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	12	12
Total		1	28	29

Table 3.5- Participation in the "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever been involved in/are you involved in "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	1	5	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	1	10	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	10	10
Total		2	25	27

Table 3.6- Participation in a social protest by the categories of the respondents

		Would you ever participate in a protest, if there was any?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	6	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	1	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	11	1	12
Total		27	2	29

Having access to internet, in terms of the right to information, they do not face serious restrictions. Most of the young women are following news portals and social media channels and many of them use internet with the purpose of being informed on the courses and job announcements of ISKUR **(Table 3.31, 3.32).**

Table 3.31- How often young people use internet in a week by the categories of the respondents

		How many times a week do you use Internet?				
		Less than 1 hour a week	2-3 hours a week	Less than 1 hour a day	2-3 hours a day	More than 3 hours a day
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	1	5	3	3	0

Table 3.32- The websites young people visit by the categories of the respondents

		Facebook	Twitter	Google	News Portals	E-mails
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	9	0	11	9	5

In terms of their cultural and social participation, almost all of the young women are concerning youth and culture houses as a source of socialization, self-improvement and development of self-confidence. All of the respondents declared that they have been released of their prejudices towards people which they previously labelled as different or uncommon and they also express their satisfaction about meeting with different people.

Female, 22 years old; salesperson

"Self confidence increases…Freedom… You know Mardin people for example, more or less. They don't want the girls to stay out late you know, it is considered shameful, but this place is like our home. So no one would scold for being late, because they knew where we were, they knew the environment here. So there was no problem with that. But still, there were some talks nevertheless, small talks."

For example two years ago, there was a project on human rights, in the youth centre, so I participated. About democracy. During that time, we learned about our rights, and about rights that we should tell others about. Like when we went and told our families, they were

like, yeah... Slowly, the circle was expanding you know. Like it was all connecting. Now we share what we've learned and make others know, make them aware. Like when we did street tours, we were educating people. We had good activities, we were changing ourselves and those around us. So I can say it was very effective for me.

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"First of all, I made a lot of friends. I went to different cities, to many places and made friends there due to this, I still keep in touch with many of them. In a few years I plan to go to university, and I already have friends in the cities where universities are. That's really good you know… I think I have matured; I learned about different cultures, met many different people when I came here, so it improved me, matured me in a way, I think. Other than that.. well.."

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"I used to think that this place was bad (Youth and Culture House). Like 'All men environment' kind of misinterpretation, but when I started coming here, so did my big brother at the time, I mean I changed my opinion… I participated in folk dancing, I want to continue, like professionally. I am glad I came here… Normally I would stay away from such things, but when I came here I opened up, started participating, did not want to miss out on things, like activities and stuff. I wanted to be aware of everything that happens, and got mad when I wasn't, like mad with my friends for not letting me know. I am sort of addicted to this place."

Although no remarkable difference is observed in terms of being politically active, the level of consciousness on their social and political rights and right claims are changing according to their ethnic consciousness and political standing. As it was mentioned before, to some extent, some of the young women who have participated in the youth projects of civil society organizations like Community Volunteers Foundation (TOG) and trainings on rights-based issues indicate considerable difference in terms of their level of awareness on their rights and duties. Unfortunately, the rest of the women stress that even if they want to be involved in political and social activities they could not be able to find that chance due to the conservative structure of their close community.

Female, 22 years old; salesperson

"For example two years ago, there was a project on human rights, in the youth centre, so I participated. About democracy. During that time, we learned about our rights, and about rights that we should tell others about. Like when we went and told our families, they were like, yeah... Slowly, the circle was expanding you know. Like it was all connecting. Now we share what we've learned and make others know, make them aware. Like when we did street tours, we were educating people. We had good activities, we were changing ourselves and those around us. So I can say it was very effective for me."

The physical conditions and accessibility of the youth centres is another vital issue especially for young women for being able to participate in youth activities. One of the young participants underlined the importance of distance and the availability of local transportation in terms of the accessibility of the youth centres.

Female, 22 years old; salesperson

The problem is the courses are too far away… we live here, and that place is quite far, it is difficult to come and go every day. And we stay late sometime, so it would be better to have a place closer to home, you know… but this place opened (Youth and Culture Centre) I had no idea about this place, it is actually closer to our home… For example we went to handball meetings every Friday; that was really heard, we stayed late and stuff. We stayed late and it went dark very soon, so we wanted a place closer to home… I mean that would be much more convenient.

"Women Friendly City Planning and Creation Principles for Local Authorities" Guide[107] which was developed within the scope of Women Friendly Cities-2 Project of UNFPA [The Project has being held in Turkey since 2010] indicates that, in recent years gender sensitive city planning has gained a vital importance on international level in terms of ensuring equal participation of women into social, cultural and political life. The report emphasizes that, the lack of sufficient physical environment which enables women easily access to city life and social services results with severe social exclusion of women. In this respect, local authorities should be encouraged to develop and implement gender sensitive budgeting and social services from transportation, to the use of public spheres.

[107] http://www.kadindostukentler.org/content/docs/kadin-dostu-kent-planlamasi.pdf

Considering the social and economic participation of the young women into everyday life and labour market, particularly in the societies which has socio-economically low profile, special social assistance and scholarship generates crucial importance. In accordance with the interviews, only 2 of the young women and her fellows have being supported by welfare funds such as Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and Credit and Dormitories Institution. On the other hand, while only 1 young woman is getting scholarship, in total 8 young people are getting scholarship from Credit and Dormitories Institution and Community Volunteers Foundation.

Total number of young people who are getting scholarship by gender of the respondents

		Are you getting scholarship?		
		Yes	No	Total
Gender of the respondent	Female	1	12	13
	Male	7	9	16
Total		8	21	29

According to the open-ended questions that were asked to analyse the perception of young women on citizenship concept, the participants can be classified under two categories. The first group, the ones who have a certain extent ethnic consciousness and who have participated in the youth projects of civil society organizations and trainings on rights-based issues shows a considerable difference in terms of their level of awareness on their rights and duties and express a more liberal perspective same as the first category, while the rest states similar responses with the second category, with a more passive standing in terms citizenship rights and duties. Eventually, their intersection point is their capabilities regarding their social, political and economic participation in society.

While some of the young women belong to Category 3, express their satisfaction on the social and political change such as the developments on freedom of speech, language and identity that was brought by the ruling party (AKP- Justice and

Development Party), the ones who have participated in right based projects emphasize the insufficiency of citizenship rights.

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art
(About the social and political rights) *"I mean compare to the past, this is really good because… I don't know, like in the 90s when we were students, it was so much worse, I mean in comparison to the past, this is good, but of course it needs to get better, in time."*

Female, 18 years old, high school student
(About the policies of ruling party) *"To compare to the past, there is progress I think, I mean instead of directly punishing people, it tries to steer them in the right direction, taking steps in that you know; because generally, Kurds do not root for the prime minister, but now many Kurds have same opinions and equality is promoted, I mean without hurting people, so they tried to show effort a lot about this…"*

Regarding to the open-ended questions and Likert Scale method on how they visualize citizenship, the young women who belong to the third category according to their ethnic consciousness and political standing diversely both express positive and negative approach towards the state. While the ones who have a more conservative political standing feel satisfied regarding the citizenship rights they have, the ones who have an ethnic consciousness conceive a negative approach towards the statements about the sufficient provision of the civil and social rights such as education, health and employment services as well as they think that they should be improved **(See Table 3.33)**.

Table 3.33- *Likert Scale questions*- "I think that social rights (like education/health services/employment) provided to citizens in Turkey are enough" by the by the categories of the respondents

		I think that social rights (like education/health services/employment) provided to citizens in Turkey are enough.					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	2	0	5	1	12

Furthermore, in terms of the questions about how they perceive 'citizenship' some of the young women highlights gender inequality and religious and ethnic discrimination.

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"We are Turkish citizens…All citizens have rights, but those rights are not equal. Gender discrimination, religious-racial discrimination…civil rights are not implemented…"

Female, 19 years old, associate degree

"I think employment opportunities must be increased. To a more equal level or for better workplace environment, to convince families and prove that the work environment is safe and right, that would make sense I think…"

Considering both the outputs of open-ended questions and Likert-scale analysis it was observed that the first group of young women, who have never participated in international/national youth exchange projects and right-based trainings, cannot be able clearly define and diversify the rights and duties. This first group also dissent from some political rights, such as right to protest and right to organize, by giving reference to the violent actions of political opposing groups. Indeed, almost all of the young women express their disbelief against the impact of social movements while they are thinking that they are not considered seriously in the eye of states. On the other hand, even if the second group of third category [who have a more conservative political standing] have never participated or were permitted to participate, express their support to protests and social movements especially on rights-based advocacy. Some of the young women particularly emphasize that they would participate for the advocacy of women rights, due to the reason that they think that women in general are deprived of their rights.

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art

"When they protest, I mean alright they are trying to defend their rights, but it gets out of control, I think. I don't know, like I condemn violence n the first place, because its violence, and children are watching it, not every family is aware that children should not be watching the news, but may I am not aware; but when children watch it, violence is showed, it is transferred, people have hysteria attacks or something... I mean if that's what grownups like, what children can do, I mean… I definitely oppose it, because it gets out of control, like sticks and stones and then they are not right anymore, just violent…

Female, 19 years old, associate degree

"In most cases, they are right, I support it but I do not participate myself, I like that they defend their rights and all, I would too if I were in their place."

Female, 18 years old, high school student

(About participating in the protests) *"I support it. I would participate, sure. I mean remaining silent is not cutting it anymore. Some things must be revealed, I think. So… We would, I mean yeah let's protest, but that is not taken well outside you know. And writing or talking about it is not taken seriously. I don't know…"*

Female, 18 years old, high school student

(About participating in the protests) *"I mean I always think in terms of women's rights, I mean I want gender equality, which is not the case right now."*

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"I see it as a right… I mean to have their voices heard, like if their petitions were rejected or if no solution is provided, then it is their right. To be heard, to have their voices heard by these means is a priority for example. Instead of writing, just going on the streets and call out is more attractive I guess; because it is more effective I guess… Bu the state generally responds with violence. I mean we see it here and in other cities, always violent responds. They cannot make them shut up, so they respond with violence. Like pepper gas, water cannon, etc…"

"Both family and the community… In general we say, like protests and strikes take place, and it is met with bad attitude [by state] in general, like injustice or something, that's how we see it. So if we do it, we would look guilty, be like criminals or such…"

In terms of the political rights, such as right to form and join a political party, almost all of the young women reflect their drawback and reluctance while indicating that they have never intended to participate in any political party. They express that they feel threatened by public institutions and afraid of being accused of participating into political activities. According to Enneli (2011) young people in Turkey who were engaged in political activities during 1970's; and after that were excluded from political arena by military coups and were frightened by harsh intervention of the army, while threatening by being also excluded from public institutions.

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"I mean I wanted to stay away, because I am student, so it's none of my business, so I stayed away from it, did not think of getting involved."

Considering the statements about the provision of citizenship rights such as sufficiently being informed on their citizenship rights (as a political right), feeling as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic, having sufficient rights and freedom (as civil rights) no apparent disposition could be deduced according to the scorings. Otherwise, almost all of the young women put emphasis on education in native language and oppose with the idea that education in native language is not a citizenship right **(See Appendix A; Table 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17).**

In terms of the rights that should be provided by the state, the first group of young women, same as the young men of second category, express the significance of the provision of civil and social rights for, such as right to education, educational assistance for special groups, labour market intervention rights and scholarship opportunities, for their equal cultural participation. Almost all of them express their deep concern about getting adequate education, entering into university, having appropriate qualifications for entering into the market competition and favouritism in the public and private offices.

With respect to the questions on particular social rights that should be provided to young people, all of them declare the same statements on education and employment services and highly emphasize insufficiency of scholarship opportunities and special social assistance. Only few of the put emphasis on their political rights like freedom of speech or freedom of organization.

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art

"A state scholarship, you know, non recourse scholarship, a university, a dormitory right, you know, an opportunity to study to become someone, that would be great… ***(About the social rights)*** *…Education and interpretation [provision of social services in different languages]- I am interested in those very much; I especially think about child mother community, like could I be a mother, I guess not, I don't know I don't have too much self-confidence; I mean I think how would I raise that child, I mean I did not receive much*

education myself, I keep doing this, so I mean, I want to take courses or something, to improve myself or study child development or something, you know to move forward…"

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"First of all, there should be the right to speak up. Like it is wrong when someone says a word and they go like, alright, this is political crime, arrest her…"

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"For example, even if my family let me work right now, they wouldn't allow in private sector. And in public sector I cannot make a choice outside my home town. And the choices are limited outside my hometown as well, so I cannot find a job and that's problem too… I mean for example when I was a pupil, I studied in vocational school, so that caused many problems as well. When I entered university exam the first year, the exam system changed and I was from vocational school, so I had two disadvantages at once. And we did not have those classes anyway. That was a problem for me and I lost many years because of that. Or when we had elective courses other than vocational school courses, the teachers were irresponsible. They told us we were vocational school anyway, so they didn't care. So I was disadvantaged in education. But we did not do anything to overcome it, we did not try…"

Furthermore, in terms of the provision of particular social rights, while most of the young women strongly emphasize the insufficiency to the social services and social assistance sensitive to different social groups, some others express their satisfaction about the provision of social rights. However, the ones who were satisfied with the social services cannot be able to draw a concrete definition of rights. Besides the sufficiency of the social services, one the of the young women underlines the importance of special assistance such as providing social services in different languages for ensuring the access of all particular groups. Some of the young women who has a certain extent of ethnic consciousness and who aware of their social rights emphasize the gender sensitive provision of social rights. For instance, they express the significance of educational rights and local transportation regulated by considering the needs and freedoms of women living in the city. In addition to inadequate provision of social rights, some of the young women also strictly highlight the detention of young women from participating into youth activities.

Female, 18 years old, high school student

(About the provision of social rights) *"Sufficient, I mean there are community clinics in the neighbourhood, we can go anytime, so yeah, I find it sufficient… [About people who need special assistance] If something is insufficient, it must be provided, like help, there are people in bad shape here, so they must have like social security and support of all kind, but other than that well the state does what it has to do…"*

Female, 19 years old, associate degree

"It is a bit insufficient in terms of healthcare. I find it insufficient. For example, when we go to the community clinic, the family practitioner does not prescribe some medications. So you have to go to the state hospital, which is like so far away. I mean he could handle it here in 5 minutes, but he sends you somewhere else instead… The hospital is located far from our home, that's a problem. I mean it's literally outside the city."

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art

"…In reality, the state is us, people as individuals and those in power… Education should be provided, I don't know, poor people should be helped…even animals, I mean they are on the streets hungry and stuff, they should be cared for… There should be more schools, more hospitals, I don't know, like you go to a doctor and yeah we learned Turkish, but we have Arab friends, Kurdish friends, I mean our mothers, elders, there should be an interpreter, a translator or something, because people cannot explain their health problems even…"

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"…Like I said, The problem is the courses are too far away… we live here, and that place is quite far, it is difficult to come and go every day. And we stay late sometime, so it would be better to have a place closer to home, you know… but this place opened (Youth and Culture Centre) I had no idea about this place, it is it is different from that place (Youth Centre)… For example we went to handball meetings every Friday; that was really heard, we stayed late and stuff. We stayed late and it went dark very soon, so we wanted a place closer to home… I mean that would be much more convenient."

(Regarding the provision of youth rights) *""For example young people are unable to express themselves. It's not enough. That is the biggest problem for young people, they cannot do what they want to do. The environment is insufficient in most places. Even if they have enough rights, those rights are not implemented properly. Especially for girls … I mean in the east, most families treat girls differently when it comes to school. They think, why bother, she is going to get married and bring up children anyway. School is of no use is the prevailing opinion there, in villages or elsewhere. Even here. For example families think our daughter is going to get married anyway, she does not need to earn her own dime, why bother. This idea is wrong, we realize that but too late, we realize it too late. This side of the things is bad…"*

"…For example swimming courses, they object but we go. They are against it, like girls and boys swim together, what a shame and stuff. Prejudiced… its due to ignorance I guess. They are not educated, haven't seen much… I started working his year. I graduated years ago... But before this job, I was frustrated, trying to convince them. I mean just when I convince my family, something else comes up, some problem. Like other people talk, and it is sometimes misunderstood..."

According to the 'Youth Participation in Turkey' Research held by KONDA (2013), one of the most striking findings of the research is the dissatisfaction of young people about being heard and lack of sufficient mechanisms that young people can be able to convey their demands on social rights. In almost every research conducted with youth in Turkey, the insufficiency of social and political participation of young people is strictly underlined.

The young women, who have participated in international/national youth exchange projects and right-based trainings, stress that after learning more about their rights they started to claim for them and began to change their families and near surroundings, at least they started to try. They indicate that they become more aware about gender discrimination and inequality within the society and become more demanding and defender for particularly social and political rights. On the other hand, they also express the social restrictions on their apparel and their participation in youth activities due to the conservative structure of the society. In fact, young women also highlights that their families after relying on the security and accountability of the Youth and Culture House began to let them participate in such activities.

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"*Self confidence increases…Freedom… You know Mardin people for example, more or less. They don't want the girls to stay out late you know, it is considered shameful, but this place is like our home. So no one would scold for being late, because they knew where we were, they knew the environment here. So there was no problem with that. But still, there were some talks nevertheless, small talks..."*

"Equality, gender equality. This happens a lot even in the households; father adores his son, but is adored by his daughter, not the son. We showed that. I mean now we know, we are educated, so we demonstrated that, taught people that. We faced that a lot outside, tried to tell them, to teach to make them understand. Sometimes we succeeded. So that they know, and behave accordingly; like that… For example I talked to my own sister. Don't go there

[vocational high school], go to this school, study, then work, save yourself. Because I lived it, I know. I don't want her to make the same mistakes. So little by little we make ourselves heard. At least by our own families, for now…"

Female, 19 years old, associate degree

"For example, clothes. I mean in the past, I could never wear the clothes I am wearing now. They were against it. Girls should be wearing clothes that cover, that do not show anything, it is shame. So we complied."

In terms of the questions on the political obligations of citizens, almost all of the young women agreed with the idea that voting in the general and local elections is the primary essential duty of the citizens. However, they again can be diversified into two groups in terms of the statement that voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties **(See Appendix A; Table 3.19, 3.20).** Some of the young women express their unwillingness towards voting in the elections while they do not believe in political parties, they also stress the constraints of their families on their choices. On the other hand, all of the young women stress that they never follow the political agenda and they are never curious about it. With respect to the questions about the definition of citizenship most of the young women cannot refer any concrete definition and most of them put emphasis on the responsibilities of citizens towards state and society. Only few of them give emphasis of civil and political rights such as freedom of speech and protest.

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art

"Well, everyone roots for someone, but I think of casting a void vote, I will not mark anything. Even if I do vote, I will vote for ……, because at least they are trying their best. My folks always vote for …… "I mean it seems that each of the parties are wrong in some aspect, so I prefer not to vote for anyone in particular, make it void… But there is familial pressure, so I don't know… I voted once, it was like, my family told me vote for that one so I did, perhaps I shouldn't have, but at that moment I did, I don't know…"

(About what she considers when voting) *"…I consider those in power, like for example I would like a sociologist to be elected. I mean, if a mayor or a prime minister was a*

psychologist, that would be nice, at least he would show understanding… I always wanted to study sociology, but I had no chance; because I think that's what this society needs…"

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"I think a citizen is someone who knows his responsibilities, what he must and must not do in the community, what his rights are. A responsible human being… I think that we are more fortunate than most of the countries. I mean in terms of social life; Despite Mardin's disadvantages, Turkey's advantages in general are better than in most countries. Even though we are economically not as good which is caused by our lazy disposition, I feel that I am more fortunate because I live in Turkey…"

"Turkey is neither beyond its limits, nor below its limits as a country. I mean we are able to live our family values and be free, and we know our rights and freedoms. Perhaps this definition is a bit stretched for Mardin, but it slowly becomes true for here as well. But I hope the change preserves the family connections in Mardin. I mean it's nice to see west as an example, but it falls a bit far from our inner sense, from our core, so it's no right, in my opinion. I think it would make more sense to live our freedoms in accordance with our own core, in connection with the family values. Because family values are one of the most precious things in this country, I think."

Female, 18 years old, high school student

"[Citizens] should definitely defend their rights. And not only oppose when their own rights are violated. They should stand against any violation, because what's done wrong today by someone else, may be done wrong by you the next day, so something should be done about it. I mean speak not only for yourself, but for others as well. Not try to just save themselves. Think about others too… We should know our rights, should defend them, stand by them. And not just talk, but act on it as well. I am saying this for both sides."

With respect to the statements on political rights and obligations, **"the role of civil society organizations in the construction of an equal society"**, "**following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed", "generating solutions is a civic responsibility"**, **"participating into the volunteer activities for a more equal society" and "ensuring social peace as a citizenship duty"**, the majority of young women of the third category reflects a positive scoring in terms of the power of civil society for ensuring a peaceful society **(See Appendix A; Table 3.21, 3.22, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25)**. On the other hand, same as the second category almost all of the young women have never heard about the activities of Youth Councils of City Councils or know little about its function as a tool of participatory democracy and have never intended to participate. Only two of the young women indicate that,

as a woman they are always criticized and restricted from attending into political activities or from engaging into decision making mechanisms like city councils of the municipalities both with political and gender equality concerns. Heidenson (1985; in France, 2007) who brought a feminist perspective in criminology, focuses on how conformity and social control works among women and reveals that women are less prone to commit crime or deviant actions by strong impact of child-rearing, standards of domestic order and care of men. Heidenson, added that if women step outside these roles, they afraid of being blamed for social problems, gaining bad reputation and stigma and being excluded from society because breaking down the social rules.

Female, 24 years old, undergraduate, trainer of marbling art

"Individuals can eliminate discrimination. Yeah, because society consists of individuals, so when individuals change, society changes, and when society changes, those in power will change as well."

Female, 22 years old, high school graduate, cashier

"You shouldn't expect everything from the state. Common sense solutions, we can produce those by ourselves. Not just sit there like free-riders. I think both sides are wrong here. We do not raise our voices, we do not produce anything, or we do not present what we produce. The state has problem applying that."

(About participating in the Youth Councils) *It's a bit distant from the public. A friend indicated that he did not know about this place, I guess we do not like advertising, promoting much. So we deprive our people from such a beautiful organization. Somehow we are unable to promote these…Or cannot articulate properly in promoting, like failing to state the purpose of it all. For example I told that I participated in a municipality meeting, and the guys were like, why would you do that... Or they say that this place [Youth Council] is politicized. That makes people nervous, and despite the fact that we know that it isn't, we cannot participate, fearing the opinions of others…"*

Female, 19 years old, associate degree

"They tell us that all these Youth Parliament, Youth Centres, all youth councils and stuff are brain- washing . Although we know already that it's not true. We are aware… I mean even when we went for the first time to the Youth centre, people reacted strongly, like why are you doing it, girls should not go to such places, etc. I said, since my family gave me permission, who are you to intervene, it's not your place to say anything.

4.4 Conclusion

Young people who have participated in the interviews classified under three categories according to their ethnic consciousness, political standing and gender identity as well as different recognition of citizenship rights and duties, analysed under social, cultural and political participation of youth in Mardin. In terms of the analysis of their socio-economic background, educational level and occupational status, no remarkable correlation was identified in comparison with their social and political participation. Indeed, almost all of the young participants are belong to lower-middle and working class families and their educational level does not create a significant difference in terms of their level of awareness and participation. Almost all of the young people who participated in the interviews, especially young men, during their primary and high school education were several times engaged in precarious occupations in order to make contribution to household budget or in order to be able continue their education. Precisely, rather than socio-economic background and educational level, it was observed that there is a considerable difference in terms of the recognition of citizenship rights regarding their ethnic consciousness, political dissidence and gender identity. In this sense, while the young people (categorised under Category 1) who have a certain extent of ethnic consciousness and who mainly prefers to participate in youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects and trainings on rights-based issues can be able to indicate explicit definitions of rights and duties with a more liberal perspective, the others who have a more conservative political approach and mainly prefer to participate in leisure time activities, courses and vocational courses cannot be able to define concrete statements in terms of rights and duties. While identifying the difference between the young people, participation in youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects and trainings on rights-based issues should be considered within its own limited resources beside the conscious choice of young people in terms of participation. On the other hand, unlike the first two categories, participation in youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects and trainings on rights-based issues for young women is a more complicated issue due to the conservative structure of the

community. While young women who are classified under Category 3, are also diversified under two sub category, it was observed that the ones who could have chance to participate in youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects and trainings on rights-based issues are more aware of their political and social rights and became more active in terms of claiming their rights, the rest were stuck within gender roles and restrictions of their society. Many of them stress their concerns about getting permission from their families for participating into the activities of Youth and Culture House and Youth Centre as well as struggling to continue their education. Trust relationship between the families of young women and Youth and Culture House and Youth Centre and its physical conditions like close-distance and security is determinant factors in terms of their participation in the activities. In fact, even if some of the young women identify a significant change according their perception of level of awareness about their citizenship rights, in practical terms, many of them can not able to have chance to practice due to the constraints of their families and society.

The critical diversification between the young people classified under the first category and other two categories in terms of their political participation, is their conscious and personal decisions on participating in political parties, protests and demonstrations, decision making mechanisms such as city council/youth council. While the young men of the first category determines a concrete attitude towards participation in mainstream means of political participation like political parties and post-materialistic way of participation like protests and alternative social movements, the other young people mainly prefer to follow the decisions of their close friends or relatives. Beyond these statements young women are always looking for trust and confidence for participating into political activities and never have intended to participate in political parties. Their common ground, in terms of the political participation is their reluctance and distrust towards mainstream means of political participation such as political parties and contemporary political participation structures like city councils, and particularly youth councils. Almost all of the young people indicate that they have never engaged in political parties. Different from the other groups, young people of the first category reflect a conscious refusal towards political parties and contemporary tools like youth councils by finding them

unreliable and unaccountable; and they put more emphasis on contemporary means of participation like protests, civil society organizations. Obviously, they find mainstream means of participation in decision making mechanisms that were created by public authorities useless, while they think that their concerns, ideas or recommendations have never been seriously considered. Almost all of the young people classified under Category 2 and 3 have never heard about city councils/youth councils (of local municipalities) or never intended to participate.

The same diversification between the three categories does also exist regarding their recognition on provision of social rights. While the first category and a sub group of young women under third category state particular rights for full integration of young people into the social and political life, the rest of the young participants mainly highlight the significance of education and employment services as well as special social assistance that should be provided for young people for their better integration into the labour market. They all emphasize their concerns about being excluded from market and social life because of their ethnic identity as well. Out of a few young participants who were rarely engaged in public institutions, almost all of the young people underline the social exclusion and discrimination that they have experienced both by public institutions and society itself.

Nevertheless, young people are classified under three categories and their level of recognition of citizenship rights and duties differs, the active participation of young people into political and social life should be considered within its ideological definition developed by the authorities. Depart from the liberal perception of rights and duties and civic republican perception by putting more emphasis on duties and obligations young people are creating alternative ways of participation along with constructing alternative public spheres even in between the structures designed by authorities. Warth[108] (in Lüküslü&Yücel, 2013) argues that in 1990's, volunteer activities as a contemporary means of social participation has become engaged in youth activities designed by states and also through civil society organizations. This newly emerged public sphere for young people made out of unique social and

[108] **Warth, Annegret** . 2011. "Gençlerin Hayatla Başetme Stratejisi Olarak Gönüllülük" . Gençlik Halleri; 2000'li Yıllar Türkiye'sinde Genç Olmak (2013). Elif Yayınevi. Ankara.

cultural resources for young people to be able to compete with the difficulties of living conditions and to engage in everyday life. On the other hand, while active participation of youth in social and political life is mainly limited by volunteer activities, states could hardly be convinced to face contemporary ways of political and social engagement of youth through alternative organization models and social movements (Enneli, 2011). Apart from their conscious resistance against hegemony and passive commitment with traditional conservative facts, young people requests a more libertarian state, youth and gender sensitive public services, equal allocation of resources, positive discrimination and being heard and regarded by the authorities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In terms of the definition of 'youth', throughout its theoretical and conceptual development the term 'youth' has always been related to getting engaged in labour market as well as political participation. This engagement, at least requires being mature and employed. In this context, Marshall cited the young people as "citizens in the making", and particularly based on this perception early studies on youth were focused on the transition period from school to employment, mainly on educational achievement, lifetime learning programs, alternative vocational training education and in-job support programs (Dönmez & Enneli, 2011). Beside their successful transition from school to employment, young people, as inheritors of the nation state are also attached to heavier responsibilities, while they haven't been entitled to certain rights as 'becoming' adults. This youth problem has harshly revived during the Second World War. Hence, youth stands as one of the most vulnerable social group, they have consisted the majority who negatively influenced from the devastating effects of war.

In 90's, conservative and liberal governments improved their policies to make young people more engaged in political and social life in order to enhance their ability to fight with economic crises, unemployment and social disorder. Thus, beyond income equality and unemployment problems, during these years employment oriented policies has replaced with 'social exclusion' approach which considers a broader understanding of participation including social, cultural, economic and political participation of disadvantaged groups. In this context, political, social and economic participation of young people requires a more comprehensive policies and tools, and

these policies would also be constructed under different welfare policies and ideologies of nation states which are bringing a more complex intellectual challenge. Ever since 1940s and 1950s when youth has become a major site for policy intervention by Keynesian policies including full education, commitment to full employment and social inclusion as well as anti-poverty programmes, youth policies are in a continuous progress and being extended to more broader and comprehensive policies which embraces political and social involvement of young people. Indeed, as many theorists argue, political engagement is limited with the young people who do not have the risk of losing benefits and social rights (France 2007; Dönmez & Enneli 2011). Furthermore, when obligations and responsibilities are not linked to the individual rights, it comes back with disorder, rebellion and new social movements.

Considering all traditional and contemporary, conservative or liberal policies that were developed for the young people has always been a battle area of liberties and restrictions when it comes to the sovereignty of the nation state or global market rules. Particularly in Turkey, the early engagement of young people into politics was interrupted by the military coups in 70s and 80s, their activities were labelled as radical and this period has evolved to a new era where young people has become to be labelled as apolitical (Lüküslü & Lücel, 2013).

The development of participation notion for particularly young people has come to its last, but not least, turn by European Union accession process in which European Union recommended to all member and candidate countries to encourage young people get actively involved in social and political life by creating relevant policies and tools. By this way, even if the institutionalised political and social processes within nation states, such as Turkey stays within its traditional and conservative entity, youth participation has gained a different perspective including trainings on particularly rights and youth exchange programmes which aims to ensure young people's mobility for mutual learning (Loncle et al., 2012). Nevertheless, the policies and programmes implemented by both states and European Union has been improved, political participation of young people and their engagement with 'duties' has not changed through the way it is desired.

According to the **UNDP Human Development Report on Youth in Turkey (2008)** report the percentage of young people who actively integrated in a non-governmental organization is 4%; and the 46% of them is university students or university graduate. The percentage of youth who actively integrate into political parties is 4.7%; and the three fourth of the rest of 95.3% are reluctant to participate in any political parties. Furthermore, in the research that was conducted by Istanbul Bilgi University, Youth Studies Unit, with the participation of 1014 young people between the ages of 15 and 24, it was revealed that only one fourth of the young people are engaged with any civil society organizations. Among these civil society organizations 11% of them are sports clubs and associations, while 5.5% of them are student clubs (Yenturk et al. 2007). This statistics strengthen the argument that participation within various changing forms and understandings has always been a privileged asset for educated young people (adults as well) with high socioeconomic background.

In this study, I aim to understand different dynamics of youth participation in one of the least developed regions of Turkey. In this respect in literature chapter first of all, I tried to discuss how youth concept has evolved through centuries and how diversely it is politically and socially conceptualized. The ambiguity of the youth concept linked with the question of participation in social and political life is also discussed in line with the evolution of citizenship concept, particularly rights and duties. Along with the various studies conducted on youth and participation, this study particularly aims to contribute to the researches on youth, by mainly focusing on how participation of youth in the least developed regions differs and what are the different dynamics of youth participation in these areas. Thus, in order to understand the changing patterns of social, cultural and political participation and analyse the dynamics of youth participation, I held 29 interviews in Mardin with young people between the ages of 18 and 25, who have been actively involved in the youth projects of “Mardin Youth and Culture House” and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport as well.

According to the analysis of the collected data, one of the main findings of this study is the facts that affect youth participation are not homogenous and differ according to young people's ethnic consciousness, political belonging and gender. It is observed that young people who have a certain extent of ethnic consciousness are more eager to continue their higher education, overemphasize the development of constitutional citizenship covering all different segments of the society and underline the significance of elimination of all kinds of social discrimination within society. Secondly, political standing which, in this study, linked to having sympathy towards too conservative policies of the ruling party determines a pattern for cultural participation of the young people who precisely uses Youth and Culture House and Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sport as a resource for employment and skill development as well as enhancing their social and cultural capital. The young people who are classified under the second category mainly express a sense of equality and respect for diversities however they stay away from drawing a political definition of rights and equality. Lastly, gender, stands as one of the most significant factors that directly influence participation, while young women are stuck within the triangle of conservative society, family and state.

On the other hand, structural factors such as limited and politicized public means of social and political participation, limited social, cultural and political capabilities of young people, low economic and social development level as well as conservative structure of the region influence youth participation equally in all categories. Almost all of the young people engage in precarious occupation related with the limited social provisions and income level of their household and indicate that they have limited resources for their economic, cultural and social engagement. Beside their social and cultural participation they have a common standing in terms of political participation, indeed, almost all of the young people stays away from political parties and do not count on politicians. On the other hand, particularly their political participation demonstrates different dynamics, changing regarding to their ethnic consciousness, political standing and gender. Young people who have certain level of ethnic consciousness and who mainly participated in international/national youth exchange projects and right-based trainings, can make a clear distinction between

and aware of their civil, social and political rights; however they also blame state about being inadequate in terms of the provision of their civil, social and political rights. Unlike the common perception of youth as apolitical, passive and obedient citizens, young people are no longer passive recipients of national resources, but active participants by their own ways and by creating their own habitus. Within the limits of this study, one of the most remarkable findings about the dynamics of youth participation, in terms of political participation, was that they refuse to follow mainstream means of political engagement such as political parties and consciously avoid being involved in institutionalized decision making mechanisms such as city councils/youth councils constructed by authorities.

On the other hand, this does not mean that they are disinterested in social and political problems; inversely they are highly concerned about their future and society. Young people, who have a certain extent of ethnic consciousness, are more eager to participate in contemporary ways of political engagement like civil society organizations, protests and social movements. Lüküslü (2009) argues that one of the reasons why youth in Turkey does not involve in politics is because they do not trust politicians and political mechanisms. Furthermore, Inglehart (1997) explains changing dimensions of youth participation with cultural transformation. According to Inglehart, traditional materialist values that are linked to authority and security of post industrial societies has been substituted with post-materialist values like human rights, environmental rights, gender equality, freedom of speech etc. Accordingly, he also argues that while the support and emphasis previously given to hierarchical bureaucratic institutions and general elections decreases, interest and participation in post-structural social movements, transnational advocacy networks and other political participation features has been increasing especially among young people.

Young people, participated in the interviews do not exclude the significance of voting while regarding voting as one of the essential political duties of citizens, however they do not believe that their needs are considered by politicians or their votes make sense for them. They also never tend to participate in political parties due to the reason that they do not consider them as accountable means of political

participation and they also beware of being labelled and excluded from public institutions (such as high school, university, local public institutions etc.) and labour market. Many of the young participants emphasize the ethnic discrimination they have experienced since primary school and reflect that they are not feeling as an equal citizen of Turkey both in their relation with society and public institutions. Additionally, almost all of the young men classified under Category 2, stress their reluctance to be engaged with politics considering their families warnings and due to the inconsistent political conjuncture.

There are also various studies showing that women participate less in politics. Many scholars argued that women participate less like other disadvantaged groups or groups near the periphery do (Milbrath 1966; Hart 1992; Erdolu 2007). Although the gap is closing for voting participation, it seems that the level of women's participation in South-eastern Anatolia in terms of political party membership is still lower than men's in South-eastern Anatolian. Furthermore, many of them also indicate that they are being forced to follow the directives of their families in terms of their choices during elections.

In terms of their cultural participation, while almost all of the young participants, especially during their primary and high-school education, in many ways engaged in precarious occupation and they emphasize the significance of broader education and employment policies, including sufficient provision of scholarship opportunities for the better involvement of young people into society and labour market. While the young men classified under the first category drew more attention to a broader understanding of particular youth social and political rights like freedom of movement, freedom of organization, freedom of speech, sheltering right etc., the rest of the young participants strictly stressed their concerns about their engagement into education and employment services due to their socio-economic background. In this sense, almost all of the young people find social rights inadequate and stress that they need to be improved.

In terms of the social and political participation of young people, feminist theorists also put emphasis on the gender inequality between young men and women. Although, Turkey has experienced significant cultural and social transformation by the strong impact of Westernization process brought with the foundation of the Turkish Republic, masses of women, especially the ones living in the rural areas remained unpaid family workers in agriculture with limited access to formal education (Akman, Tütüncü, 2011). Dericioğulları, (2008) argues that during the post-1960 era, in which the Turkish state was defined as a social state, by the 1961 constitution, women citizens' social rights were largely constructed on the basis of their mothering roles and social aid. On the other hand, according to statistics taken from TURKSTAT[109], women still constitute 84% of the total illiterate population which means one in every five women are still illiterate and also constitutes 22.2% of the economically active population while 47% of the female population in Turkey are housewives dependent on their husbands for social security coverage. Almost all of the young women participated in this study stress the insufficiency of scholarship opportunities and special social assistance for disadvantaged groups which might enable them to continue their education. The outputs of the interviews with young women reveals that within the scope of the youth activities implemented by Youth Centres and Youth and Culture House they mainly prefer leisure time activities and vocational courses to improve their personal capacity to be able to get involved into labour force. In terms of their social participation in the youth activities both in Youth Centres and Youth and Culture House are even bounded to their families' permission according to the accountability and safety of the youth centres. Dwyer (2004) concludes that public-private dichotomy is a theoretical and practical barrier to women's participation and that the private duties characteristically assigned to women have a negative impact on women's ability to be active in the public sphere.

Lastly, with respect to the interviews with young people living in Mardin, it is possible to say that the international youth training and exchange programmes implemented by transnational institutions (such as European Union and United Nations) and newly emerging civil society organizations could be accepted as the

[109] Data on household labour force, TURKSTAT, 2008

breakup of ideological conception of youth by state and could be related with the emergence of new *public sphere*[110] in which the engagement of young people to the society was held with a broader perspective of 'participation' including social, cultural, economic and political aspects. Regardless of the categorization of young people who have participated in this study, different from how youth activities, services and policies were institutionalized and how their social, cultural and political participation were structured, young people are creating their own 'habitus'[111]including their social relations, new social norms and values to contribute to the well-being of a community.

Policy recommendations

Finally, in order to ensure social, economic and political integration of young people into the society improving the 'capabilities'[112] of young people should be considered on a preferential basis. As France (2007) argues policy making needs to be responsive to the new social contexts and should follow the developments of 'late' or 'high' modernity (Giddens, 1991).

Inadequate social and political definition of 'youth' has come out with many integration and social exclusion problems. The ideological perception of youth as 'citizens in making' and 'the future of nation state', conflicts with the inadequate policies of the states. As it is seen in Turkey example, the state control over the means of participation comes out as one of the state methodology to protect the sustainability of nation state. When the legislations of different institutions in Turkey about youth is evaluated, it is seen that young people are considered as a human resource that should be trained to ensure the unity of the state and as a group in society that should be protected against bad habits (Youth Partnership 2010).

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[110] **Crossley, N.; Roberts, J.M.** 2004. "After Habermas: New Perspective on the Public Sphere".

[111] **Harker, R; Mahar, C., Wilkes, C.** (2001). *An Introduction To The Work Of Pierre Bourdieu.* Palgrave. New York.

[112] **Sen, Amartya.** "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny, Social Development".2000. Social Developmnet.

When the concepts of commodification of work, the emergence of interventionist state with the declining role of family, market legislations on the definition of 'dependent age', extended education period and rising need for higher qualifications for the market integration, right to vote but not yet be selected; cultural, ethnic and social discrimination and inadequate resources for market and social integration, combined with the new conceptualization of 'youth', it contrasts with the *functionalist* suggestions and has gone too far from being a problem which could be melted within the social dynamics. In this respect, it is relevant to argue that, social policies are required in order to cope with the youth problem and for the sustainability of the lives that are bounded to the market rules.[113]

In terms of the 'capability' approach the free access to infrastructure, social security services and citizenship rights are the main sources of being a member of state. In this respect, to have a decent job and income, owning basic social rights like access to health, education, sheltering, and social security, having cultural rights related to ethnic origin, religion and gender and to have right to organize, free speech, political participation, right to vote, and *moreover* technological equipment to access internet and global media sources[114] can be directly correlated with the individual freedom and the sources which are necessary for young people to equally participate, in terms of capability approach. On the other hand, lacking those sources may result in 'social exclusion'[115]. The major form of social exclusion comes out as poverty; however poverty is not synonymous for social exclusion. As it is seen in the analysis of youth participation case handled in this study a politically and socially undefined age group may face social exclusion with respect to their vulnerable position towards access to basic citizenship rights.

The active participation of the young people is encouraged by both the European Union and United Nations by giving reference to their social, cultural, political and

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[113] **Buğra A.; Keyder Ç.** 2006. "Sosyal Politika Yazıları". İletişim Yayıncılık

[114] **Loader, Brian D. (2007).** "Young Citizen in the Digital Age; Political Engagement, Young People and New Media". Milton Park. Abingdon. Oxon. New York.

[115] **Sen, Amartya.** "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny, Social Development".2000. Social Developmnet.

economic participation in the society. The World Youth Report of United Nations (2007) indicates that young people are no longer passive recipients of national resources but the solution partners of social problems who can make important contribution to their countries' development.

In terms of the economic participation of the young people, Human Development Report/ Youth in Turkey (2008) reveals that vocational courses which has being implemented by Turkish Labour Agency (ISKUR) is not sufficient to solve the unemployment problem. As also young people who were participated in the interviews emphasized that, trivialization of vocational schools, especially considering the cities like Mardin where service sector is less developed, is a significant problem. The participation of young people to the informal sector is another crucial problem that, young people have been facing mainly since primary school years. As it was discussed in the data analysis chapter almost all of the young people, particularly males, were in various forms engaged in precarious occupation mainly without any social security. They emphasize that gaining money is necessary for them to be able to continue to their education and to contribute to household income. Particularly for young women, sufficient social benefits and scholarship opportunities are more vital due to the reason that illiteracy and school dropout is more prevalent among women.

According to the unemployment statistics (TURKSTAT, 2013)[116] while the unemployment figure in Turkey is 2,4 million, 756 thousand of that figure is composed of unemployed youth, which means 8 points more than average unemployment rate. In the recent years, by the affect of neo-liberal economic policies, Turkey also engaged in neoliberal flexible labour market restructuring in both labour market and social security system. Despite the restructuring in the labour market which has brought more flexible and precarious working conditions, relative poverty and unemployment were not decreased. Thomas and Percy-Smith (2010) reveals that for children and young people in the majority world, 'participation' is often as much about survival, meeting their basic needs and contributing to their family and community. Yenturk (2008) argues that in order struggle with youth

[116] **TURKSTAT**, Labour Force Statistics, 15-24 age group (2013)

unemployment, comprehensive policies including both economic and social restructuring should be considered. The unemployment rates, prevalence of informal employment among young people and working in aggravated circumstances without social security show us the disadvantage situation of young people towards labour market. On the other hand, involvement of young people into unskilled labour is much more higher that other age groups. Yentürk also argues that the structural problems behind the social and economic participation of young people most likely will end up with increasing youth unemployment and social exclusion. In this respect, decent work opportunities for young people covering social security, internship and part-time employment opportunities should be considered and implemented. In terms of the outputs of International Labour Conference of ILO that was held in 2005 Geneva on youth employment[117] it was declared that many developing countries are unable to generate enough employment and income-generating opportunities to fulfil the employment needs of their labour force. While, slow growth of formal economy is one of the key factors of that underdevelopment, inadequate social policies, active labour market policies and social rights are particularly responsible for the high rate of unemployment. In this respect, generating enough employment opportunities as well as specific trainings for young people and eliminating discrimination during the integration into the labour market should be emphasized. Additionally, as it is also observed in the interviews that very few of young people are conscious about labour market policies and employment services of Turkish Labour Agency, which means labour market information services should also be improved to recover youth from being the most vulnerable group in business cycle.

Considering special social rights for young people, especially for the ones coming from disadvantaged families, scholarship, free sheltering and local transportation services is highly significant to ensure their mobility and access to education. Almost all of the young participants highlight that they could not be able to continue their higher education due to lack of sufficient resources and special social assistance.

[117] International Labour Conference, 2005, Geneva, Report IV: "Youth: Pathways to Decent Work"

On the other hand, while regulating social rights, considering the gender dimension is highly crucial for the equal participation of the young women into the social and economic life. For instance, many of the young women participated in the interviews reflect that they hardly get permission from their families if the youth centres or their working place is not close to their houses. In this respect, both for the young women living in the city centre and distant provinces, adequate and safe transportation is significant for their access to both social services and youth centres. Moreover, the number of youth centres should also be increased considering the volume of the provinces as well. Dedeoğlu (2012) argues that if legislative reforms will not be supported by practical local policies, the legal reforms to ensure gender equality would become useless.

Due to social participation of young people, although the activities of Youth and Culture Houses managed by GAP Regional Administration and leisure time activities of Youth Centres of Ministry of Youth and Sports seem beneficial and efficient to ensure social participation of young people living in Mardin, both youth centres and social activities are not sufficient considering the young population living in the city centre and provinces as well. On the other hand, it was understood from the interviews that the youth projects implemented in the city such as, youth projects of civil society organizations, international youth exchange projects, trainings on right based issues and youth projects of National Agency, should be increased considering the higher demand of young people. It was revealed that particularly these activities create significant impact on young people in terms of their consciousness on their rights and social problems. Moreover other activities like leisure time activities and vocational courses help young people to socialize, meet with new people and develop their self-confidence which is crucial for their social integration.

In order to increase the political participation of young people, particularly the local participatory mechanisms such as Youth Councils of City Councils[118] implemented by local municipalities should be reconstructed as well as national participatory mechanisms should be developed. The Youth Councils, as a significant source of

[118] "City Councils" are the local participation structures which were founded with the Municipality Law No 5393

political and social participation of young people, should be reorganized to create more accountable and transparent decision making structures and these reforms should also be supported with legislations. In the current situation the participation of young people into decision making mechanisms stands in a ‘symbolic’ situation while their recommendations are taken but not considered or replied in return. Consequently, almost all of the young people do not regard youth councils of local municipalities as reliable means of participation, while defining city councils as “backyards or certain political parties”. The needs and recommendations of young people, in every particular province, should be considered in terms of the regulation of social services for the efficient use of resources.

Lastly, as almost all of the young people participated in the research emphasize that social discrimination and the violation of cultural rights of ethnic minorities should be eliminated by the urgent development of constitutional citizenship which is not linked to nationality or any particular ethnic identity. As Arakon (in Dönmez and Enneli, 2011) argues that the resolution of Kurdish question introduces various ways to find a new paradigm of citizenship and civil rights which put emphasis on rights such as non-discrimination on religious, linguistic, cultural and political levels. Kurdish minorities living in Turkey needs to be full citizens of Turkey, with full political, cultural, economic and social rights along with right to advocate and right to education in native language. These reforms should be guaranteed with necessary amendments in the constitution while social discrimination towards Kurdish minorities should also be prohibited by legal sanctions.

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
STATISTICS

Table 1.1- Demographic Profile of the Respondents and Family Members

	Age	Sex	Education	Occupation (Occupation Status)	Social Insurance
1st Respondent	20	M	High School	Waiter	Green Card
Mother	55	F	Illiterate	Unemployed	Green Card
Father	63	M	Secondary School	Self Employed/Retired	Green Card
2nd Respondent	23	M	University	Employed in Movie Company	Green Card
Mother	48	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Father	48	M	Secondary School	Construction Company	Insurance for Self-Emp.
3rd Respondent	19	F	High School	Unemployed	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Mother	38	F	High School	Self Employed/Cosmetic	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Father	42	M	High School	Self Employed/Cafe Owner	Insurance for Self-Emp.
4th Respondent	25	M	University	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	Passed away	F	Primary School	-	-
Father	72	M	Primary School	Construction Worker/Retired	Retirement Fund
5th Respondent	21	M	Preparing to University	Unemployed	Retirement Fund
Mother	43	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Retirement Fund
Father	47	M	High School	Public Servant	Retirement Fund
6th Respondent	24	M	Master Student	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	45	F	Primary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	48	M	High School	Factory Worker	Social Insurance I.

Father	48	M	High School	Factory Worker	Social Insurance I.
7th Respondent	23	M	University	Private Sector	-
Mother	60	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Retirement Fund
Father	60	M	High School	Retired Public Servant	Retirement Fund
8th Respondent	23	M	High School	Trainer in Public Centre	Social Insurance I.
Mother	58	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Retirement Fund
Father	58	M	Illiterate	Public Servant	Retirement Fund
9th Respondent	18	M	High School	Construction Worker	Social Insurance I.
Mother	40	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	47	M	Illiterate	Construction Worker	Social Insurance I.
10th Respondent	18	M	High School	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	42	F	Primary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	48	M	High School Drop Out	Technician	Social Insurance I.
11th Respondent	21	M	High School Drop Out	Electrician	Social Insurance I.
Mother	61	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Retirement Fund
Father	65	M	Secondary School	Ministry of Environment/Retired	Retirement Fund
12th Respondent	19	M	High School	Intern in Brick Factory	Social Insurance I.
Mother	49	F	Primary School Drop Out	Housewife	Retirement Fund
Father	53	M	Illiterate	Public Servant	Retirement Fund
13th Respondent	23	M	University	Folk Dance Trainer	Social Insurance I.
Mother	43	F	Primary School Drop Out	Housewife	Green Card
Father	51	M	Primary School	Self Employed	Green Card
14th Respondent	24	M	High School	Folk Dance Trainer	Social Insurance I.
Mother	60	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Green Card
Father	70	M	Primary School	Unemployed	Green Card

Father	47	M	Secondary School	Construction Worker	Insurance for Self-Emp.
16th Respondent	23	F	Vocational High School	Trainee in Fashion Workshop	Social Insurance I.
Mother	49	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Green Card
Father	54	M	Primary School	Self Employed/Driver	Green Card
17th Respondent	23	M	Associate Degree	Construction Company	Social Insurance I.
Mother	45	F	Primary School	Housewife	Green Card
Father	53	M	Primary School	Farmer	Green Card
18th Respondent	19	F	High School	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	40	F	Primary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	45	M	Primary School	Welding Worker	Social Insurance I.
19th Respondent	18	F	High School	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	34	F	University Student	Sales Woman	Social Insurance I.
Father	38	M	High School	Air Conditioner Technician	Social Insurance I.
20th Respondent	18	F	High School Student	Unemployed	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Mother	39	F	Primary School	Housewife	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Father	42	M	High School	Farmer	Insurance for Self-Emp.
21st Respondent	22	F	High School	Cashier	Social Insurance I.
Mother	40	F	Secondary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	50	M	High School Drop Out	Self Employed	Social Insurance I.
22nd Respondent	19	F	Associate Degree	Unemployed	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Mother	55	F	Primary School	Housewife	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Father	65	M	Primary School Drop Out	Public Servant/Retired	Insurance for Self-Emp.
23rd Respondent	16	F	High School Student	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	38	F	Secondary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	43	M	High School	Self Employed	Social Insurance I.
24th Respondent	17	F	High School Student	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	40	F	Primary School Drop Out	Housewife	Social Insurance I.

Father	46	M	Primary School	Servant in High School	Social Insurance I.
25th Respondent	19	F	High School	Real Estate Agent	Social Insurance I.
Mother	38	F	Primary School	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	48	M	Secondary School	Employee in Coffee House	Social Insurance I.
26th Respondent	18	F	High School Student	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Mother	42	F	Illiterate	Housewife	Social Insurance I.
Father	46	M	High School	Public Servant/Retired	Social Insurance I.
27th Respondent	19	M	University Student	Folk Dance Trainer	Green Card
Mother	50	F	Primary School	Housewife	Green Card
Father	54	M	High School	Self Employed	Green Card
28th Respondent	24	M	University	Assistant in the Youth and Culture House	Social Insurance I.
Mother	60	F	Primary School	Unemployed	Social Insurance I.
Father	65	M	Secondary School	Public Servant/Retired	Social Insurance I.
29th Respondent	25	M	University	Film Director	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Mother	59	F	Illiterate	Unemployed	Insurance for Self-Emp.
Father	65	M	High School	Self Employed	Insurance for Self-Emp.

Figure 1.2- Educational level of the respondents

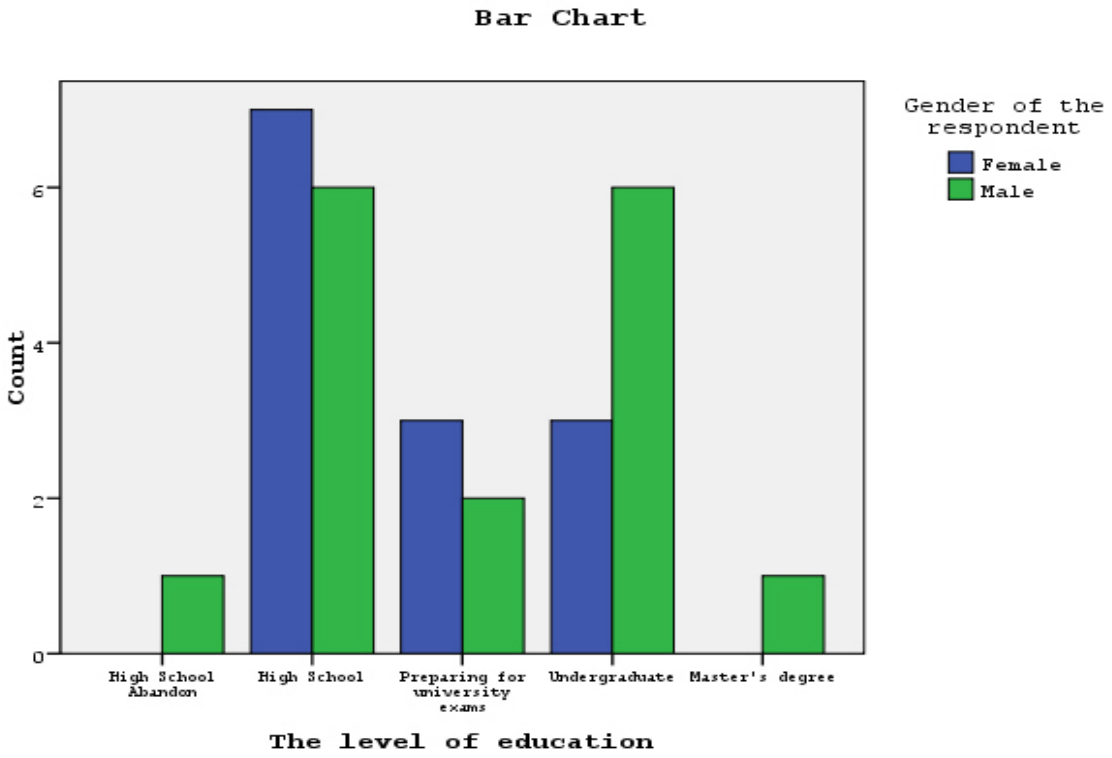

Table 2.1- Existence of social security by gender of the respondents

		Gender of the respondents		
		Female	Male	**Total**
Social Security	Exist	3	4	7
	Does not exist	2	11	13
Total		5	15	20

Table 2.2- Monthly income by gender of the respondents

		Gender of the Respondents		Total
		Female	Male	
Monthly income	100-200 TL	0	2	2
	300-400 TL	1	1	2
	400-500 TL	1	2	3
	500-600 TL	2	5	7
	600-700 TL	0	1	1
	700-800 TL	0	3	3
	800-1000 TL	1	2	3
Total		5	16	21

Table 2.3- Reason of quitting job by gender of the respondents

		Gender of the respondents		Total
		Female	Male	
Reason of leave	**Just working in semester**	2	15	17
Total		2	15	17

Table 2.4- "Are you aware of the services provided by Turkish Labour Institution?" by gender of the respondents

		Gender of the respondents		
		Female	Male	Total
Did you aware of the services of Turkish Labour Institution	Yes	6	12	18
	No	7	4	11
Total		13	16	29

Table 2.5- How did young people find their jobs by gender of the respondents

		Gender of the respondents		Total
		Female	Male	
How did you find these jobs?	Job application	3	4	7
	Acquaintanceship	2	12	14
Total		5	16	21

Table 3.4- Participation in a political party by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever been involved in/are you involved in a political party?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	6	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	1	10	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	12	12
Total		1	28	29

Table 3.5- Participation in the "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever been involved in/are you involved in "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people do participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	1	5	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	1	12	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	10	10
Total		2	27	29

Table 3.6- Participation in a social protest by the categories of the respondents

		Would you participate in a protest, if there was any?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people would participate	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	6	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	1	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	11	1	12
Total		27	2	29

Table 3.7- Signing a petition to local authorities by the categories of the respondents

		Have you ever signed a petition addressed to local authorities?		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	1	5	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	5	8	13
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	10	10
Total		6	23	29

Table 3.8- Voting in the general elections by the categories of the respondents

		Are you voting in the general elections		Total
		Yes	No	
The categories of the respondents/ How many young people	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	6	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	11	0	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	11	1	12
Total		28	1	29

Table 3.12- *Likert Scale questions*- "I think that social rights (like education/health services/employment) provided to citizens in Turkey are enough" by the by the categories of the respondents

		I think that social rights (like education/health services/employment) provided to citizens in Turkey are enough.					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	1	3	2	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	0	4	4	1	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	2	0	5	1	12
Total		6	2	5	12	4	29

Table 3.13- *Likert Scale questions*- "I am sufficiently informed about my citizenship rights" by the categories of the respondents

		I am sufficiently informed about my citizenship rights					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	2	1	3	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	5	1	1	4	0	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	2	1	4	1	12
Total		9	3	4	9	4	29

Table 3.14- *Likert Scale questions*- "I do not think that my citizenship rights are constitutionally protected and conveyed enough" by the categories of the respondents

		I do not think that my citizenship rights are constitutionally protected and conveyed enough					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	2	0	1	2	1	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	5	2	3	1	0	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	0	1	6	1	12
Total		11	2	5	9	2	29

Table 3.15- *Likert Scale questions*- "I do not feel as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic" by the categories of the respondents

		I do not feel as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	4	0	2	0	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	4	1	2	1	3	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	0	1	6	1	12
Total		12	1	5	7	4	29

Table 3.16- *Likert Scale questions*- "As a citizen I think that I do not have sufficient rights and freedom" by the categories of the respondents

		As a citizen I think that I do not have sufficient rights and freedom					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	3	1	1	1	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	6	0	2	2	1	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	2	1	2	6	1	12
Total		11	2	5	9	2	29

Table 3.17- *Likert Scale questions*- "I don't think that education in native language is a citizenship right" by the categories of the respondents

		I don't think that education in native language is a citizenship right				Total
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	0	6	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	1	0	1	9	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	3	1	8	12
Total		1	3	2	23	29

Table 3.19- *Likert Scale questions*- "Voting is the primary essential duty of the citizens" by the categories of the respondents

		Voting is the primary essential duty of the citizens			Total
		Strictly agree	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	4	1	1	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	11	0	0	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	12	0	0	12
Total		27	1	1	29

Table 3.20- *Likert Scale questions*- "Voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties" by the categories of the respondents

		Voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	3	0	3	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	0	0	3	6	2	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	4	1	2	3	2	12
Total		4	1	8	9	7	29

Table 3.21- *Likert Scale questions*- "Ensuring social peace is the citizenship duty of all individuals living in this country" by the categories of the respondents

		Ensuring social peace is the citizenship duty of all individuals living in this country			Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	5	1	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	10	0	1	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	12	0	0	12
Total		27	1	1	29

Table 3.22- *Likert Scale questions*- "I do not think that civil society organizations play an important role in the construction of an equal society" by the categories of the respondents

		I do not think that civil society organizations play an important role in the construction of an equal society				Total
		Strictly agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	0	6	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	0	3	3	5	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	2	5	4	1	12
Total		2	8	7	12	29

Table 3.23- *Likert Scale questions*- "I do not think that volunteer activities are important for a more equal society" by the categories of the respondents

		I do not think that volunteer activities are important for a more equal society					Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	0	0	6	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	2	0	1	3	5	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	0	1	0	5	6	12
Total		2	1	1	8	17	29

Table 3.24- *Likert Scale questions*- "Generating solutions for social problems is not a civic responsibility" by the categories of the respondents

		Generating solutions for social problems is not a civic responsibility				Total
		Strictly agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strictly disagree	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	0	0	1	5	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	0	1	7	3	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	1	1	7	3	12
Total		1	2	15	11	29

Table 3.25- *Likert Scale questions*- "I think that following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed are important" by the categories of the respondents

		I think that following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed are important			Total
		Strictly agree	Agree	Neutral	
The categories of the respondents	First Category: Young people differentiate according to their ethnic counsiousness	6	0	0	6
	Second Category: Young people differentiate according to their political belonging	8	1	2	11
	Third Category: Young people differentiate according to their gender	8	2	2	12
Total		22	3	4	29

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH QUESTIONAIRE

***SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS AND FAMILY MEMBERS*Family Profile**

Relation	Age	gender	Educational Background	Work (Work Status)	Social Security
Respondent					
Mother					
Father					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					
Sibling					

1. **Respondent's place of residence:**

a) I live with my family
b) I rent a house
c) I own my house

2. **How many siblings do you have?**

……

3. **Family income:**

a) 100-300 TL
b) 300-600 TL
c) 600-900 TL
d) 900-1200 TL
e) 1200 TL, and more

4. **Municipal water**
5. **Legal electrical power**
6. **Sewage, waste water system**
7. **Residential permit**

8. **Which of the following do you have at home?**

EQUIPMENT	**YES**	**NO**
Computer		
Washing Machine		
Dishwasher		
More than one TV set		
Vacuum cleaner		
Camera		
Video/VCD/DVD (*please specify.)*		
Automobile		

9. **Marital status:**

a) Single
b) Married

10. **Do you have children? If you do, how many?**

11. Please give detailed information about your line of work.

12. Have you ever worked before? / Have you ever worked anywhere other than your current workplace?

a) Yes
b) No

If your answer is "yes", please answer question 14 and onward. If your answer is "no", please skip to question 15.

13. Please provide detailed information about your previous lines of work

Line of work	Work period	Status	Salary	The reason you left

14. Are you looking for a job?

a. Yes
b. No

15. If your answer is "yes", what kind of job are looking for?

16. How did you find your job(s)?

17. Are you aware of the services provided by Turkish Employment Agency regarding İŞKUR Job finding/search?

a) Yes
b) No

18. Do you receive any aid from any social aid institution?

a) Yes
b) No

If your answer is "yes" please specify the name(s) of the institution(s) you receive aid from.

19. Do you receive scholarship? If you do, please specify.

20. Do you have Internet access at home?

a) Yes
b) No

21. **How many times a week do you access Internet? How much time do you spend online?**

22. **What are the websites you visit most and what kind of information do you search online?**

1) **2)** **3)** **4)**

SECTION II: PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY

23. **What are the organizations/projects/civil society organizations do you participate in?**

Organization	Project	Your duty	Participation time

24. **Why do you participate in the projects/organizations you stated above?** ***(Please specify your reasons according to the project types and according to the civil society organizations?)***

25. How did you find out about these projects/studies? How did you get involved?

26. More specifically, do you benefit from Youth and Culture Houses directed by South-eastern Anatolia Project Directorate and/or Youth Centres directed by Youth and Sports Department?

a) Yes
b) No

If your answer is "yes", please answer question 34 and onward. If your answer is "no", please skip to question 35.

27. Please specify the projects of which centres you participated in:

a) Youth and Culture Houses directed by South-eastern Anatolia Project Directorate
b) Youth Centres directed by Youth and Sports Department
c) Both

28. Which projects do you/did you participate in in these centres?

1. 2. 3.

29. Do you find the activities of the youth centres in your city (Youth and Culture Houses directed by South-eastern Anatolia Project Directorate and Youth Centres directed by Youth and Sports Department) sufficient?

a. Yes
b. No

30. In your opinion, what activities could be added / altered in youth centres?

31. Please state the changes /effects of the projects / civil society organizations on you in 3 words/sentences?

32. What are the general effects of the projects/activities/civil society organizations you participated in? What kind of changes happened to you with participation in these activities?

SECTION III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATON

33. Are you actively involved in a political party? If yes, which one?

a) Yes .....

b) No

34. Are you actively involved in "City Council" or "Youth Council" of the local municipality?

a. Yes

b. No

***If your answer is "no", please specify why not?**

35. Are you a member of any association/chamber/union? Which one?

36. What do you think about the protests/movements of various parties/unions or groups?

37. Would you participate in such protest or movement?

a. Yes

b. No

**If your answer is "yes", please answer the following statements.*

- I would participate if it was about something I am interested in

a. Yes
b. No

- I would participate even if it was not about something I am interested personally

a. Yes
b. No

38. Have you ever signed a petition addressed to local authorities?

a. Yes
b. No

39. If your answer is "yes", please specify the grounds of your petition? What was the result?

40. How do you find out about the developments in political agenda?

41. What do you consider when voting?

SECTION IV: MEASUREMENT OF CITIZENSHIP PERCEPTION

Part 1

Please rate the following statements, giving the number from 1 to 5 in accordance with the following answers.

1) ***Strongly agree***
2) ***Somewhat agree***
3) ***Indeterminate***
4) ***Somewhat disagree***
5) ***Strongly disagree***

42. I think that social rights (like education/health services/employment) provided to citizens in Turkey are enough.

43. I am sufficiently informed about my citizenship rights.

44. I don't face any obstacles in using and having my citizenship rights.

45. I don't think that my citizenship rights are constitutionally protected and conveyed enough.

46. I don't think that education in native language is a citizenship right.

47. I think I cannot have enough education because I do not have the right to education in native language.

48. I do not feel as an equal citizen of Turkish Republic.

49. As a citizen I think that I do not have sufficient rights and freedom.

50. I think that, regardless of ethnic origin and religious beliefs, every citizen is equal in the eyes of public institutions and is treated equally.

51. I don't face any obstacles in demanding my rights.

52. I don't think I have sufficient representation right against the state as a citizen.

53. Voting is the primary essential duty of the citizens.

54. Voting and paying taxes are enough to accomplish the citizenship duties.

55. Social rights must be provided and guarded by the state.

56. I don't think that individuals in this country play a significant role in providing social welfare; it is the state's duty.

57. Ensuring social peace is the citizenship duty of all individuals living in this country .

58. I don't think that civil society organizations play an important role in the construction of an equal society.

59. I don't think that volunteer activities are important for a more equal society.

60. Generating solutions for social problems is not a civic responsibility.

61. I think that following the political agenda of the state and to react when it is needed are important.

SECTION IV/ CITIZENSHIP PERCEPTION

62. What do you associate with the word countryman/citizen? Please specify the first ideas/definitions/examples that come to your mind?

63. What do you associate with being a citizen in Turkish Republic?

64. Would you define yourself as a citizen (according to the definition/concept/examples you provided above)?

65. As a young person, what do you think are the basic rights that the state should provide you with?

66. Do you think the state provides such rights? At what degree does it provide? At what degree does it not?

67. Have you ever encountered an obstacle while demanding your rights? If your answer is "yes", please specify?

68. Do you think you are sufficiently represented against the state? If your answer is "no", please specify?

69. Do you think problems can be solved by individuals? What can you do to solve social problems? What would be your choices? What would you do?

70. What do you think is necessary for equal, free and respectful living of the individuals in a society?

71. In your opinion, what are the responsibilities of the individuals against the state and the society?

72. In your opinion, what are the state's responsibilities against its citizens

APPENDIX C

TURKISH SUMMARY

GENÇLERİN KATILIMININ FARKLI DİNAMİKLERİ
MARDİN, TÜRKİYE

Bu çalışma Türkiye'nin en az gelişmiş bölgelerinden biri olan Mardin'de gençlerin katılımının farklı dinamiklerini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma boyunca gençlerin katılım düzeylerini etkileyen farklı boyutları ve sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılımlarını etkileyen farklı dinamiklerini ortaya çıkartmaya çalıştım.

Hali hazırda kentlerde yaşayan gençler ile gerçekleştirilmiş araştırmaların ötesinde, bu çalışmayı özel olarak Türkiye'de insani gelişmişlik göstergelerine göre en düşük puanlardan birine sahip olan Mardin'de/Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde, bu bölgede yaşayan gençlerin katılımının farklı dinamiklerinin mekân ile olan ilişkisini de kurarak gerçekleştirmeyi amaçladım.

Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi yapısal yetersizlikler, kısıtlı istihdam olanakları, yetersiz sosyal yardımlar ve servislerin yanı sıra, gençlerin katılımının da ülke ortalamasının altında olduğu bölgeler arasında yer alıyor. Bölgede yaşayan tüm gençleri eşit düzeyde etkileyen yapısal kısıtların ötesinde bölgede gençlerin katılımını etkileyen faktörler homojen değiller ve farklı sosyal, kültürel ve politik koşullara göre değişkenlik gösteriyorlar. Bu bağlamda, araştırmanın en önemli bulgularından biri gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılımlarının; sivil, siyasi ve kültürel haklarını algılama biçimlerinin ve politik katılımlarının, etnik farkındalıklarına, politik duruşlarına ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine göre farklılaşıyor olduğu. Buradan hareketle, araştırmaya katılan gençler 3 farklı grup altında ele alındı. Buna göre, birinci kategori altında sınıflanan gençler belli düzeyde etnik farkındalıkları olan, herhangi bir etnik grubu veya mezhebi ayırt etmeden anayasal haklarını talep eden, hak ihlallerinin ve sivil, kültürel, siyasi haklarının farkında olan gençlerden oluşuyor. İkinci kategori daha çok muhafazakâr bir siyasi görüşe sahip olan ve çoğunlukla iktidar partisinin (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- AKP)

politikalarına yakın duran, belirli hak alanlarına ve katılım şekillerine vurgu yapmayan, ancak gençlik projeleri/aktivitelerini daha çok bir kültürel katılım aracı olarak gören gençlerden oluşuyor. Son olarak üçüncü kategori belirli düzeyde toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ile karşılaşan ve çoğunlukla muhafazakâr toplum ve aile arasında sıkışıp kalmış genç kadınlardan oluşuyor.

Araştırmaya katılan gençlerin katılım düzeylerine göre üç farklı kategori altında sınıflanmasının yanı sıra, araştırma sırasında gençlerin katılım düzeyleri ve şekillerinden bağımsız olarak bulundukları alan içerisinde, değer yargılarını, sosyal, kültürel ve politik katılım araçlarını yeniden ürettikleri özgün kamusal alanlar oluşturdukları ortaya çıkıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gençlik, Gençlerin Katılımı, Sosyal Katılım, Kültürel Katılım, Siyasi Katılım, Aktif Vatandaşlık

Modern zaman öncesi ve modern zamanlar boyunca "gençlik" kavramı, ulus-devletlerin politikalarına bağlı olarak değişiklik göstermiş, bu politikalar ise "gençlik" yapısına bağlı olarak tanımlanmıştır. "Gençlik" kavramı, sosyal, politik ve ekonomik değişimlere bağlı olarak tanımlanmış ve değiştirilmiş bir sosyal kurum konusudur ve her zaman yaşa bağlı bir kavram olarak tanımlanmamıştır. Feodal toplum, yeni "modern" kentsel bölgelere dönüştüğünde değişen sosyal ve ailevi ilişkiler, bu tanımın yeniden kavramsallaştırılmasına yol açmıştır. Örneğin modernitenin ortaya çıkmasından önce feodal toplumlarda "gençlik" yerel olarak tanımlanmış, ailevi üretim etrafında şekillenmiştir; endüstriyel toplumun ortaya çıkmasından sonra geleneksel olarak tanımlanan roller, pazar ve devlet politikaları tarafından kontrol edilir hale gelmiştir. Tarihsel ve siyasi dinamiklerin yanı sıra, değişen algıyla birlikte "gençlik" kavramı, sosyoloji, kriminoloji, psikoloji ve eğitim bilimleri gibi disiplinlerce oluşturulmuştur.

Politik ve sosyal bir oluşum olarak "gençlik", pazar, toplum, devlet ve değişen sosyo-ekonomik koşullarca yeniden üretilmektedir. 1950'lilerden önce bir bireyin "kim olduğu", "ne iş yaptığı" ile eşdeğerken, özellikle 2. Dünya Savaşı'ndan ve

refah devletlerinin ortaya çıkışından sonra vatandaşlığın anlamı değişmiş ve "sosyal haklar" önem kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu ideolojik değişim özellikle eşitsiz kapitalist üretim ilişkilerine karşı vatandaşların eşitliği dikkate alınmaya başlandığında evrimleşmiştir.

1940'lı ve 1950'li yıllarda gençlik, yeni siyasi gelişimler ve refah reformları için önemli bir öncü güç haline gelmiştir. Örneğin 1945 yılında gençlerin Britanya'daki ekonomik gerilemeyi protesto etmesi, büyük refah reformlarının yeniden yapılandırılması ile sonuçlanmıştır.

Bir sosyal kurum olarak gençlik, her zaman bağımlı bir sosyal grup olarak ele alınıp, imparatorluğun ya da ulus-devletin egemenliği için eğitilmesi gereken bir grup olarak değerlendirilmiştir (France, 2007). Gençlik kavramındaki karmaşa, aynı zamanda orta çağlardan modern topluma kadar olan vatandaşlık yapısının ve algısının değişkenliği ile ilişkilidir. Antik Yunanistan ve Roma İmparatorluğu zamanından bir ayrıcalık olarak görülen 'vatandaşlık', liberal devlet ve refah politikalarının ortaya çıkmasıyla daha çok "statü eşitliği" ve "üyelik" kavramlarında yoğunlaşan, daha dâhil edici bir kavram haline gelmiştir. Elbette her bir farklı yaklaşım bakımından vatandaşlık, kişilerin ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi anlamda tam katılımını gerektirmektedir. Öte yandan gençler, uzayan eğitim süreleri yüzünden pazar entegrasyonu dışındadır ve siyasi katılım dışında "bağımlı çocukluk" ile "bağımsız yetişkinlik" evreleri arasında kategorize edilemeyen bir sosyal grup olarak kalmıştır. Buna ek olarak, Smith'e göre eğer gençler birer birey olarak tanınacak ise, gençler için daha dâhil edici bir yaklaşım oluşturmak için istihdam odaklı modelin ötesinde, daha kapsamlı bir katılım anlayışına ihtiyaç vardır (Smith, 2005, in Dönmez&Enneli, 2011).

1970'li yıllar sırasında, özellikle sosyal refah devleti içindeki liberal politikaların değişiminden sonra ortaya çıkan neo-liberal politikaların yıkıcı etkisi, ekonomik istikrar politikaları ile düzeltilmeye çalışılmıştır. Avrupa Birliğinin kuruluşu da, bireyler arasındaki cinsiyet, etnik, kültürel ve yaş farklarına ilişkin sosyal hakların yeniden yapılandırılmasını ciddi şekilde etkilemiştir. Bu şekilde gençlerin katılımı da, daha liberal eğilimler ile yeniden yapılandırılmış, gençlerin katılımına daha fazla vurgu yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Ulus-devletler hayatta kalmaya çalışırken ve büyük

sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik değişimler devletlerin egemenliğine meydan okurken gençlik, hem statükonun korunmasına karşı bir "tehdit", hem de devletin devamlılığını sağlayacak "kaynak" olarak görüşmüştür. Gençliğin heterojen yapısına bağlı olarak gençlik sorununun ele alınışı, cinsiyet, sınıf ve etnik köken bağlamında da değişkenlik göstermektedir. (France, 2007).

Bu açıdan gençlerin toplumla entegrasyonu, vatandaşlık tartışmalarının ötesinde, "katılım" gibi daha kapsamlı bir yaklaşım ile birlikte daha geniş bir bakış açısıyla ele alınmalıdır. Gençlerin katılımının vatandaşlık hak ve sorumlulukları açısından incelemek her ne kadar önemli ve gençlik sorununu anlamaya katkı verici olsa da, gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi hayata katılımlarını anlamak, gençlerin katılımını yalnızca hak ve sorumluluklar üzerinden tanımlayan dar ve yetersiz bir anlayışın ötesinde karşılıklı bir anlayışı gerektirmektedir. Aslında devlet katkılarının ve ideolojilerinin "pasif alıcısı" olmayan genç insanlar, günümüzün yeni sosyal dinamiklerinin ve kurumların birer yaratıcısı olarak görülmelidir.

20. yüzyılda ve şimdi de 21. yüzyılda gençlerin siyasi ve sosyal hayata katılımı, özellikle Avrupa Birliği'nin kurulması, "sosyal dışlanma" ve "katılım" odaklı yaklaşımlar çerçevesinde 'sivil toplum örgütleri', 'gençlik meclisleri' ve 'gençlik projeleri' gibi yeni kamusal alanların ortaya çıkışı ile genişlemiştir. Avrupa'daki sosyal ve siyasi entegrasyon politikaları açısından gençlerin güçlendirilmesi ve onlar için uygun koşulların yaratılması, sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik katılımlarının sağlanması için temel hedef haline gelmiştir. Avrupa Komisyonu, demokrasi ve politikaların sürdürülebilirliğinin sağlanabilmesi için gençlerin karar mekanizmalarına katılımını öncelik olarak almakta ve yine gençlerin katılımını garanti altına almak için karar verici merciler ile sürekli bir diyalog halinde bulunmaktadır. (Loncle et al., 2012). Devletlerin gençler üzerindeki müdahaleci politikaları, dünya çapında yaşanan ekonomik gerilemeler, siyasi temsiliyetin geleneksel şekillerine karşı yaşanan güvensizlikler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, 20. yüzyılın son çeyreğinden beri Avrupa Birliği, özellikle gençlerin karar mekanizmalarında yer almasını sağlayacak şekilde aktif katılımlarını arttırarak sivil, sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik açıdan dâhil edici politikalar geliştirmeyi denemektedir. Birleşmiş Milletler dokümanlarında, gençlerin katılımının, eğitim, sağlık, istihdam

ve yoksulluğun azaltılması gibi insani kalkınma değerleri ile doğrudan ilişkili olduğu belirtilmektedir (United Nations, 2007). Son zamanlarda geliştirilen bu modern 'katılım' kavramının dâhil edici yaklaşımı ile ulus-devletlerin ideolojik algıları arasında süregelen entelektüel bir mücadelenin de var olduğunu da vurgulamak son derece önemlidir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan beri gençlik, genç Türk Devleti'nin egemenliği için kendilerini feda edecek rejim koruyucuları olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Bu dönemden itibaren gençler için geliştirilen politikaların birincil amacı, gençlerin eğitimini ve fiziksel gelişimlerini sağlamak olarak belirlenmiş ve bu anlamda gençlerin okul içi ve okul dışı aktiviteleri, daha sağlıklı bir nesil yetiştirmek üzere spor aktiviteleri üzerine yapılandırılmıştır. (Enneli, 2011; Lüküslü, 2009; Nemutlu et al., 2008; Neyzi, 2001; Kabacalı, 2007). Diğer yandan Türkiye'deki gençlerin siyasi katılımı, 1970'lerde ve 1980'lerde devletin çok sert müdahalesine maruz kalmış, bu sert müdahaleler 1980'deki askeri darbe ile sonuçlanmıştır. O günden sonra siyasi olarak 'radikal' olarak tanımlanan gençlik, 'apolitik' bir gençlik haline gelmiş ve kapitalist toplumun pasif tüketicileri olarak yaftalanmıştır (Lüküslü, 2009; Neyzi, 2001). Genel olarak 21. yüzyılın başlarında, Avrupa Birliği'nin Türkiye ile müzakere süreci kapsamında gençlik politikaları, gençlik hizmetleri ve sosyal hakların genişletilmeye başlamasıyla iyileştirilmeye başlamış, daha etkin ve katılımcı yaklaşımlar geliştirilmiş, özellikle AB destekli gençlik projeleri çeşitlenmiş, ancak devletin gençlik konusundaki ideolojisi pek değişmemiştir (Enneli, 2011).

Bu yüksek lisans tezi, gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi hayata katılımı konusundaki son tartışmalara katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Gençlerin katılımının daha geniş bir anlayışını ortaya koymak için bu çalışmamda, Türkiye'nin en az gelişmiş bölgelerinden birinde yaşayan gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımı nasıl deneyimlediklerine ve katılım düzeylerini etkileyen farklı dinamiklerin ne olduğunu ortaya koymaya odaklandım. 'Yapabilirlik' ile katılım arasındaki bağlantıyı anlamak için araştırmamı, insani kalkınma göstergeleri bakımından Türkiye'de en düşük oranlarından birine sahip olan Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesinde yürütmeyi seçtim. Aynı zamanda "gençlik" kavramını çoğunlukla orta sınıf

ayrıcalıklı genç insanlara uygulayan ve gençlik aktivitelerinden çoğunlukla orta sınıf ayrıcalıklı gençlerin yararlanabilmesini eleştiren gençlik çalışmalarını bu çalışma kapsamında ele aldım.

Araştırma alanı olarak, Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı (GAP) kapsamında yürütülen ve BM Gençlik Projesi (Gençlik için Sosyal Gelişim) kapsamında Güneydoğu Anadolu'da kurulan Gençlik ve Kültür Evleri'nden biri olan Mardin Gençlik ve Kültür Evi belirlenmiştir. Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde özellikle genç insanlar birçok dezavantaj ile karşı karşıyadır. Gençler arasında en düşük istihdam ve yükseköğrenim oranına sahip olan bu bölge, aynı zamanda en düşük sosyal katılım oranına da sahiptir. Bu kapsamda gençlerin katılımının farklı parametrelerini anlamak için T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı'na bağlı olan Mardin Gençlik ve Kültür Evi'nde, gençlik aktivitelerine ve Gençlik ve Kültür Evi'nde yürütülen projelere aktif olarak katılan, yaşları 18 ile 25 arasında değişen gençler ile görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Veri analizi için hem niteliksel hem niceliksel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın niteliksel verileri için T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı'na bağlı olan Mardin Gençlik ve Kültür Evi'nde, gençlik aktivitelerine ve Gençlik ve Kültür Evi'nde yürütülen projelere aktif olarak katılan, yaşları 18 ile 25 arasında değişen 29 genç ile yüz yüze görüşmeler gerçekleştirildi. Araştırma kapsamında geliştirilen anket, yanıtlayan kişilerin ve aile bireylerinin demografik profiline, gençliğin sivil, sosyal ve siyasi katılımına ve vatandaşlık algısına ilişkin hem niteliksel hem niceliksel veri içermektedir. Haklar ve sorumluluklar üzerinden katılım ile yapabilirlikler arasındaki bağlantıyı daha iyi görmek ve gençlerin "vatandaş olmak" ve "vatandaşlık hak ve sorumlulukları" kavramlarını ne şekilde algıladıklarını ve tanımladıklarını anlamak için açık uçlu sorular sorulmuştur. Buna ek olarak niteliksel veriye niceliksel değer vermek için *Likert-Scale* metodu kullanılarak, açık uçlu sorular ile Likert-Scale ifadeleri arasında ilişkilendirme yapılmıştır. Ülkenin geneliyle karşılaştırma yapabilmek için de niceliksel veri analizi olarak GAP Gençlik Araştırması (2009) bölgesel verileri, Türkiye'nin Kapısındaki Fırsat: 2025'e Doğru Nüfus; Eğitim ve Yeni Açılımlar

(Eğitim Reformu Girişimi, 2004); Türkiye'de Gençlerin Katılımı Araştırması (KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık, 2013); Birleşmiş Milletler İnsani Kalkınma Türkiye Raporu: Türkiye'de Gençlik (UNDP, 2008); Young People's Transition to Adulthood: Progress and Challenge by United Nations (World Youth Report, 2007); Türkiye 'Gençlik Halleri' Araştırması (YADA Foundation, 2008) ve İstanbul Gençliği: STK üyeliği fark yaratıyor mu? (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Gençlik Çalışmaları Birimi, 2007) kullanılmıştır.

Çalışmanın Organizasyonu:

Bu çalışmada kullanılan anahtar kavramlar, gençlik, katılım, gençlik çalışması, vatandaşlık ve aktif vatandaşlık'tır. Tez boyunca, bu terimlerin tarihi ve kavramsal tanımları tartışılmış, kapsamlı bir anlayış içinde genç katılımın değişen dinamiklerini tartışmak için destekleyici açılar ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Tezin ikinci bölümü, yapısal ve siyasi dinamiklerini tanımlayarak "gençlik" terminolojisinin tarihsel evrimini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda katılım yaklaşımının evrimi, göreceli olarak dünya çapındaki ve ulusal gençlik politikaları ile sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılım dahil gençlik katılımı sorunu ele alınmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca, genç insanların topluma eşit ve tam katılımları açısından hakların tamamlayıcı rolünü tartışarak vatandaşlık yaklaşımı üzerinden katılım ve yapabilirlik arasındaki ilişki de ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak Avrupa Birliği, Birleşmiş Milletler ve Türkiye'deki gençlik politikalarını özetleterek, farklı gençlik yaklaşımları arasında ideolojik ve yapısal karşılaştırma da yapılmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölüm, temel kavramların tanımı, çalışma metodu, araştırma soruları, veri ve araştırmanın kapsamı ile çalışmanın sınırlamalarını içeren araştırma metodolojisini içermektedir.

Gençler ile yapılan yüz yüze görüşmelerin sonuçlarına ilişkin olarak dördüncü bölüm, gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımlarını ne şekilde algıladıkları ve deneyimledikleri açısından üç evrede değerlendirmektedir. İlk evrede, gençlerin demografik profilleri çıkartılarak, eğitime erişim, sosyal güvenlik, istihdam

hizmetleri vb. yapısal engeller ve yapabilirliklerin etkilerinin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır. Bölümün devamında, cinsiyet, sosyal haklar, katılım mekanizmalarının yapısal varlığı, sivil toplum ve gençlik projelerine katılma açısından gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımının değişen dinamiklerinin analiz edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, gençlerin katılımı, sosyal katılım (örn. kamusal alan, gençlik projeleri, sivil toplum örgütleri, vb.), kültürel katılım (örn. okula devam veya yükseköğrenim görme, istihdam seviyesi, mesleki ve kültürel kurslara/çalışmalara katılım) ve siyasi katılım (örn. siyasi partilere katılım, seçimlerde oy verme, yerel yönetimlerin kent konseylerine katılım, *çağdaş anlamda* sosyal protesto ve sivil örgütlere katılım) açısından değerlendirilmektedir.

Gençler ile yapılan yüz yüze görüşmelerin sonuçlarına göre gençlerin katılımının önündeki yapısal engellerin dışında gençler, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımlarına gelince etnik farkındalık, politik duruş ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri bakımından da üç ayrı kategori altında sınıflandırılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçları gösteriyor ki etnik kimlikleri konusunda farkındalıkları yüksek olan gençler, hak temelli gençlik aktivitelerine ve uluslararası gençlik değişim programlarına daha yoğun katılım eğilimi göstermekte; sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi haklarını talep etmekte ve hak ile sorumlulukların daha açık tanımını yapabilmektedir.

İkinci kategoride, iktidar partisinin yaklaşımına yakın muhafazakâr bir politik duruşa sahip gençler, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılım tercihlerine göre sınıflandırılmaktadır. Bu anlamda ikinci kategori altında sınıflandırılan gençler, boş vakitlerini değerlendirebilecekleri kişisel gelişim ve yetenek geliştirici kurs ve kültürel aktivitelere katılmayı tercih etmekte, Gençlik ve Kültür Evlerini sosyal ve kültürel sermayelerini genişletebilecekleri bir kaynak olarak görmektedirler. Son olarak toplumsal cinsiyet de, gençlerin sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılım seviyesini etkileyen önemli bir unsurdur. Bu nedenle, üçüncü kategori toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği nedeniyle sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımları diğer gençlerden farklılık gösteren, muhafazakâr toplum ve aile arasında sıkışıp kalmış genç kadınlardan oluşmaktadır. Buna ek olarak gençlerin kendi sosyal ve siyasi haklarını yorumlaması, siyasi katılım mekanizmaları ile olan karşılıklı ilişkileri dikkate alındığında gençlerin

kendilerini toplumun eşit üyeleri ve/veya devletin eşit vatandaşları olarak görmedikleri ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Görüşmelere katılan gençler, etnik farkındalık, politik duruş ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği bakımından üç ayrı kategori altında sınıflandırılmış ve Mardin'de sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımları üzerinden vatandaşlık hak ve sorumlulukları hakkında getirdikleri farklı yorumlar dikkate alınarak analiz edilmiştir.

Gençlerin sosyo-ekonomik altyapısı, eğitim seviyesi ve istihdam seviyeleri gençlerin sosyal ve siyasi katılım düzeyleri ile karşılaştırıldığında herhangi bir ilişki saptanmamıştır. Aslında, görüşmecilerin hemen hemen hepsi, alt-orta gelirli ve işçi sınıfı ailelerden gelmekte, eğitim seviyeleri ise farkındalıkları ve katılımları açısından herhangi önemli bir fark oluşturmamaktadır. Görüşmelere katılan gençlerin çoğu, özellikle de genç erkekler, ilkokul ve lise eğitimleri sırasında aile bütçesine katkıda bulunmak veya eğitimlerini sürdürebilmek için çeşitli güvencesiz işlerde çalışmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bununla birlikte, sosyo-ekonomik altyapı ve eğitim seviyesine bağlı olmaktan öte, gençlerin vatandaşlık hak ve sorumluluklarını tanımlamakta daha çok etnik farkındalık, politik eğilim ve toplumsal cinsiyet kimliğinin ciddi bir fark yaratmış olduğu gözlenmektedir. Bu anlamda, etnik farkındalıkları yüksek olan gençler (Kategori 1 olarak sınıflandırılan), anayasal haklarını tanımlamaları ve talep etmeleri; hak ihlalleri konusundaki farkındalıkları; sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi katılımları açısından diğer katılımcılardan farklı olarak katılım mekanizmalarını analiz etmeleri ve katılımları konusunda bilinçli tercihler yapmaları; son olarak da hak temelli gençlik çalışmalarına duydukları ilgi anlamında diğer gençlerden farklılaşmaktadırlar. İkinci kategori altında sınıflanan gençler sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi haklarını talep etmekte ve hak ile sorumlulukların daha liberal bir bakış açısıyla tanımlayabilmekteyken, muhafazakâr bir politik duruşa sahip olan ve boş vakitlerini değerlendirecekleri kişisel gelişim ve yetenek geliştirici kurs ve kültürel aktivitelere katılmayı tercih eden gençler bu hak ve sorumluluklarını ifade edememektedir.

Gençler arasındaki farkları tanımlarken, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının gençlik projelerine, uluslar arası değişim programlarına ve haklara dayalı eğitimlere katılım, gençlerin bilinçli katılım seçimlerinin yanı sıra kendi içindeki sınırlı kaynaklar

içerisinde ele alınmalıdır. Diğer yandan, ilk iki kategorinin aksine genç kadınların sivil toplum kuruluşlarının gençlik projelerine, uluslar arası değişim programlarına ve haklara dayalı eğitimlere katılımı, toplumun muhafazakâr yapısından dolayı daha karmaşık bir konudur.

Kategori 3 altında sınıflandırılan genç kadınlar kendi içlerinde de iki alt kategoriye ayrılmaktadır. Buna göre, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının gençlik projelerine, uluslararası değişim programlarına ve hak temelli eğitimlere katılan ve etnik farkındalıkları yüksek olan genç kadınların siyasi ve sosyal hakları konusunda farkındalıklarının yüksek olduğu ve haklarını talep etmekte daha aktif oldukları; öte yandan geriye kalan genç kadınların ise toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin ve toplumun muhafazakâr kısıtlamalarının arasında sıkışıp kaldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Birçoğu, Gençlik ve Kültür Evi ve Gençlik Merkezi aktivitelerine katılmak için ailelerinden izin alma ve bunun yanında eğitimlerini sürdürmek konusundaki endişelerini dile getirmektedir. Genç kadınların aileleri ile Gençlik ve Kültür Evi ve Gençlik Merkezi arasındaki güven ilişkisi, yakın mesafe ve güvenlik gibi fiziksel koşullar, genç kadınların aktivitelere katılımı konusunda belirleyici faktörlerdir. Genç kadınlardan bazıları vatandaşlık hakları konusunda farkındalıklarının katıldıkları projeler kapsamında arttığını ifade etse de birçoğu aile ve toplum sınırlamaları dolayısıyla bu haklarını uygulama şansı bulamamaktadır.

İlk kategori altında sınıflandırılan etnik farkındalıkları yüksek gençler ile diğer iki kategori altında sınıflandırılan gençler arasında siyasi katılımlarına ilişkin kritik fark, siyasi partilere, protesto ve gösterilere, kent konseyi/gençlik meclisi gibi karar mekanizmalarına katılımları konusunda bilinçli ve kişisel kararları doğrultusunda ortaya çıkıyor. Birinci kategorideki genç erkekler, siyasi partilere, protestolara ve alternatif sosyal hareketlere katılım gibi farklı siyasi katılım biçimlerine yönelik somut bir yaklaşım sergilerken, diğer genç erkekler yakın arkadaşlarının veya akrabalarının kararlarını takip etmeyi tercih etmektedir. Bu ifadelerin ötesinde genç kadınlar politik aktivitelere katılım için her zaman güven ve sırdaşlık ararken, siyasi partilere katılmaya hiçbir zaman niyetlenmemektedirler. Araştırmaya katılan gençlerin siyasi katılım konusundaki ortak fikirleri, siyasi partiler; kent konseyleri ve özellikle gençlik meclisleri gibi yeni siyasi ve sosyal katılım mekanizmaları ve siyasi

partiler altında şekillenen hakim siyasi katılım yollarına karşı isteksizlik ve güvensizliktir. Gençlerin neredeyse tamamı, siyasi partilere hiçbir şekilde katılmadıklarını ifade etmektedir. Diğer gruplardan farklı olarak, birinci kategorideki gençler siyasi partilere ve kent konseyi/gençlik meclisleri gibi yeni siyasi katılım mekanizmalarına dahil olmaya ilişkin bilinçli bir karşıtlık sergilemekte, bu mekanizmaları güvenilmez ve sorumsuz bulmakla birlikte, bir siyasi hak olarak protesto, sivil toplum kuruluşlarına katılım gibi yeni dönem siyasi katılım araçlarına daha yakın durmaktadırlar. Açıktır ki, kamu yetkilileri tarafından inşa edilen hakim karar alma mekanizmalarına katılımı faydasız görmekte, kendi fikirleri, endişeleri veya tavsiyelerinin hiçbir zaman ciddiye alınmadığını düşünmektedirler. Kategori 2 ve 3 altında sınıflandırılan gençlerin hemen hemen hiçbiri, (yerel yönetimlerin) kent konseyleri/gençlik meclislerini hiç duymamış ve/ veya katılmayı hiç düşünmemiştir.

Üç kategori arasındaki ayrım, sosyal haklarının sağlanmasına ilişkin yorumları ve farkındalıkları konusunda da mevcuttur. İlk kategori ve üçüncü kategori altında sınıflanan genç kadınların bir bölümü, gençlerin sosyal ve siyasi hayata tam entegrasyonunun sağlanabilmesi için gerekli olan belirli hakları vurgularken, genç katılımcıların geri kalanı genel olarak eğitimin ve istihdam hizmetlerinin önemini ve iş piyasasına daha hızlı entegre olabilmeleri için gençlere sağlanması gereken teşvikleri vurgulamaktadır. Araştırmaya katılan gençlerin hemen hepsi, iş piyasasından, sosyal ve siyasi hayattan etnik kimlikleri yüzünden dışlanmış olmaktan dolayı da şikâyetçiler. Nadiren kamu kurumları ile birlikte çalışan birkaç genç katılımcı dışında gençlerin hemen hepsi, kamu kurumları ve toplumun geneli tarafından kendilerine uygulanan sosyal dışlama ve ayrımcılığın altını çizmektedir.

Bununla birlikte, gençler üç kategori altında sınıflandırılırken ve vatandaşlık hak ve sorumlulukları hakkındaki farkındalık seviyeleri farklılık gösterirken, gençlerin sosyal ve siyasi hayata aktif katılımları, hakim kamu otoriteleri tarafından gençlerin katılımına ilişkin geliştirilen ideolojik tanımlar çerçevesinde değerlendirilmelidir. Gençler tarafından hak ve sorumlulukların liberal yorumlanışı ve yurttaşlık söz konusu olduğunda hak ve sorumluluklara her şeyden daha fazla vurgu yapan cumhuriyetçi muhafazakâr yaklaşımın ötesinde araştırma sonuçları göstermektedir ki gençler, katılımın alternatif yollarını yaratmakta ve otoriteler tarafından tasarlanan

kurumsallaşmış yapılar arasında bile kendilerine özgü alternatif kamusal alanlar yaratmaktadırlar. Warth (Lüküslü&Yücel, 2013), 1990'larda sosyal katılımın modern bir şekli olan gönüllülüğün, kamu kurumları tarafından tasarlanan gençlik faaliyetlerini ile bütünleştirilmeye başlandığını ve aynı yaklaşımın sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından da benimsendiğini vurgulamaktadır. Gençler için ortaya çıkan bu yeni kamusal alan, onlara özgü sosyal ve kültürel kaynaklarla gençlere, hayat şartlarının zorlukları ile başa çıkabilmeleri ve günlük hayatta faaliyet gösterebilmeleri için bir alan yaratmaktadır. Diğer yandan gençlerin sosyal ve siyasi hayata aktif katılımları genel olarak gönüllü aktiviteler ile sınırlandırılmakta, alternatif örgütlenme modelleri ve sosyal hareketler aracılığıyla gençlerin politik ve sosyal katılımları devlet otoriteleri tarafından hoş karşılanmamaktadır (Enneli, 2011). Hegemonya ve geleneksel muhafazakâr olgular ile pasif taahhüde karşı olmalarının dışında gençler, daha özgürlükçü bir devlet, gençlik ve toplumsal cinsiyet konusunda hassas kamu hizmetleri, kaynakların eşit dağılımı, pozitif ayrımcılık, seslerinin duyulması ve yetkililerce ciddiye alınmayı talep etmektedirler.

APPENDIX D
TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü [ ]

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü [X]

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü [ ]

Enformatik Enstitüsü [ ]

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü [ ]

YAZARIN

Soyadı : KONURALP
Adı : ÖZGE
Bölümü : SOSYAL POLİTİKA

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans [X] Doktora [ ]

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

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: