

**YOUTH AS PEACE-MULTIPLIERS: THE CASES OF GERMANY AND
TURKEY**

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Sabancı University

Spring 2009

**YOUTH AS PEACE-MULTIPLIERS: THE CASES OF GERMANY AND
TURKEY**

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DATE OF APPROVAL: 03.07.2009

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ABSTRACT

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Program of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, M.A. Thesis, 2009

Supervisor: Assist. Dr. Riva Kantowitz

Keywords: Youth, youth participation, civic engagement, peace-multiplier, youth work, in-depth interview

'Youth' refers more than a specific biological stage in human life: young people are political actors and vehicles of social change. Membership in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is one way young people work for social change. Through their civic engagement, young people endeavor to multiply peace: i.e. spread values of tolerance, respect, human rights, democracy, and social justice in their societies.

This study was designed to explore why young people become activists (entry motives) and what roles they attribute themselves as peace-multipliers in reinforcing sustainable-peace processes in their societies. Specifically, the cases of Germany and Turkey were investigated and three youth NGOs per country were visited. A total of 12 in-depth interviews were conducted with young activists selected via snowball technique. Content analysis was employed as the basic methodology for the data analysis. The findings demonstrate that young activists' self-reported entry motives include personal development, interest in politics, formative experiences, willingness to change and improve themselves and their societies (progress), *vefa* (loyalty; which stands for sense of social responsibility), experiences of injustice, speaking on others' behalf, personal satisfaction they get through seeing the outcome of their work, being attracted by the flexible working atmosphere (organizational culture) in the organizations and the opportunity to meet people from other cultures (cultural dimension). The roles youth activists ascribe themselves in sustainable peace processes are empowering and becoming a role-model for other young people, building dialogue among different segments of society, participating in NGOs themselves and getting people involved in civil society (association).

ÖZET

BARIŞ ÇOĞALTICILARI OLARAK GENÇLER: ALMANYA VE TÜRKİYE ÖRNEKLERİ

Gülece Şenel

Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü Programı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2009

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Riva Kantowitz

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gençlik, gençlik katılımı, sivil topluma katılım, barış çoğaltıcısı, gençlik çalışmaları, derinlemesine görüşme

'Gençlik' insan hayatındaki biyolojik bir evreden daha fazlasını ifade eder: gençler siyasi aktörler ve sosyal değişim araçlarıdır. Sivil toplum kuruluşlarına (STKlara) üyelik, gençlerin sosyal değişim için çalışma yollarından biridir. Gençler, sivil topluma katılımları aracılığıyla barışı yaygınlaştırmaya, diğer bir deyişle, hoşgörü, saygı, insan hakları, demokrasi ve sosyal adalet gibi değerleri yaymaya çalışırlar.

Bu araştırma; gençlerin neden aktivist olduklarını (giriş motiflerini) ve kendi toplumlarında sürdürülebilir barış süreçlerini desteklemek için barış çarpanları olarak kendilerine attıkları rolleri incelemektedir. Spesifik olarak, Almanya ve Türkiye örnekleri irdelenmiştir ve ülke başına üç gençlik STKsı ziyaret edilmiştir. 'Kartopu' tekniği ile seçilen toplam 12 gençlik aktivisti ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Verilerin analizinde içerik analizi temel yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlara göre, gençlik aktivistlerinin beyan ettikleri giriş motifleri şunları içermektedir: kişisel gelişim, siyasete ilgi, gelişme aşamasında yaşanan deneyimler, kendilerini ve toplumlarını değiştirme ve geliştirme isteği (ilerleme), vefa (toplumsal sorumluluk duygusu), adaletsizliğe maruz kalma, başkalarının adına konuşma, kendi çalışmalarının sonuçlarını görmekten duyulan kişisel tatmin, örgütün rahat çalışma ortamı (örgüt kültürü) ve farklı kültürlerden insanlarla tanışma olanağı (kültürel boyut). Sürdürülebilir barış süreçlerinde gençlerin kendilerine attıkları roller ise, diğer gençleri güçlendirme/ yetkilendirme ve onlara rol modeli oluşturma, toplumun farklı kesimleri arasında diyalog kurma, STKlara katılma ve diğer insanların sivil topluma dâhil olmaları için örgütlemektir.

*To my grandmother Nihal Soylu,
who taught me the importance of
conflict resolution and peace
with her life-style...*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Life depends on which way we decide to follow when we are standing on a crossroad and our decision is very often shaped by not only our preferences, but also coincidences. A signature at the end of a friend's e-mail... This is how I met 'youth work' six years ago. Then, I participated in the final conference of the Turkish-Greek Civic Dialogue Project, carried out by AEGEE-Ankara and there I heard the term 'conflict resolution' for the first time. Now, both youth work and the discipline of Conflict Resolution are building-blocks of my life...

As a youth worker and also a graduate student at the Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program in Sabancı University, I gained invaluable experience and developed further. This thesis is my humble attempt to pay my debt back to both fields and I would like to express my gratitude to some people and institutions that supported me during this process.

Firstly, Assist. Prof. Dr. Riva Kantowitz, my dear supervisor... You have been much more than a professor: Starting from our first encounter, you have always given me energy and motivation. During the preparation phase of this thesis, you were supporting me not only content-wise, but also psychologically. If there were any 'best thesis supervisor' or 'ideal of patience' Oscars, you would be my favorite. I THANK YOU from the deepest of my heart. You are an inspiration for me and you will always be among 'very special' people in my life...

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik and Assist. Prof. Dr. Demet Lüküslü, having you in my committee was very valuable. Your expertise and comments enriched my work THANK YOU!

Throughout my graduate studies, I was supported by the scholarships TÜBİTAK and Sabancı University supplied. I am grateful to these organizations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nimet Beriker, Noam Ebner, Prof. Dr. Azize Ergeneli, Prof. Dr. Korel Göymen, Assist. Prof. Dr. Metin Aslan, Prof. Dr. Esra Burcu: I have always felt privileged to have you as my professors. THANK YOU for all your support!

Dear Assoc. Prof. Dr. Leyla Neyzi, Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıođlu, Sumru Şatır, Nancy Karabeyođlu, Viktoria Karpatska, Muriel Julien and Dr. Lori Drummond-Mundal, I am grateful for your support. .

And my dear friends... Funda Özçelik; I know that if you were not on the other side of the phone, I would never be able to get up and continue whenever I felt down during this thesis period.... Ayça Taşkın, Elif Kalan, Merve Tiryakiođlu, Natalia Peral and Yagub Shukurov; THANK YOU for your friendship and making my days in the last two years brighter... İlke Toygür and Arzum Kopşa; you both have been more than friend; you were my life-coachs at Sabancı University... THANK YOU! My dear Julia Hoffmann, I am so lucky to have you as a friend. THANK YOU and Thomas Kuperschmitt for hosting me at your place during my research in Germany. I am grateful to you, Nadine Karbach, Wim von Ravejstein, Astrid Schrader, Maria Nomikou, Burcu Becermen, Başak Tüzün, Aygen Bekte, Zeynep Çetrez, Fatma Kaya for your support.

My 'biricik' friends; Ege Nasuhođlu, Hilal Tolluođlu, Zeynep Karasu, Eren Caner, Mehmet Uđur Göçen, Arif Cem Gündođan, Bilge Bilgin... Your friendship and support is invaluable... You have been my 'angels' during the thesis period... THANK YOU!

Starting from AEGEE-Ankara and AEGEE, I thank all the NGOs I visited and all people I interviewed within the course of my thesis.

And finally, my biggest thanks goes to my family: Ayşe İnci- Ođuz- Tuba Burcu Şenel, Serpil-Eray- Alp-Ece Akpulat and Feyza Hilal Gürbüz; I am so lucky to have you! Your patience, support, love... All are invaluable! THANK YOU!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history shows that political actions are very likely to have civic reactions. Citizens have often wanted to have a say in decisions that relate them and while doing so, they employed ‘civil society’, the social and political forum that stands outside the political society, to influence the shape and direction of decisions. Through social movements, demonstrations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and so forth, citizens have been endeavoring to make their voice heard in the political sphere and contribute to social change. Pressure from varied social groups such as women, the working classes, minority groups and the like “*led, over time, to their inclusion in democratic politics and to the establishment of institutional channels to accommodate an ever-wider variety of social pluralism*” (Forbrig, 2005; 13). Today, in the 21st century, participation of citizens is considered to be an important building-stone of democratic politics and as a path to achieve sustainable peace, i.e. peace that endures over time.

“*Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values*”¹ and includes organizations such as trade unions, professional associations, charities, churches and religious communities as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs).² These organizations stand for the interest of their members or certain social groups. On the other hand, in the last decades, the growing literature on civic society has been drawing further attention to NGOs among other actors. As the second name used to refer to NGOs, ‘third sector’, suggests, NGOs are ascribed an intermediary role between the public and private sectors. They are

¹ http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/what_is_civil_society.htm

² http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf

characterized by being based on voluntary participation and non-profit seeking (Jenei and Kuti, 2008). Moreover, NGOs are considered as the “*instruments of people's participation*” (UNDP, 1993; 5) and they gain prominence day-by-day in the realm of political participation. Citizens get involved in NGOs “*to actively influence the development of economic and political system, to participate in decision-making process, to ensure some autonomy, [...] to promote cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity...*” (Jenei and Kuti, 2008; 2).

Participation in NGOs, also known as ‘civic engagement’, is regarded as a tool for activism, i.e. making positive social change towards social justice; raising voices of different social groups and learning their diverging needs (Forbrig, 2005). Hence, civic engagement is highly valued in combating structural and cultural violence³ and achieving sustainable peace (MacDonald, 1997).

Considering the features of ‘youth’, one can highlight youth’s civic engagement (activism) among other groups’ activism. As young people represent and determine the future fate of society, their practice of citizenship and involvement in civil society reflect the society’s social and political direction (Kassimir, 2006; Bogard, 2006).

Historically, young people have always been on the front lines of civic action. Since the anti-Vietnam movement in 1960s, grassroots movements have been an important channel of youth political participation in Europe (Chisholm and Kovacheva, 2002). However, during the course of 1990s, young people across Europe and some other parts of the world have shown disillusionment with the traditional political and civil institutions: their voting rates and engagement in associative life decreased (Chisholm & Kovacheva, 2002; Kovacheva, 2005). This trend captured attention of academics, social workers, and policy-makers. The literature identifies two main roles youth takes in society and in peace processes: trouble-maker or peace-builder (McEvoy-Levy, 2006). There is a growing evidence that civic engagement (more particularly, membership in NGOs) is very likely to enhance the possibility that young people

³ Structural violence (also known as indirect violence) is “*the violence that is embedded in social structures causing oppression, alienation and marginalization (showing up as poverty, hopelessness, unequal education, sexism, racism etc.)*” (Ardizzone, 2006; 48), whereas in cultural violence, ‘the symbolic sphere of existence’ such as religion, ideology, language and art are attacked (Galtung, 1996).

become ‘good future citizens’ (Kassimir, 2006) and so, peace-makers. They learn, internalize and spread the values of peace and democracy through their civic participation. In other words, they ‘multiply’ peace culture among their peers and across generations.

This thesis takes ‘youth’ as its subject of investigation and intends shedding a light to a relatively unexplored role youth has in society: ‘multiplying peace.’ Through their involvement in civil sphere, particularly in youth-led non-governmental organizations (NGOs), young people can not only make a positive change, but also disseminate the values of peace to their generation, children and adults... Following this line of thinking, the present study aims to answer the research question: ***“What are the motives of young people to become young activists? What are the roles they attribute themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace-processes in their societies?”***

In the literature, it is possible to come across with previous research that focused on the motivations of young people to engage in civil society, however, the roles youth activists ascribe to themselves as peace-multipliers still stay in the limelight. The significance of the present study lies at this point.

This study attempts to answer its research question by comparing Turkey and Germany. In this regard, three youth NGO per country were visited and interviews were conducted with twelve young people aged between 18-30, who work in the selected NGOs. Furthermore, nine complementary interviews were made with administrators of the NGOs and also with the representatives of Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (YSU) and German National Committee on International Youth Work (DNK). For analyzing the data, latent-coding technique was utilized and themes were derived.

The thesis starts with a review of existing literature on youth and youth activism. In the third chapter, the methods used for data gathering and analyzing, their reasoning as well as the case selection rationale is explained. Fourth chapter aims giving further insight about youth civic engagement in Germany and Turkey. Chapter 5 includes the findings of the research. The final chapter endeavors to place the outcomes in theory and practice as well as come up with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

‘Future leaders, present citizenry, teenagers, adolescents, political and economic consumers, political actors, young adults, learners, new generation, hopes for change, energy of the community, peace-builders, multipliers, troublemakers, threats to status quo, perpetrators, radicals, conservatives, citizens of tomorrow...’ All terms are ascribed to one particular group in society and a specific age range in life: *‘youth.’*

Beginning with the definition of youth, this chapter presents a review of the previous literature on youth, youth participation and civic engagement. Also, in what to follow, the concepts such as youth work, which are necessary in better comprehending the topic of this study, will be explained.

2.1. Youth

2.1.1. The Defination

Being a part of society, youth is generally perceived apart from others. Youth specifies a period in human life; however, it is very likely to be put aside for its difference from other life spans, hence, regarded as the beginning and the end of many things. It lies in the middle of the transition from childhood to adulthood and of the passage from past to future. Youth is savored by children for its freedom and idealized by adults for its energy and power. This refers to, on one hand, the former’s endeavors to grow up and on the other hand, the latter’s struggle to turn the time back and rejuvenate. Belonging to present, in society’s task division for inheritance, youth is in charge of carrying the past to the future; sometimes with wishes for change, sometimes with a desire for continuation of the status quo. Therefore, youth by default stands in the

middle and this is also supported by the very definition of the word: “*The time of life when one is young; especially, the period between childhood and maturity. The early period of existence, growth, or development. Young person, especially, a young male between adolescence and maturity.*”⁴

One can use ‘youth’ as a synonym for ‘young people.’ Having its roots in the Old English word ‘geoguð’, etymologically ‘**youth**’ means ‘*related to young.*’ “*It is derived from West Germanic⁵ word ‘jugunthiz’, which is, indeed, altered from Proto-Germanic⁶ word ‘juwunthiz’ by the influence of its contrast, ‘dugunthiz’ that refers to ‘ability.’*”⁷

Youth is a perspective and culture-laden concept. Academics and practitioners agree that every society has its own youth definition as do the different studies on youth. One analyzing the history of this concept would recognize that ‘youth’ is considered as a product of modernization, urbanization and industrial societies (Burcu, 1998; Lüküslü, 2009; Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006). Following the historical approach, Ariès suggests that prior to the Industrial Revolution, “*children were perceived as a miniature of adults*” (Lüküslü, 2009; 19) and henceforth, there was not a transition stage between childhood and adulthood (Garell, 1990; Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006). However, the revolution created a new social order based on ‘working’, which necessitated ‘a preparation phase’ for working-life. This was then called ‘youth.’ (Xavier in Lüküslü, 2009).

Biological definitions of ‘youth’ associate this concept with ‘*adolescence*’; the period when sexual development starts and physical development ends (Burcu, 1998). It was G. Stanley Hall, who made the first scientific study on adolescence and introduced this phase of life as a social construct (Burcu, 1988; Griffin, 1997). According to him,

⁴ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/youth>

⁵ *West Germanic*, the subgroup of Germanic comprising English, Dutch, German, Yiddish, Frisian, etc.; also the language spoken by the ancestral group during the presumed period of unity. (<http://www.etymonline.com/abbr.php>)

⁶ *Proto-Germanic*, hypothetical prehistoric ancestor of all Germanic languages, including English. (<http://www.etymonline.com/abbr.php>)

⁷ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=youth>

adolescence stands for the “*period of life beyond childhood, but before adoption of adult responsibilities*” (Hall in Simhadri, 1988; 249).

Kenneth Keniston, a developmental psychologist, differentiated between ‘youth’ and ‘adolescence’ (teenagers who are still at school) and “*introduced [...] a separate “just emerging” stage of life called “youth”. He proposed to reserve it for students and former students, between the ages 18 and 30*” (Adamski, 1988, 193).

Theories of the intercultural approach underline the presence of ‘youth’ in every culture, however, also acknowledge the distinct meanings attributed to it (Burcu, 1998). The differences in the determination of youth’s age range among countries can be interpreted in this regard. The United Nations (UN) relates these differences to “*specific socio-cultural, institutional, economic and political factors.*”⁸

The table below shows the age range of youth in some countries:

Country	Youth Age
Australia	15-25
Britain	14-19
Canada	15-24
Cyprus	14-30
Hong Kong	6-24
Jamaica	14-29
Malta	18-30
Nigeria	6-30
Sierra Leone	15-35
Singapore	15-30

Table 1: Age range of ‘youth’ in different countries⁹

Organizations that are concerned with youth related issues also accept different age limits for youth. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines youth by biological maturity: “*The period of life being with the appearance of secondary sex characteristics and terminating with the cessation of somatic growth. The years usually*

⁸ United Nations Division for Social Policy and Development:
<http://www.un.org/events/youth2000/def2.htm>

⁹ Source: <http://www.nyc.gov.sg/research/youthdefinition.asp>

referred to as adolescence lie between 13 and 18 years of age,”¹⁰ the European Union (EU) specifies people aged between 15 and 28 (in some cases 13-30) as youth.¹¹ The Council of Europe (CoE) refers to young people in the age range 15-30¹² and the UN definition determines lower and upper limit of youth as 15 and 24 (UNDP, 2008), respectively.

In sum, as Flanagan and Syvertsen (2006) emphasize, “*youth is a social construction: its meaning varies according to the particular contexts in which people are making transitions from the dependencies of childhood to assume the responsibilities of adulthood*” and “*the period of youth begins in biology and ends in culture*” (pp. 11).

Having explained the culture and context laden characteristics of youth and presented youth definitions employed by various organizations or theoretical approaches, this study will follow the same line of thinking with Keniston and treat ‘youth’ as people aged between 18-30.

2.1.2. As a Subject of Research

‘Youth’ is a subject of investigation in many branches of social sciences such as Political Science, Sociology, Psychology, Economics and Management, Anthropology, Law, Media Studies, and also, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding. Young people are also deeply analyzed in Psychiatry and other branches of Medicine. Each of these disciplines brings new insights regarding youth, its biology, behavior and importance for societal actions, and some researches intend to combine the findings of these different branches and derive a theoretical framework for understanding youth related issues (Burcu, 1998).

¹⁰ <http://www.who.int/topics/youth/en/>

¹¹ http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74_en.htm

¹² http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/Coe_youth/Structures_en.asp

The chart below gives examples of different branches focus in youth related research.¹³

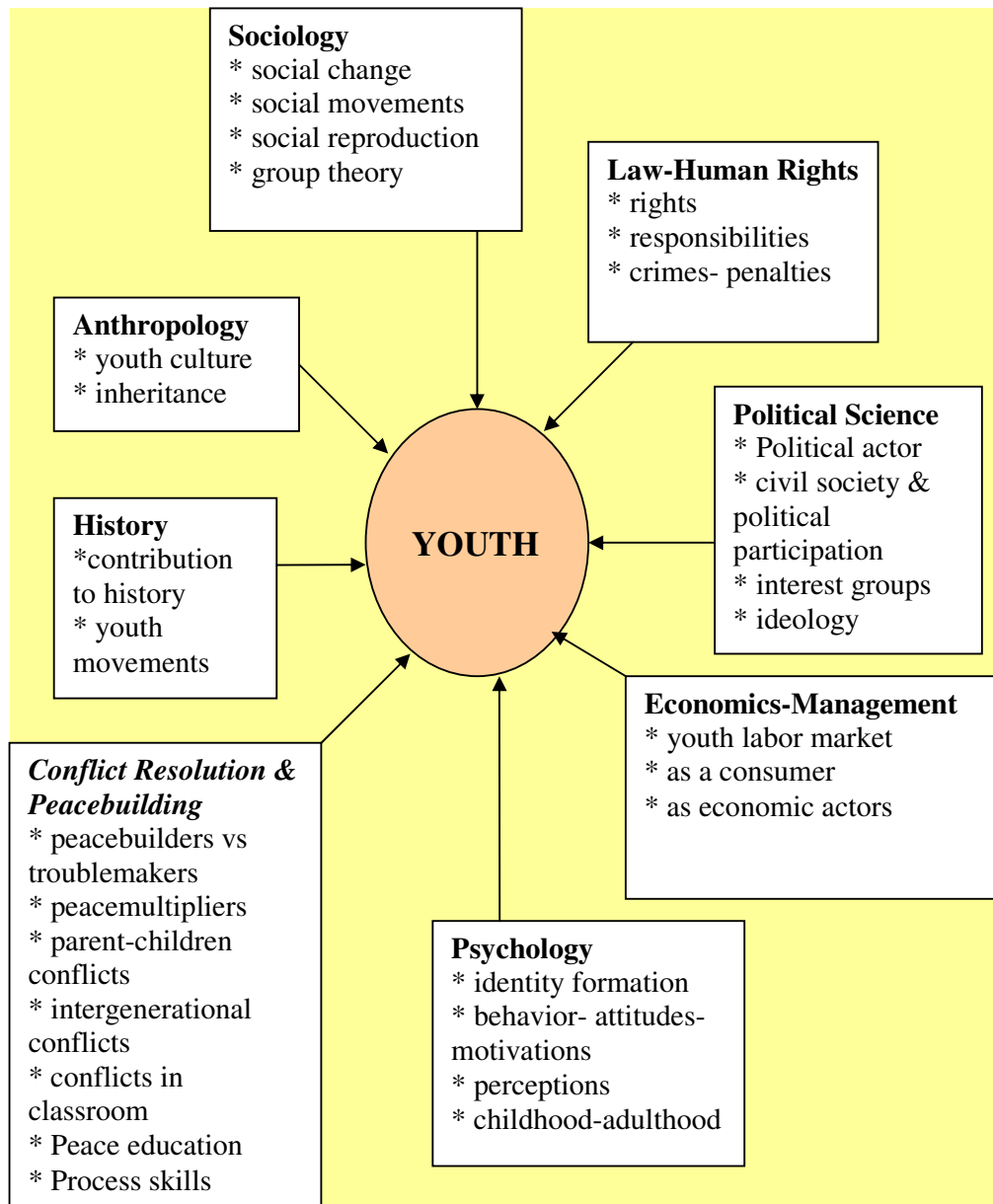


Figure 1: Examples of youth related research topics in different scientific fields

For instance, anthropologists attempt to draw attention to ‘youth culture’, which is distinguished from adult culture (Neyzi, 2005). Studies in this branch, for instance, shed a light to music preferences and dressing style of young people and also, their daily

¹³ Here, it is important to note that this chart only includes examples and does not intend to summarize every youth related aspect these scientific fields deal with.

practices (Fornas, 1995; Bennet & Kahn-Harris, 2004; Epstein, 1998; Simonson, 2005; Brake, 1995). Influenced by S. Hall, psychologists, particularly developmental psychologists, refer to young people's cognitive and behavioral processes and the search for self-identity (Loevinger, 1997; Reykowski, 1988). Economists, on the other hand, see young people as consumers and agents of labor market (Keithly & Deseran, 1995). From the political scientists' prism, youth is prominent as a political actor through its involvement in political and civil spheres or interest groups (O'Connor, 1974; Sherrod, 2006), whilst sociologists endeavor to describe the relationship between youth and society (Burcu, 1998). Sociologists and political scientists value youth as a cohort, because young people will take the place of their elders in political processes. *"Thus, focusing on the issues that matter to younger generations, the beliefs and world views they hold, and their relationships with older generations provide a glimpse of the future political landscape of a society"* (Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006; 14).

Being in interaction with all aforementioned branches, the relatively young field of Conflict Resolution (CR) & Peacebuilding, with its multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary nature, conducts researches that focus on youth's needs and roles in conflict situations or post-conflict environments (McEvoy- Levy, 2006). Accordingly, youth is important in peacebuilding processes; young people can either reinforce peace as peacemakers or perpetuate hatred, violence and become troublemakers (McEvoy- Levy 2006; Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007; Del Felice & Wisler; 2007). For example, in conflict situations, such as wars, young people have to decide about their survival and their conditions might lead them to be catalysts of violence.

...young people are not only victims, but also self-motivated participants [in violence/ armies] for variety of reasons from spontaneous and self-preservation oriented to quite strategic. Such reasons include revenge, ideology, attempts to gain power, the desire to improve their economic conditions as a means of protecting themselves from attack, or simply because their friends joined, or for the adventure. (Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007; 66)

On the other hand, instead of getting involved in violence, young people can also prefer to combat any forms of violence, and make a positive change toward peace (McEvoy- Levy, 2006; Del Felice & Wisler, 2007). Since *"activism refers to action for social change"* (Sherrod, 2006; 1), one can associate youth's involvement in

peacebuilding with activism and further investigate why and how young people become peace activists.

In the narrowest definition of ‘activism’ is an action to make constructive social change (Sherrod, 2006). In her report, named “*Globalization of Youth Activism and Human Rights*”, Carla Koffel (2003) comes with a broader definition and describes ‘activism’ as “*efforts to create changes in the behavior of institutions or organizations through action strategies such as lobbying, advocacy, negotiation, protest, campaigning and raising awareness*” (pp.118). Sherrod (2006) follows a similar line of thinking and mentions that writing a letter could also be a kind of activism.

Activism is a type of civic engagement, whereas civic engagement constitutes a form of political participation. Whether youth would sabotage or stimulate peace depends on the direction of its activism and the tools it chooses for participation. Thus, to explore the role of youth as peace-multipliers, topics of youth participation and civic engagement should be addressed.

2.2. Youth Participation

Prior to the investigation of youth participation, it should be noted that as the literature affirms participation can be constructive or destructive. Although ‘youth participation’ is very often regarded as a ‘good thing’, some of its forms are anti-democratic and anti-social, i.e. violence towards ethnic or cultural minorities or involvement in neo-fascist movements (Chisholm & Kovacheva, 2002). The scope of this study only includes positive (constructive) participation.

In the literature, two contradictory images youth has often been presented. First one carries negative connotation: youth is equated to ‘being deviant’ or ‘being source of trouble’. Kim and Sherman (2006) underline that “*the dominant view...is that youth are problems to be fixed, not the sources of solutions to social ills*” (pp. 1). However, recently this image has been challenged, especially by the positive youth development movement started in 1980s: societies moved “*from seeing youth as problems to be fixed [...] to viewing them as assets... and to embracing young people as full partners in*

community life.” (ibid.; 2). Therefore, youth is valued as agents of positive change (Adamski, 1988; MacKinnon, Pitre, Watling, 2007; Sherrod, 2006) and one way of making change is ‘political participation’ such as membership to non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The rise of the view that “*youth is a resource for a society, not a problem.*” (Lauritzen, 2008; 280) turned the spotlight onto youth’s involvement in social, political and economic life. Since ‘participation’ is considered to be the key to social pluralism and “*the school for democracy, the essence of democracy and the prerequisite to developing a sense of belonging and citizenship*” (ibid.; 222), the international organizations such as the UN and the CoE have put youth participation among their priorities and have been encouraging their member states to support and develop mechanisms of youth participation.

In what to follow, the definition, types, forms and degrees of youth participation will be explained.

2.2.1. The Definition

In the literature, it is possible to come across with different definitions of youth participation varying from introducing adult values to young people to “*means to be involved, to have tasks and to share and take over responsibility. It means to have access and to be included*” (Lauritzen, 2008; 38). Some organizations and academics follow the rights- approach and regard youth participation as a fundamental right of citizenship.

The broadest definition of youth participation belongs to the CoE. According to the Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life:

Participation in the democratic life of any community is about more than voting and standing for election, although these are important elements. Participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in

and influence decisions and engaging in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society. (CoE, 2008; pp.12)

As this definition suggests, youth participation is more than “*political involvement or participation in youth councils. It stresses that to participate means having influence on and responsibility for decisions and actions that affect the lives of young people or are simply important to them*” (CoE, 2008; pp.12).

2.2.2. Areas of Youth Participation

With respect to the youth participation, one important question to be asked is ‘*participation in what?*’ (CoE, 2008).

Chisholm and Kovacheva (2002) suggest that all spheres of social life from family to formal politics are in the scope of participation, whilst the UN General Assembly describes four areas of youth participation. The first one is ‘*economic participation*’, which refers mainly to work, employment, economic development and eliminating poverty. ‘*Social participation*’ is the second one and includes involvement in local community and life in general. ‘*Cultural participation*’ stands for various forms of arts and expression and ‘*political participation*’ is related to exercising power and influencing decision-making processes (CoE, 2008).

Very often the term ‘youth participation’ is used as a synonym for ‘youth political participation.’ This research acknowledges all areas mentioned above; however, will only focus on the last category, since civic engagement and activism are subsets of political participation.

2.2.3. Forms of Youth Participation

Young people can take part in decisions, particularly in the ones concerning them or their community, in several ways: being active in voluntary work (NGOs, clubs) or in youth councils, parliaments, political parties; voting; campaigning activities; demonstrations and so forth (CoE, 2008). Chisholm and Kovacheva (2002) distinguish

three main forms of participation: ‘institutional politics’ (elections, campaigns and membership to political parties, trade unions, and interest groups), ‘protest politics’ (social movements, demonstrations) and ‘civic engagement’ (associative life, community participation, voluntary work).

Previous studies that explore youth political participation portray problems of depolitization or apathy among young people belonging to the 1980 generation. However, the emerging literature in late 1990s challenged this view. The researches in the last decades indicate that youth are not apathetic or disengaged from societies as the media or adults perceive them or actually would like them to be (Kim & Sherman, 2006). The only important aspect which should not be disregarded is that youth takes actions not traditional ways, but through contemporary methods (Kim & Sherman, 2006; Lüküslü, 2009; MacKinnon et al., 2007). Accordingly, in 1990s, young people have lost their interest in traditional institutional politics; because they see these organizations incapable of responding to their needs and demands (Chisholm & Kovacheva, 2002). Youth currently focuses in non-traditional forms of participation such as discussion fora, signing petitions and use of internet to express their views (CoE, 2008). The term ‘*life-style politics*’ gets popular everyday: contemporary youth is less likely to engage in conventional politics, rather young people show their political position through their life-style. For instance, they boycott environmental unfriendly products and make their shopping accordingly (Wallace, 2006; Kovacheva, 2005). All forms of participation (be it traditional or contemporary) are important for youth’s socialization as future adults and citizens.

Having these explained, because the present study attempts to investigate the topic of youth as peace-multipliers among other forms of participation, civic engagement is taken as the scope. The reason is that through participating in NGOs, young people are very likely to develop life skills in addition to familiarizing and internalizing the values of peace, democracy, human rights, respect and tolerance (Kim & Sherman, 2006).

2.2.3.1. Civic Engagement

Looking at the current literature, it is possible to identify a contradiction regarding ‘civic engagement’. Whilst some studies place civic engagement among traditional and unpopular forms of participation (Wallace, 2006), others mention that membership to community or non-governmental organizations or taking part in voluntary work is one of the new, alternative ways to influence the shape and direction of social change and political decisions. (Gilmore & Mathews, 2006). On the other hand, all agree that young people are involved more in civic organizations than political institutions (Chisholm & Kovacheva, 2006; Wallace, 2006).

Recently, not only various research institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but also several academics turned their compass towards youth’s civic engagement. A large number of reports or articles have been published. These publications throw light to different aspects of youth civic engagement and use dissimilar methodologies, however, they all indicate that civic engagement is a prominent component of ‘being a good citizen’ and inspires young people to get active in their societies. (Sherrod, 2006; Wright, 1999; MacKinnon et al., 2007). Studies in the field of Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding further this point and suggest that youth civic engagement is an essential part of peacebuilding (Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007; Ardizzone, 2003; Youniss et al., 2002).

Civic engagement means “*activities undertaken by individuals in the interest of the public good. These actions may be based in volunteering, activism, institutional politics or cultural acts*” (Burns, Collin, Blanchard, De-freitas & Lloyd., 2008; 55). In its definition, civic engagement includes institutional politics such as voting or involvement in political parties. However, some researchers differentiate between membership in non-governmental, voluntary organizations and in political parties as did Chisholm and Kovacheva (2002) in their work “*Exploring the European Youth Mosaic: The Social Situation of Young People in Europe.*” Following the same line of thinking with these authors, throughout this study, civic engagement will be used in reference to membership in NGOs.

In 1990s, with the rise of “*a youth-led youth movement, that is, a movement dedicated to issues that directly concern youth also led by youth*” (Braxton, 2006; 301), young people began getting organized around youth-specific issues, aimed to influence decisions and also change their life-conditions and communities. For instance, they established organizations and run these entirely by themselves with little or no adult involvement. Such organizations are also known as ‘youth NGOs.’ Today, youth NGOs more increasingly endeavor to have their say in political processes. In order to make their voice louder and put more pressure on policy-makers, they gather under platforms such as the European Youth Forum, the umbrella organization of national and international youth NGOs in Europe.

When talking about youth NGOs as a different category among other types of voluntary organizations, the main features of youth NGOs and an interrelated concept ‘youth work’ should be described.

In the broadest sense, ‘*youth work*’ refers to the activities that focus on youth (Nemutlu, 2008a). It aims the integration and inclusion of young people in society. The provision of opportunities and the space for development is highly valued in youth work; because in this way, young people would be able to shape their own future. “*Youth work is a summary expression for activities with and for young people of social, cultural, educational or political nature [...] It belongs to the domain of ‘out-of-school’ education...*” (Lauritzen, 2008; 369). Youth work focus on the fields: “*education, employment, assistance and guidance, housing, mobility, criminal justice and health as well as the more traditional areas of participation, youth politics, cultural activities, scouting, leisure and sports*” (ibid.; 370). Particular groups of youth such as disadvantaged or immigrant young people are also in the domain of youth work. People, who organize youth work are generally called as ‘*youth workers*’, regardless of being adult or young and working on voluntary basis or being paid (Nemutlu, 2008a). On the other hand, the term ‘*professional youth worker*’ is generally used for people earning their lives over youth work.

Youth work highly values young people’s participation in civic and political spheres, because in this way; young people can express themselves and shape their own

future. Since civic engagement is an out-of-school activity and has a political nature, youth NGOs comprise an important place within the scope of youth work.

Youth organizations work on the principles of voluntary commitment, shared values and the right to advocate the interests of young people. Youth organizations represent a special forum for socialization and learning about democracy, because here the ambivalence between solidarity and individuality, provision of an infrastructure and self-programming, an informal community and a formal structure may be experienced and looked into. Youth organizations provide experience in working with democratic instruments, decision-making and negotiation processes (Becky, Dreber, Freitag & Hanisch, 2004; 63).

Various measures could be taken into account in determining whether an organization is a youth NGO or not. On the other hand, in the simplest terms, if the answer to any of the following three questions is 'youth', that organization can be considered as a youth NGO. The first question is 'who does the work: young people or others?' Second question refers to the target group of the work: youth or others and the third question corresponds to the topic of the work: concerning youth or other (Nemutlu, 2008a). In terms of the level of youth participation, organizations led only by youth, targeting young people and focusing on youth related issues stand at one end and represent highest degree of youth participation. The scope of this study mainly comprises such youth NGOs. In order to better understand the levels of youth participation, the model "*Ladder of Children's Participation*" proposed by Roger Hart and explaining the different degrees youth can participate should be mentioned.

2.2.4. Degrees of Participation

Based on the "*A ladder of citizen participation*" developed by Sherry R. Arnstein (1969), Roger Hart adapted a model that illustrates the different degrees of youth's and children's involvement in organizations, projects or communities. This model is called as "*Ladder of Children's Participation*" (CoE, 2008). Accordingly, there are eight degrees of youth participation, each corresponding to a rung of a ladder as shown in the figure below. This figure is taken from the "*Have Your Say! Manual on the Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life*" by the CoE (2008; 14).

Moving from down to up on the ladder, the degree of participation increases. As the figure suggests, the ideal degrees of youth participation corresponds to Rung 7 and 8, where youth is actively involved rather than only receiving services. However, within the youth work, it is very likely to come across with organizations that fit into Rung 6.

Having explained the concepts of ‘youth participation’, ‘civic engagement’,¹⁴ ‘youth work’ and ‘youth NGOs’, in the next section, the literature on factors affecting youth civic engagement and young people’s motivations to be engaged in civic life will be presented.

¹⁴ Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘civic engagement’, ‘youth participation’, ‘civic involvement’, ‘civic participation’ and ‘youth activism’ will be used interchangeably.

Rung 8: Shared decision making	<p>Rung 8: Shared decision-making Projects or ideas are initiated by young people, who invite the adults to take part in the decision-making process as partners.</p>
Rung 7: Young people led and initiated	<p>Rung 7: Young people led and initiated Projects or ideas are initiated and directed by young people; the adults might get invited to provide any necessary support, but a Project can carry without their intervention.</p>
Rung 6: Adult initiated, shared decision making	<p>Rung 6: Adult-initiated, shared decision making Adults initiate projects but young people are invited to share the decision-making power and responsibilities as equal partners.</p>
Rung 5: Young people consulted and informed	<p>Rung 5: Young people consulted and informed Projects are initiated and run by adults, but young people provide advice and suggestions and are informed how these suggestions contribute to the final decisions or results.</p>
Rung 4: Young people assigned and informed	<p>Rung 4: Young people assigned and informed Projects are initiated and run by adults; young people are invited to take on some specific roles or tasks within the project, but they are aware of what influence they have in reality.</p>
Rung 3: Young people tokenised (non-participation)	<p>Rung 3: Young people tokenized (tokenism) Young people are given some roles within projects but they have no real influence on any decisions. The illusion is created (either on purpose or unintentionally) that young people participate, when in fact they have no choice about what they do and how.</p>
Rung 2: Young people as decoration (non-participation)	<p>Rung 2: Young people as decoration Young people are needed in the project to represent youth as an underprivileged group. They have no meaningful role (except from being present) and- as happens with any decoration—they are put in a visible position within a project or organization, so that they can easily be seen by outsiders.</p>
Rung 1: Young people manipulated (non-participation)	<p>Rung 1: Young people manipulated Young people are invited to take part in the project, but they have no real influence on decisions and their outcomes. In fact, their presence is used to achieve some other goal, such as winning a local election, creating a better impression of an institution or securing some extra funds from institutions that support youth participation.</p>
<p>Adapted from: Hart, R., Children's participation from tokenism to citizenship, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, 1997</p>	

Figure 2: Ladder of children's participation by Roger Hart

2.3. Factors Affecting Youth Civic Engagement

In the last years, many surveys or qualitative studies have been conducted to investigate which factors affect young people's level of civic engagement. Since these studies are mainly based on 'cases', the answer to this question varies across cultures and contexts. However, similarities also exist.

The report by MacKinnon et al. (2007) on Canadian youth's civic engagement splits the determinants into three main categories; 1.Sociological, 2.Psychological, 3.Institutional factors. Within the first category, MacKinnon et al. mention socio-economic status, early-socialization, gender, life cycle and generational effect, knowledge, skills and participation. Accordingly, they assert that education and income level matter: those who continue to past-secondary education and those coming from families with higher income levels are more likely to participate. Family context and having a role model in the family, discussing political issues at home and the like also increase civic engagement. Donnelly, Atkins and Hart (2006) further explain the effect of parents, education level and socio-economic status on youth civic engagement. Why higher education has an increasing affect on youth civic engagement is rooted in the political knowledge and adult-control free environments universities provide, whereas socio-economic status is related to what social networks and opportunities are available for young people. The parental influence on youth activism occurs in five paths:

First, children model their parents' political behaviour, and parents inculcate their attitudes in their children. Second, parents' child-rearing strategies can shape their children's future activism by providing a safe environment for moral development and self- discovery. Third, parents influence the social networks in which their children become involved, and these networks are sources of recruitment into activism. Fourth, parents' social class affects children's educational attainment, which in turn is strongly linked to political achievement. Fifth, parents can provide a home environment with materials and open discussion that encourages political maturity and interest, which can lead to activism. (ibid., pp. 454)

In terms of gender, the research of MacKinnon et al. (2007) indicates that young women tend to be more involved. With regard to life cycle and generational effect, new generation of youth is considered to have a different socio-political context than elder generations. Thus, young people do not favor engaging in formal and traditional

politics, but get politically active in their own ways such as via internet (i.e. exchange ideas about political issues with their peers on a forum or join a cause in facebook). They use internet as the primary source of news and they are inclined to participate in politics only if they feel knowledgeable and competent enough.

Among psychological factors, identity, political interest and efficacy (feeling that one can affect change), sense of civic duty (feeling that participation is valuable for its own sake) are found positively related to youth's voluntary commitment. Institutional factors refer to mechanism for raising young people's awareness about civil society and its participation in political life. Government's participatory policies, the flat hierarchical structures of political parties or practice-based civic education increase youth's civic engagement (MacKinnon et al., 2007).

Some studies' findings also support the above mentioned relations. Koffel (2003) further stresses the increasing affect 'globalization and internet usage' have. "*With little more than a cell phone, youth is able to mobilize hundreds of their peers to take action on a particular issue*" (Veliaj in Thorup & Kinkade, 2005). Similarly, importance of practice-based civic education in empowering and augmenting youth civic engagement is underlined by various scholars and practioners (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2007; Camino & Zeldin, 2006; Friedland & Morimoto, 2006). The current theory-based applications almost in every country are criticized in this respect (Kim & Sherman, 2006).

2.4. Why Do Young People Engage in Civic Activities?

Koffel (2003) states that "*young people become activists for many reasons, but often as a response to human rights abuse, environmental degradation or simply as a way to express their outrage at political, social, economic or environmental injustices they have witnessed*" (pp.117).

Another study on Latino youth by Borden, Perkins, Villarruel and Stone (2005) suggests a different categorization. Accordingly, youth choose to participate for 'personal development/confidence; improving self/community; learn life skills; emotional regulation and safe haven/respice (staying out of street-trouble).' On the other

hand, Friedland and Morimoto (2006) found out that in the USA, the primary motive for civic engagement is ‘resume padding’, which stands for participation as an ‘entry ticket’ to a good college and then, a job.

Following the CR and Peacebuilding discipline, Ardizzone (2006) mentions that in addition to career-orientated involvement, making friends, and discovering more about the issues that are not being taught at school, sense of social responsibility – “*a desire to help people and share information*” (pp.484) encourage youth to take part in youth organizations. She also affirms that witnessing injustice or oppression and wanting to change this situation’s reasons is the most powerful motivator for young peace-builders. She defines this in relation to structural violence:

Structural violence (also known as indirect violence) - or the violence that is embedded in social structures causing oppression, alienation and marginalization (showing up as poverty, hopelessness, unequal education, sexism, racism etc.)- can serve as a powerful motivating force for change. Many youth peace-builders articulate feelings of dehumanization (a form of structural violence) namely that they are treated differently because of their age (i.e. being followed in stores or harassed by the police in the streets). For many of them, their race and ethnicity adds to this “burden” of age, and they find that the dehumanizing treatment they receive by adults and authority figures is a motivating factor for them to work for “social change. (pp. 484)

Taking the above explanation of Ardizzone into account, it is possible to characterize youth’s civic engagement to be a ‘lifting role’, one that carries societies from negative peace (presence of no war) to positive peace (presence of no direct, structural or cultural violence).

2.5. Youth as Peace Multipliers

The literature on peace and youth emphasizes that youth and children participation are of value in reaching positive peace. “*Conflict transformation and peace-building can be seen as overlapping and complementary activities that theoretically, if not always practically, embrace the participation of young people.*” (Drummond- Mundal & Cave, 2007; 69). Hence, youth-led organizations are regarded

as prominent actors of positive social change (Ardizzone, 2003; Del Felice & Wisler, 2007), since they both empower young people and give them a space to make a change.

It is affirmed that youth organizations inspire young people's opinions, behaviors and attitudes (Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007; Ardizzone, 2003 and 2006). Through its involvement in NGOs, youth confronts its own stereotypes, limitations as well as strengths: while socializing and getting to know other cultures and people, young people discover more about their identities understand and learn to empathize with others, develop humanitarian and prosocial values (Sherrod, 2006). Especially, the attitude changing feature of youth NGOs is evaluated as a medium for and also a part of 'peace education' (Ardizzone, 2003).

Discussing the contribution of civic engagement to youth, Kim and Sherman (2006) stress that

Participating in youth organizing helps young people grow up with a firm identity, strong motivation to participate and a host of important life skills (public speaking, conflict resolution, developing habits of sustained involvement, policy analysis, creating community change). Importantly, youth organizing and more contemporary youth engagement strategies promote collective, not just individual action. (pp. 2)

In simpler words, youth NGOs, or civic engagement, help young people to practice and familiarize with the culture of democracy and internalize the values of peace such as tolerance, respect and human rights by giving them an opportunity to learn by experience.

To summarize, young people get active due to various reasons. One of the prominent ones is to fight against structural violence they or their peers encounter. Henceforth, through their civic engagement, young people strive to combat any forms of structural and cultural violence and carry their societies towards positive peace. Participating in youth organizations not only provide them a space for self-enhancement and self-esteem, expressing humanitarian and prosocial values, but also the possibility to take part in collective action (Braxton, 2006). Furthermore, youth lives in a social environment and pursues an intermediary function between generations. Taking this

social context into consideration and acknowledging that young people experience the values of peace and democracy via their civic engagement, it would be possible to recognize a new role youth undertakes. Young people, who live in societies, where positive peace exists up to a degree, multiply the culture of peace within and between generations, so that higher levels of positive peace is achieved and sustained over time.

This study employs the term '*peace-multiplier*' to refer to young people, who spread the values of peace and democracy such as active citizenship, tolerance, respect and human rights among their peers and across generations through being active in a local, national or international youth organizations. Within the course of this thesis, it is aimed to find out what motivates young people to become activists and which roles they want to play as peace-multipliers in reinforcing sustainable peace in their societies. In the next chapter, the methods used to answer this question are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes the research question, sub-questions and methodology for data collection. Furthermore, the rationale for these particular methods and selection of the cases (i.e. Turkey and Germany) will be discussed. The strategy followed in analyzing the data will also be explained.

The main research method employed within the framework of this study is qualitative interviewing. Interviews were conducted with youth activists aged between 18-30 that live and work for a youth NGO in Turkey and Germany and these were analyzed via content-analysis, particularly, latent-coding technique.

This research attempts to address the topic of youth activism and provide information regarding the motives of young people to become activists, their area of specialization in youth work, some aspects of their socio-economic profile in addition to the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies.

In the following chapter, the research question and sub-questions, the data gathering method and the features of the sample will be explained. Additionally, the technique used for data analysis, the limitations of this study as well as the rationale of the utilization of these specific methods and the case selection will be addressed.

3.1. Research Question

The broad research question of this study is: *“What are the motives of young people in becoming youth activists? What are the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies?”*¹⁵

The sub-questions this study focus are mainly related to youth activists’ socio economic background, their stories (how they got involved in civil society), the theme they generally work on in the youth field, their opinion about the status of civil society in their countries and in this respect, what they would like to change, their self-definition of ideal society and sustainable peace as well as how they see their previous contribution and future roles to converge to these ideals through their civic engagement.

Civic engagement is a leisure time activity, since it depends on individuals’, in the case of this study youth’s available time besides their studies and work and also, their preferences to allocate this time among their hobbies or responsibilities. Additionally, awareness about civil society is a motivating factor which might lead young people to participate in NGOs. Consequently, the questions regarding the socio-economic background such as education level, ethnic background or available leisure time are aimed at better understanding activists’ level of involvement (how much time youth activists spend for their civic involvement) and their theme of work. This enables the researcher to seek for further exploration of the topic and finding out whether any relationship exists between these variables and the entry motives. Similarly, the questions concerning the status of civil society, desired changes, definitions of ideal society and sustainable peace are designed to interpret and evaluate the other dependent variable, attributed roles.

¹⁵ Throughout this study, instead of repeating “the motives of young people in becoming youth activist” everytime, it will be shortly referred as **“entry motives”**. Similarly, for the roles young people attribute to themselves, the expression **“attributed roles”** will be employed.

3.2. The Qualitative and Exploratory Nature of the Study

This study was conducted within the qualitative tradition. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) say, qualitative research situates the observer in the world and gives him/her the possibility to see the world from the eyes of people studied. Through examining things in their natural settings, qualitative researcher endeavors to uncover and explain the meanings people bring to phenomena. In contrast to the quantitative research design, which is based on variables, hypotheses and numbers and seeks for impartiality; the qualitative research takes advantage of not controlling or eliminating the human factor and investigates social processes or cases in their social contexts (Neuman, 2006).

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials- case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional and visual text- that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; 3)

Qualitative researchers employ data such as impressions, words, sentences, photos, symbols, and the like to study motifs, themes, distinctions and ideas (Neuman, 2006).

Being more open to utilizing a range of evidence and discovering new issues, qualitative research design is frequently utilized by researchers that pursue exploratory purposes, i.e. to examine a new topic and formulate more precise questions for future research (Neuman, 2006).

On the other hand, one can acknowledge that it is the research question that determines the methodology. Recalling the scope of this study; the motives of young people to become activists and the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers, the need for employment of qualitative research design will be understood. The rationale behind the usage of this method is two folds. Firstly, this research does not intend to 'test hypotheses.' Secondly, similar to ethnographic research, in which individuals' lives are investigated in their own socio-historical context, this study, to address the research question, analyzes the individual stories, experiences and perceptions of young activists that are subjective and dependent on their own socio-

economic conditions. As quantitative data (numbers) fail to explain such kind of empirical materials, qualitative research design is more appropriate for the objective of the present study.

Besides its qualitative nature, this research also carries exploratory characteristics in methodological terms as it aims not only throwing a light on the entry motives of young activists, but also the roles they attribute to themselves in reinforcing sustainable peace processes in their societies. Particularly, not many studies have been conducted in the field of Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding to comprehend the attributed roles. Furthermore, through conducting the research in two different countries that seem to lay away from each other both geographically, according to their socio-economic conditions and also the level of youth work, this study attempts investigating if any of the dependent variables (entry motives and attributed roles) are culture-dependent. Therefore, due to its inductive nature, in the broadest sense, this research will endeavor to unpeel the little-explored subject ‘youth activism.’

3.3. Research Design

This section presents detailed information about the design of this study. The research instrument, the selected sample, unit of analysis, cases, data analysis methods and their justifications will be mentioned.

3.3.1. Research Instrument: Qualitative Interview

Within the framework of this research, qualitative interviewing is used as the data gathering technique. Being one of the most common research instruments in the qualitative tradition, interview helps the researcher to find out what the people studied feel and think about their social context. It can be in different forms depending on the degree the researcher directs the conversation with the respondent (unstructured, semi-structured or unstructured) and how the interview is conducted (face-to-face, online and the like) (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

It can be used for the purpose of measurement or its scope can be the understanding of an individual or a group perspective... Thus, the focus of interviews encompasses the *hows* of people's lives (the constructive work involved in producing in everyday life) as well as the traditional *whats* (the activities of everyday life). (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; 645-646)

Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can gain in-depth information about the topic. Interviews may be useful to further investigate the respondents' responses (McNamara, 1999). They provide the researcher prominent insights regarding the interviewees' opinions, feelings, interpretations and so forth. Recalling the objective of this study; the motives of young people to become activists and the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies, it would be difficult to collect data through numerical instruments. Therefore, the qualitative and exploratory nature of this study necessitates the employment of interviews as a way to address and learn more about the issue. Alternatively, one could have used survey as the data collection technique; however, considering its limitations (i.e. its failure to give in-depth insights regarding people's understandings, feelings and behaviors), surveys could have outweighed or undermined various aspects in the data.

On the other hand, as previously mentioned, the qualitative interview can be in different types: structured, semi-structured, unstructured; cultural, topical; face-to-face individual or group interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Semi-structured in-depth interview has been employed in this research. This type of qualitative interview is preferred by researchers, who seek for specific information on a topic. In this kind of interview, in contrast to structured interviews, where all questions are set beforehand, "*the questions are more open and answers are recorded in more detail, and spaces are left for unanticipated issues, which arise in the course of conversation*" (Mayoux, n.d.; 8). Therefore, 'semi-structured' character of interviewing provides flexibility to the discussion between the researcher and respondent. On the other hand, it also necessitates a very well-prepared interviewer (Gaskel in Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). In better words, in the case of semi-structured interviewing, the interviewer is less dependent on the interview protocol or does not need to pursue a standardized set of questions, thus, can guide the conversational agenda. However, this

type of interview also entails the researcher to ensure that some basic lines of inquiry are followed in each interview.

As Judd, Smith and Kidder (1991) point out this interviewing technique is suitable for “*intensive study of perceptions, attitudes and motivations*” (pp.260-261). Therefore, this technique fits the research question of this study, which intends to investigate the entry motives of youth activists in getting involved in civil society and the roles they ascribe to themselves in reinforcing sustainable peace processes within their societies.

3.3.1.1. Pilot Study

Prior to data collection for the research, five pilot studies were conducted to evaluate the interview guide of the research. Four of the interviewees were professional youth workers: one being Greek and the other three being Turkish and the fifth one was German, working voluntarily in the youth field. All interviews were done online via Skype. With respect to the findings of the pilot studies, certain adjustments were made, particularly in wording and sequencing of the questions.

The pilot studies also showed the interview guide necessitates extra questions in order to make the interviewees’ thinking easier and gain further insight about the topic. The questions regarding the definitions of ideal society, sustainable peace as well as the need for change were added for this reason. Furthermore, pilot interviews indicated that including the questions about respondents’ socio-economic background at the beginning of the conversation caused the interviewees to become tired before getting into the core of the interview, hence, the guide was split into two parts. The respondents were asked to fill in the first set (which constitutes demographics related questions) prior to the conversation for the sake of not losing their concentration during the main set of questions.

3.3.1.2 Interview Guide

Due to the semi-structured character of this study, it was attempted to keep the influence of the interviewer minimum; however, the researcher still followed an interview guide.

In the light of the feedback of the pilot interviews, the interview guide is shaped and in the final phase, it is divided into two sets. The first one, called ‘Introductory Questions’, is more based on closed-ended questions, and aimed to gain insight about respondents’ socio-economic background such as their educational status and type of involvement (position, average time spent per week, voluntary vs. professional) in their NGOs.

The second set encompasses open-ended questions focusing on respondents’ story as a youth activist, definitions of ideal society and sustainable peace, opinions about the status of civil society as well as the roles they ascribe to themselves in fostering sustainable peace processes in their countries. The stories are needed in exploring the entry motives, whereas the remaining sheds a light to the attributed-roles and the reasons behind them. The interview protocol can be found in Appendix A.

3.4. The Researcher

Before explaining the research sample, some information about the researcher’s background should be given since it is important in terms of reliability and validity of the research.

I have been involved in youth work both at national and European levels for 4 years. Since then, working for an international youth NGO, called AEGEE (European Students’ Forum), I managed two projects: one being national and the other being international, namely Understanding Europe Project and Noah’s Ark, respectively, both aimed training high school students as active citizens and raising their awareness about civil society, youth work, nonformal education and intercultural dialogue. Furthermore,

I participated in various events and trainings organized by different organizations such as the Council of Europe (CoE) and in some of them, I took part as a trainer. Henceforth, I have experience in youth field as an activist. Within the course of the present research, this situation should be considered both as a limitation and an advantage.

The access to people from the field and knowledge are the main advantages. While endeavoring to find interviewees for my research, I was able to use my previous contacts and ask for their recommendations about whom to interview. Also, during the correspondences before the interviews, my involvement might have encouraged the interviewees to accept talking to me as they might have considered me as an ‘internal.’ Similarly, throughout the interviews, they might have felt more comfortable while answering the questions.

The second advantage rises from the knowledge about youth field itself, which I gained in the last 4 years. Since youth work has a complicated structure, includes national and European dimensions, getting familiar with all aspects would have taken much time for a researcher, who has never experienced the field. My previous engagements eased my understanding of the literature and data as well as conversation with the respondents. While analyzing and synthesizing, it was possible for me to see some further details and bring different aspects together.

On the other hand, as the researcher, my engagement in youth work also generates drawbacks. These will be discussed later on under the section ‘Methodological Caveats and Limitations.’

3.5. Research Sample

3.5.1. Sampling Technique

In the present study, the qualitative data were gathered by semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in Turkey and in Germany. Considering the qualitative nature of the research, the sample used is determined by nonrandom sampling.

Consequently, the interviewees were chosen according to their relevance to the research topic, not their representativeness of the population.

As Neuman (2006) affirms, qualitative research approaches sampling differently than quantitative research. Its main focus is not the representativeness of the sample or drawing a probability sample. *“Instead, qualitative researchers focus on how the sample or small collection of cases, units or activities illuminates social life. The primary purpose of sampling is to collect specific cases, events, or actions that can clarify and deepen understanding”* (pp. 211). Hence, qualitative research does not employ random sampling. This means, qualitative researchers select the cases themselves according to their relevance to the topic (Neuman, 2006).

Nonrandom sampling has different types such as haphazard sampling, quota sampling, purposive sampling and so forth. Within the framework of this study, purposive sampling (*“selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind”* (Neuman, 2006; 213)) is used. This type of sampling enables the researcher to choose the cases, which are especially informative (Neuman, 2006). This study examines a very specific group among youth population (i.e. those working actively in youth NGOs) and the research question’s investigation necessitates a further differentiation within this group of the youth population, since a minimum level of experience in youth field is required. New members of the organizations are not suitable for this research. Therefore, instead of random, nonrandom- purposive- sampling is utilized.

Purposive sampling has subcategories such as quota or snowballing sampling. The present research employs the latter technique. In snowballing technique, the researcher initially identifies a small group of people, who meet the inclusion criteria of the research and then, using their recommendations and networks, gets in contact with others (Bryman, 2004).

3.5.2. Unit of Analysis

In this research, the general unit of analysis is young people aged between 18-30, who are active in a youth NGO and live in Germany and Turkey. Although youth in

both countries has been subject of research in different science branches, not much is focused on youth activists. Due to this lack, further exploration of youth activists' motives in getting involved in civil society and the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers are considered prominent. Moreover, the dissimilar characteristics of youth work in these countries are thought valuable and worth comparing in better explaining the research question.

The unit of analysis can be described as the type of unit that the researchers utilize during measurement of the data. The units can be individuals, groups, organizations, social categories or societies. "*The unit of analysis determines how a researcher measures variables or themes*" (Neuman, 2006; 156).

Individuals form the unit of analysis of this research. More specifically, young activists aged between 18-30, living and working in a youth NGO in Turkey and Germany constitute the unit of analysis. The rationale behind the case selection will be discussed in detail later in this section. On the other hand, as a result of having two cases and different types of organizations, this research have some organizational and societal outcomes which are acknowledged to the degree that individuals exist in a social context, however, the primary focus of this study is individuals.

In case of a single interviewer, the ideal number of interview is considered to be between fifteen and twenty five (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). On the other hand, in qualitative researches, where purposive sampling is employed, the number of interviews is also determined by the 'saturation point' (i.e. when the researcher feels that the respondents' begin giving similar answers and each additional interviewee contributes little to what s/he has already heard (Glaser & Strauss in Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Within the framework of this study, the researcher conducted and recorded a total of 30 (with 5 pilots) personal interviews in Turkey (in Ankara and Istanbul) and Germany (in Frankfurt, Mainz, Würzburg) by using snowballing technique. 18 of the interviews were face-to-face, whilst the remainder (including the 5 pilots) was online (via Skype), due to the researcher's and respondents' inability to arrange a face-to-face meeting during the time period the researcher was in Germany. However, here it should be noted that four of the interviews did not meet the criteria to be included in the

analysis. The pilot interviews are also excluded: only the main 21 interviews were taken into consideration.

There are three categories of interviews in this study. The first category is consisted of ‘youth activists’ and stands for young people working professionally or voluntarily in the selected youth organizations (visited NGOs are explained below). The interviews with the youth activists are the primary focus of this study to answer the research question. The second category of interviews were conducted as complementary to the first one in order to ease the researcher’s understanding and interpretation of the data gathered by the interviews with activist. Since each organization has its own culture and the social context activists belong might be important in comprehending their entry motives and attributed roles, the second category of interviews comprised questions about the organization itself and was made with an administrator (current or former board member) of each organization.

The third category of interviews is designed to gain further insight regarding the status of youth work in Turkey and Germany. The available documentation about youth work in Turkey and Germany gives limited information for comparing certain issues regarding both countries’ youth field. As Nemetlu (2008a) mentions few written material about youth work in general or its history exist. The book “*Türkiye’de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları (Youth Work and Youth Policy in Turkey)*” by the Youth Studies Unit in Bilgi University (2008) and the youth report prepared by the UNDP (2008) are main comprehensive studies investigating youth work in Turkey. On the contrary, more material on German youth work is accessible; however, relatively few are in English. Therefore, to be able to obtain comparative information about the overall situation of youth work in these two countries and to better understand the social context the interviewed youth activists live in, complementary interviews were conducted with representatives (experts) of the German National Youth Committee on International Youth Work (Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Internationale Jugendarbeit-DNK) and Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (YSU). The former organization is the umbrella organization for all youth NGOs in Germany. On the other hand, Turkey lacks such a representative body, in other words, a National Youth Council, henceforth, considering its expertise and knowledge about Turkish youth field, YSU was chosen for the interview (See Appendix C for more detail about visited

organizations). The findings of the third category of interviews will be used in the next chapter, where youth civic engagement in Turkey and Germany will be addressed.

3.5.2.1 Visited NGOs

Youth non-governmental organizations (NGOs) vary according to their structures, aims, visions, missions and also fields of actions. For instance, within the European youth field, one can come across with organizations such as student clubs at schools, youth associations, informal groups or National Youth Councils and the European Youth Forum (i.e. the umbrella organization for youth NGOs in Europe). Some of these are being profession-based such as EMSA (European Medical Students' Association), whilst the others work on one or more themes like 'human rights, cultural exchange, active citizenship & youth participation, environment, sports, arts, minority rights, health issues, animal rights, as well as peace.'¹⁶

Civic engagement is generally voluntary-based and young people, once they decide to participate in a youth NGO, are very likely to choose the organization, whose fields of action most interests them. Thus, with respect to the present study's research question, it is possible that activists' entry motives and attributed roles might change from one organization to another. In order to control this factor in the research and also, to test whether there is a relationship between youth activists' entry motives and field of actions, this research included youth organizations that work on one of the following three themes (fields of actions): 1. Human Rights; 2. Cultural Exchange and 3. Active Citizenship - Youth Participation.

These themes are selected for several reasons. Firstly, it was aimed to leave profession-based out of the research, since it is very likely that young people get active in such organizations for their careers, it might have led to a bias in the data regarding the 'entry motives' of youth activists. Secondly, youth organizations in the two countries are not engaged in totally similar fields. For example, in Germany, church

¹⁶ Personal communication with Maria Nomikou, a professional youth worker and freelance trainer. She is a member of European Youth Forum Pool of Trainers.

organizations constitutes an important part of the youth participation, whilst in Turkey, the majority is Muslim and associations or foundations cannot base their fields of action on religious matters, as it violates the constitution. Thirdly, most of the youth organizations both in Turkey and Germany at least touch upon one of the three themes in the activities they organize.¹⁷

The forth point is the importance of active citizenship, human rights and cultural exchange in reinforcing and achieving sustainable peace within and across countries. The first one stands for participation, inclusion, hence, democracy; one of the building blocks of peace. Human rights are closely related to societies' endeavor to fight against structural violence and through cultural exchanges; people are very likely to develop intercultural understanding, tolerance and respect for diversity. Therefore, in exploring youth's role as peace-multipliers, focusing on these three themes is thought valuable.

Finally, the researcher's accessibility to the interviewees eases conducting the research with the youth organizations working on the aforementioned themes. Here, it should be noted that youth branches of political parties are beyond the scope of this study.

In the present study, in each country, one organization per theme is visited, which makes three organizations per country. The organizations were selected via snowballing technique. These organizations vary according to their structures and member profiles. For instance, Youth for Habitat (YFH) and Amnesty International-Turkey have both professional and voluntary youth workers, whilst the remaining functions on voluntary-basis. Taking Hart's 'Ladder of Children's Participation' into account, five organizations stand at Rung 7; these organizations are initiated and run by young people, whereas Amnesty International-Turkey stays at Rung 6. AI-Turkey is adult-initiated; but young people actively work (it even has an international network of AI Student Groups) and can take part in decision-making bodies. In the past, AI has worked on youth-related issues such as human rights violation youth is exposed to; however, it differs from other NGOs in the research sample. The reason behind its

¹⁷ This might be partly due to the priorities of the international funds such as the Youth in Action Program of the European Commission youth NGOs depend on for their financial survival.

inclusion in the sample is rooted in the relatively underdeveloped situation of youth NGOs that work only on human rights. In Turkey, youth NGOs very rarely focus on human rights as their main field of action and through the snowballing technique, the researcher was not able to reach any other youth NGO, whose main theme of work is human rights. The drawback arising from inclusion of AI-Turkey among other sampled youth NGOs is mentioned later on in this chapter. On the other hand, all organizations are members of international networks, hence, they are interested both in local (or national) and international youth-related issues. The disadvantage coming from the international dimension is discussed under the section ‘Methodological Caveats and Limitations.’

One female and one male activist were interviewed in every organization in addition to the interview with an administrator. Furthermore, the third category of interviews was conducted with representatives of German National Committee on International Youth Work and Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit. Hence, in total ten people per country were interviewed. The table below shows the organizations and their fields of action (See Appendix C for detailed information about organizations).

Theme of Work	Organization	
	Turkey	Germany
Active Citizenship	Youth Association for Habitat (YFH)	AEGEE-Mainz
Cultural Exchange	Genç Gelişim Derneği (Youth Development Association-YDA)	Youth for Exchange and Unity (YEU)
Human Rights	Amnesty International-Turkey (AI-Turkey)	International Youth Human Rights Movement- Berlin (IYHRM-Berlin)
<i>Information Regarding Youth Work</i>	<i>Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (YSU)</i>	<i>German National Committee on International Youth Work (DNK)</i>

Table 2: Organizations visited in Turkey and Germany and their theme of work.

As explained in the literature review chapter, youth is a culture/context-laden concept, meaning its age range changes from one country/context to another. Whilst the Youth in Action Program of the European Commission defines youth for the age interval 13-30,¹⁸ the United Nations refers to people aged between 15 to 24.¹⁹ However,

¹⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74_en.htm

in the youth field, it is very common that young people begin civic engagement during their university education. In Germany, youth stands for the age interval 14-27 (ISS, 2007), whilst Turkey has no specific age range definition for this life span. Due to the lack of a common youth definition among two countries, this thesis considers the youth's age interval as 18-30. Thus, young people from 18 to 30, living in Turkey and Germany and are active in the above mentioned organizations form the sample of this study.

Country	Organization	Number of Interview	Type of respondent	Gender of respondent
Germany	AEGEE- Mainz	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Female
	Youth for Exchange and Unity (YEU)	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Male
	International Youth Human Rights Movement- Berlin (IYHRM-Berlin)	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Female
German National Committee of International Youth Work	2	Representatives	1 Female, 1 Male	
Turkey	Youth Association for Habitat (YFH)	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Female
	Youth Development Association (YDA)	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Female
	Amnesty International-Turkey (AI-Turkey)	2	Activist	1 Female, 1 Male
		1	Administrator	1 Female
	Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit	1	Representative	1 Male
	Total	21	12 Activists, 6 Administrators, 3 Representatives	12 Females, 9 Males

Table 3: The distribution of the interviewees according to the number per organization, the category and gender of respondents.

¹⁹ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wyr05intro.pdf>

Gender and age were only sought as important in determining the first category of interviewees (i.e. activists), since the research question only concerns them. In order to find out if gender is a mediating variable and leads to any change in the answers, interviews were made with one female and one male in each organization. On the other hand, with regard to the second and third type of interviewees, as the questions do not concern the interviewee him/herself, no attention was put on age or gender during the selection of the interviewees.

3.5.2.1. Case Selection

This study intends to shed light on youth activists' entry motives as well as the roles they ascribe to themselves in promoting sustainable peace in their societies. As the variance of youth definition and status of civil society across different cultures, it is thought that these entry motives and attributed roles might be culture laden. With the aim of testing this as well as having a broader sample and thus richer data, two countries were selected as cases. Germany and Turkey are chosen due to the similarities and differences they have in socio-economic situation, cultural traits and exercise of democracy, particularly regarding the youth field's level of development. First of all, they both have high populations compared to most of the other countries in Europe, although the ratio of youth population to overall population differs in both countries. Accordingly, Germany's population in 2007 was 82.266.372, the youth population (age range 15-29) was 14.502.478 and the youth population ratio was 18%, whilst these numbers were 70.137.756, 18.910.444, and 27%, respectively in Turkey.²⁰

Although Turkey's youth population is higher than Germany, with respect to state policy on youth, Germany stays ahead of Turkey. The latter country does not have any youth policy, except the article 58 and 59 in the constitution (See Appendix B). On the other hand, there is a very detailed youth policy in the former, including various laws on children and youth, aimed at giving young people space to develop their personalities

²⁰ For Germany: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home/>

For Turkey: www.tuik.gov.tr

and skills in society; creating equal opportunities, and also, improving the political, societal and social framework conditions for them (Becky et al., 2004) (See Appendix B).²¹ Furthermore, numerous state or private institutions and organizations work on youth-related issues at federal, regional and local levels in the Federal Republic of Germany such as the Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (*Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend*)²² or German Federal Youth Council (*Deutscher Bundesjugendring*) and regional youth councils. On the contrary, Turkey lacks not only a Ministry of Youth; but also, a National Youth Council: the representative body for youth organizations in a country that ensures young people' participation in local, national or international decision-making processes (Nemutlu, 2008b). In this country, the main state institution dealing with youth is the General Directorate of Youth and Sport²³, however, its main responsibility is youth's leisure time activities (Kurtaran, 2008). Development and implementation of a youth policy is beyond its authority.

The difference in the presence of a comprehensive youth policy is also reflected in youth work structure, especially in the number of youth NGOs and the youth participation ratios. Germany has a greater number of youth NGOs (comprising student clubs, sports organizations, church organizations, informal groups and associations at local, regional or national level) than Turkey. Considering youth's interest in politics, these countries resemble each other since in both, it is widely believed that the generation that socialized after 1980s are apathetic; but actually Germany and Turkey diverge in the ratio of youth population that takes part in youth NGOs: this ratio was 4% in the latter country for the age range 15-24 in 2008 (UNDP, 2008), whereas in the former, 33% of young people aged between 12-25 was committed in voluntary activities in 2006 (Hurrelmann, Albert & Schneekloth, 2006).

²¹ The structures, institutions and organizations that are related to children and youth in Germany can be reached online at: http://www.kinder-jugendhilfe.info/en_kjhg/cgi-bin/showcontent.asp?ThemaID=0

²² <http://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/generator/BMFSFJ/root.html> (in German)

²³ <http://www.gsgm.gov.tr/> (in Turkish)

The European Union (EU) membership is another point in the case selection rationale. Germany is a European Union member state and Turkey is currently engaged in pre-accession negotiations. The former country is involved in the determination of the European agenda on youth issues and is obliged to fulfill the requirements in this respect, whereas Turkey does not take part in the decision-making processes yet; however, before its accession to the EU, she has to adjust her domestic legislation and implementation. This being said, however, concerning one aspect of the EU's youth policy, the two countries benefit from the same program: Youth in Action.

The Youth in Action (YiA) Program, directed by the European Commission, provides funding for youth organizations not only in the EU member states, but also in candidate or neighboring countries. It supports youth participation, whilst promoting mobility across or beyond the borders of the EU, nonformal learning and also, intercultural communication.²⁴ The program has four permanent priority areas: European citizenship, participation of young people, cultural diversity, and inclusion in addition to annual based priorities. Projects fitting in these priority areas are eligible to apply for the YiA grants. Here, it is of value to stress the importance of this similarity in terms of this research's topic. Turkey and Germany are program countries, hence, youth NGOs in the two countries are subject to the same regulations and the YiA program affects their agenda (i.e. fields of action, content of their events etc.) to a very high degree. In other words, through the YiA Program, the youth fields in both countries resemble and converge to each other. However, in accordance with this, two points should be also noted.

As a consequence of its youth policy, in Germany, various local, regional and national financial support is available for youth organizations, which decrease their reliance on the YiA grants, whilst in Turkey, the main financial resource for the youth organizations is considered as the YiA, because the state funding is very limited: 0,11 TL per young person aged between 15-29 and various problems exists in the allocation of the funds: not all youth organizations get money and some cities seem to receive a greater portion from the total amount of grants. For instance, in 2007, there were 393 youth NGOs that are registered with 'youth club' status at the Office of Youth NGOs

²⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-in-action-programme/doc74_en.htm

under the General Directorate of Youth and Support; but only 122 of them were supported. Between 2004-2007, among other provinces, Ankara was given the maximum amount of grant (Kurtaran, 2008). Secondly, due to the pre-accession period, currently Turkey obtains grants from the EU for the development of civil society, which also comprises youth organizations. Accordingly, the number of youth organizations or organizations that are interested in youth increased after 2000. Therefore, youth field in Turkey is more dependent on the YiA.

The ease of accessibility to the interviewees in these countries, this is to say, the researcher's personal contacts with youth activists living in Turkey and Germany constitutes the last point of case selection.

3.6. Methods for Data Analysis

In contrast to quantitative analysis, which seeks describing the data in terms of statistics, qualitative data analysis endeavors to give a voice to the non-observable things such as emotions, attitudes or values as well as subjective reasons (Neuman, 2006).

Being a qualitative and exploratory research, the present study employs content analysis as the technique for analyzing the data collected through semi-structured interviews. Content analysis provides an examination of information, or content. *“This technique lets the researcher discover features in the content of large amounts of material that might otherwise go unnoticed”* (Neuman, 2006; 36). The content may include words, phrases, narratives, images, symbols, and so forth. Throughout this research, the written transcriptions of the conducted interviews were analyzed with this particular technique. Therefore, within the course of this study, the content refers to words, opinions and themes in the transcribed texts.

Content analysis can be pursued in two ways. In the first one, called ‘manifest coding’, the researcher is interested in the visible part of the text and counts the frequency of a word or a phrase (i.e. how many times it appears throughout the whole text). Manifest coding enables the researcher to categorize the data quantitatively and

run statistical analysis. In the literature, very often this type of coding is not considered as ‘truly qualitative’ (Lacey & Luff, 2007), whereas the second type of content analysis, called ‘latent-coding’ is. ‘Latent coding’ goes beyond the surface of a text and helps the researcher unpeel the meaning of sentences or paragraphs. The researcher interacts more with the data and rereads the texts with the aim of exploring concepts and deriving themes (Neuman, 2006; Robin & Robin, 1995).

In line with its research question, the present study is not suitable for manifest coding and hence, uses latent coding. The researcher tries to explain the phenomena gained from the data in terms of themes. Moreover, to support and enrich the findings (themes), quotations from the interviews are very often added in the analysis.

3.6. Methodological Caveats and Limitations

The present study is subject to some methodological constraints that might affect its validity and reliability.

First of all, the general literature on research methods suggests that “*qualitative research is an interpretative and subjective exercise, and the researcher is intimately involved in the process.*” (Pope & Mays in Lacey & Luff, 2007; 6). Hence, the findings are not value-free and suitable for generalizations. Furthermore, in the case of present study, my personal experience and involvement in youth field might have caused me to be ‘biased’ towards the data.

Secondly, as mentioned above, in this research, nonrandom, snowballing sampling is used, which lacks representativeness. Since in this method, I used my personal acquaintances to contact interviewees, it is very likely to that only people who have similar ideas and backgrounds were involved in the sample. As a result, the gathered data is valid for a very limited group of youth activists.

The access to organizations and determination of interviewees is the third point. Even though attention was paid in the selection of the organizations, it was not always possible to get an access to the organizations that exactly fit the research’s ideal sample.

This problem occurred especially in Germany. Twenty five organizations were contacted for interviewing, but only four of them replied. Similarly, in Turkey, Amnesty International-Turkey does not fit into the Rung 7 on the 'Ladder of Children's Participation' as do other NGOs in the sample. However, due to my lack of access to a youth NGO, which focuses on human rights as its main field of action, I needed to include this organization in the sample. Another point is as all visited NGOs are members of international networks and their work is very dependent on international agenda, this thesis does not give insight regarding the local youth organizations. Moreover, in most of the organizations, there were not enough candidates for being interviewed, thus, selection of the interviewees was not always among various options. This also limits the representativeness and validity of the research.

Another limitation concerns the profile of interviewees. Accordingly, all respondents were university educated people, except one interviewee in Germany (she will also start her undergraduate studies in 2010) and none of them was from low-income level background. Therefore, this research does not include and provide information about youth activists, who belong to low-income level families and have not attended university. Furthermore, the sample is not appropriate for drawing conclusions about the relationship between socio-economic status or education level and youth civic engagement (in the case of this study, the dependent variables; entry motives and attributed roles).

Fifthly, some interviewees were professional youth workers, whilst the remaining was working on voluntary-basis in the visited NGOs. Having both groups in the sample could be considered as a limitation, since the type of involvement might have an intermediary role in the answers of interviewees.

Language as a barrier in communication is the sixth limitation. In Turkey, interviews were conducted in Turkish, whereas in Germany, they were in English, since I do not speak any German. Since none of the respondents in Germany was native English speaker, it is very likely that they said much less than they would have explained if it was in German. It sometimes occurred that the respondent did not know the meaning of a very important word in the question or gave up trying to tell about something, when s/he could not find the appropriate word in English. In addition to

preventing a healthy conversation between the interviewees and me, language also restricts the amount of information regarding youth work in Germany I can access. Only the literature in English and Turkish was surveyed within the course of this study, although for some crucial information, I asked help from German speaking friends.

One last issue concerns the knowledge and experience the researcher has about the two cases. Since I live in Turkey, speak the language and have worked in a local youth organization, I am more familiar with the current agenda, history and culture here. On the other hand, I know less about Germany. Consequently, although I tried to stay from an equal distance to data I gathered in both countries, it is very possible that during interpretation, I might have seen a broader picture in Turkey and a limited one in Germany. On the other hand, considering the time-limit of the study, a field research that would enable me to stay in the other country and get to learn more about the internal dynamics and culture was not feasible.

CHAPTER 4

YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN GERMANY AND TURKEY

As mentioned under the ‘Case Selection’ section in the previous chapter, Germany and Turkey both resemble and differ regarding the history of youth civic engagement as well as how youth work has developed and is currently structured. Since civic engagement (participation) depends on the culture (Chisholm & Kovacheva, 2002), exploring these topics is of value in understanding the socio-cultural context the interviewed youth activists live in. This chapter aims to provide further insight about youth civic engagement in two countries.

In the Methodology chapter, it was underlined that the available documentation about youth work in Turkey and Germany gives limited information for comparing certain issues regarding both countries’ youth field. Therefore, to be able to gain comparative information about the overall situation of youth work in these two countries and to better explain the social context the interviewed youth activists belong to, complementary interviews were conducted with representatives of German National Youth Committee on International Youth Work (Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Internationale Jugendarbeit- DNK) and Istanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (YSU). A total of 20 questions were asked to the respondents. In Germany, the Spokesperson of the DNK replied the first 13 questions and due to her lack of time, an intern of the organization completed the interview. On the other hand, the Turkish respondent is a coordinator in the YSU. The findings of these interviews will be used in combination with the available literature throughout this chapter. In what to follow, commonalities and differences of Turkish and German youth work will be addressed. In accordance with the research’s scope, the attention will be put on the current situation of youth work rather than historical youth movements; however, the chapter will start with

a brief explanation of how youth work and youth civic engagement evolved in time in two countries.

4.1. History of Youth Civic Engagement

4.1.1. Germany

Germany has a long tradition of youth civic participation. The late 17th century is considered to be the beginning of pre-professional youth work in this country. During these days, informal public meeting places for young people, named as ‘Spinnstuben (Spinning Rooms)’ or ‘Lichtstuben (Light Parlours)’, were established in towns and villages. Without adults’ direct participation or control of public institutions such as the state, churches, schools or the military, young people were gathering in these places and within time, they began developing their own roles and culture (Spatscheck, n.d.).

In the late 19th century, a greater number of young people left their families and migrated to new industrialized towns to work in factories. In order to have socio-cultural networks, they found their “*own forms of associations for sports, education, sociable leisure and dancing*” (Thole in Spatscheck, n.d.; 1).

Bourgeois and proletarian youth movements emerged between 1890-1933. The former was a counter movement against the late 19th century’s feudal, too-hierarchical industrial culture and young bourgeois people highly appreciated voluntary commitment to informal groups. The latter (proletarian) youth movement was initiated by young workers and aimed to acquire basic workers’ and citizens’ rights. During the same period, youth associations continued to expand their membership and ‘*public youth work*’ that intended to protect “*the young people from the threats of moral and physical decline*” (Spatscheck, n.d.; 2) was established by the state.

With the start of the Nationalist Socialist regime in 1933, ‘youth’ began to be regarded as the future carriers of the Nazi ideology and many youth associations were closed. However, even during the dictatorship, some counter youth movements existed such as ‘Swing Kids’ or ‘Edelweißpiraten (Edelweiss Pirates)’ (Spatscheck, n.d.).

After the IInd World War, Germany was divided into two and Western and Eastern sides experienced different developments with respect to youth work. In the Western part, the allied occupation troops established ‘German Youth Activity’ homes, re-activated the pre-war youth associations and implied programs for ‘democratization’ and ‘re-education’ of young people. However, in these days, youth work was still in the control of adults (ibid.).

The generation of 1960 and 1970s protested the adult hegemony and their parents’ involvement in Nazi past. *“The 1960s protestors refused to accept the political marginalization of the youth. Instead, they demanded a political mandate for themselves and challenged mainstream society on all grounds in the most radical manner.”* (Von Dirke, 1997; 29). The student movements of 1960s had lasting impact. ‘The 68 Revolt’, starting from the education system, asked for social change and more self-organization in society (Von Dirke, 1997).

On the other hand, in Eastern Germany, youth faced another attempt of creating ‘state youth.’ Pre-war youth work structures were re-opened and ‘Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ, Free German Youth)’ was founded as the official youth organization of German Democratic Republic (GDR). FDJ was the key instrument to disseminate the socialist state ideology through its activities such as holiday camps, youth clubs and so forth. However, as in the Nazi past, there existed resistant youth cultures such as Punks and Beatniks (Spatscheck, n.d.).

Germany was reunified in 1990 and in 1991, within the Children and Youth Service Act, ‘youth work’ was defined as an independent work field (ISS, 2007). Today, Germany is considered to have a very detailed legislation and developed youth work as well as structures for youth civic participation (Becksky et al., 2004).

4.1.2. Turkey

Youth civic engagement in Turkey went through a different development phase and it was mainly ‘initiated’ by the state.

In her book *“Türkiye’de “Gençlik Miti” 1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği”*, Demet Lüküslü (2009) briefly explains the history of youth movements in Turkey. The 19th century is identified with the ‘modernization’ endeavors in the Ottoman history. To prevent the empire’s collapse, young people’s education became an important task of the state. Youth was educated according to the Western standards and these young people, also known as ‘Jeunes Turcs (Young Turks)’, took pioneer roles in modernization movements. They mainly aimed to stop the empire’s dismemberment and ‘provision of freedom and rights’ were regarded as a path to achieve this goal. Jeunes Turcs later established the political party ‘İttihat and Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress)’ and came to power with the IInd Constitutionalist Period (Lüküslü, 2009).

In the second half of the 19th century, in Europe, physical education was valued as a prominent tool in mobilizing youth around the state ideology. Following these developments, İttihat and Terakki supported the establishment of youth associations. Young people (regardless of religion) were obliged to be a member of these associations (Toprak in Lüküslü, 2009).

Education and creating ‘state youth’, who would protect and carry the Republic further were tasks of the state even after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Physical education continued to hold its importance in this respect, especially, during the IInd World War, youth’s participation in sports clubs was enforced by the law (İnanç in Lüküslü, 2009).

In terms of political participation, between 1923-1950, hence, until the end of the single party regime in Turkey, youth could only get involved in Republican People’s Party (CHP); student associations were forbidden to engage in politics or to act against the regulations of their universities. In other words, youth movements in Turkey was not allowed to or even did not attempt to come up with their own agenda. Rather they supported the rhetoric of CHP by their actions as in the cases of protesting Greece and the Soviets- the external threats to the country (Lüküslü, 2009).

1960s and 1970s were milestones in youth movements in Turkey. Starting from 1950s, young people protested the policies of the right wing ‘Democrat Party (DP).’

During 1967-1968, youth activists targeted the education system, mainly universities, demanded to 'have a say' in the university administration either through boycotts or occupation of the university buildings. On the other hand, the youth movements in 1960s and early 1970s also had 'political dimensions'; young people opposed the governing party of that period (Kışlalı, 1974).

The military intervention on 12 March 1971 affected youth movements: the student leaders such as Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan, Mahir Çayan and İbrahim Kaypakkaya died (were executed by the state) and many activists were imprisoned (Lüküslü, 2009; Kışlalı, 1974). Later on, during 1974-1980, leftist and right-wing students' antagonism resulted in violent, destructive conflicts: around 2129 citizens died (Keleş & Ünsal in Lüküslü, 2009) and on 12 September 1980, coup d'état took place. The military regime prohibited political parties, declined syndicates and associations. *"It was endeavored to suppress and depolitize the society and especially, being one of the political actors in 1970s, youth"* (Lüküslü, 2009; 117).

The coup d'état in 1980 was marked as a trauma in Turkish society: political involvement became scary in the eyes of citizens. Youth that socialized after 1980 was characterized to be 'apolitical' by the media, academics and politicians. However, recent studies (Lüküslü, 2008 and 2009) challenged this view and point out that contemporary youth in Turkey is interested in politics and participates in society, but not in the traditional ways.

In 1990s, youth work began to develop in Turkey. Various international youth organizations such as AEGEE (European Students' Forum) or Youth Express Network established branches; youth councils and a National Youth Parliament (formed by youth councils) and local networks like TOG (Community Volunteers Foundation) were founded. Especially, Turkey's acceptance as a full partner in the European Commission's Youth Programs or Euro-Med Youth Program created funding opportunities for youth NGOs. These funds and increasing number of youth NGOs have been mobilizing numerous young people. Furthermore, in the last 5 years, 'youth policy' has been put on spotlight by different organizations, even though Turkey still lacks a comprehensive youth policy (Nemutlu, 2008b) and youth in this country faces obstacles in association.

The literature shows that youth civic engagement in Turkey and Germany has undergone dissimilar phases. Whilst in the former country, the state has always attempted to dominate and control youth, in the latter country, young people were more self-organized. Youth work in Turkey started as a part of international networks. In other words, ‘youth work’, as a concept and field of social work, is exported from Europe and hence, has always been under the influence of international (European) youth work. On the contrary, Germany developed its own structures and legal framework to strengthen youth work; however, it is also in close interaction with the European youth agenda.

In the next section, some information about the current status of youth civic engagement in both countries will be given. The findings of the interviews with DNK and YSU will often be employed to enrich the available literature.

4.2. Current Situation of Youth Civic Engagement

Firstly, it should be noted that two countries are dissimilar in how they define ‘youth’ or measure the ‘youth civic participation ratio’ and what the scope of ‘youth work’ comprise. For instance, whilst youth branches of political parties are considered as a part of the youth work in Germany, hesitations exist in the Turkish side to include them, since in Turkey, youth branches of political parties do not engage in youth politics, they rather follow the agenda of their mother party.

In Germany, youth work refers to “*offers for young people that support their development by picking up their interests, allowing co-determination, fostering self-definition and encouraging social responsibility and participation*” and aims “*social and personal development focused on the concepts of self-definition, participation and integration*” (ISS, 2007; 22). German youth work targets all young people aged from 14 to 27, including disadvantaged and socially excluded groups (ibid.). On the other hand, due to the lack of a youth policy in Turkey, there is neither a specific age range that is described as ‘youth’ nor a ‘youth work’ definition drawn by the law. The YSU representative mentioned that in practice, recently, the age interval between 15-29 is treated as ‘youth’ and ‘youth work’ simply corresponds to the work done for the self-

realization of young people. Henceforth, this lack of standardization and different approaches to youth work should be taken into account while comparing youth work in two countries.

4.2.1. Legislation on Youth Civic Engagement

With respect to the legislation on youth civic engagement or youth in general, Germany stays ahead of Turkey. In the former country, the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren Frauen und Jugend) is responsible for child and youth policy and a detailed jurisdiction structures youth work. *“The creation of positive living conditions for children and young people, the strengthening of their own resources also by supporting their community involvement... is the task of child and youth policy”* (Becky et al., 2004; 20). Youth- related issues are regulated under ‘Basic Law’ and also many general laws such as German Civil Code. In terms of youth civic participation, the Act Concerning the Amendment to the Promotion of the Voluntary Social Year Act and other acts enforce the provision and dissemination of opportunities for young people to do voluntary service (ibid.). (See Appendix B). The DNK representative also mentioned ‘Jugendhilfegesetz’, which directs parent-child relations, youth work, teaching and several personal rights:

Under the articles No: 11 Jugendarbeit, No: 12 Förderung der Jugendverbände, No: 13 Jugendsozialarbeit, No: 14 Erzieherischer Kinder – und Jugendschutz and No: 15 Landesrechtsvorbehalt, the terms of youth work are defined, the fields of actions are emphasized. Second paragraph says to provide and support youth organizations with help and funding. Third paragraph is about social workers, fourth [is] about children’s rights in youth work and last one clarifies the federal point, that the counties in Germany have federal judgment. Afterwards, there are more paragraphs clarifying the rights and do’s and don’ts of the youth workers, children and jurisdiction. [#14, 30.04.2009]²⁵

²⁵ Quotations from interviews are added to give further information. At the end of the quotations, the ‘#’ stands for the number of the interviewee and the date stands for the date of the interview. Interviewee #14 is the DNK representative and interviewee #15 is the representative of YSU.

On the contrary, in the Turkish legal system, three types of legislation concerns youth rights. The first one refers to the regulations that indirectly target youth such as the ‘Discipline Bylaw’ of Yurt-Kur, the state institution in charge of student accommodation. The second type includes reference to youth, but is actually about a different topic (ex: employment) and the third type of legislation is the two articles in the Turkish constitution (No: 58-59, See Appendix B), which directly aim youth (Nemutlu and Kurtaran, 2008). However, the YSU representative claimed that

O madde gençlerle ilgili gibi gözükse de, aslında, o madde, ülkenin vatanyla milletin bölünmez bütünlüğü ile ilgili bir madde aslında. Gençlerin burada nasıl araç [olarak] kullanabileceği ile ilgili bir madde. Onun dışında, o anayasa maddesi zaten anayasanın diğer maddeleri gibi gençlerin hangi çerçevede eğitileceği ile ilgili; işte Atatürk İnkılâpları vs. gibi bir çerçeve de çiziyor. Yani devlet, yurttaşlarının hangi konuda, ne düşüneceği ile ilgili zaten kendince bir çerçeve çizmiş durumda... Mesela, yapılan anlaşmalar var, o anlaşmalar üzerinden iç hukukun [düzenlenmesi] gerekiyor; ama düzenlenmemiş şeyler var.

Even though that article seems to be about young people, actually it is about the Turkish state being an indivisible entity with its territory and nation. The article is about how young people can be used as a tool for this. Besides, that article of the constitution, as the others, is related to the frame youth will be educated (i.e. along the lines of Atatürk’s principles etc.) The state already determined what its citizens should think about a topic... For instance, some agreements have been made and the legislation system has to be rearranged accordingly; but there are things that have not changed. [#15, 08.04.2009]²⁶

A consequence and also the reason of the above mentioned distinctness in legal systems of Turkey and Germany in youth related issues can be found in the countries’ youth policies. Whilst the latter has a comprehensive youth policy including a strong financial and co-management structure on local, regional and national levels, in the former, it is affirmed that ‘*the lack of a youth policy is the youth policy of this country*’ (Kurtaran, Nemutlu & Yentürk, 2008).

²⁶ As the language of communication was Turkish during the interviews in Turkey, the Turkish version of the quotations are also presented. However, to avoid any confusion, whilst Turkish versions are italic-faced, English versions are not.

In terms of civil and political liberties, in both countries young people can vote, when they turn 18. The minimum age to be elected is lower in Turkey (25), which is a result of a campaign youth organizations also supported in the recent years (in 2006).²⁷

4.2.2. Brief Information about Secondary and Higher Education Systems

In Germany, the education system changes from one regional state to another, but generally, there are three types of high schools: Gymnasium gives high school diploma, prepares pupils for university students and is for students, who have been successful during their primary education. The second one is Realschule and it is ranked between Gymnasium and Hauptschule (the lowest type). Graduates of Realschule are likely to continue with an apprenticeship at the end of their studies, whereas Hauptschule refers to vocational schools, where very often students, who come from low income level families and do not show a great success attend. After the primary education, teachers' recommendations based on students' abilities determine which type of secondary school pupils will study.²⁸

Turkish education system also distinguishes between different kinds of high-schools. Entrance to high school was used to be regulated by a national examination, which changed very recently. The main four types of high schools are: Public High Schools, Anatolian High Schools, Private High Schools and Vocational High Schools. Among those, language of instruction in Public High Schools is Turkish, whereas Anatolian High Schools and Private High Schools (also, called College or Foreign Language High School) give special attention to foreign language teaching. Science High Schools are focused on Natural Sciences education, whilst Vocational High Schools, as their name suggests, prepare students for employment in various occupations, or for higher education. In terms of socio-economic backgrounds of

²⁷ The Youth Association for Habitat carried out the “*Seçilmek İstiyorum Kampanyası- I Want To Be Elected Campaign*” in 2006 and lobby for the change of the minimum age for getting elected from 30 to 25. (<http://www.habitaticingenclik.org.tr/Page.asp?id=102-> in Turkish)

²⁸ Personal communication with Astrid Schrader, the youth delegate of Germany to the UN General Assembly 2008.

students, it is very likely that youngsters, who belong to low-income level class or are not very successful at school, would attend Public High Schools or Vocational High Schools. College pupils are more often from upper middle or upper class. At the end of their high school education, youngsters are obliged to pass the national University Entrance Exam and they are placed at universities according to their success in that exam. Each year, thousands of youngsters can not get into an undergraduate program due to lack of enough places in universities. Moreover, it is very usual that young people do not enter the faculties or programs they want to study; rather what they can get with their rank in the exam. In 2009, around 1.450.350 high school graduates took the university entrance exam, however, only 789.677 of them got into a higher education program.²⁹ Hence, it is possible to affirm that both Turkish and German education systems are not ‘inclusive’ for every young person and also class-based educational inequalities remain strong in these countries.

Here, it is of value to highlight the provision of civic involvement education at high schools and universities as a part of school curriculum. Both countries provide citizenship education within the formal education at high schools, where pupils get to know about the constitution of Germany or Turkey. Furthermore, in the former country, there is a Federal Agency for civic education, which is responsible for “*promoting democratic awareness in the population and of motivating and equipping the people in the Federal Republic of Germany to take on responsibility in political life, critically and actively*” (Becky et al., 2004; 87). However, the respondents underlined that the civil society component and opportunities youth have to engage in civic activities are very unlikely to be touched upon in the citizenship courses. “*It is supposed to be there in [high] schools, but it depends a lot on the teacher. In universities, there is usually engaged youngsters self-organizing.*” said the German respondent.

²⁹<http://www.osym.gov.tr/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFF88F742D0D7112518892E7DA0E206501>

4.2.3. Other Aspects of Youth Civic Engagement

The table below illustrates some aspects of Turkish and German youth work. Accordingly, the population of young people aged between 15-29 in Germany and Turkey was 14,502,478 and 18,910,444,³⁰ respectively in 2007. Considering the higher youth population of the latter country, the difference between the youth civic participation ratios draws more attention. Young people in Turkey are less likely to be involved in civil society than their counterparts in Germany. According to the 15th Shell Youth Study (Hurrelmann et al., 2006) that analyzes the attitudes of German youth aged between 12-25 to topics such as politics and society, one third of youth population engage in civic activities and 42% does it occasionally. In Turkey, this ratio is calculated to be 4% for the age range 15-24 (UNDP, 2008).

³⁰ For Germany: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home/>

For Turkey: www.tuik.gov.tr

Aspect of Youth Work	Germany	Turkey
Youth Civic Participation Ratio	33% (for the age range: 12-25)	4% (for the age range 15-24)
Number of Youth Organizations	(In the DBJR) 69 member, 6 observer organizations; No information available about the total number	3500 associations, around 1500 university clubs
Concentration of Membership	(Within the DBJR) Scouts (170,000); Protestant Youth (1,200,000); Catholic Youth (650,000); Youth Syndicates (460,000)	Not applicable
	Sport Clubs (9,000,000); Youth Branches of Political Parties (2,000,000)	
Major Fields of Actions	Youth Participation, Education	Charities, Fund-based organizations
Overall Profile of A Youth Activist		
Education Level	Academic Background (except for Youth Syndicates)	University Students
Socio-Economic Background	Come from educated & upper-middle or middle class families	Belong to Middle-class families
Age-range	16-25	18-24
Gender	70% male, 30% female	Male (in taking responsibilities), Female (in volunteering)
Other characteristics	-	Moved to his/her city from somewhere else; English speaker, Internet Used
Extracurricular Activities Young People Engage	Sports or Church Activities; Cultural and Political Activities; Non-responsibility taking Activities	Youth Organizations; Friends and Sightseeing; Cultural Activities
Opportunities Provided for Young People	Several funds; Youth Organizations; Projects	Financial support; Exchange Programs; Youth Organizations; Education- Health- Accommodation
Amount of Financial Support by the Government	14,920,000 € ->1,03€ per young person (by the Federal Government) + Regional and International Funding	750,000-1,000,000 €-> 0,04-0,05€ per young person (by the government) +International and Local Funding
Factors that Increase Youth Participation	Political Enthusiasm& involvement; Ecological involvement; Religious involvement	Financial Opportunities (the YiA Program); Internet
Factors that Decrease Youth Participation	Lack of appreciation by others; Time-pressure; Lack of popularity [of youth civic engagement] in population	Legal obstacles on freedom of association; Lack of opportunities; Unequal distribution of opportunities; Deficiencies in the promotion of opportunities
Major Problems of Youth	Poverty; Violence; Unemployment; Unequal access to opportunities; Education	Finances; Access to information; Foreign language; Unemployment; Accommodation; Autonomy; Education System; University Entrance Exam; Work Security

Table 4: Comparison of different aspects of youth work in Germany and Turkey

Both countries lack accurate data regarding the number of youth organizations. The Spokesperson of the DNK stated that in the German Federal Youth Council (DBJR), 69 member and 6 observer organizations exist and DBJR represents 5.5 million young people in Germany. Due to its federal structure, Germany has local and regional youth councils in addition to DBJR. Moreover, not every youth organization is a member of one or more of these umbrella NGOs. Consequently, no information is available regarding the total number of youth organizations. On the other hand, the YSU representative said that in Turkey, it is possible to have a statistics of how many associations' name include the word 'youth.' 3500 such associations are registered in the Department of Associations (Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı)³¹, although some of these can be sport clubs. The remainder 1500 stands for the approximate number of university clubs all over the country.

The German representative articulated that with respect to the concentration of membership (i.e. which type of organization have the greatest number of members) Scouts, Protestant youth, Catholic youth and youth syndicates share the main power in the DBJR. Even though they are not a member of the DBJR, sport clubs and youth branches of political parties could also be included in the list of biggest youth organizations in Germany. On the contrary, for Turkey such statistics are not available. The Turkish respondent highlighted four main difficulties in measuring where the concentration is. Firstly, he affirmed that participation in university clubs is very limited, because only students of that particular university can become a member. Moreover,

Üniversite yönetimleri, kulüplere eşit mesafede durmuyorlar, daha akıllarına yatanı desteklerken diğerlerine bir şey yapmıyorlar... Farklı uygulamalar var: yeni üye alımında, üniversite senden para talep edebiliyor, üye başına 10 TL gibi, kendi kasasına girmesi için... [Başka bir örnek] Bülbül Sevenler Üniversite Kulübü kurmak istiyorum ben. Yönetim diyor ki "Hayır, burada zaten bu konuda [kuşlar üzerine] çalışan bir kulüp var, senin gidip onlarla çalışman gerekiyor." "Neden bu kadar az üniversite kulübü var?"ın cevabı da budur aslında.

³¹ <http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/Dernekler/Web/Gozlem.aspx?sayfaNo=1>

University administrations do not treat clubs equally; while supporting the ones they like more, they do not do anything for others... There are different implications: university might ask you to pay 10 TL per new member, for its own income... [Another example is that] I want to found a Nightingale Lovers University Club. The administration says “No, there is already a club working on this [birds] issue, you have to go and work with them.” This is the answer to the question ‘Why so few university clubs exist?’ [#15, 08.04.2009]

Secondly, differentiation between small and big-scaled associations is an obstacle in interpreting the concentration of membership. Private companies only support organizations that can provide them visibility. This condition forces young people to do something publicly visible, hence, prevents small groups to get active. In addition, the legal system that obligates associations to have an office, pay tax etc. restricts young people’s freedom of association, as youth usually lacks enough financial resources.

Youth branches of other NGOs are the third point the Turkish respondent raised:

Gençlerin günlük hayat pratikleriyle çok büyük ihtimalle sivil toplum kuruluşlarındaki o 40-50 yaşındaki insanların yaşam pratikleri arasında fark vardır, kullandıkları araçlar arasında fark vardır, okudukları şeyler arasında fark vardır. O yüzden, o gençlerin gidip orada, o dernekte, o vakıfta kendilerini ifade etmesi kadar zor bir şey olamaz; çünkü gençler her zaman bu ülkede, sivil toplum kuruluşlarında şey olarak görünüyorlar: tamam, poster asılacaksa, gençler assın; ama kararı biz alalım.

Youth’s everyday practice, tools it uses, books it reads differ from those of 40-50 years-old people working in that NGOs. Therefore, nothing can be harder than self-expression of young people there, in that association or foundation; because in this country, young people are always perceived by NGOs in such a way: if there is a poster to be hang, let youth do it; but we shall take the decision.[#15, 08.04.2009]

Finally, the implementation of the legislation also varies from one region/ institution to another. It might be easier to found an association in one city than in another. He claimed

Dernekle devlet ilişkisi zaten bir kanun çerçevesinde kurgulanmış durumda; ama kanuna uygun olmadan devlet çalışanları kendi kafalarına göre uygulamalar yapabiliyorlar, aynı üniversitelerde, belediyelerde olduğu gibi ve bu bölgeden bölgeye ciddi farklılıklar gösteriyor. Daha hassas konuların olduğu yerlerde böyle dertler olabiliyor, diğerlerinde olmuyor...

O yüzden, burada bir standart yok, standardın olmadığı yerde de bence nerede yığılma var ile ilgili iyi veri almak biraz zor.

The framework of the relationship between associations and the state is already drawn by the law, but civil servants may act against the law as it happens in universities and municipalities, and this shows severe differences from one region to another. Such problems can occur in where fragile issues exist, not in others... Therefore, there is no standard here; I think in lack of such standards, it is hard to get a data about where the concentration is. [#15, 08.04.2009]

‘Major fields of action’ is another aspect two countries diverge. The DNK representative mentioned that in Germany, traditionally volunteerism is based in clerical organizations and youth participation (active citizenship) and education related activities are more common, whereas in Turkey, charities take more attention of young people. The Turkish respondent rooted this in the culture and tradition of volunteerism since in Turkey volunteerism is treated not as a tool of participation, however, is considered equal to helping others and giving them a service. Moreover, he suggested that in Turkish youth work, activities are not defined over needs, but over available funds. Youth NGOs mostly focus their work according to the priorities of the Youth in Action Program (YiA)³² of the European Union, due to lack of financial opportunities on the local level. Henceforth, determining the major fields of action is perceived as problematic within the Turkish youth field.

Besides the above differences, Turkish and German youth fields also have commonalities. One can claim the overall profile of a youth activist as one of the common aspects. In both countries, generally young people with an academic background (university students or graduates) get involve in voluntary commitment (Hurrelmann et al., 2006; UNDP, 2008). The representatives of YSU and DNK mentioned that males are more likely to participate compared to females. For instance, although the number of volunteer women is higher, men tend to take more responsibilities in Turkish youth work. In Germany, in the DBJR, an enforced 50-50 quota is applied to engage women in politics. With respect to the socio-economic background, the 15th Shell Youth Study (Hurrelmann et al., 2006) shows that youth

³² The YiA program has four permanent priority areas: European citizenship, participation of young people, cultural diversity, and inclusion in addition to annual based priorities.

from middle and upper-middle class have higher rate of participation. This class-based engagement is also valid for Turkey. The Turkish respondent also highlighted some other characteristics of a youth activist in Turkey, i.e. being an English speaker, internet user as well as having been moved to the city s/he lives currently from somewhere else for his/her studies.

Young people's motivation to get active is a pragmatic one in both countries; the ideological concepts or social utopias no longer influence youth's participation. In Germany, personal satisfaction and having a benefit out of civic participation are highly valued by youth (Hurrelmann et al., 2006), whereas in Turkey, meeting new people, and socializing seem to be the main drivers. Youth in Turkey is more likely to attribute youth organizations a role of 'socialization tool', hence, the Turkish respondent emphasized civic involvement within extra-curricular activities. The German respondent's phrase summarizes which extra-curricular activity is mainly preferred in Germany: *"People are easy to motivate to participate in non-responsibility taking activities (e.g. doing sports)."* [#14, 30.04.2009] Civic engagement is perceived as "too-much time consuming" by young people in Germany, thus, their tendency is towards sports and cultural activities as well as spending time with friends and sightseeing.

Among opportunities provided for young people, one could mention existence of several youth organizations, numerous youth projects, exchange programs and the funds provided by the state as another commonality between Germany and Turkey. However, regarding the last point, looking at the governments' budgets allocated for youth and calculating the amount spared per young person, it is possible recognize the difference. According to the answers of representatives, excluding the local, regional and international funding, in Germany, the federal government provides around 14,92 Million €, which corresponds to 1,03€ per young person, whilst the total amount varies between 750,000- 1,000,000 € in Turkey and this makes 0,04-0,05€ per young person.

As a result of the aforementioned differences in Turkish and German youth fields, the factors increasing and decreasing youth participation as well as the major problems of youth asserted by the representatives are dissimilar. In Germany, young people's civic engagement is more likely to be fostered by individual motives such as political

enthusiasm, ecological and religious involvement or decrease due to lack of appreciation by others, time- pressure created by the studies as well as the job-market's priorities in hiring employees, and also the unpopularity of civic engagement activities among the population. On the other hand, youth in Turkey seems to be more dependent on the societal constraints and what is being supplied by the government and other actors of civil society. Motivating factors include the financial support, especially the Youth in Action Program and also, internet, which eases access to information. The legal restriction on the freedom of association, lack of opportunities and the inefficient promotion or the unequal distribution of the existing ones have negative effect on the youth participation in Turkey.

The German representatives marked poverty, violence and unemployment as the major problems of youth. Realization of university fees in some regions of the federal Germany and unequal access to opportunities such as lack of enough apprenticeship (for the young people getting education in Realschule) are underscored as the other drawbacks, whereas in Turkey 'autonomy' is very likely to be main issue for the youth according to the YSU representative.

Bir kere genç dediğimiz kitlenin homojen bir kitle olmadığını kabul etmek gerekiyor... Gençler birbirlerinden farklılar... Bu farklı tür gençlerin farklı türlü sorunları var... Buna rağmen, gençlerin hepsini yatay olarak kesen... [bir dert] özerklik... Özerlikle ilgili bence dertleri var; çünkü bence herkes kendi kafasında gençlerin nasıl olması gerektiği ile ilgili bir şablon oturmuş durumda ve nereden olursa olsun, gençleri onu uydurmaya çalışıyor. Bence birçok genç de bunu istemiyor zaten. Zaten istemedikleri için bence kendisini en gösteren yönü kıyafetleriyle önce bunu ifade ediyorlar, dinledikle müzikle bunu ifade ediyorlar vs... İslamcı gençlerin başka derdi vardır; ama yine özerklik gibi bir dertleri var bence... Kemalistler için de aynı şey geçerli. Siyasi partilerde aynı şey geçerli vs.

Firstly, it should be acknowledged that youth is not a homogenous group... Young people are different from each other... These different types of young people have different problems... However, autonomy is a common problem... In my opinion, they have problem with autonomy; because everybody have a template for how young people should be and they try to make youth fit in that template in a way. I think most of the young people do not want this. They express this with their most visible side: their clothes and with the music they listen to... Islamist youth might have other problems; but again they suffer from 'autonomy'... Same is valid for Kemalists and the ones in the political parties...

In the meantime, he asserted that in Turkey, youth involved in NGOs are considerate about finances, access to information, foreign language learning; university student have concerns regarding accommodation and unemployment; university entrance exam and the formal education system are in the agenda of those who want to pursue an undergraduate or graduate degree and young people in the labor force face problems about security in the workplace.

4.3. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter addresses the historical development and current situation of youth civic engagement in Turkey and Germany. Accordingly, these two countries differ in many aspects such as the youth participation ratio, the financial support provided by the governments for youth, factors that increase or decrease youth's civic involvement or how youth civic engagement evolved in time. On the other hand, profile of youth activists, the preferred extra-curricular activities or some opportunities young people show similarities.

These being explained above, however, the main divergence is seen in the presence of youth policies. In contrast to the detailed and comprehensive one in Germany, Turkey lacks such legislation. This might be both a result and a reason of all differences in Turkish and German youth work. The next chapter will present the analysis of the interviews with youth activists.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

This study's main research question is "*What are the motives of young people in becoming youth activists? What are the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies?*" To answer this question Turkey and Germany were selected as cases and a total of six NGOs were visited. In each organization, interviews were conducted with a female and a male activist aged between 18-30. As previously mentioned in the Methodology chapter, in addition to interviews with activists, two more categories of interviews were made. Interviews with representatives of DNK and YSU were used as a source of supplementary information about youth fields in both countries and the findings were used in the previous chapter, whilst interviews with administrators of organizations are thought as 'complementary' and were aimed at better understanding the data gathered from the interviews with activist. In the interest of space, the analysis of this latter category will not be presented here, but it is in the appendix (Appendix E) and the findings will be used in the discussion chapter, whenever relevant. The data based on the interviews with activist will be presented below.

Before continuing, it is important to make three remarks. Firstly, due to confidentiality, names of the interviewees are not mentioned. Also, in order to respect interviewees' identity, whenever there was at least one respondent whose ethnicity is not German or Turkish, the expression 'respondents from Germany/Turkey' is used. Secondly the terms 'most' or 'majority' were employed if that point was stated by more than half of the interviewees. Thirdly, quotations were added to support the discussion or explain the themes. As the language of communication was Turkish during the interviews in Turkey, the Turkish version of the quotations are also presented. However,

to avoid any confusion, whilst Turkish versions are italic-faced, English versions are not. Furthermore, the parts within '[]' means addition done by the researcher for making the quotation understandable.

Two sets of questions were prepared for activists. The first was given to the interviewees at the beginning of the interview and included a total of 15 questions mainly related to the socio-economic profile of the respondent. The second set of 15 in-depth questions were aimed at learning the respondents' stories as youth activists; their self-definition of sustainable peace and ideal society; their perception of civil society in their countries as well as the roles they attribute to themselves in the conflict resolution and sustainable peace building processes.

In accordance with the research question and the findings, the analysis is split to three main sections: profile of activists, entry motives and youth as peace-multipliers. Each has its own sub-sections. The first part includes the findings from the first set of questions, whereas second and third parts presents answer to the second set.

5.1. Profile of Activists

The previous surveys on volunteerism (activism) show that civic involvement of youth is related to some socio economic factors such as education level or economic welfare. Moreover, engagement in a NGO is a leisure activity, thus, it is very likely to be dependent on individuals' availability (time) and preferences on how to spend their free time. Civic involvement education at schools might have an awareness-raising effect, whereas ethnic background (minority status) might be catalyst in relation to exercise of human rights and both might lead youth to get active. Consequently, to better comprehend the entry motives and attributed roles of youth activists, a set of questions about these aspects was included in the interview guide.

The analysis of these questions indicated that age, gender, education level, average work hour per week, free time activities, leisure-hour per week and level of involvement (i.e. local, national, European) do not have any specific effect on either entry motives or attributed roles (See Appendix D). Therefore, in this section they will

not be discussed. On the other hand, it is of importance to mention the findings regarding ethnicity (minority status), field of studies, economic status and civic engagement education.

5.1.1. Ethnicity (Minority Status)

In total, 4 out of 12 respondents belong to a minority group in their societies. The one male in Germany has a French-Basque ethnicity. In Turkey, one of the male respondents comes from the Jewish community and the other has an Arabic mother and Muhalleme father, whereas one female respondent is of Kurdish decent.

In both countries, ‘ethnicity’, in better words, ‘belonging to a minority community’ was found related to respondents’ entry motives and field of actions. In Turkey, among three respondents with minority background, two of them work on ‘human rights’ and their entry motive was ‘prior experience to injustice’ (this theme will be explained in detail in the next section). In the meantime, the respondents with French-Basque and Arabic-Muhalleme background were interested in the cultural dimension of youth work from the very beginning of their civic involvement and they rooted this in their own ‘interculturality.’

Kültürlerarası öğrenme... benim kişiliğimle, yaşadıklarımın alakalı... Biz İzmir’de yaşıyoruz. Kendimize ait bir dilimiz, bir kültürümüz var; ama apayrı bir kültür[ün olduğu] ve dilin konuşulduğu bir şehirde yaşıyoruz. Bu yüzden. Zaten aile içinde de kültürlerarası bir farkındalık vardır.

Intercultural learning... is related to my identity, to what I live... We live in İzmir. We have our own language, our own culture; but we live in a city, where a totally different culture exists and another language is spoken. That is the reason. There was already an intercultural awareness in the family. [#17, 09.04.2009]³³

³³ Interviewee #17 is 25 year-old male, whose mother is of Arabic decent and father is Muhalleme. He studied Maths and is a freelance trainer in youth field whilst being a volunteer in the Youth Development Association.

5.1.2. Field of Study

Four respondents in Turkey and five in Germany study social science. Two interviewees in the former and three in the latter country mentioned that from time-to-time and up to a degree they use their professional knowledge in their civic engagement. For instance, a respondent in Germany studied Economics and currently holds a position in the financial body of his organization. Therefore, it is very likely that youth activists put their professional knowledge into practice during their involvement in NGOs. This might have two reasons depending on their entry motives: if they got active for their future career plans, they might want to gain experience through their involvement. Secondly, if they feel a lack in that aspect (such as PR) of their organizations, they might be willing to contribute with their professional expertise and hence, improve the situation in the NGO.

5.1.3. Economic Status

The findings do not support a relationship between entry motives and economic status. This means respondents do not necessarily become activist because of their economic welfare. Regarding their level of income, almost half of the interviewees preferred not to declare the exact amount they earn, but rather state whether it is enough to cover their expenses or not. Thirty-three percent of the respondents are partly or totally financed by their parents, whereas the remaining can depend only on their earnings. Hence, the data suggest that youth activists are very likely to belong to families with middle level of income. The answer to one of Turkish interviewee supports this finding:

Hepimizin orta sınıf ailelerin çocuklarıyız. Hepimiz öniine tabakla bir şeyler sunulmadan, konulmadan önce tabağı arayıp bulup sonra içini doldurmaya çalışan insanlarız.

We all come from middle-class families. We are among people, who first search for the plate, find it and then, try to fill it ourselves, and not served with an already filled plate. [#18, 09.04.2009]³⁴

³⁴ Interviewee #18 is a 25 year-old female, studying International Relations. She is a freelance trainer and member of Youth Development Association.

Here, it should be noted that the data gathered from three categories of interviews indicate that middle class and university educated youth is more likely to get involve in NGOs, however, the sample of present study does not include upper or lower class and not university educated youth, hence, this study is not appropriate for drawing conlucions about the socio-economic factors that increase/ decrease youth civic participation.

5.1.4. Civic Involvement Education

At this point, it is of value to highlight one finding about the civic involvement education given in both countries. According to the data, neither of the countries' national education curricula includes 'Civic Involvement Education' at high schools and at the higher education institutions.

Any Civic Involvement Education Received?	Number of Interviewees		
	Turkey	Germany	Total
Yes	-	-	-
No	6	6	12

Table 5: The number of interviewees that received civic involvement education during their high school or higher education.

The respondents in Germany mentioned the obligatory “Political World Education” classes in high schools, whose content generally is the political system and legislation of Germany. Similarly, interviewees living in Turkey emphasized the “Citizenship” course they got in primary school, where they were taught mainly about the constitution of Turkey and citizens’ responsibilities towards the state. Both groups expressed their doubt to count these courses as “civic involvement education”.

The next section endeavors to answer the question: ***“What are the motives of young people in becoming youth activists?”***

5.2. Entry Motives

This part of the analysis addresses the respondents' motives to get involved in civil society, particularly in youth field. From the data, a total of ten themes were derived, five being common between Turkey and Germany. In what to come, these entry motives will be explained.

5.2.1. Similar Themes Between Germany and Turkey

5.2.1.1. Personal Development

Five out of six interviewees in both countries stated 'personal development' related issues as their reason to participate in civil society. Improving language skills, traveling around Europe [cheaply], making friends and networking, taking steps to reach his/her career-aims, broadening his/her perspective and being a part of an international platform were mentioned under this theme.

I don't know, I think there was always this direction, compass inside me wanting to do things with international background, also because I had been in the UK for one year and I wanted to do some stuff with English with foreign people. [#1, 11.03.2009]³⁵

I saw that this was giving me the chance to build a network, a trans-European network of friends, people I could work with; so I got a lot of connections, extending my network from a basically French and German network to at least a European one. [#11, 11.04.2009]³⁶

AEGEE- Avrupa Öğrenci Forumu'ndan tesadüfen okulda haberdar oldum ve uluslararası boyutu olması beni çekti açıkçası... Daha çok işte uluslararası, yurt dışına çıkarım, işte birileriyle iletişime geçirim, dilimi geliştirim fikriyle başladı.

³⁵ Interviewee #1 is a German, 25 year-old female, studying Media and Communication. She is an active member in AEGEE for 5 years.

³⁶ #11 is a 31 year-old male, who studied Economics and has been a member of AEGEE since 1999.

I got to know about AEGEE- European Students' Forum at school by a coincidence and actually its international dimension attracted me. It started with the idea that it (AEGEE) is international, I can go abroad, get in contact with people, improve my language. [#17, 09.04.2009]

It is important to note the slight difference between respondents from Turkey and Germany in terms of their career-orientation. In Turkey, the respondents stated their willingness to have something near to studies in their resume to have more job options in the future. This point has two aspects. The first one relates to the university entrance exam. Accordingly, the interviewees emphasized they made an unconscious decision while choosing the department they want to study and they were disappointed later on once they found out that would not be the best profession for them. The second point regards the dissatisfaction with the opportunities provided for students at the universities. Hence, half of the respondents from Turkey treated civil society as a platform that might bring them new job perspectives.

Matematik çok istediğim bir yer değildi... Bu şekilde sivil topluma girdim; çünkü sivil toplum kendini özgürce geliştirebileceğin bir alan.

Mathematics was not something I really wanted [to study]...In this way, I entered civil society; because civil society is an area where you can develop yourself freely. [#17, 09.04.2009]

İçinde bulunduğum üniversitenin de çok fazla bir katkısı olmadı bana; çünkü ben daha lisede sosyal katılıma başlamıştım. Üniversitenin bana sunduğu olanaklar birkaç tane öğrenci kulübüyle sınırlıydı. O öğrenci kulüplerinin de benim vizyonumu açma gibi bir şeyi [özelliği] yoktu.

My university didn't contribute me much; because I had already started civic involvement at high school. The opportunities the university offered me were limited with a few student clubs and these student clubs didn't have the features to broaden my vision. [#18, 09.04.2009]

5.2.1.2 Cultural Dimension

Four respondents in Germany and three in Turkey highlighted the intercultural dimension of their NGOs in their stories. Meeting people from other cultures through the networks of their NGOs drew their attention.

I was convinced that the idea of European Integration of young people over the continent is a good and important thing; that people get to know each other and can interact and work together, also understand each other, so the cultural component was the one that captured most part of my attention. [#11, 11.04.2009]

I am really interested in different cultures and this was a chance to get to know people from different countries and when I participated in the German Convention, there were so many people from so many countries, so many opinions. This really captured me as I liked it. [#3, 14.03.2009]³⁷

5.2.1.3. Organizational Culture

Related to the working environment in the organizations and their colleagues, there were two aspects that took attention of two respondents from Germany and three from Turkey. Especially, the flexible working-hours, participation on voluntary basis, flat hierarchy, being a part of a team and feeling that s/he contributes to the organization were touched upon in the answers. Furthermore, the friendly environment and close relationship between members were also marked as important factors.

...kapıdan içeri girdim... bana oturdular projeleri anlattılar; ama kimse önüme bir form sürmedi, 'ya şunu da doldur ya da iki resim bir ikametgah getir.' demedi.

I stepped inside... they sat down and told me about the projects; but no one gave me a form or said 'fill this or bring two photos and one residence certificate.[#22, 17.04.2009]³⁸

Buradaki çalışma ortamı çok rahattı. Herkesin ne kadar vakti varsa, [o kadar] vakit ayırması herhangi bir sorun oluşturmuyordu. Dışarıdayken destek verebiliyordum. Bu belki sadece bir çeviri şeklinde oluyordu; ama bir şekilde katkı olduğumu hissediyordum.

³⁷ #14 is 26 year-old German male, who studies Maths and is a volunteer in Youth for Exchange and Unity.

³⁸ #22 is 23 year-old male. He is of Turkish decent and studies Public Relations, whilst working professionally in the Youth Association for Habitat.

The working ambiance was very comfortable. It was not a problem when somebody spends as much time as s/he has. Even if I was outside [of the office], I was able to support. This might be only a translation [of a document]; but I was feeling that I was contributing.[#23, 17.04.2009]³⁹

I personally got along well with X and Y, so I just stayed with them. I also liked that it was very informal: right now, we have a very informal structure. [#9, 05.04.2009]⁴⁰

5.2.1.4. Progress

This theme refers to the respondents' willingness to contribute to themselves and their societies through their participation. Half of the interviewees in both countries stressed that they got involved in civil society to 'change' and 'improve' something in their countries and in their lives.

... For me, life is also about striving further. There is one German book, play actually, Faust by Goethe, in the beginning, the God plays a bet with the devil, the devil will manage to have this person, Faust, stop striving further, stop learning and this is the whole idea of the book. And this is what kept me, I don't know, this is something a theme for me, a topic for me and that is important in my life, I can always go further and strive further. [#1, 11.03.2009]

Niye [bu organizasyonda] kaldım? ... topluma ve kendime bir şeyler katabildiğimi düşünüyorum; çünkü buraya geliyorsunuz,, ilk zamanlarda bir öğrenme süresi oluyor. Ufak tefek işlerle başlıyorsunuz...; ama daha sonra bir projede eğitim alıyorsunuz, eğitmen oluyorsunuz, eğitim vermekle sorumlu oluyorsunuz ve o eğitimleri yaygınlaştırıyorsunuz...

Why I stayed [in this organization]?... I think I contribute to the society and myself; because you come here, at first there is a learning process. You start with small things...; but then you get a training under the framework of a project, become a trainer, be in charge of giving training and disseminate those training...[#22, 17.04.2009]

³⁹ #23 is 27 year-old female. She studied International Relations and is a professional youth worker in the Youth Association for Habitat.

⁴⁰ #9 is German. She is 26, studies Political Science and is a member of International Youth Human Rights Movement- Berlin.

5.2.1.5 Vefa (Loyalty)

One of the common findings regarding the entry motives is the idea of “vefa” (loyalty in Turkish). However, this theme stands for different meanings in Turkey and Germany. It refers more to ‘*providinf others the same opportunities I have*’ in the latter, whereas it is associated with ‘*feeling responsible and creating a space and opportunities for others*’ in the former country. In other words, in Germany, being involved in a youth NGO and having chance to meet different people, to travel and so forth are perceived as a ‘privilege’ and the respondents expressed their will to spread these to other young people.

We traveled with the family to some countries of Europe, so I learned to be mobile and mobility is a very important aspect that I was very interested in and AEGEE gave me the possibility to be even more mobile and I got to involve people get mobile as well. [#11, 11.04.2009]

This is what I experienced and I think this is worth experiencing for everybody: getting to know different people and reducing our prejudices... I always hear on TV, heard that in different countries, there is still a war like in Israel or anything that people get killed. I don’t want this to happen, because I have been living in the EU for 19 years right now. I heard stories of my grandparents, when they were in war, so I am really happy to have this world, to be secure in a bound of states which care for each other. So I would like to have this spread over the whole world.[#4, 14.03.2009]⁴¹

I have the feeling that I am on the better side of life or that my life is not that complicated as other lives are and that I can give back. Maybe to say in this way that I can give back a little bit with the work on civil society and with the work on human rights and with dealing with these issues. [#12, 13.04.2009]⁴²

On the other hand, in Turkey, vefa (loyalty) seems to come from deprivation. Half of the respondents asserted that since they faced difficulties due to their socio-economic

⁴¹ #4 is a 19 year-old German. She volunteers in Youth for Exchange and Unity, while she continues her high school education.

⁴² #12 is a member of International Youth Human Rights Movement- Berlin. He is 24 years-old and an undergraduate student of History and Gender Studies.

or religious status, they wanted others not to experience the same; hence, they got into action to give back by creating opportunities or doing something to develop better conditions for young people.

Sosyal dahilyet çalışmamın sebebi belki geldiğim background olabilir; çünkü çok orta sınıf bir aileden geliyorum. Bir şekilde sahip olduğum şu anki olanaklar tamamen kendi çabam... Dolayısıyla, birilerinin de benim yerinde olabileceğini düşünüp oradan sosyal dahilyet çalışma hedefim var.

Maybe the reason why I work on social inclusion be related to my background; because I come from a middle class family. In a way, all the opportunities I have at the moment are results of my own efforts. Therefore, thinking that some people might be in my place, I have the aim to work on social inclusion. [#18, 09.04.2009]

O kadar çok yapılacak şey var ki; ama baktığınızda çok az kişi var... Hani bunların hepsine kendinizi sorumlu hissetmeye başlıyorsunuz.

There are too many things to do; but when you look, very few people are present... You start feeling responsible for these things...[#17, 09.04.2009]

Bunu yapabildiğim [bir Yahudi olarak kendimi ifade edebildiğim] ölçüde kendime güvenim geldi. Bu güvenin gelmesiyle bunu daha çok alana taşımam gerekti; çünkü borçlu hissettim kendimi...

I began to have self-confidence as much as I could do this [express myself as a Jewish]. I had to carry this to more fields; because I felt indebted.[#19, 10.04.2009]⁴³

Having explained the common ones, in what to follow, the remaining dissimilar entry motives of respondents from Turkey and Germany will be addressed.

⁴³ #19 is a 30 year-old Jewish, who works professionally in Amnesty International-Turkey. He studied Anthropology.

5.2.2. Dissimilar Themes

5.2.2.1. Germany

5.2.2.1.1. Interest in Politics

Half of the interviewees in Germany told about their interest in politics as their entry motives. One of them explained the reason as: *“Because politics is amazingly important in our everyday lives. I mean it is the thing that determines the society, how we live together and what is happening and for what we spend our money and all of that.”* [#1, 11.03.2009] The respondents mentioned that they follow politic agenda and are suspicious towards politicians and transparency of politic actions (i.e. they found politics ‘dirty’), thus, they decided to get active in civil society and to do something to affect politics.

Something you see everyday on the news, this can really affect your life. I mean, if you see the wars in former Yugoslavia that is really not far away from where we are. If you see developments like 9/11 and so on, that is very close to your own daily life. That is one aspect [of my involvement in civil society and work on International Relations related issues.] [#11, 11.04.2009]

5.2.2.1.2. Formative Experiences

Some events that took place or they lived during their childhood or adolescence, in other words, their formative experiences also encouraged two German respondents to participate in civil society. They marked these instances as a milestone in their lives and affirmed the importance of those moments in raising their awareness about social activism.

For a long time as a child, I always grew up with the idea that how the politicians are there; you can not do anything, and also, my mother especially was complaining about politics, and how everything is not working; but she was never doing anything and breakthrough for me was, again, this Political Education class at high school, when this teacher like opened up and explain this how things actually work and I understood for

myself, or I took it very much that 'if you want to, you can change.' But you can also stay and sit at home, at the kitchen table, and complain about it. I think that was for me, the moment when I realized that [active citizenship] has become the theme. [#1, 11.03.2009]

I was always interested in what is going around me... I grew up in a small village; there was only one national party, which has a youth organization. Well, so in my village, it was difficult to or not so easy to get acquainted with politics... But then, I went to the USA for one year to high school... I was then living in a big city in Seattle Washington and while I was there, there was, for instance, World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in 1999: the big, famous one... I was interested in human rights before I went to the USA; but at the USA, I just heard more about what is going on in the world like the Seattle, the WTO. [#9, 05.04.2009]

5.2.2.1.3. Speaking on Other's Behalf

For two of the German interviewees, one of their reasons to become and stay active in the youth field was related to their ability and motivation to speak up for the others, who cannot do it for themselves. They implicitly associated their behavior with respect and justice: the two values they give too much importance.

I always wanted to be active and maybe also speak up person, who can't speak up for themselves... I am not a person who likes to speak all the time, but when I have the feeling that something is not just, I speak up...; because I don't feel myself comfortable otherwise... For me, respect is something very very important... I don't think about my actions in this situation if they are strategic or not, like I had one situation... I was put in a [new] class, because I had missed one year. So that was a new environment for me and I never really got in touch well with the people there. At the beginning, there, at this new class, we went to a former concentration camp... When we were arriving there, some people were making jokes about the concentration camps and stuff. I just didn't like it at all... like they were loud and rowdy at the concentration camp. They didn't go there with respect that you need to be at these places. I told them and at that point I did that because it bothered me, because maybe I spoke up for the people, who died there.[#9, 05.04.2009]

I always liked representing others... I have a tendency to represent, because I think there are many people that don't do that for themselves and I think I am ok at it.[#1, 11.03.2009]

5.2.2.2. Turkey

5.2.2.2.1. Experiences of Injustice

As mentioned in the first section, in Turkey, half of the respondents have a minority background: one being from a religious minority community (Jewish) and the other two were of Kurdish and Muhallemei decent. They stressed that at one point in their lives, they or their families were exposed to discrimination due to their different identities. Henceforth, they searched for a professional space, where they can be 'present' and express themselves. This area turned out to be civil society and at one point, they started not only advocating for themselves, but for any one, who faces oppression: be it a woman (due to gender-based discrimination) or worker. Moreover, the respondents regarded being involved in civil society as a part of their personality.

Eğer Yahudi olmasaydım, büyük ihtimalle böyle bir şey olmayacaktı. Daha doğrusu, Yahudi olduğum için birileri beni dürtüklemeseydi; çünkü hiç kimliğim üzerinden bir şeylerin farkında değildim. Evet biz Yahudi'yiz, birileri Müslüman falan hani çok naif bir noktadaydım aslında. Hani bu dürtüklenme hem benim ağrıma gitti hem de bununla ilgili çaresiz kalmak beni çok öfkeliendirdi. Aslında, temelde işin içinde yatan buydu: çaresiz kalmak ve bunun üzerinden de "öyle mi?" gibi bir cevaptı benim için [sivil topluma katılımım]... Bu da beni aslında kimlik anlamında var etti; ama kimlik, Yahudilik kimliği değil, tam da sosyalist olmaydı benim için; çünkü mevzuu şöyle okudum ben: 'evet, ben Yahudiyim, bu yüzden dışlanıyorum ve aslında, benim de haklarım var sizinle eşit olan', değil, 'aslında dışlanan tonla insan var'...Ezilmek ve ezen-ezilen ilişkisi üzerinden okuyordum bunu ve ben de ezilen taraftım...

If I was not Jewish, most probably such a thing would not happen, in better words, if some people did not nudge me for my Jewish identity; because I was not aware or anything regarding my identity. Yes, we are Jewish; some people are Muslims etc... I was actually at a very naïve point. I was both very offended by this nudge and got very angry for being helpless. Actually this was the main thing: being helpless and for me, it [my involvement in civil society] was a kind of an answer to this... [My involvement] brought me into existence in terms of identity; but for me the identity was not the Jewish identity; but being socialist, because I interpreted the issue in such a ways: It was not like 'yes, I am Jewish, that is why I am excluded and actually I also have equal rights as you'; but it was 'there are many excluded people.' I was seeing this from the angle of 'oppression' and 'oppressed- oppressor relationship', and I was in the oppresseds' side. [#19, 10.04.2009]

Neden ben buradayım, neden bu alandayım? Çünkü kendimi en iyi orada ifade ediyorum. Bir şeyler yapma imkanım var...; çünkü hani hayatının her alanında ihlaline uğradığın bir şeyi aslında öğreniyorsun ve ona göre davranıyorsun artık... Çünkü çocukluktan gelen bir travma aslında belki de vardı... O yüzden belki azınlık [kökenim sivil topluma girişimde] en fazla etkisi olandır [ben] hiç farkında olmadan.

Why I am here, why I am in this field? Because I best express myself there. I have the opportunity to do something...; because you learn the thing [rights] that has been violated all through your life and you then behave accordingly... Because maybe there was a trauma coming from childhood... Therefore, maybe even though I was not very aware of this, my minority background had the biggest impact [on my entry to civic field]. [#20, 14.04.2009]⁴⁴

Sivil toplumda kalma [sebeğim şu] kendimi [bu alanda] var ettikten sonra.. benim için başka bir var oluş alanı zaten düşünebilmek mümkün olmadı açıkçası. Yani zaten bunun üzerinden kendimi var ettim...; çünkü bu benim. Burada kalmamak gibi bir lüksün benim olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Bu zaten benim sosyal çevrem, bu zaten benim ifade tarzım, bu zaten benim. Bu yoksa, ben yokum gibi bir şey.

[My reason] to stay in civil society [is as follows]: after bringing myself into existence [in this field], for me it was not possible to think about another area to exist: I brought myself into existence over this; because this is me. I don't think I have the luxury no to stay here. This is my social environment, my expression style, this is me. It is something if this doesn't exist, I don't exist.[#19, 10.04.2009]

5.2.2.2 Personal Satisfaction

Four of the respondents in Turkey stated 'personal satisfaction' and 'seeing the results of their work' as their reason to enter and stay in the youth field. They also noted the happiness they feel as a part of the civil society, particularly seeing things changed/improved.

⁴⁴ Interviewee #20 is a 22 year-old female. She is of Kurdish decent, studies Economics and is a member of Amnesty International- Turkey.

Bir işi yapabiliyor olmak, yapabilir hale gelmek için [bu organizasyona] geldim ve bu duygularımın tatmin olduğunu görmeye başlayınca da kalmaya devam ettim.

I came [to this organization] to become being able to do something and when I realized that I was satisfied, I continued staying.[#22, 17.04.2009]

... insanlarla, gençlerle çalışırken ve onların bir şekilde belli bir dönemden diğer döneme geçişine tanıklık ederken çok zevk alıyorum, keyif duyuyorum... Yani seninle bundan 5 sene önce başlamış bir gencin üniversiteyi bitirip ya da bir meslek edinip sonuçta hayatına devam ettiği süreçte senin ona kattığın şeyleri gözlemleme fırsatın oluyor. Bu da kişisel tatminini çok etkiliyor.

While working with people, youngsters I enjoy witnessing their transition from one period to another, I mean you have the opportunity to observe what you have contributed in the life of a youngster, who started with 5 years ago, finished university or acquiring a profession and continue his/her life. This affects your personal satisfaction. [#18, 09.04.2009]

5.2.3. Entry Motives by Visited NGOs' Fields of Action (Themes of Work)

When respondents' entry motives are analyzed according to their NGO's field of action, it was found that all of the four activists working on cultural exchange (members of Youth Development Association (Turkey) and Youth for Exchange and Unity (Germany)) got involved for 'cultural component' and 'vefa.' Furthermore, three of these respondents also underlined 'personal development' as an entry motive. Each respondent from Youth Association for Habitat (Turkey) and AEGEE-Mainz (Germany), both having a focus on active citizenship, mentioned 'progress', 'cultural component' and 'personal development' among his/her reasons for engaging in his/her NGOs. Three out of four interviewees, who are members of Amnesty International (AI)- Turkey and International Youth Human Rights- Berlin, told about their willingness for 'personal development' in participating in the civil periphery. Furthermore, both interviewees in AI-Turkey expressed that they became an activist, because they were previously 'exposed to injustice' due to their minority status in the country.

Having explained the respondents' motivation for getting involved in youth work, the following section endeavors to explain the roles youth activists attribute to themselves.

5.3. Youth As Peace-Multipliers

The analysis of the pilot interviews suggested that young people become activist in order to 'make a change' in the areas, where they see a problem and to strive further both at individual and societal levels. A similar conclusion could be drawn from the main interviews and this was explained in the previous section under the theme 'Progress'. To answer the second part of the research question (i.e., What are the roles youth activists attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies?), it is of value to learn their perception of the status of civil society in their countries, the changes they would like to see as well as their self-definition of ideal society and sustainable peace. Henceforth, this section comprises three sub-sections: 1. The Status of Civil Society: Problems and Desired Changes, 2. Definition of Ideal Society and Sustainable Peace and 3. Youth Activists' Contribution and Roles as Peace-Multipliers.

5.3.1. Status of Civil Society: Problems and Desired Changes

From the data, themes were derived regarding the respondents' opinions about the civil society in their countries. The respondents' answer to the question on the changes they would like to see in their countries are very closely linked to their perception of the civil society (particularly, problems in the civil society). Below, the problems and desired changes will be examined together under five categories. The commonalities and differences between Turkey and Germany will be underscored within each heading.

5.3.1.1. Youth Participation

5.3.1.1.1 Status

All respondents in both countries mentioned about youth participation in political and civic life even though they differ with respect to the content they talked about.

In Germany, four of the six respondents began their answer with underlying the better status of civil society and youth work in Germany compared to other countries. The respondents suggested that existence of many youth organizations is a consequence of the relatively developed German civil society. However, all respondents found naming the problems in Germany very important, since there is still space for improvement. Accordingly, five of them marked low youth participation and also young people's passive and apathetic approach to their societies as the main obstacle. Furthermore, they affirmed that only youth belonging to the middle-class and above or those who study at Gymnasiums take part in youth organizations, whereas the ones from the lower class either face or get involved in violence.

I would say that participation in general is not so bad; but it would mainly concern only the middle class people and above let's say. I mean that is a tendency, that is of course not a judge upon everyone, and say the working class or people with less income, there you find also young people with problems of discrimination, xenophobia and racism mainly... We have a big Turkish migrant population in Germany. At least in my mind, also with them associated are some problematic young kids that do not fit in the society and there is a lot of violence mainly also.[#1, 11.03.2009]

I would say that people are not active enough that you rather see friends going to the movies. People should be much more active on their own issues I am just in a conversation with a friend that has very bad paid job as a German teacher for migrants. He was telling me how difficult it is for him to convince his colleagues to get active. Now, he founded an association for that; but it is very very difficult. Very few of his colleagues want to be active in an union... I have the feeling that many people don't have the energy or are just passive [to] try to change their own situation. [#9, 05.04.2009]

Three of the respondents in Germany complained about CV-based membership, meaning young people get involved to enhance their resumes, to NGOs and also about self-oriented young people among the problems in youth participation. One interviewee emphasized:

... Mostly, it [young people's involvement in organizations] is still related to their faculty...; because they expect the most benefit through their involvement there. It is not always because of their instinct motivation, like coming from inside and really because they think they can contribute to shape their society and improve how the society is. [#11, 11.03.2009]

Another point affirmed by two respondents refers to the available opportunities. Even though various services (education, health etc.) and opportunities (financial support to youth NGOs and so forth) are provided by the government, according to the interviewees, these are not promoted well enough and not many young people are aware of them. The lack of political (civic engagement) education that is based on theory not practice is considered as the reason.

On the other hand, in Turkey, all respondents rooted problems regarding youth participation, particularly the low level of participation, in the absence of a comprehensive youth policy. One of the points raised in this respect is the legal obstacles in the freedom of association.

Mesela, biz vergi ödüyoruz bir gençlik kuruluşu, bir dernek olarak ve devlet bize hiçbir katkı sunmadığı gibi bir de vergi ödememizi bekliyor. Yasal olarak bizim yapacağımız çalışmalarını bir şekilde sunuyor. Mesela, her uluslararası fon aldığımızda bir şekilde Dernekler Müdürlüğü'ne hesap vermek zorundayız. Hesap da öncesinde başlıyor yani fon almadan bilmem kaç hafta önce Dernekler Müdürlüğü'ne hesap vermekle yükümlüyüz. Bunlar aslında bir şekilde gençlik kuruluşlarını sadece gençlerin yapabileceği işler olmaktan dışarıya çıkarıyor. Profesyonel birilerinin bir şekilde bu işlerle ilgilenmesi gerekiyor...

For example, as a youth organization as an association, we pay tax and although the government does not support us, it expects us to pay tax. The laws restrict our work in a way. For instance, every time we get an international grant, we are liable to render account to the Department of Associations. This starts many weeks before we get the grant. As a result, managing youth organizations becomes more than young people can do. It necessitates the engagement of some professionals in a way... [#18, 09.04.2009]

The second point is the definition of youth in Turkey. It is considered problematic since it equates youth to students. Hence, two of the respondents underscored the exclusion such a limitation creates within 19 million young people aged between 15 and 29 and argued that only a very small percentage are students and benefit from any rights given or opportunities provided for youth.

Adults being involved in youth work, the dominance of big-scale NGOs over small scale NGOs (thus the difficulties the latter faces in surviving and visibility) and the lack of a National Youth Council that would coordinate and represent interests of all youth organizations in Turkey both at domestic and European decision-making processes were also mentioned among problems on youth participation. These were again regarded as a consequence of lack of a comprehensive youth policy.

The last two issues raised were career-oriented membership and the fund-based NGOs both causing youth participation even to be lower than 4%. Two of the respondents suggested that young people still look for a specific reason to get involved in youth organizations. Moreover, one of them said:

2004'ten sonra özellikle gençlik STKları çok daha fazla arttı; ama ne yazık ki, bunun nedeni gençlik aktivistleri yetiştirmek değil, AB'nin sunduğu fonları kullanmak.

After 2004, especially the number of youth NGOs increased; however unfortunately, this is not for training more youth activists; but using the EU funds. [#17, 09.04.2009]

Such NGOs are expected to be closed down when Turkey becomes an EU member and the EU's financial support to NGOs is cut as it happened in other countries like Bulgaria.

5.3.1.1.2. Desired Changes

Marking youth participation as a problem, four respondents in Germany and three in Turkey stated their willingness to see a change in this issue. They asserted the need to have more youth participation in political life and civil society as well as more active

mass movements in the youth field. Whilst two of the German respondents suggested ‘political education’, which encourages youth to take part in NGOs and raises their awareness as a solution to these two needs, a comprehensive youth policy that removes obstacles in freedom of association was pronounced commonly among interviewees from Turkey.

5.3.1.2. Education System

5.3.1.2.1. Status

Under this theme, five of six respondents in Germany referred to the unequal access to education opportunities, the discrimination caused by the different types of schools [Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule] and the lack of a proper civic engagement education.

Because of this system, the elite is producing itself. That means that people, who have parents with not a lot of money, with not good academic standards, I don’t know that exact number; but are maybe 10 times often in the lowest school than people, who have parents who are working , who have also a good academic standard. For example, migrants who are already here from Greece or Turkey or from whatever, are many in the lowest school; because they don’t have an ideal in family, who has already been to university and who has already studied in Germany. I think that is a really big problem in Germany.[#12, 13.04.2009]

In Turkey, similar to their German counterparts, half of the respondents were concerned about the education system. They underlined the stress the university entrance exam creates and the failures of memorization-based teaching at schools. Furthermore, they addressed the inequalities caused by the differentiation between high schools [Vocational High Schools, Private High Schools, Anatolian High Schools, Public High Schools, Imam-Hatip High Schools]. It was noted that especially, vocational and public high school graduates have fewer opportunities (chances) in going to university or getting a good job.

5.3.1.2.2. Desired Changes

In Germany, education politics are not very much on high agenda. It is always about the cars and we invest a lot of money into the automobile industry... Education has always been at the very very back and so, I would like to see that we invest a lot more money in this and also not just money, but also open up our idea of learning and of education. Of course, not everybody has to get a high school diploma or has to pursue their studies, I mean; you can also educate people in different ways. At least in Germany that is not the case. Everything is about formal education and getting grades; but not necessarily about getting along with each other.[#1, 11.03.2009]

As the above quotation indicates, in both countries, to improve the education system, respondents valued the recognition of non-formal education, provision of equal access to educational opportunities and inclusion in addition to more attention from politicians on this issue.

5.3.1.3. Civil Society vs. Political Society

5.3.1.3.1. Status

Five and three respondents in Turkey and Germany respectively mentioned about the conflict between civil society and the political sphere. In the latter country, the highlighted issues include the politicians' lack of care for youth and the state influence on civil society's work. Accordingly, the respondents in Germany affirmed that politicians rarely take young people into account since some of them are below the legal voting age and a high percentage of the remaining do not participate in elections. In other words, youth is not considered as an important social actor in contrast to business people or immigrants and so forth.

Many young people say 'politicians always do bad things, they don't care about my opinion', so they don't elect anymore.[#4, 14.03.2009]

One of the respondents asserted that through the funding schemes, the state draws a frame for the work of civil society, thus, in this respect; civil society loses its

independency in choosing its fields of action or priorities. Moreover, as a consequence of no institutionalization of civic engagement (i.e. lack of civic engagement course within the school curriculum), youth NGOs are able to reach only a limited number of people with their projects. A German respondent emphasized this issue among youth participation decreasing factors.

Politicians' lack of attention to youth is also mentioned in Turkey. One respondent further stated:

Eğer genç olarak Türkiye'de bir karar verme sürecinin içinde yer alacaksa,...şunları şunları böyle yapan, bu konularda bana benzer düşünen vs. [olacak]. O zaman 'ben' olduğu sürece [karar alma süreçlerine dahil] oluyor zaten.

If a young person would like to be involved in decision-making processes in Turkey,... s/he should be doing these in these ways, thinking the same with me about these topics etc. S/he can be a part of decision-making processes: as long as s/he is like 'me.'[#19, 10.04.2009]

Another point is the inefficient communication between the state and civil society. It stands for the state's failure to take the concerns of civil society into account as well as the civil society's underachievement to make its voice heard by the governments. The existence of too much bureaucracy, which often blocks the communication, was criticized in this respect.

The dependency of politics and civil society in Turkey to other countries is the last point. The interviewees suggested that the formation of politics in Turkey is not related to its own dynamics, but to the political atmosphere outside and the same is valid for the movements in civil society- instead of being rooted in society, they are shaped by the atmosphere at international scale.

5.3.1.3.2. Desired Changes

In both countries, one third of the interviewees attributed the main role to the politicians in order to resolve the conflict between the political and civil spheres by giving more attention and space to civil society, particularly to youth.

5.3.1.4. Dealing With History

5.3.1.4.1. Status

One respondent in Germany and their two counterparts in Turkey underscored problems in their civil societies that rooted in the failure to deal with history. The German one mentioned the tensions coming out of not discussing what happened in the past (during the IInd World War) in detail and freely; but instead trying to oppress people's curiosity.

Here, in Germany, many issues are arisen that deal with our history. I would appreciate if we could deal with our history with a point of view that has a bit more distance. Many things are here forbidden to say or forbidden to do, just because we had our terrible history. There are still many things that have to be discussed; but it cannot be discussed, because we haven't come back to normal. [#3, 14.03.2009]

Similarly, the failure to face with what happened in 1980s during the coup d'état in Turkey was marked as a trust-breaking issue in the society, especially in relation to the public's perception of civil society. Four respondents suggested that within the society, there is a lack of trust to NGOs and a negative connotation of the word 'örgüt (organization in Turkish)' due to the incidents in the past. This issue is also regarded as a reason of the low civic participation. It is stressed that families or friends rarely support young people's involvement in NGOs, since they fear that the organization might have hidden 'bad' aims.

5.3.1.4.2. Desired Changes

Although the German respondent did not specify a way to deal with their history; but only his willingness to see a change in this respect, the Turkish interviewees proposed ‘remembering’ the military interventions’ consequences, ‘not avoiding conflicts; but acknowledging and endeavoring to solve them’ as well as ‘not having rapid changes in the political agenda, before protracted societal issues are brought up to a peaceful/ healthy ending.’

Benim böyle en kızdığım şey bu ülkede gündemin çok fazla değişmesi. Aslında, hep var o gündemler. Yani ben ufakken de burada laiklikle ilgili bir şey vardı, Kürt sorunumuz vardı, başka şeyler vardı; bunlar hep var aslında; ama her gün başka başka başlıklar atıldığı için öbür gün olanlar unutuluyor aslında ve ben artık insanların bir şeyleri unutmamasını istiyorum. Hani değişen gündeme rağmen, belki de hareketli bir ülke olmamıza rağmen, hani bir şeyleri unutmayıp hani çözülmemiş meseleleri kapatabilen bir ülke... Bu ülkede bir gün hiçbir şey unutulmazsa, o zaman hakikaten bir şeyler değişmiş olarak görürüm.

In this country, the thing that makes me very angry is the rapid change in the agenda. Actually, those issues are always there. I mean when I was small, there was an issue regarding secularism, we had Kurdish question and other things. Actually, these always exist; but because new titles are put everyday, what happened on the previous day is forgotten and I want people not to forget anything anymore. In spite of the changing agenda or maybe being an ‘active’ country; not forgetting something and becoming a country that ends its unsolved problems. If one day nothing is forgotten in this country, then, I would think something is changing. [#20, 14.04.2009]

5.3.1.5. Dialogue

5.3.1.5.1. Status

The last theme derived from the respondents’ opinions about the status of their civil societies and changes they want to see relates to ‘dialogue.’ It corresponds to two main points: dialogue between individuals in society and NGOs in civil society. Whilst the former one was emphasized more in Germany, the latter was pronounced more often by respondents in Turkey. According to German interviewees, individualization and

giving more importance to the self is a very common phenomenon in Germany and this results in dominance of personal interests as well as not caring about the society's benefit, hence, not participating in NGOs (the profession-based NGOs were excluded).

People are only concerned with their own problems, with surviving next day, with earning money to buy this and this, buy a video or all technical stuff that you think is important. I think that a society can only live well together, if you respect and if you care about the other persons... [#9, 05.04.2009]

Many young people go home and sit in front of the computer. They don't really want to involve themselves in the society... They say 'I don't want to be involved in it [the German] society. I want to live my life.' Many people are egocentric... [#4, 14.03.2009]

On the other hand, five of the respondents in Turkey criticized the lack of solidarity between NGOs. This stands for the conflicts between NGOs and the absence of coordination and cooperation within the youth field. One argued:

Aslında, Türkiye'de kültürümüzde birlikte çalışma var; hani bu köy çapında, ilçe çapında bir sorun varsa, insanlar bir araya geliyorlar; ama bir örgüt yapılanmasında birlikte çalışma maalesef yetersiz. Belki çalışmalar birbirini destekleyici oluyor; ama çok dağınık oluyor ve onları böyle bir araya getirip tüm resme göremiyorsunuz maalesef Türkiye'de.

Actually, in Turkey, working together is in our culture: for instance, if there is a problem in a village, in a district, people come together; however, unfortunately, at the organizational level, cooperation is not enough. Maybe work [of different NGOs] support each other; but are dispersed and unfortunately, you cannot put them together and see the whole picture in Turkey. [#23, 27.04.2009]

5.3.1.5.2. Desired Changes

Half of the respondents in both countries underlined the need for dialogue among individuals and NGOs. In Germany, provision of mobility to all young people in order to meet others and integration of migrants are considered prominent, whereas in Turkey, development of communication channels (platforms) such as a National Youth Council was addressed in this respect.

5.3.2. Why Change is Needed?

As previously mentioned, the interviewed youth activists related their involvement in civil society with their will to make a change. To investigate the reason behind this, a question was asked to the respondents. Accordingly, change is associated with improvement and better life in both countries. However, in Germany, the concern is ‘improving others’ living conditions and society’, whilst in Turkey, it is ‘improving self’s conditions and having more space at the first place and then, as an end result of this, develop the society further.’ The quotations below support this difference.

When I see in which conditions [for instance, Ukrainians] are living, I would like to improve their condition of living. [#11, 11.04.2009]

Bence çok düz. Benim çıkarlarım bundan yana. O zaman ben kazanacağım.... Bu benim daha fazla para kazanmam demek... Bu benim çocuğumu hangi okula yollayacağım, polis mi dövecek, öğretmen mi tokatlayacak diye düşünmemem demek... Değişim bu yüzden lazım bana: benim için lazım, başkası için değil. Benimle birlikte diğer insanların kazanıyor olması beni mutlu eden bir süreç; ama değişim [insanın] özellikle kendisiyle ilgili tabii ki, bence bu herkes için de geçerli, kabul etsin etmesin. Önce kendine sonra alanına ondan sonra daha geniş daha geniş [alanlara] diye giden bir süreç.

It is very straightforward for me: it is for my benefit. Then, I will win... This means I will earn more money... This means I will not have to think about which school to send my child, if policy will kick him/her or not, whether the teacher will hit/her or not. Thus, change is needed for me: just for me; not because of somebody else. Seeing others winning with me makes me happy; but change is especially related to self. In my opinion, this is valid for everyone; despite s/he accepts or not. This is a process that starts with you, and then spreads to [your] field, later on to more and more fields. [#19, 10.04.2009]

As the second reason, the respondents in both countries pointed dissatisfaction and unhappiness that break societies when there is no change. They argued that wherever change does not take place, status-quo exists and it gives birth to the accumulation of unhappiness as well as hopelessness, which may lead to violent conflicts. Consequently, change is preferred in order to keep the people’s peace of mind and solidarity of the society.

5.3.3. Definitions of ‘Ideal Society’ and ‘Sustainable Peace’

“Barış ideal toplumla çok alakalı bir şey...” [Peace is closely related to ideal society...] [#23, 17.04.2009]

As explained above, young people begin taking part in civil society with various motives, all aimed at ‘changing and improving’ their living conditions as well as their societies. The findings of interviews also indicated that youth activists describe themselves as ‘idealist’ and they intend to reach their ideal society through their involvement. Henceforth, it is of prominence to learn youth activists’ self-definition of ideal society and sustainable peace in order to find out the roles they attribute to themselves in reinforcing sustainable peace processes.

The interviewed youth activists in both countries mentioned common components while defining the terms ‘ideal society’ and ‘sustainable peace’, which can be summarized in four main titles:

1. Absence of War
2. Participation
3. Human Rights
4. Dialogue

5.3.3.1. Absence of War

Five respondents in Turkey and their four counterparts in Germany identified ideal society and sustainable peace with absence of war, suppression or any means of violence and continuity of peace and solidarity in their countries as well as at the world scale. Two German respondents referred to M. Gandhi and claimed that ‘peace has to be lived, not just stay in words’, whereas a Turkish interviewee emphasized the necessity of demilitarization to reach such ideals. He argued:

Sürdürülebilir barış dediğimiz şey ancak silahsız bir toplumun var olması ile mümkün. ... Bunun dışındaki şeyler şöyle bir şey gibi: diyelim ki, ben kanser hastasıyım ve hayatımı daha iyi koşullarda yaşamam için çeşitli şeyler sağlanabilir: ‘Sen iyi hava al, Alpler’de yaşa, çok yorma kendini,

şöyle yap...'; ama bu aslında kanser olmasaydım yaşayacağım hayata göre daha kısa ve daha dandik bir hayat yaşayacağımın garantisi. Sürdürülebilir barış biraz böyle bir durum: hastamızı daha iyi koşullarda yaşıyoruz durumu. Pozitif barış - negatif barış dediğimiz şey tam buna tekabül ediyor; ama bunların hepsi aslında en nihayetinde birer ağrı kesici diyebileceğimiz şeyler. Hastanın kendisini tedavi etmek istiyorsak, bunun yolu çok basit: silahları bir kenara koymak ve hatta gömmek. Bunun dışında bir şeyin her halükarda bu silahların kullanılacağı bir süreci eninde sonunda var edeceğini düşünüyorum ben; çünkü varsa, kullanmalıyız çok basitçe.

Sustainable peace is only possible with demilitarized societies [getting rid of guns]. Otherwise it is like this: let's say, I suffer from cancer and various things can be done in order to provide me better living conditions: 'Take good weather, live in the Alps, do not work much, do these...'; but it is only a guarantee that this life will be shorter and worse than the one I would live if I did not have cancer. Sustainable peace is like this situation a bit: we make our patient to live in better conditions. The concepts 'positive peace – negative peace' just fits in this; however, at the end, these are all like painkillers. If we want to cure the patient herself/himself, its way is very easy: leaving guns aside and actually burying them. I think anything besides that will one day give birth to a process where we will use these guns; because it is simple: if we have it, we have to use. [#19, 10.04.2009]

5.3.3.2. Participation

Regarding this issue, both in Turkey and Germany, two third of the respondents differentiated between the roles of individuals and politicians. Accordingly, in an ideal society, where peace is sustained, politicians are expected to be reliable; care about society, not his/her benefits; act transparently and provide necessary mechanisms such as civic involvement education or empower local authorities to ensure inclusion and participation of everyone in society, particularly in decision-making processes, whilst individuals should develop interest and awareness in what is going around them: feel responsible for not only themselves; but also for other members of society in addition to engaging in NGOs.

Ideal society is not only concerned with its own. That means solidarity beyond your society... You should also look out for what the effect of your living has on peace in other countries, at other places, people... So inclusion is very important: try to include the people in your

own, small society and also, always include people outside like different other societies, when you make decisions. [#9, 05.04.2009]

Herkesin bilinçli olduğu, toplumsal konulara duyarlı olduğu, bunun için hükümetlere baskı uyguladığı ya da hiç böyle bir baskıya gerek kalmaksızın hükümetlerin doğru yaptığına herkesin gönülden inanabildiği bir toplum.

A society where everyone is aware and sensible towards societal issues, put pressure on the governments for these or it is possible for everyone to believe that the government do the right things without a need for such a pressure.[#22, 17.04.2009]

5.3.3.3. Human Rights

In both countries, five respondents underscored an issue related to ‘human rights’ in their definitions. Firstly, they specified ‘respect’ as the core value of ideal societies and the most prominent step in reaching sustainable peace. It does not only refer to respect for all people, despite their diversity of identities; but also comprises taking cognizance of the nature.

Freedoms and equality are highlighted at the second place. Half of the interviewees in Germany valued the elimination of gaps between different socio-economic groups under the ‘equality’ concept, while their Turkish counterparts meant the provision of equal access to basic needs and opportunities. Talking about freedoms, in Germany, ‘no state intervention’ to public sphere was desired. One respondent said:

About freedom or liberty, I think one basic criterion is not to have too much interaction by the state or other institutions. That is important, because it is basically limiting people... There should be as much state or as many institutions as necessary; but as few as possible. [#11, 11.04.2009]

On the other hand, in Turkey, a special emphasis was put on the freedom of expression by four respondents. They affirmed that this freedom stands for freedom of thought and once people can think freely, they will not feel oppressed, hence, social tensions will not come out of such oppressions and this will lead to development.

Biraz daha gelişmiş toplumlara baktığımızda, insanların özgür yaklaşımlarla bir şeyleri yaptığını görüyorsun. Birileri onlara baskı yapmamış, birileri onlara bir şeyleri kalıp şeklinde öğretmemiş, bırakmışlar özgür biçimde onlar düşünmüş [ve gelişmişler].

When you look at more developed societies, you see that people do things freely. No one made pressure on them, no one taught them dogmas, they just left them, so they thought freely [and developed]. [#17, 09.04.2009]

5.3.3.4. Dialogue

A crucial role is attributed to effective ‘dialogue’ within and among societies by the respondents in their definitions of ideal society and sustainable peace. This includes understanding and tolerance towards everyone and keeping channels of communication open. Being mentioned more by respondents in Germany, dialogue also stands for ‘solving conflicts in a mediative way’ in both countries. Furthermore, one respondent from Germany referred to the importance of self-willingness to achieve peace.

Very important for this [peace to stay] is that people get to know each other, interact with each other, and that the people, the parties involved in a conflict, before the peace comes [itself], that they are not forced by a third party to make peace. Maybe on the short-run, this is important; but on the long-run, it is important that they come to the idea themselves that it makes no sense to stay in conflict. [#11, 11.04.2009]

5.3.4. Contribution and Roles as Peace-Multipliers

Above, the youth activists’ entry motives, opinions regarding the status of civil society in their countries, the changes they would like to see and their definition of ideal society and sustainable peace are analyzed. This sub-section will be focused on youth activists’ contribution as peace-multipliers and the roles they attribute to themselves to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies.

Analyses of data indicate that there are 5 main roles/ contribution youth activists ascribed to themselves:

1. Empowerment
2. Dialogue-building
3. Participation
4. Role-Modeling
5. Association

The first four are mentioned by respondents in both countries, whereas the fifth is only emerged among the Turkish respondents. On the other hand, respondents think their involvement in the youth work up to now (previous involvement) already contributed to the first three (i.e. empowerment, dialogue-building, participation) and whilst continuing their contribution in these three, to support reconciliation and sustainable peace processes, they also intend to have role in the last two.

5.3.4.1. Empowerment

“There should be people taking over.” [#11, 11.04.2009]

Two-third of respondents in Germany discussed their previous contribution to their society and future roles in ‘empowering’ other young people to get active in civic life. This comprises knowledge and experience transfer to newly involved youngsters in their NGOs, raising awareness of people around themselves and motivating them. Among these three, awareness-raising was emphasized more. A similar trend is valid for Turkey. Five respondents talked about raising awareness of young people on issues related to human rights, civil society or participation. Moreover, half of the interviewees in Turkey regarded their roles as a ‘trainer’ and hence, in facilitating learning processes. In both countries, one respondent valued ‘creating a space for young people to express themselves’ more than ‘being a speaker of all youth.’

Gençlik çalışanları olarak oynayabileceğimiz en güzel rol, çarpan ya da çoğaltıcı olmak. Ulaşabildiğimiz her gence bir şekilde kendi ideallerini geliştirmeleri için yardımcı olmaya çalışıyoruz.... Gençler bana ait değil; çünkü Türkiye’de 19 milyon genç var. Dolayısıyla, birilerinin sözcülüğünü

yapmak yerine o insanlara kendi seslerini duyurabilecekleri bir alan açmaya çalışıyorum.

The best role we can play as youth workers is being a multiplier. We try to help every young person we reach in developing their own ideals... Young people do not belong to me; because in Turkey, there are 19 million young people. Therefore, instead of speaking for some people, I endeavor to create an area where they can make their voice heard. [#18, 09.04.2009]

5.3.4.2. Dialogue-Building

In both countries, four respondents assigned themselves a ‘bridge’ function. This does not only include bringing people together; but also opening the channels of communication and acting as a mediator whenever needed. The respondents mentioned the essentiality of getting to know and understanding each other in overcoming and preventing conflict, be it violent or non-violent. With respect to this, half of the respondents in Germany and two in Turkey referred to ‘changing attitudes’ of people towards differences in cultures, opinions and so forth during the trainings they gave/ will organize or exchange projects they organized/ will organize as their previous contribution/ future role.

5.3.4.3. Participating

I am interested in political issues...[However,] I am not interested in working as a politician or something like that; but I am interested in NGOs or in democratic structure outside the parliament or outside parties... I think that it is very important to have a very strong non-parliamentary, non-governmental work. I would see my role in this work. [#12, 13.04.2009]

In Turkey and in Germany, two respondents also noted their current active participation in civil society as their contribution and role. They asserted that through their involvement, they stand against injustices, develop the youth field as well as are conducive to strengthening civil society in its struggle to put pressure on and deal with the state. Moreover, two other (female) German respondents noted their will to become a politician in the future.

5.3.4.4. Role-modeling

I think it is first of all, be a good example; because if you don't live what you want to be, it is not going to work. [#1, 11.03.2009]

As mentioned by a German respondent, four interviewees (two in both countries) endeavor to be a role-model for the others and motivate them to take part in NGOs or foster sustainable peace, human rights, dialogue and so forth in this way.

5.3.4.5. Association

In relation to the restrictions in freedom of association in Turkey, half of the interviewees saw themselves responsible for getting people organized as much as possible either via founding their own organizations or attending street actions in order to increase youth participation.

Aslında şu rolü atfediyorum ben: daha geniş toplumsal kitlelerin siyaset yapar hale gelmesi, mobilize olması... Tamamen sosyalistlerin ve bir kısım çevreci denilen insanların elinde olan bir alanın aslında sarışın teyzelerin, pusetli ablaların... falan filan geldiği bir sürecin içerisine girebilmesini sağlayıp Mudanya'dan üç tane öğretmenin otobüsle öğrencilerini getirdiği eylemler yapabilmek.

Actually, I attribute this role: to enable wider masses to engage in politics, to mobilize them... To start a process of involving fancy ladies, women with babies... etc to an area belonging to socialists and some environmentalist people and to organize street actions for which three teachers from Mudanya may bring their students with a bus. [#19, 10.04.2009]

Here, it should be also noted that in Turkey, half of the respondents defined their contribution and role as a part of a team. They all said “Çorbada tuzum bulunsun.” (“I shall have a finger in the pie.”)

5.3.5. Obstacles

Having explained the previous contribution and future roles youth activists attribute to themselves, one can also address the obstacles they may face. The answers of interviewed activists are split in two categories personal and societal constraints. Whilst the respondents in Germany stated more for the former category, in Turkey, more societal constraints were emphasized.

5.3.5.1. Personal Constraints

Five respondents in Germany stated financial obligations at the first place among the obstacles in their civic engagement. Accordingly, as a consequence of their need to work in order to cover their life-expenses, they find less time and energy for their responsibilities in the NGOs they work. Studies, family and friend issues also constitute individuals' limitations. Some further mentioned that when they are finished with their studies and have a full-time job, they will need to end their civic involvement.

We all still know the fact that when you work 40 hours a week, your free time will be very little. At some point, I will want to have a family, and then, there will be even less time and when you have kids though will be even less time. Basically time and money. [#1, 11.03.2009]

On the other hand, one German interviewee regarded himself as the main obstacle.

Well, many times it depends on my emotional conditions. When I am in stress, then, I can lose my own awareness of this. When I am in a hurry, I will not realize that there is rubbish in the bushes. Many things like this. For example, when I am in a hurry and I catch some news I might judge too fast about it. [#3, 14.03.2009]

Similarly, in Turkey three respondents underlined financial and time issues as personal constraints. However, according to them, societal restrictions are very likely to dominate personal ones.

5.3.5.2. Societal Constraints

Among respondents in Germany, only two of them regarded a societal constraint (i.e. the people with whom you need to deal with such as very conservative people resisting to change things), whereas others perceived no real restrictions.

There are not so many restrictions. We are free to meet with other people, we are free to make up our mind, we are free to publish our opinion, and we are also free to try to influence decision-makers to change their opinion or to act in a way that we consider to be correct. That doesn't mean that we are always successful; but there is not a real constraint to trying it. In order to be successful, you need to be aware of the fact that you won't be changing the world in one big step; but the things you do are hopefully not bad. [#11, 11.03.2009]

Furthermore, the political system, which discourages individuals to participate is criticized and regarded as 'dirty' by one respondent.

[In] our system of politics, you can hardly bring your opinion into publicity. I don't know, politics is a bad field. In Germany, you compare politics with war. Like war is bad, politics is bad and I really believe it; because sometimes you can't believe what is going on there. [#4, 14.03.2009]

On the other hand, in Turkey, all interviewees were concerned with one or more societal constraints including lack of trust to NGOs by the public, conflict between NGOs, legal and institutional obstacles in association, bureaucracy, lack of a youth policy, absence of civic engagement course, insufficient financial support to youth NGOs and also, auto-control or family opposition to get active due to past experiences. The latter is particularly mentioned by respondents from minority communities, who expressed that their families were exposed to discrimination in the past.

Hep baskı kültüründen geldiğimiz için aslında benim de bazen otokontrol mekanizmam olduğunu görebiliyorum... Bir şekilde kötü zamanlardan geçmiş bir aileyiz ve ailemde çok haklı olarak 'ya işte bizim yaşadıklarımızı yaşarsa?' korkusu var... Onlar da bazen hani 'Birazcık yavaşlasan.'[diyebiliyorlar].

Because we come from a suppression culture, I sometimes see that I have an auto-control mechanism. We are a family, which went through very

difficult times and my parents have a fear ‘what if our daughter suffers as we did?’ ... They also sometimes say ‘Slow a little bit.’ [#20, 14.04.2009]

5.4. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, to answer the research question: “*“What are the motives of young people in becoming youth activists? What are roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies?”*”, the findings from the written transcriptions of interviews with 12 youth activists in Turkey and Germany were presented. Accordingly, this study suggests that youth people get involved in civil society for the following reasons: personal development, cultural dimension, organizational culture, progress, vefa (loyalty), interest in politics, formative experiences, speaking on other’s behalf, experiences of injustice and personal satisfaction. The first five themes were similar in Germany and Turkey. Interest in politics, formative experiences and speaking on other’s behalf were observed in Germany, whilst experiences of injustice and personal satisfaction were among entry motives of youth activists in Turkey. Furthermore, a relationship between youth NGOs’ fields of action and youth activists’ entry motives were observed. ‘Personal development’ was found to be common entry motive regardless of the NGOs’ field of action. Additionally, youth activists working on cultural exchange mentioned ‘cultural component’ and ‘vefa’, whilst the ones in NGOs focused on active citizenship stated ‘progress’ and ‘cultural component’ and activists in human rights NGOs underscored ‘experiences of injustice.’

Regarding the second half of the research question, i.e. what are the roles youth activists attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes, it was found that young people get involved in civil society to make a change, improve the living conditions for themselves and for others and reach their ‘ideal society’. Therefore, they describe their future roles and previous contribution as peace-multiplier over the problems they see in their societies and their definition of ‘ideal society and sustainable peace.’ Furthermore, this study indicates that youth activists see sustainable peace and ideal society as intertwined. With the aim of finding a solution to problems and to achieve their ideals, young people value civic engagement

and attribute themselves five roles in reinforcing sustainable peace processes: empowering, dialogue-building, continue participating, role-modeling and fostering association.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has aimed to answer the research question, which explores the motives of young people in becoming activists and the roles they attribute to themselves in order to reinforce sustainable peace in their societies. A further emphasis was on youth activists' opinions about their social context, i.e. the status of civil society, and how they relate this context with their activism. Moreover, an objective of this study is to also to find out whether the findings are valid only within a country or show similarities across different social, political and cultural settings. Hence, Turkey and Germany were selected as the cases.

In this chapter, with the aim of finding a conclusion to the research question, the data presented above will be discussed in relation to the literature. Although the data were analyzed under themes in the previous section, the discussion chapter is designated to draw and make a meaning of the overall picture from the general findings. Each part shall first summarize the corresponding data and then, discuss them.

The chapter comprises three parts. In the first part, the findings of the study will be discussed in three sub-sections. The second part is a general conclusion of the thesis and the third part mentions the implications of this study for theory, practice and future research.

6.1. Discussion on the Findings

In this chapter, mainly the findings from the interviews with activists will be discussed, however, whenever relevant, the data gathered from the interviews with administrators and representatives will be incorporated.

6.1.1. Findings and Discussion on the Entry Motives

The very first part of the data focuses on entry motives of the activists. It aims to investigate what motivates young people to engage in youth organizations.

From the data, ten themes were derived regarding the entry motives. Young people get involved in civil society for personal development opportunities and cultural dimension that youth work provides; flexible and informal structures of organizations; contributing to themselves and society (to make a change); providing others in the society better conditions or 'paying back their debt'; affecting the political agenda of their countries by advocating and developing civil society- in other words, 'having a say'; speaking up for themselves and others, who do not or cannot do it on their own; combating any form of structural violence they or their peers experience; and the satisfaction they have as a result of 'doing something.' In addition to these reasons, young people are also influenced by critical incidents they go through during their childhood or adolescence (formative experiences). Here, it should be noted that not each of the ten themes was common in Turkey and Germany. The similar entry motives were: personal development, cultural dimension, organizational culture, progress and vefa (loyalty), whilst interest in politics, formative experiences and speaking on others' behalf were only observed in Germany and the remaining (experiences of injustice and personal satisfaction) was entry motives only in Turkey.

Before discussing why some themes differed in Germany and Turkey, it is of value to compare the findings of this study with the ones in the literature. The previous researches on youth activism in other countries show that young people engage in civic activities for: having something in their transcripts or resume (CV) to guarantee getting into a better school or job (Friedland & Morimoto, 2006); personal development,

improve self and community, learning life skills, emotional regulation or keeping themselves out of streets (hence, violence) (Borden et al., 2005); social interaction (Wright, 1999); the opportunities organizations offer for self-actualizing, cultivating an interest in politics, making a positive change through using the non-hierarchical structure NGOs offer to participate in political life (MacKinnon et al., 2007) and also, as a response to environmental degradation (Koffel, 2003) or structural and cultural violence (human rights violations) they or their peers/ families witness (Ardizzone, 2006). Hence, the data of this research parallel the literature and also suggest that vefa (loyalty in Turkish) can be another strong motivation for youth to get active.

Similarly, as do the previous studies (Donnelly et al., 2006) the data show that middle class and university educated youth are more likely to be members of youth NGOs. The reason might be the lower class youth's inability to cover the expenses of NGO activities and its obligation to work, hence, lack of spare time, whereas young people from upper classes might prefer more 'elitist' activities such as shopping or participating in cultural events to civic engagement.

One aspect Turkey and Germany differ is what is meant by vefa (loyalty). As mentioned in the analysis chapter, vefa (loyalty) stands for '*providing others in society the opportunities I have*' in Germany, whereas in Turkey, it corresponds to '*feeling responsible for improving the conditions for others.*' In the former country, involvement in an NGO is likely to be perceived as a privilege and social change/ improvement is possible once these privileges are shared with others. Once one uses the opportunities youth organizations provide, such as traveling to other countries and meeting different cultures, and when s/he sees positive changes in his/her life, s/he feels privileged and wants to promote these opportunities to other young people, so that they can also experience. On the other hand, in the latter country, the one, who acquires an access to different opportunities through civic engagement, feels responsible for creating mechanisms to include the others without an access to those opportunities. This is to say, in Turkey, due to the lack of opportunities for youth, young people feel deprived. Hence, when one finds a space to express him/herself and affect youth related decisions through his/her civic engagement, s/he strives to fight against the sources of the deprivation and ensure that other young people do not go through the same difficulties. In simpler words, in Germany, the one involved in a NGO is motivated by "*I have*

experienced, you should also do so”, while in Turkey, s/he is stimulated by *“I have struggled, I rather you not.”*

The difference in the meaning of vefa (loyalty) across Turkey and Germany might be rooted in the opportunities youth have in both countries. As the data gathered from the interviews with representatives present, in Germany a myriad of opportunities are provided for young people and provision of these is guaranteed by law, whereas in Turkey, a few number of opportunities are available and even the existing ones are limited. For instance, in 2009, around 1.450.350 high school graduates took the university entrance exam, however, only 789.677 of them got into a higher education program.⁴⁵ Similarly, the state has accommodation facilities (dorms) for university students; but only 44% of the young people, who apply for a room, gets one (Yentürk, 2008). Therefore, it is very likely that in Germany, vefa (loyalty) seems in relation to promoting existing opportunities, while in Turkey, it is about creating new ones or extending the present ones.

Similarly, the deprivation feeling might also explain why interest in politics is an entry motive in Germany, but not in Turkey. The presence of well-established and effective mechanism for youth participation⁴⁶ in the latter might give young people the feeling of “I can change.” On the contrary, the lack of such institutionalization in the former country might result in a common understanding of “Why shall I fight? I won’t be able make a difference”, so demotivate young people and keep them away of political and civil spheres. Recent history of Germany and Turkey might provide a further explanation to this point. In the latter country, the coup d’etat in 1980 prohibited political parties and associations for some years. Youth that socialized after 1980 grew up in a social context, where there was a strong-state that *“assumed the capacity of*

⁴⁵<http://www.osym.gov.tr/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFF88F742D0D7112518892E7DA0E206501>

⁴⁶ Here, youth participation is used in the broadest sence, as the Council of Europe (2008) defines it: *“participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engaging in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society.”* (pp. 12)

acting almost completely independent from civil society” (Keyman & İçduygu, 2003; 223). Consequently, people, especially youth, might have lost their interest in political issues and felt deprived, since the state repression would hardly enable them to change anything. On the other hand, the fall of Berlin Wall in 1990 might have showed youth in Germany that ‘change is possible’ and nourish their interest in politics. However, it should be also noted that as Lüküslü (2008) stresses this “apolitical” approach might be an activism itself, meaning a way young people in Turkey show their reaction and try to give a message that they prefer to be ‘apolitical’ in this traditional, ‘exclusive’ political system.

The data indicate that both individual and societal benefits of participation matter, but it is very likely that at the very beginning of their membership to an NGO, individual benefits young people would have through civic engagement dominate their will to ‘do something for the good of public.’ One of the interviewed administrators argued

Çok fazla idealist bir şekilde ‘Ben gençler için faydalı bir şey yapacağım. Gençlere bir katkı olsun istiyorum.’ diye gelen olmuyor...İç motivasyonla, çok bireysel, bencil motivasyonlarla başlıyorlar.

Not many people, who very idealistically say ‘I am going to do something for the good of youth. I want to contribute to young people.’ come. They start with internal, very individualistic, egocentric motivations. [#21, 16.04.2009]

In other words, young people first aim to develop themselves: i.e. open a space for their own actions or enlarge the existing one. Once they achieve this and get aware about the situation of other people in their society, they are interested to include others to the new, broad ‘playground.’ In this research, personal development was found to be the most common reason of youth civic engagement in both countries. MacKinnon et al. (2007) explain this situation with the term ‘*le contre-don* (reciprocal relationship).’ Accordingly, “*youth reveals a different ethic from the traditional service-oriented volunteering model... Youth is looking for a reciprocal relationship whereby their giving is matched by receiving by a benefit” (pp.17).*

On the other hand, taking the findings of the interviews with representatives and administrators into account, it is possible to claim that why young people are motivated by the ‘reciprocal relationship’ is very closely linked to the external reality (social context) youth is exposed to. Accordingly, job market put pressure on young people: the competition they face during getting a job and the employers’ increasing demands for higher qualifications direct youth to display a pragmatic attitude to civic engagement, particularly, use it to acquire competences and hence, enhance employment opportunities.

Compared to Germany, the pragmatic approach to youth work was more common in Turkey, although in both countries personal development was valued the same. It was found out that the underlying reason is the education system’s deficiencies in the latter country. As young people are rarely able to take university education in the fields they want due to the ‘university entrance exam’, they perceive civic involvement as a ‘door’ to new job perspectives.

Another finding that was valid in both countries relate to roles of families in youth’s decision to get actively involved in civil society. Previous studies suggest that ‘*early socialization: childhood matters.*’ If parents are engaged in politics or NGOs or if they regularly discuss with their children about politics, it is more likely that their children will become activists during their youth (Young & Cross in MacKinnon et al., 2007; Flanagan & Syvertsten, 2006). However, this study found out that the ‘apolitical’ position of parents might also influence their children. Seeing their parents complaining about the failures of political systems and doing nothing or accepting their suppressed situation (i.e. being discriminated for their ethnicity, economic status etc.), young people might get active. Henceforth, this activism might be considered as a reaction to their families and to the social and political system in their countries or as a way to show their parents that ‘you can change.’

6.1.2. Findings on the Self- Attributed Roles as Peace-Multipliers

The second part of the data aims to shed a light to the roles youth activists attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers in reinforcing sustainable peace processes in their societies.

The data indicate that ‘change’ is an important drive in youth’s civic engagement. The sampled youth activists associated the need for change with improving and having better life conditions not only for themselves, but also for others in society. In better words, change is needed for the sake of self and society. Furthermore, change is regarded as a conflict-preventer. Accordingly, in the existence of status-quo, unhappiness accumulates, because the conditions will not satisfy people after some time and this accumulation might result in tensions as well as violent conflicts. Therefore, change is perceived as the necessary mechanism to avoid such situations. With the emphasis put on ‘change’ by the sampled youth activists, this research parallels previous studies such as the one of Ardizzone (2006), who states that “*youth often seek organizations outside of school that will allow them to work for social change*” (pp. 483). One can further suggest that the youth activists themselves acknowledge and support the general view that ‘young people are agents of change.’

Locating ‘change’ in the bigger picture of ‘activism’, the findings of the present study affirm a relationship between youth’s ideals, enthusiasm and activism. The data show that young people have ‘ideals’, particularly an image of ‘ideal life’ and ‘ideal society’ in their minds, which is closely linked to better life-standards and ‘peace.’ During their youth they are likely to question to what extent their current life and society differ from these ideals and why such a divergence is present. Then, when they name the ‘problems’, they feel enthusiastic to ‘make a change’ and then, get active. This study demonstrates that the roles activists attribute to themselves in sustainable peace processes are very likely to be determined by their own definition of ‘ideal society and peace’, the ‘problems’ they see and the ‘changes’ they want to make to overcome these problems.

The sample youth activists in Turkey and Germany mentioned that their ideal society is based on ‘absence of war’; ‘participatory democracy’ in which both

politicians and citizens are aware of their responsibilities and realize them; 'human rights, equality and justice' and also 'dialogue' within and between societies. The problems they referred to were analyzed in five categories; 'youth participation; education system; conflict between civil and political spheres; facing the history, and dialogue'. In this respect, they expressed their will to see an increase youth civic engagement and institutionalization of mechanisms that allow youth to participate in decision-making processes; provision of equal access to education opportunities and official recognition of non-formal education; more responsible and 'caring' politicians that are concerned with the needs of youth; healing of collective traumas (that come from 'dark years' in the history of countries) by not avoiding, but acknowledging what happened in the past; open communication channels between individuals and institutions of society.

In accordance with these 'ideals', 'problems' and 'areas needing change', the sampled youth activists attributed themselves five main roles: empowering other young people; being 'dialogue-builders'; staying active and continue participating in civic life; role-modeling by their actions, and getting other young people organized (association).

With the light of previous studies, it is possible to suggest further explanations why youth activist ascribe these roles. For instance, the emphasis on empowerment and role-modeling might be related to 'deep generational gap' the current generation of youth activists suffered from. Kim and Sherman (2006) highlight that

Despite the prominence of young people in shaping and defining the civil rights, antiwar, women's liberation, and third-world solidarity movements of that era [1960's and 1970's], little attention was paid to intentionally developing the next generation of social justice leaders. (pp.2)

Hence, Kim and Sherman (2006) urge that the generation of 1980 and later were left their own to deal with their problems, without any mentors.

Considering the sampled youth activists', administrators' and representatives' criticisms about the low youth civic participation ratios, one can affirm the older generation's failure in mentoring and developing new activists as one of the reasons

underlying the low youth civic engagement and why the new generation of youth activists feel a responsibility or attribute a role of empowerment and role modeling.

The term ‘fidelity to one’s belief’ might also shed a light to the reason why youth activists value role-modeling. By this term, Erikson means “*being true to oneself, acting in a way that is consistent with what you believe in*” (Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006; 13) and he suggests that young people give prominence to being consistent with their thoughts and actions. The findings of the present study parallel Erikson’s argument: youth activists prefer to ‘keep it simple’, i.e. be a ‘good example’, live in accordance with the values of peace to encourage other people to do the same.

Drummond-Mundal and Cave (2007) employ Galtung’s definition of ‘conflict context’⁴⁷ and mention that through civic engagement young people gain “*peer-to-peer experiences, which aim to build bridges between opposing groups in a conflict. As long as young people perceive the ‘other’ as the enemy, as something not like their group or something less human sustainable peace is not possible*” (pp. 68). The ‘dialogue-building’ role youth activists attribute to themselves might be interpreted in relation to this explanation. The data indicate that once young people experience the difference ‘dialogue’ makes in their lives and they understand its importance in achieving sustainable peace, they feel a need to address ‘dialogue’ in their civic involvement and even become ‘dialogue-builders’ themselves.

‘Association’ as a role was only valid in Turkey. In the light of the data gathered from the administrators and representatives, it is possible to underline two reasons for this. The first one refers to the obstacles in freedom of association in this country, and the second one is the low youth civic participation ratio. Hence, the youth activists

⁴⁷ “A definition of ‘conflict context’ from a conflict transformation perspective involves a holistic examination of the key elements of conflict- the ABCs: attitudes plus behaviours plus contradiction (Galtung, 2000). The contradiction is an expression of opposing goals or wills, also representing the immediate and root causes of conflict. When conflict turns violent, the ABCs convert to violence: ‘attitudes’ to cultural violence (e.g. discrimination, enemy images), ‘behavior’ in the form of direct physical violence, and ‘contradiction’ in relation to structural violence (e.g. unequal distribution of wealth, poverty, destruction of infrastructure, or barriers to access.)” (Drummond-Mundal & Cave, 2007; 68)

might have attributed themselves a role in developing society, in particular the youth field, and increasing its pressure on the political sphere.

Another finding of the present study draws attention to importance of social context in young people's perception of themselves and societies. Comparing the data on activists and administrators, it is possible to talk about an overlap, for instance, in their opinions about civil society. This is to say, activists and the administrator, who belong to same youth organization, underlined the same problems in civil society. Furthermore, for each particular organization, how activists define their role in civil society and how the administrator describes the contribution of the organization to the youth work were similar. For example, in one organization, the administrator mentioned 'dialogue-building' as the organization's contribution and so did the activists, while expressing their roles in sustainable peace processes.

This overlap raises an interesting potential relationship: Young people's frames of references are shaped by their social context (in this case, NGOs they work) or they become a part of this particular context (NGO), because they think similar with the people there. In better words, young people might get involved as a result of sharing the same values or opinions with that organization or through their involvement, in time; they internalize the organization's perspective or both. However, the data parallel to the first option, since 'organizational culture (i.e., the friendly atmosphere, structure)' was a common entry motive in Turkey and Germany and support Flanagan and Syvertsen (2006), who affirm "*As young people search for and develop meaning and purposes in their lives, they find others with similar world views... They may join cultural, religious, or political groups that reflect their ideologies and commitments*" (pp. 14).

6.1.3. General Findings and Discussion

This section aims to combine the findings from three categories of interviews and discuss the general conclusions drawn from the present study.

Firstly, as the sample includes both volunteer and professional youth workers, one can search if youth activists' type of involvement has any impact on their answers to

questions. The main entry motive of activists working professionally in Youth association for Habitat (YFH) was ‘personal development’, which means the overlap between the opportunities their NGOs provided and their career plans drew their attention. However it would not be plausible to generalize this and claim that all professional youth workers are career-oriented in their civic engagement.

The correspondence between visited NGOs’ fields of action and youth activists’ answers is the second point. The themes NGOs work were not found to be related with the roles youth activists ascribe to themselves as peace-multipliers. On the other hand, in addition to the above mentioned entry motives, the present study suggests a further relationship between the sampled youth activists’ field of action and entry motives. For example, the activists, who are involved in human right’s work, stated their previous witness to cultural violence (discrimination) as their most powerful motivation to become active. Similarly, interest in political issues directed youth activists to focus their activities on active citizenship and participation. Members of NGOs that work on cultural exchange placed ‘cultural component’ at the top of their other entry motives. Such a relationship was observed both in Turkey and Germany and this parallels the finding that young people are likely to take action in the areas they see a problem and a need for change. Furthermore, the people they encounter through their civic engagement or the trainings they attend and their own personal experiences also seem to be effective on their field of actions. The sampled youth activists rooted this effect in the ‘awareness-raising’ characteristic and ‘informal structure’ of youth work.

The literature on youth civic engagement notes ‘globalization and technology’ as both participation increasing and decreasing factors (Koffel, 2003). The data on Germany assert that technology causes youth to stay in front of computers and not get socially or politically involved, whilst in Turkey, one of the main characteristics of youth activist is considered to be ‘computer literacy and internet usage.’ The underlying reason might be the differences in youth’s access to such technological devices (computers) between countries. In the latter country, not every young person has a computer or access to internet due to the lower levels of economic welfare (purchasing power parity). Hence, the ones, who use internet efficiently in Turkey, are likely to have an access to information about opportunities and use these opportunities, once they are aware.

Combining the data gathered from the interviews with activists and administrators, it is possible to capture the connection between individual experiences and the social context. The overlap between perspectives of activists and administrators is the first aspect and it is explained in the previous section. The second one relates to ‘transformation’ organizations lead to. Accordingly, the sampled youth activists underlined how they have ‘transformed’ and ‘developed’ as a result of their experiences in their NGOs. Consequently, they valued non-formal education more than formal education and affirmed that their participation have differentiated them from their uninvolved peers. Ardizzone (2006) explains this situation with the contribution of informal education structures in ‘seeing the big picture’ and understanding societal contradictions as well as learning about global issues in addition to giving young people a chance to ‘learn by experiencing’ and develop competences to deal with the difficult situations. “*Perhaps,*” says Braxton (2006) “*most importantly young people learn through firsthand experience that it is possible to create a real change*” (pp.301).

In the general literature, a criticism about formal education systems is their failure in promoting ‘civic engagement.’ Various studies underline that the ‘civic engagement courses’ at schools stay theoretical and do not provide practice-based knowledge to young people (MacKinnon et al., 2007; Friedland & Morimoto, 2006). The data of this study support the previous researches. The sampled youth activists in both countries stressed that they did not take ‘civic engagement education’ as a part of formal curriculum, although ‘Citizenship’ (in Turkey) and ‘Political World Education’ (in Germany) courses should have served this aim. In this respect, they valued the phrase of a Canadian youth activist: “*We’re told to fix things, but the tools we get are a few nails and no hammer*” (MacKinnon et al., 2007; 10).

Having explained important findings of this research and attempting to locate them in the literature, a final point to be discussed is: *Why do Turkey and Germany both resembles and differs from each other?*

With comparing two cases, this research implicitly acknowledges that culture and social context matters in youth activism. Doubtlessly, Turkey and Germany have different cultural traits, social realities, economic, political and legal systems (some of

these were discussed in Chapter 4) as well as histories. These differences might give an answer to why two countries show dissimilarities regarding youth activism.

On the other hand, it is of importance to highlight an aspect, which probably has the biggest share in the differences regarding this study's research topic: the presence of a comprehensive youth policy in Germany, whilst Turkey lacks one. In other words, in the former country, mechanisms that ensure youth's involvement in decision-making processes and social life exist. More opportunities are provided youth and youth civic involvement ratio is much higher (33%). On the contrary, in Turkey, "*absence of a youth policy is the youth policy itself*" say youth workers. Opportunities are very limited and not inclusive and only 4% of youth population is member of a NGO. Furthermore, as previously mentioned in this chapter, the state has a suspicious approach towards NGOs and is very controlling over civil society.

This suggests two-way relationship: either the lack of youth policy decreases youth participation or due to low youth participation ratios, politicians do not feel a need to take 'youth' on the high agenda. In other words, it resembles to a 'vicious demand-supply circle': either one (youth) does not demand or the other (government) does not supply or even both happen at the same time. Also, in Germany, such a demand-supply relation might be valid. The more youth demands, the more government supplies or vice versa. One can further mention the 'church tradition' as a participation increasing factor in this country. Another reason of the presence of a comprehensive youth policy might be the EU regulations on youth work that Germany has to obey.

The EU membership or candidature is also prominent to consider for shedding a light on why the two countries resemble in the context of youth activism. As the data indicate, a very important catalyst of youth in both countries is the Youth in Action Program (YiA) of the European Commission. Youth in both countries benefit from the YiA grants for their civic activities (only if these projects include an intercultural and European dimension). Since the YiA Program's priorities apply to every program country and because it is the primary financial resource of youth organizations in these countries, the agenda of youth field in the two countries is very likely to overlap with each other. Furthermore, other international organizations such as the UN or the CoE affect the rhetoric of and developments in the youth field by putting 'youth

participation' among top points in their agenda. In other words, if it is possible to talk about a 'youth activism- youth field' culture, the members of this culture show many similar characteristics regardless of their differences. From this point, a broader conclusion can be drawn: i.e. 'youth activism' is driven by the larger geo-political context in addition to individual motivations.

6.2. Conclusion

*“The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good, passionate, honest, young people to do nothing.”*⁴⁸

This thesis intends to explore the topic of youth activism. With the aim of answering the research question *“What are the motives of young people in becoming youth activists? What are roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers to reinforce sustainable peace processes in their societies?”*, Turkey and Germany were selected as cases and interviews were conducted with activists, administrators, representatives.

The findings demonstrate that young people's entry motives in becoming activist include personal development, cultural dimension, organizational culture, progress and vefa (loyalty), interest in politics, formative experiences, speaking on others' behalf, experiences of injustice and personal satisfaction.

It was found that 'making a change' is a very important motivator for young people. They fight for their ideals and want to overcome and change problems in their way to achieve these ideals. One of the aspects they value among their ideals is peace and to reinforce sustainable peace processes, the roles they attribute to themselves as peace-multipliers are: empowering, dialogue-building, participating, role-modeling and association.

⁴⁸ Edmund Burke, 18th Century British Stateman (Veliaj in Thorup and Kinkade, 2005; 2)

Recalling its epistemological meaning, ‘youth’ stands for ‘*related to young.*’ “*It is derived from West Germanic⁴⁹ word ‘jugunthiz’, which is, indeed, altered from Proto-Germanic⁵⁰ word ‘juwunthiz’ by the influence of its contrast, ‘dugunthiz’ that refers to ‘ability.’*”⁵¹

As does this research, the etymologic analysis above underlines the important relationship between being young and having ability. However, in the practice of real life, as a part of the society, youth is generally neglected. For instance, young people are rarely given a chance to speak for their needs or decisions both in their families and in their societies. One may even further this argument by highlighting the fact that youth, despite having the notion of ‘ability’ even in its name, is very often exposed to control and to some constraints. Young people draw attention of others in the society only when any act they take might have an overall impact in the economy, politics or the society *per se*. In most of the cases, it is very likely that they are expected to play a role given by the adults rather than the one they want. “*They are treated as objects of adults’ intervention, with the adults assuming that they know what is best for young people*” (CoE, 2008; 12). Hence, in some respects, young people fail to realize their potential.

Youth is rarely considered; but highly prominent in society. It pursues a mirror function in the world; it reflects today to tomorrow. As a consequence of this mirroring function, the attitude of every single person in society towards youth is very important. Young people can either replicate mistakes or establish a new world order. However, it should be noted that the second is dependent on acknowledgement of youth’s implicit and explicit ability, the provision of necessary opportunities and also promotion of the ‘peace-multiplier’ role youth have. Moreover, it should be understood by everyone in society that sustainable peace is very dependent on the sustainability of youth civic

⁴⁹ *West Germanic*, the subgroup of Germanic comprising English, Dutch, German, Yiddish, Frisian, etc.; also the language spoken by the ancestral group during the presumed period of unity. (<http://www.etymonline.com/abbr.php>)

⁵⁰ *Proto-Germanic*, hypothetical prehistoric ancestor of all Germanic languages, including English. (<http://www.etymonline.com/abbr.php>)

⁵¹ <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=youth>

engagement, since young people are “*citizens while still in the process of becoming ones*” (Kassimir, 2006; 26).

6.3. Implications of the Research

6.3.1. Theoretical Implications

Youth activism has been on the agenda of various branches of social science and much has been written about its various dimensions such as student movements, civic engagement and the like. Moreover, many research institutes and NGOs have published reports about the situation of youth work in their countries.⁵² As above mentioned, some of these studies were intended at explaining youth’s motivations to engage in civil society. Furthermore, the role of youth in peacebuilding processes is widely researched, especially in the field of Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding.⁵³ However, to the best of my knowledge, none of these studies were aimed at shedding a light on the roles youth activists attribute to themselves in reinforcing sustainable peace processes in their countries. Hence, this study primarily contributes the literature with its emphasis on these roles youth activists ascribe to themselves as peace-multipliers. The present study is of value also because it describes youth activists’ self-attributed roles in terms of their own definition of ideal society and sustainable peace. Consequently, this research enriches the growing literature on youth and peacebuilding.

Another theoretical implication of this study arises from its focus on youth NGOs. The literature about youth work, especially in Turkey, is very limited and among academics, youth civic engagement in youth NGOs is hardly a research topic.

⁵² Examples of such reports include “Youth as Decision Makers” by Susan Wright (the Laidlaw Foundation); “Lost in Translation: (Mis)Understanding Youth Engagement-Synthesis Report” by MacKinnon et al (Canadian Policy Research Networks); “Preventing Youth Disengagement and Promoting Engagement” by Burns et al. (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth); Shell Youth Study by Hurrelmann et al.(2006) about youth in Germany and so forth.

⁵³ For example: McEvoy-Levy, S. (ed) (2006). *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building*. University of Notre Dame Press: USA.

Therefore, the present paper adds value to the literature by making a research on an overlooked population, which has not been studied before. On the other hand, it should be underscored that even though this study has such theoretical contributions, the findings and results are valid for the frame of the sample unit and cannot be generalized on behalf of the whole youth workers in Turkey and Germany.

6.3.2. Practical Implications

Exploring youth activists' entry motives and the roles they attribute to themselves is also significant for its practical implications. It reveals the steps that can be taken to encourage and foster youth civic participation. For instance, 'personal development' was the most commonly pronounced entry motive in both Turkey and Germany. Henceforth, youth workers and governments can specify how young people can 'transform' to better citizens and contribute to their societies through their civic involvement, while also developing themselves further. Youth workers and the governments can use it to encourage youth civic participation.

Secondly, it was found out that a relationship exists between entry motives of youth activists and the NGOs' main fields of action. Youth practitioners might give attention to this relationship, while guiding new members in their organizations. A correct matching between the interest of members and available positions would possibly be beneficial to both sides and also, ensure that new members stay active for longer periods of time.

Moreover, for Germany (to the government and youth workers), this study suggests that the existing opportunities should be promoted better, since it was underlined within the course of this research that many young people are not aware of the existing opportunities.

From the findings of this study, some policy recommendations can be derived. The data showed that neither in Turkey nor in Germany, young people think the obligatory 'Citizenship' or 'Political World Education' courses have practical implications and empower students to get active in civil society. Designing and

implementing practice-based civic involvement education is of importance in increasing youth participation and raising citizens that are aware of politics.

The official recognition of nonformal education also holds a great prominence in turning young people's compass from being merely career-oriented towards becoming sensible on the issues concerning them or their communities.

6.3.3. Future Research

One of the limitations this study has is the lack of standardization in measurement of youth civic engagement. Countries differ in how they define 'youth', 'youth civic engagement (which organizations are counted as youth organizations)' and so on. Henceforth, future researches that pay attention to this issue and would come up with representative data that allow better comparisons are needed. Youth NGOs can employ such literature while they advocate (lobby) for improvements in the conditions of youth.

Also, a further research on how the rhetoric of European youth agenda affects youth in a particular country would also be valuable in assessing the impact of the YiA Program or other international funds.

The sample of this study does not include young people, who are active at an NGO, but have not pursued a university degree. Thus, civic involvement of young people outside the higher education institutions might contribute to the literature on youth civic engagement. Moreover, quantitative researches that investigate the relationship between demographic factors and form of civic engagement (i.e. participating in demonstrations, membership in NGOs etc.) would provide further insight regarding the topic.

The visited NGOs within the course of this study had international dimension. Future research can be done on youth NGOs that work merely on local level and results can be compared. Lastly, exploring how adults perceive new forms of youth participation would be valuable in comprehending whether contemporary youth

activism methods are effective on decision-makers or are very easily disregarded, because the elder generation is not aware of the fact that *'youth has always been active.'*

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A.1. Guide for the Interviews with Activists

A.1.1. English version

Part 1: Introductory Questions

1. What is your full name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your nationality? Do you belong to an ethnic minority in your country?
4. What is your level of education? (Faculty, department etc)
5. For how many years lasts the program you are studying?
6. How many years you have been studying there and how many years (semesters) you have left to finish?
7. Do you have a job? If yes, where are you working, what is your position and how many hours you work per week and what is your income- enough to finance your own expenses? If not, how you finance your expenses?
8. How much free time you have approximately in a week? What do you do in your leisure time?
9. Did you get any civic involvement education at your high school or primary school as a part of the curriculum? If yes, can you please tell the content of it very briefly?
10. Would you please tell for which organization you work for?
11. Can you please tell when did you start to work in this organization? How long have you been a member?
12. What is your current position?
13. Are you a volunteer or do you work as a professional youth worker there?
14. How much time per week do you spend for your engagement in the organization?
15. Are you member of other youth NGOs or clubs as well? If yes, what are they? What is your position and how much time do you spend per week for your engagements in this organization?

Part 2:

16. How (why) did you decide to study this subject?
17. If you are a Professional youth worker, can you please tell why did you prefer youth work as your profession/ job?
18. How did you hear about the youth work and your NGO?
19. Can you tell how did you start to get active? What were the things that captured your attention? Why did you get active? What is your story as a youth activist?
20. What have you done since the beginning of your involvement? What types of activities have you been involved in the past and are currently engaged in?
21. What is the theme you generally work on in the youth field?
22. Can you please describe in your opinion how should an ideal society be?
23. What does sustainable peace means for you? [Here, I am asking for your own definition]
24. Considering your involvement in the youth work, how do you see your personal contribution in the youth field/ in your society as a young peace-multiplier/ youth activist?
25. How do you see the status of the civil society in Germany? What are the problems? For instance, how is the youth civic participation?
26. What changes would you like to see in your society?
27. Why do you think change is needed? Why do you want to change your conditions and the conditions for others? What is its importance for you?
28. Wanting these to be changed, how do you see your personal role to achieve those? What are the roles you personally want to play/ you can play in reinforcing sustainable peace in your society and in Europe? What are the roles you attribute to yourself?
29. What are the obstacles that might prevent you to realize these roles? Do you think there are also societal constraints? What are they?
30. In these conditions, what is your motivation to stay in the youth work? What do you want to do most in the youth field?

A.1.2. Turkish Version

Bölüm 1: Başlangıç Soruları

1. Adınız-Soyadınız:
2. Yaşınız:
3. Milliyetiniz nedir? Yaşadığınız ülkede herhangi bir etnik azınlığa mı dahilsiniz?
4. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? Fakülte, bölüm vs.
5. Eğitim gördüğünüz program/bölüm kaç senelik?
6. Kaç senedir orada okuyorsunuz ve kaç seneniz (döneminiz) kaldı?
7. İşiniz var mı? Varsa, haftada kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz ve maaşınız ne kadar, kendi harcamalarınızı karşılamaya yetiyor mu? Çalışmıyorsanız, harcamalarınızı nasıl karşılıyorsunuz?

8. Haftada ortalama kaç saat boş zamanınız oluyor? Boş zamanlarınızda neler yapıyorsunuz?
9. (Lise ve öncesinde) Okulda ve okul dışında herhangi bir sivil toplum katılımı eğitimi aldınız mı? Aldıysanız, kısaca içeriğinden bahsedebilir misiniz?
10. Hangi STKda çalıştığınızı belirtir misiniz?
11. Bu organizasyonda ne zaman çalışmaya başladınız? Kaç senedir üyesiniz?
12. Şu andaki pozisyonunuz nedir?
13. Bu STKda gönüllü olarak mı yoksa profesyonel olarak mı çalışıyorsunuz?
14. Organizasyonunuzdaki görevleriniz için haftada ortalama kaç saat harcıyorsunuz?
15. Başka gençlik STKlarına ya da kulüplerine de üye misiniz? Evet ise, hangileri? Buralardaki pozisyonlarınız neler ve buradaki görevleriniz için haftada ortalama kaç saat harcıyorsunuz?

Bölüm 2:

16. Neden bu bölümde okumaya karar verdiniz?
17. Eğer profesyonel bir gençlik çalışıyorsanız, lütfen neden gençlik çalışmalarını işiniz olarak seçtiğinizi söyleyebilir misiniz?
18. Gençlik çalışmaları ve çalıştığınız STKdan nasıl haberdar oldunuz?
19. Nasıl aktif çalışmaya başladınız? İlginizi çeken noktalar nelerdi? Neden sivil topluma katıldınız? Bir gençlik aktivisti olarak sizin hikayeniz nedir?
20. En başından beri neler yaptınız? Ne gibi aktivitelere katıldınız ve şu an hangi tür etkinliklere katılıyorsunuz?
21. Gençlik alanında yoğunlaştığınız çalışma teması nedir?
22. Lütfen sizin için ideal bir toplumun nasıl olması gerektiğini tarif eder misiniz?
23. “Sürdürülebilir barış” kavramı sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
24. Gençlik çalışmalarındaki çalışmalarınızı göz önünde bulundurarak, bir barış çarpanı/ gençlik aktivisti olarak gençlik çalışmalarına, topluma katkınızı nasıl görüyorsunuz?
25. Türkiye’deki sivil toplumun durumu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sorunlar neler? Mesela, gençliğin sivil topluma katılımı nasıl?
26. Toplumunuzda ne gibi değişiklikler görmeyi istersiniz?
27. Neden değişim gerekli? Neden kendi ve çevrenizdekilerin içinde bulunduğu koşulları değiştirmek istiyorsunuz? Bunun sizin için önemi ne?
28. Bunların değişimlerin gerçekleşmesi süreçlerinde kendinizin rolünü ne olarak görüyorsunuz? Türkiye’de ve Avrupa’da sürdürülebilir barış/ uyuşmazlık çözümlemesi süreçlerinin desteklenmesi için ne gibi roller oynayabilirsiniz/ oynamak istersiniz? Kendinize atfettiğiniz roller neler?
29. Bu rolleri gerçekleştirmenize engel olabilecekler neler? Toplumsal kısıtların da olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bunlar neler?
30. Bu koşullarda, gençlik çalışmalarında kalma motivasyonunuz ne? Bu alanda en çok neler yapmak istiyorsunuz?

A.2. Guide for Interviews with Administrators

A.2.1. English Version

1. Name:
2. Position:
3. Can you please introduce your organization? What are its aims, vision, target group, fields of action, and types of activities? When was it founded?
4. What types of positions do you have?- Once young people come to your organization, what are the things they can do? (volunteers/ Professional workers/ project teams/ working groups/ board etc)
5. What is your member profile? (Age, gender, education level and faculty, socio-economic background etc)
6. How many members do you have? (Official vs. active?)
7. How active your members are? (Do they come for a meeting once a week or work on regular projects etc...) What is the average duration of active membership? How much time they should spend per week?
8. How do you promote civic engagement among young people? What are your strategies to introduce your organization to your members and potential members?
9. Does your organization cooperate with other national or international NGOs? If yes, in which fields?
10. What is the contribution of your organization to youth work in your country? Previous achievements, cooperation with other NGOs etc...
11. What is the difference of your organization from other youth organizations? How do you approach to youth work?
12. What are the opportunities you provide for your members? How do you train them?
13. How do you see the status of the civil society in Germany? What are the problems? For instance, how is the youth civic participation?
14. What is your perception of the landscape of youth work? What are the opportunities provided for young people and youth organizations?
15. In your perception, what do you think are the most important problems of your members and youth in your society?
16. What is your contribution to reinforcement of sustainable peace/ conflict resolution in your society? How do you see the contribution of your organization's work in peace building/ conflict resolution processes?
17. How can you ensure that young people become peacemakers not troublemakers? What can your organization do for this?

A.2.2. Turkish Version

1. Ad- Soyad:
2. Pozisyon (Konum):
3. Lütfen organizasyonunuzu tanıtır mısınız? Amaçları, vizyonu, hedef grubu, faaliyet alanları ve faaliyet çeşitleri neler? Ne zaman kuruldu?

4. Organizasyonunuzda ne tür pozisyonlar var? Gençler bu organizasyona geldiklerinde yapabilecekleri şeyler neler? (gönüllü/ profesyonel gençlik çalışanı/ proje takımları/ çalışma grupları/ yönetim kurulu vs.)
5. Üye profiliniz nasıl? (Yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim düzeyi, fakülte, sosyo-ekonomik durum vs.)
6. Kaç üyeniz var? (Resmi vs. aktif)
7. Üyeleriniz ne kadar aktif? (Haftada bir toplantılara mı geliyorlar yoksa düzenli olarak bir proje üzerine mi çalışıyorlar vs...) Ortalama aktif üyelik süresi nedir? Haftada kaç saat ayırmalılar?
8. Gençlerin sivil topluma katılımını nasıl özendiriyorsunuz? Organizasyonunuzu üyelerinize ve potansiyel üyelere tanıtmaya stratejileriniz neler?
9. Organizasyonunuz diğer ulusal ya da uluslararası STKlarla işbirliği yapıyor mu? Varsa, hangi alanlarda?
10. Organizasyonunuzun Türkiye'deki gençlik çalışmalarına/sivil topluma katkıları neler? (Önceki başarılar, diğer STKlarla ortaklık vs.)
11. Organizasyonunuzun diğer gençlik organizasyonlarından/STKlardan farkı nedir? Gençlik çalışmalarına/ sivil topluma nasıl yaklaşıyorsunuz?
12. Üyelerinize sağladığınız olanaklar neler? Onları nasıl eğitiyorsunuz?
13. Türkiye'deki sivil toplumun durumunu nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Sorunlar neler? Mesela, gençlerin sivil topluma katılımı nasıl?
14. Gençlik çalışmalarının durumu hakkındaki düşünceleriniz neler? Gençler ve gençlik STKlarına sağlanan ne gibi olanaklar var?
15. Size göre üyelerinizin ve Türkiye'deki gençlerin en önemli üç sorunu nelerdir?
16. Türkiye'deki uyuşmazlık çözümlemesi/ sürdürülebilir barışa ulaşılması süreçlerine organizasyonunuzun katkısını nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
17. Gençlerin sorun çıkarmak yerine barış kurulmasına katkıda bulunmasını nasıl sağlayabilirsiniz? Organizasyonunuz bunun için neler yapabilir?

A.3. Guide for Interviews with Representatives of DNK and YSU

A.3.1. English Version

1. Name:
2. Position:
3. Can you please introduce your organization? What are its aims, vision, target group, fields of action, and types of activities? When was it founded?
4. What is the percentage of the young people who are involved in civic society in the overall youth population?
5. How many youth NGOs are there?
6. What are the major types of youth NGOs or organizations in your country?
7. What are the participation ratios in these different types of organizations? In which types there is more participation?
8. What are the major themes in youth field in your country?

9. What is the overall profile of a youth activist? (Age, gender, education, socio-economic background etc.)
10. How was the youth activism (student movements) in the past in your country? (1968s and afterwards) Do you have any idea?
11. In what extent the young generations suffered from apathy after those movements? What may be the reasons of this?
12. What is the tradition of volunteerism in your country?
13. What are the major problems of youth in your country?
14. Does your country have a youth policy? If yes, what is its content?
15. What are the civil and political liberties of young people?
16. What kind of extracurricular activities do young people engage in?
17. What are the opportunities provided for young people?
18. In Turkey, what are the 3 most important factors that increase and prevent youth's civic engagement?
19. How do you promote civic engagement among young people? What are the training opportunities your organization provides?
20. Is there any civic involvement education at the schools/ universities?
21. What is the amount of (in Euros) financial support provided by the government to youth organizations?

A.3.2. Turkish Version

1. Ad-Soyad:
2. Pozisyon:
3. Lütfen organizasyonunuzu tanıtır mısınız? Amaçları, vizyonu, hedef grubu, faaliyet alanı ve faaliyet çeşitleri neler? Ne zaman kuruldu?
4. Türkiye'de genç nüfusun genelde ortalama yüzde kaç sivil topluma katılıyor?
5. Türkiye'de toplam kaç tane gençlik STK'sı var, biliyor musunuz?
6. Türkiye'de belli başlı gençlik STK'ları ya da grupları türleri neler?
7. Bu farklı türlerdeki gençlik örgütlenmelerinde katılım oranları farklılaşıyor? Hangilerinde daha yoğun bir katılım var?
8. Türkiye'deki gençlik çalışmalarındaki ana temalar neler?
9. Ortalama bir gençlik aktivistinin profili nasıl? (Yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim, sosyo-ekonomik durumu)
10. 1968 ve sonrasında Türkiye'deki gençlik aktivizmi (öğrenci hareketleri) nasıldı? Bir bilginiz var mı?
11. Bu hareketlerden sonra gençler siyasetle ilgilenmemeye başladı mı? Başladıysa, bu durumun boyutları neydi? Sebepleri neler olabilir?
12. Türkiye'deki gönüllülük geleneği nasıldır?
13. Türkiye'deki gençlerin başlıca problemleri nelerdir?
14. Türkiye'de bir gençlik politikası var mı? Varsa, içeriği nedir?
15. Gençlerin sahip olduğu için sivil ve siyasi özgürlükler nelerdir?
16. Gençler ne tür okul dışı aktivitelerle uğraşıyor?
17. Türkiye'de gençlere sunulan olanaklar nelerdir?
18. Türkiye'de gençlerin sivil topluma katılımını artıran ve engelleyen 3'er en önemli etken nedir?

19. Genler arasında sivil topluma katılımı nasıl zendiriyorsunuz? Varsa, organizasyonunuzun saėladıėı eėitim olanakları neler?
20. Trkiye’de okullarda sivil toplum eėitimi var mı?
21. Devlet tarafından genlik rgtlerine ayrılan finansal destek ne kadar (TL olarak)?

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF YOUTH RELATED LAWS

B.1. Youth Related Articles in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey

B.1.1. Turkish Version

A. Gençliğin korunması

MADDE 58. – Devlet, istiklâl ve Cumhuriyetimizin emanet edildiği gençlerin müsbet ilmin ışığında, Atatürk ilke ve inkılâpları doğrultusunda ve Devletin ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğünü ortadan kaldırmayı amaç edinen görüşlere karşı yetiştirme ve gelişmelerini sağlayıcı tedbirleri alır.

Devlet, gençleri alkol düşkünlüğünden, uyuşturucu maddelerden, suçluluk, kumar ve benzeri kötü alışkanlıklardan ve cehaletten korumak için gerekli tedbirleri alır.

B. Sporun geliştirilmesi

MADDE 59. – Devlet, her yaştaki Türk vatandaşlarının beden ve ruh sağlığını geliştirecek tedbirleri alır, sporun kitlelere yayılmasını teşvik eder.

Devlet başarılı sporcuyu korur.

Source: <http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/general/default.asp?&menuID=96&curID=96>

B.1.2. English Version

A. Protection of Youth

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 Atatürk, 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.

B. Development of Sports

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.

Source:

http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyalari/THE_CONSTITUTION_OF_THE_REPUBLIC_OF_TURKEY.pdf

B.2. Laws Relevant to Children and Young People in the Federal Republic of Germany

Note: Here, only an example act on voluntary service is given. Complete list of laws, structures, institutions and organizations regarding the German youth field is available online at:

http://www.kinder-jugendhilfe.info/en_kjhg/cgi-bin/showcontent.asp?ThemaID=0

B.2.1. Acts on the Promotion of a Voluntary Community Service Year (FSJ) or a Voluntary Ecological Service Year (FÖJ)

Persons wishing to commit themselves to a statutory voluntary service have an opportunity of enrolling in a voluntary community service year or voluntary ecological service year. This service year can not only be performed in the traditional social facilities, but also in youth work areas involving sports, culture – in libraries, museums or music projects – or the preservation of historic monuments. It is likewise possible to

do the voluntary service outside Europe. The voluntary service year may be taken directly after graduation from school; a minimum age is no longer required. Voluntary service in Germany may be extended by six additional months after completing the initial 12-month period.

Starting in 2008, a voluntary service year may also be performed in development assistance projects.

Instead of a period of civic service, recognized conscientious objectors may also enroll in a 12-month statutory voluntary service with an approved service provider. Approval as a provider of voluntary community service years or voluntary ecological service years (FSJ/FÖJ) – irrespective of a placement in Germany or abroad – is granted by the responsible authorities of the Land (Ministries/Senates).

At present, the draft legislation by the Federal Government on the promotion of youth volunteer services is currently in the consultation stages of the Bundestag and the Bundesrat. This legislation will provide a uniform legislative basis for the former Act on the Promotion of a Voluntary Community Service Year and the Act on the Promotion of a Voluntary Ecological Service Year, and it will enhance the educational character of the youth volunteer service.

Source: http://www.kinder-jugendhilfe.info/en_kjhg/cgi-bin/showcontent.asp?ThemaID=4864

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION ABOUT VISITED NGOs

C.1. Organizations in Germany:

C.1.1. German National Committee For International Youth Work (Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Internationale Jugendarbeit- DNK)

Foundation Year: 1963

In contrast to many other European countries, the German Federal Youth Council does not involve any youth sports clubs or youth branches of political parties as member. Therefore, together with the Council of Political Youth Organizations (Ring Politischer Jugend), it has formed the German National Committee for International Youth Work (DNK), which has contact to youth organizations all over the world.

The German Federal Youth Council carries out the administrative work of the DNK offices.

Aims:

- To represent young people in Germany abroad and act as a bridge between the European - international and federal- local levels.
- To give youth in Germany the opportunity to participate in political life, to network and to exchange with their international and European counterparts.
- To lobby the Ministries in Germany and the European Commission for active participation of youth.

Target Group:

Youth organizations and young people in Germany form the target group of the DNK and stands for around 10 million young people.

Activities:

- Selection of the UN National Youth delegates: two young people, who represent “the youth of Germany” at the General Assembly of the UN.
- Bringing people/ experts in key positions at the youth organizations or institutions together to discuss topics related to youth (ex: seminars etc.)
- Networking with other countries

- Represent German youth in the international and European platforms such as the European Youth Forum, the umbrella organization for the youth organizations in Europe.

Website: <http://www.dbjr.de/index.php?m=17&id=99> (in German)

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with the Spokesperson of the DNK
- Becsky, S, Marie- Luise Dreber, Christa Freitag and Dirk Hanisch. (2004). *Child and Youth Policy, Child and Youth Services in the Federal Republic of Germany: Structures- Institutions- Organizations*. IJAB; Boon.

C.1.2. European Students' Forum- Mainz (AEGEE-Mainz)

Foundation Year: 1987

AEGEE (European Students' Forum) is one of Europe's largest interdisciplinary and voluntary student associations, founded in 1985 and operating without being linked to any political party. Being a local branch located in Mainz-Germany, AEGEE- Mainz works in accordance with the aims and fields of action of AEGEE.

Aims:

- To promote the idea of a unified Europe, cross-border co-operation, communication and integration in academic environment
- To strive to create an open and tolerant society by involving students and young graduates in valuable projects and discussions over the topics of importance for the communities they live in.

Target Group:

University students and young professionals living in Europe. AEGEE is represented by 15.000 students, active in 232 academic cities, in 43 countries all around Europe.

Fields of Action:

- Active Citizenship
- Cultural Exchange
- Higher Education
- Peace and Stability

Examples of Recent Activities (of AEGEE-Mainz):

- Working with Erasmus students in Mainz: helping them to settle in.
- Model European Union for high school students: a project under the Y Vote Campaign of AEGEE-Europe, which aims to motivate young people to vote in the European Parliament elections in June 2009.
- Summer Universities: 2-3 weeks long activities that bring 20-50 young people over the Europe for cultural Exchange. Summer Universities can focus on: art, history, languages, nature or sports.
- Activities on the Europe's Day (May, 9) and the European Day of Languages (September, 26).

- Training Courses, seminars etc.

Website: <http://www.aegee-mainz.org/> (in German)

Sources of the information above of the information above:

- Interview with the former PR Director of AEGEE-Mainz
- www.aegee.org

C.1.3. Youth for Exchange and Unity (YEU)

Foundation Year: 1986

YEU Germany is a member organisation of the youth council of the municipality in the city Würzburg, the Alliance for Civil Courage (Active and Responsible Citizenship) based in Würzburg, the International network Youth for Exchange and Understanding, situated in Faro, Portugal and that works for promoting peace, understanding and co-operation between the young people of the world, in a spirit of respect for human rights, as well as the Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance in Berlin, Germany.

Aims:

- To realize youth activities to foster closer co-operation and better understanding among the young people of the world, both between and within continents, particularly by encouraging the exchange of information, ideas and opinions;
- To improve the relationships and promote tolerance among young people of different cultural or political realities;

Target Group:

Young people aged between 16 and 30.

Activities:

- International Youth Exchanges
- Local Events such as adventure pedagogic: outdoor activities as climbing and canoeing.
- International Youth Convention: in order to give young people a platform the get to know each other and their cultural background.

Website: <http://www.yeu.de/Home.12.0.html?&L=2>

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with the former President of the Youth for Exchange and Unity
- http://www.yeu-international.org/youth_for_exchange_and_understanding.html

C.1.4. Youth Human Rights Movement- Berlin (YHRM-Berlin)

Foundation Year: 2005

YHRM-Berlin is a local branch of International Youth Human Rights Movement in Russia, formed by a community of young people from different countries (at present – more than 30 states) striving for human rights and individual dignity and against any kind of aggression, violence as well as discrimination.

Aims:

- To support the mother organization in Russia in their fight for human rights.
- To inform the German public about the human rights situation in Russia.

Target Group:

There is no defined target group of the YRHM-Berlin. However, mainly the activities are for university students in Germany.

Fields of Action:

- Democracy and Human Rights
- Anti-Racism
- Anti-militarism
- Environmental Protection
- Homophobia

Activities:

- Public discussions about the human rights situations in Russia, where activists from International Youth Human Rights Movement give talks,
- Website: where people can put information or write articles about the human rights or NGO activities in Russia

Website: <http://www.yhrm-berlin.org/> (in German)

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with a founder member of the YHRM-Berlin
- <http://www.yhrm.org/eng/>

C.2. Organizations in Turkey

C.2.1. İstanbul Bilgi University Youth Studies Unit (YSU)

Foundation Year: 2006

The Youth Studies Unit is founded by the Community Volunteers Foundation (TOG) and İstanbul Bilgi University. The former provides the unit expertise on youth work, non-formal education methods and local activism with the latter contributes with its experience on networking and involvement with academic and capacity building activities.

Aims:

- To act as a youth policy advocacy center that is specialized on youth work and to advocate for an explicit and complementary youth policy which also has a social inclusion perspective.
- To take active role in the field of youth policy and provide necessary measures for local contribution of grassroots youth organizations to the policy making process.
- To encourage participation of young people

Target Group:

- Local and national youth NGOs in Turkey
- State structures that deal with youth such as municipalities, politicians.

Fields of Action:

- *Networking*: bringing different stakeholders of the youth field for knowledge and experience sharing as well as partnership- building,
- *Modeling*: developing and implementing pioneering projects that are enriched by the knowledge and experience of local youth work,
- *Research*: promoting youth, youth policy and youth work related research, based on them, preparing policy documents to start a process of knowledge-based policy making.
- *Lobbying*: facilitating the dialogue between the youth field and other actors of civil society as well as drawing attention of decision-makers on the issues related to youth.
-

Examples of Recent Activities:

- Gepgenç (Youthful) Festival: a five-day festival for youth organizations organized in 2006 and 2008 with the aim of providing a free platform for stakeholders in the youth work field of Turkey to exchange ideas,
- Living Library: A library where books are real people and it enables people to interact and learn from each other through private dialogues; thus promoting diversity in society,
- Short Wave Youth Center: located in Eyüp, İstanbul. Throughout its work, various forms of art such as theatre, street arts and rhythm are extensively used in order to facilitate learning based habitats for 200 young people between the ages of 15 – 20,
- Social Budget Platform: in cooperation with other NGOs in Turkey, acting as a watch dog for the budgetary process of the central government,
- Magnifier to Address: local watch groups for youth policy implications and services.

Website: <http://genclik.bilgi.edu.tr/default.asp?pageID=1>

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with the coordinator of YSU
- website

C.2.2. Genç Gelişim Derneği (Youth Development Association- YDA)

Foundation Year: 2005

Youth Development Association was founded by a group of experienced youth workers and trainers in order to have an active role in youth work both at national and international levels. Social inclusion of young people is of prominence for the organization and it works to enhance active participation of youth in all levels of decision making process in the society.

YDA cooperates with Youth for Understanding- Turkey and Youth Express Network; two international youth networks working on cultural exchange and social inclusion of disadvantaged people, respectively.

Aims:

- To mobilize youngsters and to foster multicultural dialogue, mutual understanding and youth power in peace making process,
- To enable youngsters to be an active part of the society,
- To promote personal development of youth by the provision of necessary skills and knowledge,
- To contribute to the processes of official recognition of nonformal education in Turkey.

Target Group:

Young people aged between 18 and 30 their level of education as well as socio-economic background.

Example of Recent Activities:

- Short-term international youth exchanges
- European Voluntary Service (EVS): YDA is both host and sender organization.
- “Life Skills” workshops in TED Ankara College Foundation High School
- Seminars and trainings on different subjects
- Kanal Amerika & Canal Turkey: a website to give information to young people from Turkey and US, respectively about the countries.

Website: <http://www.gencgelisim.org.tr/index.php/english>

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with the coordinator of the YDA
- Website

C.2.3. Youth Association for Habitat (YFH)

Foundation Year: 1997

Youth Association for Habitat is a part of an international youth network working in partnership with the United Nations, established during the 1995 Copenhagen Social

Development Summit. It serves as the Secretariat of Youth for Habitat International Network and executes the youth component of the Turkey Local Agenda 21 Program, in partnership with International Union of Local Authorities and United Nations Development Program.

Aims:

- To facilitate the establishment of legitimate platforms such as student unions in high schools and universities, youth councils at the local level with the aim of enhancing youth participation in decision-making processes,
- To increase youth awareness for sustainable development and livable environment,
- To enable youth establish partnerships with the governments, local authorities and the private sector,
- To improve networking among youth groups and to develop training programs.

Target Group:

Young people and all youth organizations in Turkey comprise the target group of YFH.

Examples of Activities:

- Supporting and coordinating the administrative work of youth councils, and the National Youth Parliament
- Realizing activities geared towards establishment of partnerships and of local youth councils and youth centers in Turkey.
- Rehabilitation activities after the earthquake in 1999
- Projects in the field of informatics- disseminating computer literacy among young people in Turkey
- Euro<26 Youth Card: offers great discounts for young people across Europe to ease their access to information, their mobility, and participation. YFH is the responsible organization of Euro<26 Youth Card in Turkey.

Website: <http://www.habitaticingenclik.org.tr/en/Page.asp?id=47>

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with Secretary General of YFH
- Website
- http://www.euro26.org/opencms/opencms/euro26_org/data/public/footer/about_us/

C.3.4. Uluslararası Af Örgütü- Türkiye (Amnesty International- AI- Turkey)

Foundation Year: 1961

Amnesty International- Turkey is the local branch of the AI, which is a worldwide movement of people, who campaign for internationally recognized human rights for all. It takes action to:

- Stop violence against women
- Defend the rights and dignity of those trapped in poverty

- Abolish the death penalty
- Oppose torture and combat terror with justice
- Free prisoners of conscience
- Protect the rights of refugees and migrants
- Regulate the global arms trade

Aims:

- To improve people's lives through campaigning and international solidarity,
- To prevent and end grave abuses of human rights,
- To demand justice for those whose rights have been violated.

Target Group:

Everyone.

Activities:

- Campaigns: to ensure that every person may enjoy all of the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Mobilizing public pressure through mass demonstrations, vigils and direct lobbying.
- Research about the human rights issues in different countries.

Website: www.amnesty-turkiye.org

Sources of the information above:

- Interview with the Youth Coordinator in Ankara
- Website
- <http://www.amnesty.org/>

APPENDIX D

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FEATURES OF INTERVIEWED ACTIVISTS

D.1. Gender and Age

A gender balance was sought among the 12 activists; six of them were female and six were male. In Turkey, the youngest interviewee is a 22 year-old female; the oldest is a 30 year-old male. The average age for males is 26 and 25 for females. Unlike the age range of the Turkish respondents, those in Germany diverges more: 19-31, the ages of a female and a male interviewee, respectively. Hence, the average age is older among male respondents in Germany, but on the other hand, younger among female interviewees. For the whole sample, the average age is 26,5 for male and 24 for female activists.

D.2. Education

In terms of education, the respondents' field of study shows a variety. In both countries, social science dominates. Therefore, in total, 75% of the interviewees studies or a graduate of a social science related branch varying from Media and Communication, Political Sciences, Economics, International Relations, Anthropology to History and Gender. On the other hand, both in Turkey and in Germany, one male respondent has his higher education on Mathematics. Additionally, one of the German female interviewees is still at high school.

One of the aspects that German and Turkish higher education systems differ is the year of schooling needed to obtain a degree. In Germany, the university education lasts around 5 years, combining undergraduate and masters studies,⁵⁴ whereas in Turkey, there is the 4+2 system; the Bachelor Programs are for four years, and the master studies take 2 years. Half of the respondents in Germany are graduate students, one of them is enrolled in the final semester of his undergraduate studies and another male interviewee had already obtained his masters. However, in Turkey, 4 of the 6 interviewees are alumni; only one of them has a master degree and three of them completed a Bachelor Program, and the remaining two are in their last semester at the university.

Another finding regards education is the respondents' graduation time; whether they complete their studies or prolonged them. The data shows the majority of the respondents extended their studies. Among respondents from Turkey, this trend is more obvious; only one of the interviews will graduate on-time, whereas in Germany, half of the interviewees will do so. Within the course of the interviews, the respondents, whose higher education takes more years than estimated in the beginning, stated their involvement in civil society as the reason of the extension of their studies.

⁵⁴ This diploma system is now being changed due to the Bologna Process. Bologna Process aims to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), where there is international cooperation and academic exchange. To ease the recognition of studies being done in abroad and achieve a convergence between different national educational systems within 46 countries- all party to the European Cultural Convention, the Process necessitates the degrees to be organized in a three-cycle structure (e.g. bachelor-master-doctorate). <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/about/>. However, none of the interviewees is subject to the new system.

D.3. Employment- Leisure Time Activities

Job Status	Country		
	Turkey	Germany	Total
Having a Job (number of interviewees)			
Yes	5	5	10
No	1	1	2
Average Work-hours (per week)	42	28	35
Average Leisure-hours (per week)	22	32	27

Table 6: Number of employed and unemployed interviewees, their average work-hours and average leisure-hours per week.

In terms of the number of employed respondents, Turkey and Germany show similar trends. Totally, 10 out of 12, meaning 83%, of the interviewees have a job. However, the average work-hour per week differs: 42 hours/week in Turkey; whilst this number is 28, in Germany. The reason could be explained by the fact that in Germany, only one of the interviewees has completed his studies and works in a permanent job, but in Turkey, except one respondent, all of them work either as professionals in their organization or as freelance trainers in the youth field. Hence, their working hours are more when compared to respondents in Germany. The difference between the average weekly free-time hours could be rooted in the same reasoning. The average leisure-time, as a substitute of work-hours, hence, is greater in Germany. In their leisure-time, these respondents benefit from a diversity of activities including sports; theatre, music, cinema (categorized as ‘cultural engagements’); civil society involvement and the like. ‘Spending time with friends’ is the most common free-time activity among German respondents, whilst this is ‘reading’ among interviewees from Turkey. In total, these two activities have the same frequency. Other activities are traveling, sleeping,⁵⁵ sports and cultural activities as well as civic involvement.

⁵⁵ Although it seems somewhat humorous, many of the respondents indicated ‘sleeping’ as a recreational activity. They mentioned that this is due to their very heavy work schedule (18 hours/ day).

D. 4. Involvement in the Organization

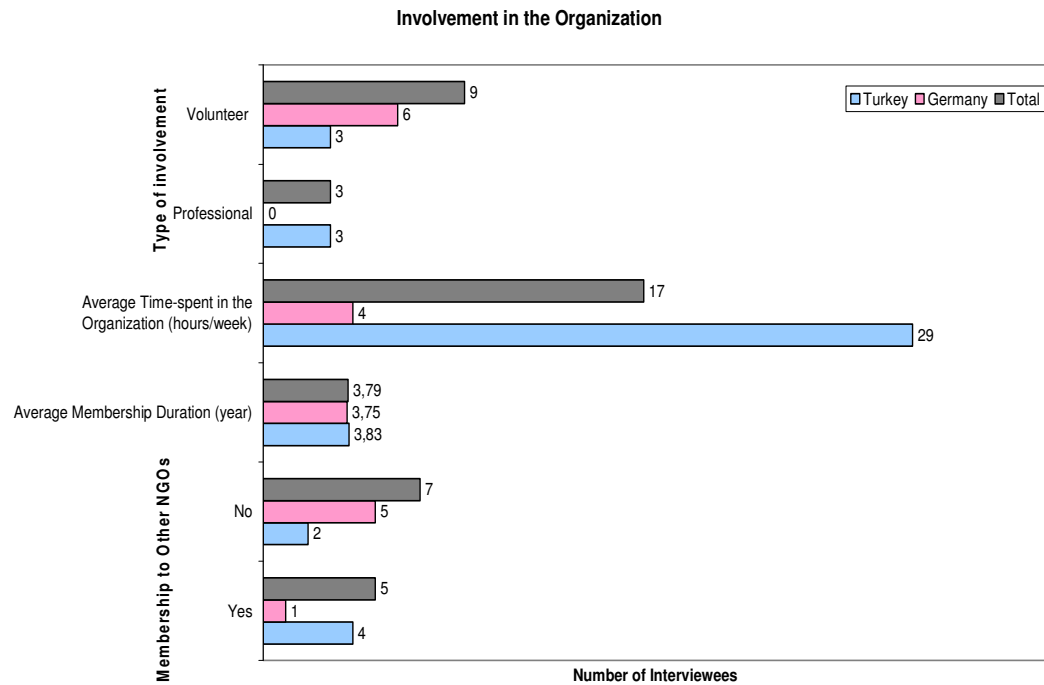


Figure 3: Respondents' type of involvement, average hours/week spent and average membership duration in the organizations as well as their membership to other NGOs.

As seen from Figure 3, all of the respondents in Germany volunteer in their organizations, whereas in Turkey, half are volunteers and the remainder is professional youth workers. At this point, it should be noted that two out of three volunteers in Turkey are professional free-lance trainers in the youth field; however, in their organization, they work voluntarily. Therefore, in Turkey, only one respondent does not work professionally in this field.

The above figure also indicates the average hours/week the respondents spend for their involvement in their organization, for how many years they work there as well as their membership in other NGOs. Similar to the average work-hour and leisure-hour per week, interviewees from Turkey and Germany differ in the average time they spend on their responsibilities within their organizations. Since half of the respondents in Turkey work professionally in their organization, this number is greater in this country. On the other hand, even though civic involvement is a function of leisure-time and work-hours, and it is expected to increase with the leisure-time, whilst declining with a rise in the

working-hours, the findings of this research do not support this relation. In Turkey, the average work-hours are more and average leisure-hour is less compared to Germany; (42 hours and 22 hours, respectively) hence, it would be estimated to have a higher level of average time-spent in organizations in the latter country. However, as a result of the fact that in Turkey, the 50% of the respondents work full-time in their organization, the average time-spent in the organization is longer than in Germany.

The average membership duration, defined as the number of years the respondents have been a member in their organization, is almost similar in the two countries; 3,83 years in Turkey and 3,75 years in Germany. When it is intended to analyze the time-spent and membership duration of the respondents, four problems occur. Firstly, among interviewees from Turkey, such a relationship cannot be measured as there are volunteers and professionals and they differ in their level of involvement. Secondly, although within German organizations, the time-spent per week decreases with the increase in membership duration; a cross-organizational comparison can not be made organizations do not have the same level of activity. In additional, the time-spent is also dependent on the position the respondents have in their organizations and lastly, this research design is not suitable for such quantitative analysis.

Another aspect Figure 3 shows is the membership to other NGOs. 58% of the respondents are not a member of a second organization. This number is relatively greater in Germany, whereas in Turkey, the majority is involved in more than one NGO, except their organization.

APPENDIX E

FINDINGS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH ADMINISTRATORS

Under the framework of this research, to complement the findings of the interviews with activists and to better understand the environment youth activists are in interaction, another set of interviews were conducted with administrators of the visited youth organizations. A former or current board member answered a total of 17 questions regarding his/her organization's structure, work as well as the position towards the youth field and civil society. The information gained through these interviews is important in throwing a light on the social context youth activists are a part of, because individuals' perceptions, opinions and behaviors are dependent on his/her environment, i.e. in the case of this research, activists' interpretation of youth work and the roles they attribute themselves as peace- multipliers.

The analysis of interviews with administrators is also subjected to limitation arising from subjective nature of qualitative data and the differences in the depth of information provided by the respondents.

This chapter includes six sections. Firstly, organizational structure and membership related information is given. The remainder comprise strategies organizations use to promote themselves and to encourage their members to get further involved in civil society; what they do for ensuring that young people become peace-makers, not trouble-makers; the interviewed administrators' opinions regarding the status of civil societies in Turkey and Germany; problems and opportunities youth has. The detailed descriptions of organizations will not be given here. (See Appendix C)

E.1. Membership Features

The table below summarizes organizations' number and profile of members, activity level, average duration of membership, workload, cooperation with other NGOs in addition to the types of positions young people can work.

In each organization, the number of active members is less compared to that of official members. This distinction underlines a prominent point regarding the youth participation ratio, which stands for the ratio of young people being a member in a NGO to country's youth population. Accordingly, both in Turkey and Germany, the participation ratio is lower than the measured values (4% and 36% respectively). *“About 25-30% of people in Germany say they worked in a NGO once. That is quiet a big percentage since the perception is that less than 5% are actually involved in youth work.”* said one of the German interviewees. Once young people get involved in organizations they can either take part in project teams, thematic working groups, the board as a volunteer or work as a paid (professional) youth worker, depending on the their organizations' structure.

Similarly, the activity level including average time members spend for their involvement and the average duration of membership vary from one organization to another. In general, organizations have meetings weekly or once in two weeks, but all mentioned that closer to the start of an event, they gather more often. In Germany, average duration of membership is 3 years, whilst in Turkey, this period is lower, 1-2 years.

Membership Features	Germany			Turkey		
	AEGEE-Mainz	International Youth Human Rights Movement	Youth For Exchange and Unity	Youth Association for Habitat	Youth for Development	Amnesty International- Turkey
Number of members						
Active	20	4-6	14	15-20 volunteers, 12 professionals		
Official	50	6-9	16 + 6 supporters + 10 volunteers	-		
Positions	Project teams; Working Groups; Board	No formal positions exist: organize or participate in events	Project Teams; Board	Volunteer; Project Teams; Departments ;Board	Volunteer; Board; Project Teams	Volunteer; Professional
Working on Volunteer or Professional Basis?	Volunteer	Volunteer	Volunteer	Both	Volunteer	Both
Activity Level	Weekly meetings	No rule: depends on the occasion (Once in 2 weeks or a month)	Once in 2 weeks	Weekly meetings + 1-2 days for work	Weekly/ once per 2 weeks	Once per 2 weeks
Average Duration of Membership	3 years	-	3 years	1,5-2 years	1-2 years	Changes
Working-hours/week	5-20 hrs	4 hrs	2 hrs	-	-	-
Member Profile						
Age	22-26	20-27		18-25	18-25	18-26
Education	University Students(Social-Language Studies)	University Students (Social Science Branches)	22-23	University Students	University students/graduates	University Students
Socia-Economic Background	Middle Class	Middle or upper middle class	High school-University students	Middle Class	Middle Class	
Gender	-	-	-	More females	More females	More males
Cooperation with other NGOs	Only with other AEGEE-locals	Member of Human Rights Table, Works with Russian YHRM	Part of the Youth for Exchange and Understanding & Alliance of Active Citizenship	With local governments ; youth councils; European counterparts	Community Volunteers Foundation (TOG); High schools	İHOP; İHD; Mazlum-Der; Helsinki Citizens Associations

Table 7: Membership features and organizational information

In both countries, it is very likely that members of youth organizations are university students or graduates in their 20s. *“Those, who already have a good*

education, are really getting involved.” Even though a variety of different faculties are represented in each organization, 2 of the 3 organizations in Germany have more members, studying social sciences. Regarding socio- economic backgrounds of their members, 3 respondents mentioned that their majority come from the middle class families. “I don’t really know, but I think there are any really rich people... they (members) all have jobs to pay for their living.” Moreover, women tend to participate more in organizations in Turkey.

E.2. Promotion and Encouragement Strategies

The reason why young people to enter youth work, and stay could be considered closely related to how youth organization promote themselves as well as motivate their members to get active. The figure below illustrates the promotion and encouragement strategies’ of the visited organizations.

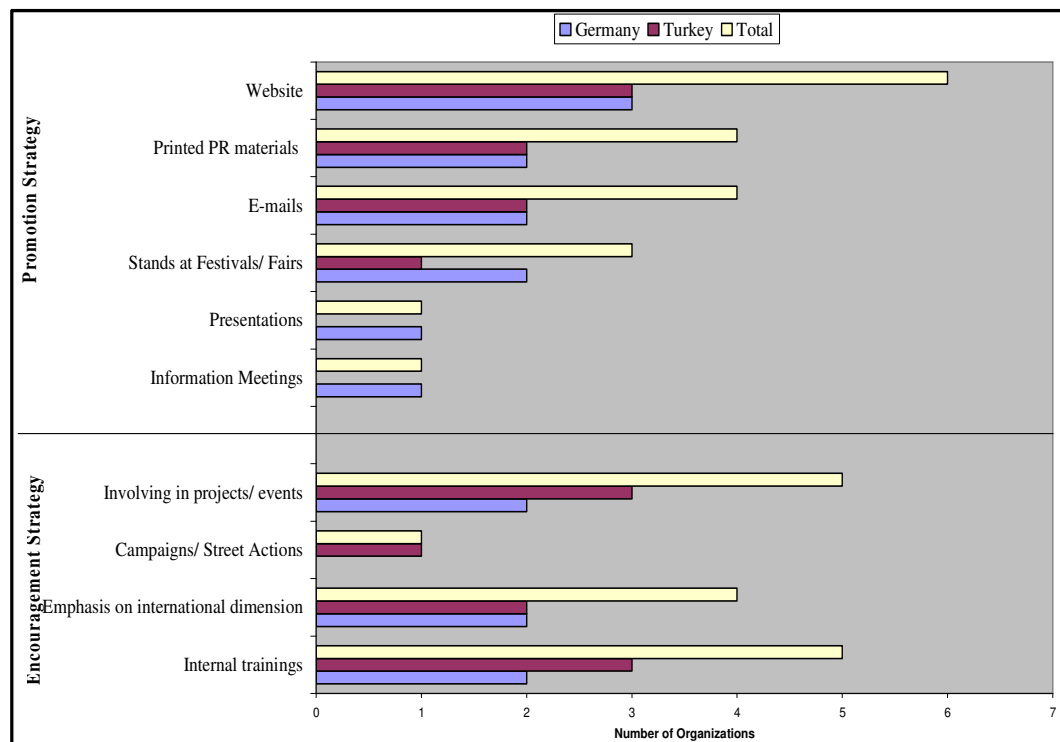


Figure 4: Promotion and encouragement strategies of visited organizations

Accordingly, website (internet) is the main PR tool youth NGOs use. Printed materials such as posters and informative e- mails are preferred in the second place.

Opening a stand at university festivals or fairs information meetings or ppt presentations more common among German organizations, whilst in Turkey, these tools are not regarded as effective;

Bir dönem, acaba okullara gidelim, okullarda tanıtım yapalım, bilgilendirme toplantıları yapalım mı? diye (düşündük). Bir proje çerçevesinde birçok okula gittiğimizde gördük ki, o kadar gitsen de, kimse gelmiyor veya Alternatif Kariyer Güğnleri'ne gidiyorsun ta Koç Üniversitesi'ne. Sen gidiyorsun, bir sürü STK'dan insane geliyor, onlar (öğrenciler) geliyor; 5 kişi falan. O yüzden, bu stratejinin çok tutmadığını düşündük.

Once we thought whether we should go to schools, introduce our organization and arrange information meetings. When we went to many schools within a course of a project, we saw that even if you go, nobody comes or you go too far to Koç University. You go, many people from other NGOs go, and they [students] come, [but] only 5 people or so. Hence, we thought this strategy does not work much. [Administrator of YFH]

To encourage young people/ members to get actively involved; i.e. to promote civic engagement among them, the visited organizations value empowerment through trainings and experiential learning more. The former stands for internal trainings which aim giving young people information about the NGO itself as well as developing their soft skills. On the other hand, the latter component of empowerment (experiential learning) emphasizes the importance of learning by doing. In this respect, organizations motivate youngsters to participate in their events, because “*when they want and participate in what we organize ...then, they are very eager to do something again.*” [Administrator of YEU]

E.3. Contribution to Youth Field and Differences From Other Youth NGOs

In addition to the promotion and encouragement strategies, youth organizations differ in many aspects such as aims, objectives, target groups, activities and so on. Hence, within the youth field, each organization has its own added- value. The figure below shows how the interviewed administrators perceive the difference of their organization from others, their contribution to youth work as well as to conflict resolution- sustainable peace- building processes.

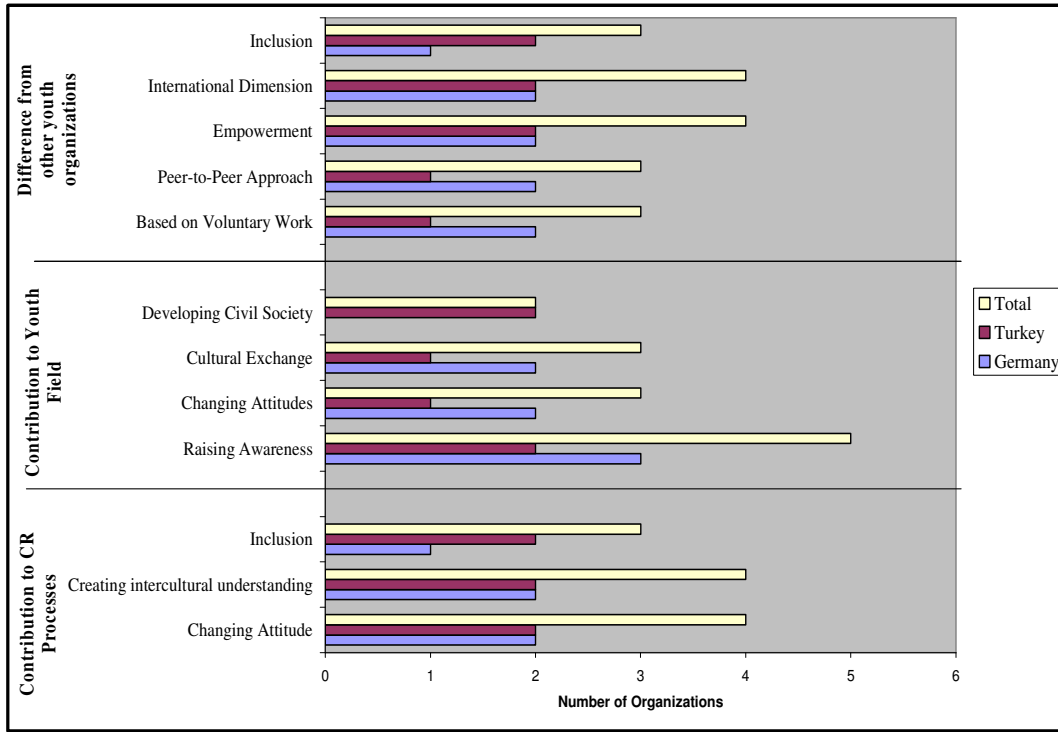


Figure 5: Organizations' differences from other organizations and contribution to the youth field and conflict resolution processes

Both in Turkey and Germany, 2 of the 3 organizations (67% of the total) regard their international dimension (i.e. cooperation with NGOs from other countries and being a part of a European/ world wide network) as one of their main difference from other youth NGOs. Similarly, empowerment is considered as a differentiating characteristic. It includes giving their members a space for doing what they want. Inclusive structure, peer- to- peer approach (young people doing things for young people) and being based totally on voluntary- work are three aspects, the visited organizations mentioned as their distinction. The first one stands for targeting all types of young people, without any discrimination on socio- economic background as well as involving every member in decisions as much as possible.

Peer to peer approach refers to young people running the organization for young people and organizations value this to a very high degree. The administrator of YDA said:

Bir gençlik derneği olarak kalmaya çalışıyoruz... Mesela, yaşlı insane yok bu dernekte...Ben mesela yönetimde değilim; çünkü ben artık 34 yaşındayım. Ben bir gençlik kuruluşunun karar alma organında yer alıyorsam, burada bir yanlış var demektir.

We try to stay as a youth association. For example, there are no elderly people in this association... For instance, I'm not in the board, because I am 34 years old now. If I am a part of the decision- making body of a youth organization, then, it means something is wrong.

Finally, half of the organizations stated that their voluntary- basis functioning separates them from other youth organizations. Furthermore, Amnesty International Turkey emphasized '*the principle of not working in its country*' (it impartiality) as its main difference, whilst YFH underlined its peculiar approach to NGOs;

Bizce STKlar sorun odaklı çalışmalı ve hedeflediği soruna çözümler ürettikten sonra farklı yöne yönelmeli yada artık misyonunun tamamlandığını Kabul etmeli ve sanırım biz de o yöne doğru ilerliyoruz... Habitat için Gençlik Derneği kendini ebedi olarak görmüyor. Özellikle Ulusal Gençlik Parlamentosu'nun kurumsallaşmasından sonra artık kapanmayı hedefliyor.

In our opinion, NGOs should work on problem-basis and once they develop solutions for the problem they aim, they should either change to another direction or accept that they completed their mission and I guess we also move towards that direction... YDH does not see itself 'forever'. Especially after the institutionalization of Natural Youth Parliament, it aims to close.

With regard to their contribution to the youth field, except YDH in Turkey, all organizations perceive their most important achievement as '*raising awareness*' about the fields they work; active citizenship, human rights issues and also intercultural learning. Half of the organizations affirmed that they provide a medium for cultural exchange and young people, who participate in those events, change their attitudes towards other nations, cultures and even their own societies. Moreover, two organizations in Turkey suggested that they play a part in developing the civil society with their expertise in their subjects.

The visited youth organizations stressed their contribution to conflict resolution (CR) and sustainable peace- building process in three main points; inclusion, creation of intercultural understanding and changing attitudes. "*There was no period in the last 1000 years or longer in Germany, having 30 years no war. So having 60 years no war is best thing that could happen and actually, we, as a youth organization, try to foster*

this, to make exchanges as much as we can, to bring nations together, cultures together.” [Administrator of YEU]

E.4. Status of Civil Society

E.4.1. In Germany

The respondents interpreted the status of civil society in Germany in compassion with other countries and they underscored that it is relatively ‘developed.’ On one hand, the presence of many youth organizations and funds, hence mechanisms for youth participation is regarded as an advantage and on the other hand, career-orientation and time-concern (which is created by the job market’s demanding entry conditions) among young people is seen as an obstacle and preventing youth to get involved in civil society.

There are thousands of students, who is involved in nothing. They just want to have a career and go on. What is also a problem is that you get more and more pressure by the working market that you have to study more; the university gets tougher and stricter, and you have to learn much more. Right now, this is a problem for many youth organizations at the university and also at schools, this is a problem that you get less and less young people involved in activities in youth work and volunteering, because just several times, they fear that when they don’t have time to learn, then, they will lose a lot, that they don’t get a good job and so on. [Administrator of AEGEE-Mainz]

Whilst the respondents acknowledged the variety of opportunities provided for young people in Germany, they also stressed their inefficient promotion of those. Relating this to the lack of civic engagement education the administrator of IYHRM stated that

Youth civic participation should actually start in some institutions, where everybody is able to learn it, and not in organizations, where only those, who learned it already from their parents, are able to participate. Once you are active and you know how to use the system that is there, you are able to do something, but if you have never learned how to be active and how to somehow fight for your interests or how to pursue your interest it is really hard to do. Yeah, it is really hard to be also active in civil society.

Respondents, who underlined education system as a problem in German civil society asserted three points. First one refers to unequal access to education, especially by migrants. Since they generally belong to low socio-economic class and due to financial limitations, they cannot take teaching assistance after school or go to 'Gymnasium'. The lack of recognition of voluntary work by universities is another issue.

We have a lot of problems usually getting any kind of recognition from the university for what we are doing... I know that some [youth organizations in other countries] gather universities to accept some [of their] events as actually credit classes... It just seems like sometimes the university doesn't really, really appreciate what we are doing."
[Administrator of AEGEE-Mainz]

Thirdly, formal education is considered as too theoretical and not always giving young people a space to learn what they want to. Both respondents emphasized the decreasing affect these three problems have on youth civic involvement.

In relation to political participation, another issue raised was 'apathy' among youth. The administrator of YEU interpreted youth's disengagement in politics as a consequence of inefficiency of participatory structures and parties' misuse of youth like in the case of youth parliaments at the municipalities. He highlighted the frustration this cause and claimed that.

...Young people get more and more passive. They feel like they don't have the possibility to change something. If they see there is a problem, if they don't agree what the government is doing, if they see problems, then, they feel like they are not able to do something. For instance, if you go walking in and you are one out of 60 million; you feel like what do I change? I don't change anything.

With regard to financial opportunities, the respondents brought two contradictory arguments. The respondent from AEGEE-Mainz (which does not have any cooperation with the municipalities) stressed the lack of enough finances

For us,... fundraising is virtually impossible. It is hard. I remember one night, we went to this 'Citizen Forum' talking about Europe, somewhere, organized by our city government. All these people were saying "Yeah, we need to support youth organizations, we will do this and do that and I think [x] just stood up and said "Well, you talk about supporting youth organizations, but we are a youth organization, we never ever get anything." So, I think there are opportunities for cooperation and for money; it is

extremely hard to find them. I don't think for organizations, like we are one for student organizations; there is so much money anywhere.

On the other hand, the other interviewee from YEU, explained the availability of funds from various institutions; the government, international organizations or foundations in Germany and expressed his concern about their lack of usage by young people. *"We have a lot of possibilities, but sometimes I have the feeling that we have more possibilities, but people don't use."*

E.4.2. In Turkey

As in Germany, in terms of financial problems, the respondents' positions diverged. The one cooperating with local governments said:

Birçok insan fonların kısıtlı olduğunu düşünüyor. Bence fonlar kısıtlı değil, sadece yaratıcı fikirlere ihtiyacımız var... Birçok fon var. Ortaklık geliştirince biz mesela projelerimizde, diyelim ki 10 TL projeden geliyorsa, 100 TL yerel kaynaklardan geliyor. O yerel kaynakları çok iyi mobilize edebilmek, çok iyi fark edebilmek lazım...

Many people think funds are limited. In my opinion, funds are not limited, only we need creative ideas. There are many funds. For instance, when we make partnership in our projects, say if 10 TL comes from the project, 100 TL comes from the local resources. It is very important to mobilize and recognize those local resources.

On the contrary, according to the second interviewee, whose organization does not cooperate with local governments, financial sustainability is the major problem. She complained about the lack of governmental funds and youth organizations' dependency of the YiA Program for funding.

The main issue raised by the respondents about the status of civil society in Turkey is the low ratio of youth participation. Acknowledging the developments in the status over the least 5 years, they asserted that participation increased as a result of the available funds, particularly the YiA. The available money caused a rapid grow in the number of youth organizations, however, the respondents also underscored that majority of the young people, who participates, only gets involved on activity-basis. Furthermore, the respondents expressed their hesitation about the presence of 'fund-

based' youth NGOs, which work in the line of available grants, not in accordance with the needs of the society. A common concern arising partly from the fund-based organizations is sustainability, which is also linked to human resources problem. It is underlined that in Turkey both finding and keeping volunteers is very difficult.

According to the administrator of AI-Turkey, the low participation ratio in Turkey is a result of the history and prejudices about civil society. She claimed that

Türkiye'de sivil topluma katılım oranı biraz problemlidir, birincisi sivil toplumun geçmişte bu ülkenin yaşadıklarıyla birlikte biraz tehlikeli olarak addedilmesi ve önyargılı yaklaşılmasından kaynaklanır. Her bir 'örgüt' yapısında yozlaşmışlık veya devlet karşıtlığı aranan bu ülkede bir örgüte dahil olmanız size devlet karşıtı damgası vurulabilir... Bu nedenle isminde 'örgüt' olan bir kuruluşa üye olmak gençlere dışarıdan bayağı korkutucu gelebilmektedir.

In Turkey, participation in civil society is a bit problematic. Firstly, this arises from the fact that the civil society is regarded as a bit dangerous and people are biased against it in relation to what was experienced in the past in Turkey. In this country, where each 'organization' is associated with degeneration and disobedience to the state, being a part of an "organization" might label you as disobedient. That is why; it might sound very scary for young people to be a member of a formation, whose name includes the word 'organization.'

Regarding the lack of cooperation among youth NGOs, two points were raised. One refers to the sustainability and dissemination problem caused by the absence of coordination. The administrator of YFH argued that because projects do not support each other, their impact is not sustained or disseminated. The second, raised by the administrator of YDA, is related to the need for a national platform [National Youth Council] to represent all youth organizations in Turkey in domestic and international (European) decision-making processes.

The lack of a youth policy, education, access to information and prejudices about civil society are also marked as issues in Turkish civil society. The respondents affirmed that the absence of a comprehensive youth policy is an explanation for the low youth participation ratio, since there are no institutionalized, participation-encouraging mechanisms. Additionally, Turkey lacks a state institution, which is in charge of youth policies.

16 farklı bakanlık gençlikle ilgili çalışmalar yürütürken bir tane Gençlik Bakanlığı'mız yok. Gençlik- Spor Genel Müdürlüğü, spor üzerine çalışıyor. Gençliğin boş zamanlarını güzel değerlendirmesi için çalışmalar yapsa da, politikalar geliştirecek, gençlerin katılımını destekleyecek zaten yetkisi de yok.

16 different Ministries work on youth related issues; but we don't have a Ministry of Youth. General Directorate of Youth and Sport works on sports. Even though it carries out leisure-time activities for youth, it does not have the power to develop policies or support youth participation.

Education and access to information are seen linked to the lack of a youth policy. It is considered that since the non-formal education is not officially recognized and access to information is limited (i.e. those who use internet or who are already taking part in NGOs are aware of the opportunities, whereas the others do not know about these), youth in Turkey rarely participates in civil society.

In the next section, opportunities and problems of young people in Germany and Turkey will be analyzed.

E.5. Problems of Youth and Opportunities Provided for Young People

“If you want to have a future and an active society in the future, then, it is important to make young people active” said the administrator of YEU. While agreeing to this perspective, in both countries almost all of the interviewed administrators underlined to close relationship between youth participation and problems and opportunities young people have.

In both countries education system, unemployment and participation appear as common problems youth faces. Moreover, these three issues are perceived in relation to each other. In terms of education, the respondents in Turkey stressed lack of recognition of non-formal education, unequal access to information, the university entrance exam and system based on ‘*memorization*’ instead of ‘*learning*.’

En önemli sorunlarımızdan birisi de ne biliyor musun? Eğitim sistemimiz, üniversite sınavı. Biz de çok karşıyız bu Türkiye'deki elemeye dayalı eğitim sistemine. Dahil etmek değil; ama elemek. Sürekli dışarıda bırakmayı hedef güden eğitim sistemi.

What is one of our most important problems, do you know? The education system, the university entrance exam. We are also against this elimination- based education system. Not including; but eliminating. An education system that aims leaving some [people] out. [Administrator of YDA]

On the other hand, for educational problems, German respondents referred to the lack of official recognition of voluntary work, the three- tier high school system that puts youth from lower income classes in an unequal position, the time concern of youth due to the workload of universities and pressure of the job market and change in German education system with the Bologna Process.

At the university you can have good marks, but if you don't have practice, don't know how to speak with people, makes no sense to employ these people. I'm not sure if companies are aware of this in Germany, but for sure, I have the feeling that young people are not too aware about this... If they get more aware of this, maybe they would get even more engaged in youth organizations. On the other hand, they don't have so much time left anymore, because schools asks for more and more time, as I said, they will change the schedules to have a commonality between different nations, and the job market and parents always make pressure on you. You have to learn, to learn, to learn and so on. [Administrator of YEU]

In both countries, the respondents affirmed the stress youth suffers from the difficulty to find a permanent job and also, the problems they face regarding job security. Youth is considered to be affected more by the current global crises. Due to their age and hence lack of experience in work-life, they are more likely to struggle to enter the job market right after the university. Furthermore, the high qualifications demanded by companies lead young people to be career- oriented, worried about how they spend their leisure- time, and not to get involved in youth work.

Since I started my studies, I always heard that "Oh my god, it is so hard to find a job even for young university graduates, but on the other hand, I know that civic engagement is a very important factor and whenever you have something like that it shows your future employer that you are a social being and you are able to do project work and that you don't only sit on your desk and work or being anti-social. But I don't know, if people really see that. [Administrator of AEGEE-Mainz]

The respondents interpreted the lack of empowerment mechanisms (i.e. institutionalization of civic engagement at formal education) and low level of awareness and knowledge regarding civil society as linked to the participation issue. They noted that in combination with job concerns, these two points decrease youth civic involvement. Moreover, in Turkey, the absence of a youth policy, hence youth rights and in Germany, sustainability of youth organizations are addressed in relation to participation problem.

...They don't see the benefit of youth work... that is for me a challenge to find participants that they go there. That is not only our problem, but also the problem of other organizations. If you don't find young people, who want to participate in this, then, you will also have a problem that you find people, which in the future, run youth organization.
[Administrator of YEU]

Having mentioned the youth's problems, it is of value also to point out the opportunities provided for young people by the governments and by the visited organizations. In order to motivate young people and their members, organizations deliver trainings on various topics with the aim of giving participants soft- skills and information about civil society. Most of the organizations provide their member a space for self- development as well as making their own projects to empower them. Organizations, which cooperate with other youth organizations or are a part of an international network, offer young people the possibility to work on international level or take part in international events. Furthermore, in half of the visited organizations, a mentorship system is used for knowledge transfer between experienced and fresh members.

On the other hand, with respect to opportunities provided by governments, answers of German administrators diverged from the one of Turkish ones. Turkish respondents stressed problems of youth work in this question, whereas German interviewees underlined the freedom of association, projects and trainings for young people and the available financial support.

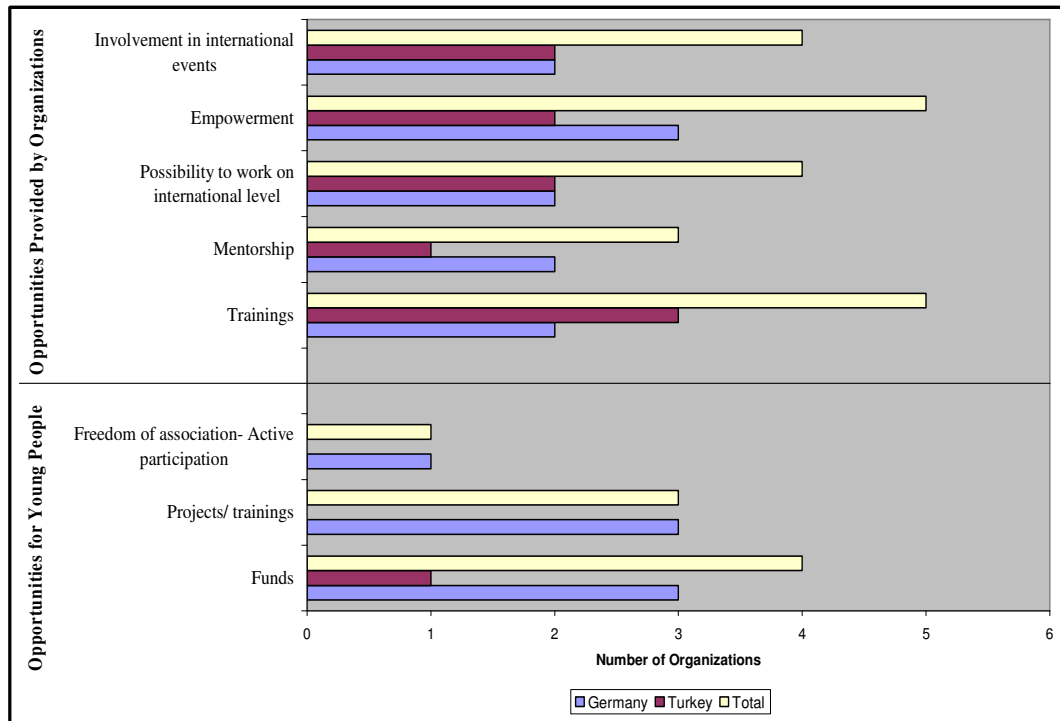


Figure 6: Opportunities provided for young people by the government and civil society as well as by the visited organizations

E.6. Strategies to Raise Peace-makers

In the framework of the literature on youth and conflict, a question concerning the actions youth organizations take for ensuring that young people become peace-makers, not trouble-makers was asked. In Germany, 2 of the organizations said “...*Our outreach hits the peacemakers; we don’t have an outreach to troublemakers.*” Whilst the administrator of YEU stated;

I think it is important to show those, who will be troublemakers that there are other different ways, other opportunities. I think mostly the problem is that young people feel no opportunity and they feel lost in society. And if they feel like this, then, they will really fast become troublemakers... Young people, especially those who will become troublemakers do not know about the possibilities and of course, you, as a youth worker, have to approach them, work with them and the neighborhood, where actually they kind of feel lost.

On the other hand, in Turkey, two of the organizations pointed ‘*self- development*’ mechanisms they provide: This includes capacity building (giving hard- skills) and

changing attitudes of youth from earlier ages, enlarging their perspective and informing them about opportunities other than violence such as getting involved in society. Raising awareness on human- rights related issues was mentioned by the AI-Turkey administrator as an answer to the question.

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