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## A SCALE DEVELOPMENT STUDY TO DETERMINE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARDS POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PARTICIPATION

### ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN SİYASAL VE YÖNETSEL KATILIMA İLİŞKİN TUTUM VE DAVRANIŞLARI BELİRLEMeye YÖNELİK BİR ÖLÇEK GELİŞTİRME ÇALIŞMASI

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**ABSTRACT:** The development of democracy depends on the rise of the belief in democratic thought in the society. The functioning of democracy is possible with the realisation of participation in the administration of the country and the circulation of the results back to the people. The aim of this study is to measure the attitudes and behaviours of university students by developing a scale on political and administrative participation. This research, in which the attitudes and behaviours of the youth, which we call Generation Z, regarding political and administrative participation are measured and evaluated, differs from the scale studies conducted so far in this respect. Measuring the perception of young people, who are the future of the country, towards political and administrative participation is important for the realisation and development of democracy.

**Keywords:** *Participation, Government, Politics, University Student.*

**ÖZ:** Demokrasinin gelişebilmesi, demokratik düşünceye dair kanaatin toplumda yükselmesine bağlıdır. Demokrasinin işlerliği, ülke yönetimine katılımın gerçekleşerek, alınan sonuçların tekrar halka sirayeti ile mümkündür. Bu çalışmanın amacı, üniversite öğrencilerinin siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma ilişkin ölçek geliştirerek tutum ve davranışlarını ölçebilmektir. Z Kuşağı adını verdiğimiz gençliğin, siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma ilişkin tutum ve davranışları ölçülerek değerlendirildiği bu araştırma, şimdiye kadar yapılmış ölçek çalışmalarından bu yönüyle ayrılmaktadır. Ülkenin geleceği olan gençlerin siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma yönelik algısının ölçülmesi, demokrasinin gerçekleştirilmesi ve geliştirilmesi için önem arz etmektedir. Çalışmanın örneklemini, Türkiye’de bir Üniversite’nin İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi’nde öğrenime devam eden öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. Ölçeğin test edilmesi için Açıklayıcı ve doğrulayıcı faktör analizi yapılmıştır. Açıklayıcı faktör analizi sonucunda siyasi farkındalık, idari farkındalık, siyasi katılım ve idari katılım olmak üzere dört boyutta değerlendirilen 15 maddelik bir ölçme aracı oluşturulmuştur. Oluşturulan bu yapıya uygulanan doğrulayıcı faktör analizinin sonuçları, kabul edilir bir ölçme modelinin oluştuğunu kanıtlamaktadır. Çalışmada Z kuşağının siyasi ve yönetsel katılımına dair algılarını ve eylemlerini anlamaya yönelik bir ölçek oluşturulmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler :** *Katılım, Yönetim, Siyaset, Üniversite Öğrencisi.*

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## GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

### Çalışmanın Amacı

Çalışmanın amacı, üniversite öğrencilerinin siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma yönelik tutum ve davranışlarını ölçebilecek bir ölçek geliştirmektir. Bu çalışma, özellikle Z Kuşağı'nın (gençlerin) siyasal ve yönetsel katılım algılarını değerlendiren bir ölçek sunarak, demokrasinin işleyişi ve gelişimi açısından gençlerin katılım düzeylerini incelemektedir.

### Araştırma Soruları

Çalışmanın temel araştırma sorusu üniversite öğrencilerinin siyasi ve idari katılımına ilişkin tutum ve davranışlarının nasıl ölçümleneceğidir? Bu bağlamda çalışmada, “siyasal ve yönetsel katılım, öğrencilerin algısında nasıl bir yer tutmaktadır?” ve “üniversite öğrencilerinin siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma ilişkin farkındalık ve katılım düzeyleri nelerdir?” sorularına cevap aranmaktadır.

### Literatür Araştırması

Çalışmada öncelikle katılım ile ilgili geniş bir literatür araştırması yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda siyasi katılım ve idari katılıma ilişkin literatür incelenmiştir. Türkiye’de gençlerin katılımına dair önceki çalışmalara atıfta bulunulmuştur.

### Yöntem

Çalışmanın örnekleme, bir devlet üniversitesinin iktisadi ve idari bilimler fakültesinde öğrenim gören 478 öğrenciden oluşmaktadır. Veriler, Nisan-Haziran 2023 ile Eylül-Ekim 2023 tarihleri arasında toplanmıştır. Ölçeğin oluşturulması için öncelikle açıklayıcı faktör analizi akabinde doğrulayıcı faktör analizi yapılmıştır. Her iki faktör analizi için ayrı ayrı örneklem grubu kullanılmıştır. Açıklayıcı faktör analizi için 272 katılımcıdan (Nisan-Haziran 2023 tarihleri arasında), doğrulayıcı faktör analizi için ise 206 katılımcıdan (Eylül-Ekim 2023 tarihleri arasında) veri elde edilmiştir.

### Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Çalışmada üniversite öğrencilerinin siyasal ve yönetsel katılıma yönelik farkındalıklarını ve katılım düzeylerini ölçen bir ölçek geliştirilmiştir. Geliştirilen ölçek, 15 maddelik bir yapıdan oluşmaktadır ve dört boyut altında toplanmıştır: "İdari farkındalık", "siyasal farkındalık", "idari katılım" ve "siyasal katılım".

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is idealised in popular sovereignty (Gözler, 2010, p. 258). Despite the obstacles to the full manifestation of popular sovereignty, democracy is the dominant political doctrine of the contemporary world. Countries claim that their political regimes are democratic (Kuzu, 1992, p. 339). According to Özbudun, for democracy to be fully implemented, the autonomy of civil society and political society is necessary. The existence of this autonomy is only possible through the existence of the rule of law (Özbudun, 2007, p. 361). The pluralistic structure of democracy and the form of representative democracy has been an ideal political phenomenon. Recently, there have been discussions that voting behaviour in representative democracy in socio-economically developed societies is insufficient to ensure the participation of the governed and to have a say in governance (Yaman, 2017, p. 135). Tekeli talks about the need for democratisation and change in democracy as a requirement of the needs of the new society and complex political life. He states that ‘part-time’ citizens through elections can become ‘full-time’ citizens through participatory democracy, civil networks and organisations (Tekeli, 2004, p. 1). Holding citizens responsible only for participating in elections reduces their interest in political and social problems. Encouraging participation is necessary and essential (Uygun, 2010, pp. 192-193).

To date, various studies have been conducted on political and administrative participation. In a theoretical study on political participation as of the Republican period, Eriş and Akıncı (2019, p. 51) emphasised that participation and representation should be increased, especially the low participation of women and youth. Önder and Güler (2016, p. 897) mentioned in their research that city councils were established for a better democracy at the local level with a participation with plenty of actors in the name of democracy, but they could not achieve the targeted place. The problems that city councils are not effective, that they are not recognised and that the decisions taken are not included in the implementations due to the lack of communication between municipal council members and city councils are emphasised. In the book ‘Participation's “e-state” Young People's Virtual Realm’ compiled by Telli Aydemir after the Civic web project (2011), it was determined that young people actively use information technologies. It was found that young people do not physically participate in politics, but they do so in the virtual world (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 50). In the process of making strategic plans of municipalities related to administrative participation, it was found that they did not comply with the participation obligation required by the legal legislation (Turan, Güler, & Güler, 2013, pp. 262-263). Yaman (2017, p. 155) discussed socio-economic barriers to democratic participation, participation culture and responsibility in his study. Özer (2011, pp. 60-61) stated that young people avoid participating in politics, whereas it would be possible if the barriers to participation were reduced, opportunities and possibilities were created. It is emphasised that unemployment and difficulties in living conditions reduce participation.

In the study conducted by Aldemir and Şen (2020, p. 1473), it was aimed to develop a data collection tool with the aim of measuring the engagement perceptions and behavior levels of the citizens.

Generation Z consists of those born between 1995 and 2009, according to the McCrindle Research center based in Australia (www.hwp.tr). In this study, young people who are born and raised in Generation Z constitute the subject group. The subject group consists of university students from Generation Z, who come from different geographical regions of Türkiye with different socioeconomic characteristics. In this study, 91.2% of the 1st sample group and 92.8% of the 2nd sample group were from the 18-24 age group.

### **1.1. Managerial Participation**

Participation can be achieved in two ways. The first is political participation and the second is administrative participation. Political participation consists of the sum of the attitudes and behaviours of the public towards the political system (Turan et al., 2013, p. 244). Administrative participation, on the other hand, is the process of obtaining feedback in terms of opinions and ideas from those who will be directly or indirectly affected by these decisions in the formulation of public policies and in making decisions regarding public services (Özer, 2024).

Although the necessity for the public to participate in the decisions of public administration is an agreed upon issue in the name of democracy, there is still no consensus on how much and by which means they should participate (Eroğlu, 2006, p. 192). It is likely that the methods and limits of managerial participation will be settled later in history unless there is a very extraordinary development that will change the discussion bed of public administration.

The idea of democracy is at the basis of administrative participation and democracy is regarded as an ideal level to be achieved. What gives rise to this concept is that increasing liberalization challenges the idea of governance. The outputs of today's administrative participation are the result of the inadequacy of traditional administration after 1980 and the works of the United Nations in the 1990s. City councils, which are the instruments of administrative participation, were included in the Rio Earth Summit of the United Nations and in the document titled Local Agenda 21. It is defined in Article 76 of the Municipality Law No. 5393 issued in 2005. The same article also declares that the decisions of the city council to be established will be put on the agenda and evaluated at the first meeting of the municipal councils (Önder Güler, 2016, p. 883).

The issue of participation can be considered as a matter of social responsibility on behalf of the society, in addition to the development of democracy and reaching a more advanced stage. As a matter of fact, it is now expected that individuals who will be involved in administrative participation will act with the education they have received and the consciousness they have acquired. University years are the last years of education for young people. Afterwards, they are candidates to assume roles and

responsibilities as adults in society. They will be able to act sensitively towards social issues and express their opinions (Özer, 2011, p. 43).

In Turkey's process of becoming a member of the European Union, administrative participation has come to the forefront and legal arrangements have started to be made in this way. The development of local governance in Turkey coincides with the Turkish Local Agenda 21 Programme (YG-21), which has been implemented since 1997. In Agenda 21, the roles of local governments and civil society organisations were mentioned, and a participatory management approach was adopted. In this document, which includes regulations on the participation of women and youth in governance processes, the issue of 'Children and Youth in Sustainable Development' is mentioned. In this section, with the statement that 'it is imperative to ensure the participation of young people all over the world in decision-making processes in areas that concern them at all levels, as it affects their lives today and will have extensions for their future', the way for the participation of young people has been paved with legal regulations.

Thus, it is emphasised that the youth should make decisions that shape their own future. Another structure that takes place alongside Youth Assemblies in Local Agenda 21 is the National Youth Parliament (Akman, 2021, p. 171). In Agenda YG-21, it is stated that 'it is imperative to ensure the participation of young people all over the world at all levels in decision-making processes in areas that concern them, as it affects their present lives and will have extensions for their future' (Saral, 2011, p.94). In Turkey, the City Council regulation was adopted in 2006. The Youth Assembly is among the main organs of the city council in the City Council Regulation (Saral, 2011, pp. 100-101). With the Regulation, the City Council is charged with the task of 'increasing the activities of young people in social life and ensuring that they take an active role in local decision-making mechanisms' (Saral, 2011, p.101). In Turkey, the participation of young people in local decision-making processes is facilitated by the City Council Youth Assembly within the scope of Agenda 21. The City Council has supported the effective participation of young people, an important interest group in the city, in decisions affecting their lives through mechanisms defined as Youth Assembly. Youth Assemblies established all over Turkey have been an important tool for the participation of youth in sustainable development (Saral, 2011, p. 95-96).

In addition to Agenda 21, the second important international document on youth participation is the Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life adopted by the European Assembly of Local and Regional Authorities in 2003. In addition to the administrative participation of young people, political participation is also important.

In order to increase managerial participation, a number of legal amendments have been made. In Law No. 5018, under the heading of citizen law (Art. 13), a provision was added stating that the participation of '...professional organisations with the status of public institutions, trade unions, non-governmental organisations and experts...' would be ensured. It is stated in Article 19 that participation

in the council's presidium will be ensured by regulation;’ ... City councils will have the duties and powers of “... developing the city vision and awareness of citizenship, protecting the rights and laws of the city, sustainable development, sensitivity to the environment, social assistance and solidarity, transparency, accountability, participation and decentralisation...” in urban life.

The relevant article on who can participate in the city council stipulates that ‘...representatives of professional organisations with the status of public institutions, trade unions, notaries, universities (if any), relevant non-governmental organisations, political parties, public institutions and organisations, neighbourhood mukhtars and other interested persons...’ can participate in the city councils (Art. 76). The following article states that programmes will be held with the participation of volunteers in the works listed in the following article. Law No. 5216 stipulates that ‘...representatives of institutions, professional organisations having the status of public institutions, representatives of relevant departments of universities, trade unions and specialised non-governmental organisations, and invited experts may attend the meetings of the specialised commissions without the right to vote and convey their opinions...’ in order to discuss the agenda set for the specialised commissions (Art. 15). Article 15 of Law No. 5302 on specialised commissions states that "District governors and heads of public institutions in the province and representatives of professional organisations, universities, trade unions, village and neighbourhood headmen and representatives of non-governmental organisations related to the issues on the agenda may attend the meetings of specialised commissions where the issues falling within their fields of duty and activity are discussed, without the right to vote, and may submit their opinions. The matters falling within the field of duty of the specialised commissions shall be resolved in the provincial general assembly after being discussed in these commissions. Experts may be utilised in the work of the commissions...’ and the persons who may participate are specified. Law No. 5393 states that a strategic plan shall be prepared through participatory methods (Art. 9). In 2019, a legal obligation was imposed on municipalities to ensure that their stakeholders participate in the preparation of the strategic plan (Presidency of Strategy and Budget, 2019). Municipality employees constitute internal stakeholders, while the public living in the city, representatives of non-governmental organisations and private sector employees constitute external stakeholders. Managerial participation is ensured through the participation of individuals from the identified groups.

## **1.2. Political Participation and Young People**

Political participation is of great importance in countries governed by democracy. In general, political participation is a concept that shows the status, attitude and behaviour of the individual against the political system (Daver, 1993, p. 203). While political participation is narrowly defined as participation in elections, it can be broadly defined as participation in all stages of the bureaucracy and political decision-making process. Political participation includes the behaviours of the individual aiming to choose the political power that will govern the state and to influence political processes

(Çukurçayır, 2000, pp. 29-32). Political participation includes not only voting from election to election but also other types of political participation of the individual.

Political participation is an action that occurs in the relations between individuals who are members of the society and cadres who use the authority of political power. Political participation firstly occurs in the selection of political administrators at local and national level who will govern the political society and in the process of making political decisions by these administrators in these two areas. The basic characteristic of political participation is the determination of political administrators and the decisions and actions taken and to be taken by politicians are influenced by the political behaviour of the individual (Dursun, 2006, p. 230).

Political participation includes all efforts to influence the decisions and actions of the government, legal or illegal, peaceful or violent, successful or unsuccessful actions and behaviours (Dursun, 2006, p. 230). Since political participation is a behaviour and action, it determines the status of individuals against the political system. (Dursun, 2006, p. 230). Political participation is a specific concept that embraces different legal/illegal actions or inaction such as determining the governance in the countries where individuals live, influencing the governance, taking an active role in the governance, taking full control of the governance, as well as preventing the seizure of the governance by someone else and the motivations behind these different political participation behaviors (Erdoğan, 2018, pp. 195-196).

In order for a successive behaviour to occur in political participation, the individual must first be interested in the subject, care about it, be informed about it and finally take action. It refers to following the events and developments related to the political system, giving importance to the events related to the political system, having a certain knowledge about the events and problems, and finally actively participating in the political process and engaging in a certain behaviour. (Dursun, 2006, p. 232). Individuals' attitudes and behaviours towards the political system are very diverse. Some people accept the political system as it is, while others are closely interested in the political system in order to change and correct it and actively participate in politics (Daver, 1993, p. 203). While more individuals participate in voting behaviour among the types of political participation, more advanced political participation decreases.

One of the most important factors in the healthy functioning of democracies is political participation and representation of the will of the governed. Political participation covers all individuals over the age of 18. It is important that the political participation of young people who step into adulthood is not limited to voting behaviour in elections, that participation at every stage of governance and political decision-making processes is a right recognised by law, and that it is especially important whether young people use these legal rights or whether they have the awareness to use their rights. In order for the culture of democracy to be established in the society, it is necessary to ensure the political

participation of individuals, to raise awareness and to make political participation possible and easy for them to exercise their rights. In addition, young people should be provided with sufficient information to contribute to the culture of democracy.

In general, political participation includes activities such as voting, taking part in political parties or playing a role in political party campaigns, as well as actions such as illegal strikes, boycotts, occupations and protest marches (Akman, 2021, p.160). Although the consistency of individuals' political preferences is realised as a result of their political experiences, political orientations show variability in youth periods. In many studies, it has been concluded that the political participation of individuals is low at a young age and increases in later ages (Akman, 2021, p.161). In addition to being less interested in traditional forms of political participation, young people are more sympathetic to political ideologies that are against strong and traditional structures (Çukurçayır, 2000, pp. 78-79).

According to the results of the Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), as of the end of 2022, Turkey's total population was 85 million 279 thousand 553 people, while the youth population in the 15-24 age group was 12 million 949 thousand 817 people. The young population constitutes 15.2 per cent of the total population (www.tuik.gov.tr). The high number of this young population and the effective participation of young people in the preparation, decision-making process and implementation of policies that affect their lives from the beginning of their lives are of great importance (Saral, 2011, p. 93).

There is a connection between the age of the individual and the political and social events experienced in the world and in our country, and each period contributes to the formation of a unique youth generation: for example, the 1968 generation, the 1990s generation (Çukurçayır, 2000, p. 78) or the post-2000s generation Z are the best examples.

Based on the political, social and economic developments in Turkey's recent history after 1980, we can categorise the factors affecting the political participation of young people into five categories. These are; the role of the family and childhood, the coup of 12 September 1980 and the youth's distancing from politics, insecurity in politics in search of employment, political actors of market-based economic policies, and changes in the meaning and tools of politics as a result of digitalisation (Akman, 2021, p. 165) The dominant parents in the family structure in the political participation of young people prevents young people from expressing themselves. In addition, the mechanical structure of the education system in our country aimed at winning exams prevents the individual. Finally, the bureaucracy, i.e. the state structure in our country does not encourage the political participation of the individual. These reasons lead to low political participation of young people (Erdoğan, 2013, p. 51). After the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, the youth movements, which had an important place in our political life, were dealt a blow. As a result, unlike previous generations, the young generation after 1980 has been a generation that lacks the ability to form youth movements (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 48). After 1980,



legal and political practices were implemented to distance youth and politics from each other (Akman, 2021, p. 167). In addition, the dissolution of the USSR, the rise of neoliberalism, globalisation and developments in information technologies have been effective in distancing young people from traditional politics (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 48). The development and spread of the Internet all over the world has provided both political parties and youth with new tools. Social networking sites have created an alternative media where young people express themselves. Instead of traditional political participation, it has emerged as a new social media power where young people are organised separately from the place (Akman, 2021, p. 170). With the developments in information technology, young people can easily access information and news from all over the world with a click of a button and make their voice heard. This has paved the way for political participation to progress in a different way from its traditional structure.

Especially in the 1990s, the discourse of apolitical youth became popular in our country. Unlike previous generations, the political participation of Generation Z is considered alienated from political processes. It is seen that the political participation of young people and their interest in politics have decreased (Tanyaş, 2015, p. 29). According to a 2013 survey, the rate of political party membership/active participation of young people is 12%, the rate of membership in non-governmental organisations is 27.1%, the rate of participation in mass marches, demonstrations and protests is 10.7%, and the rate of writing a message about a social problem on the internet is 20.1% (Tanyaş, 2015, pp. 30-31). Political participation among young people is closely related to high socio-economic status, which means that being advantageous in terms of social, economic, educational and cultural resources provides advantages in terms of political participation. The only form of participation that disadvantaged youth favour more than advantaged youth is voting (Tanyaş, 2015, p. 31).

In Emre Erdoğan's study on youth in Turkey, he concluded that the participation of young people is low in all types of political participation except voting behaviour. Low political participation is a situation that does not contribute to the awareness of young people. At every level of political participation, there is a similarity between the general society and young people in terms of participation (Erdoğan, 2013, p. 28). It is seen that young people are influenced by the political culture and participation of the society they live in and inherit political participation from the society (Erdoğan, 2013, p. 50). In addition, according to the research conducted by Erdoğan in 1999 and 2003, he concluded that the participation of young people in all types of political participation decreases over time (Erdoğan, 2013, p. 53).

In order to increase the political participation of young people, efforts are being made to pave the way for the political participation of young people with international legal regulations and to spread it all over the world. For example, one of the most important of these legal regulations is the 'European

Charter for Local and Regional Participation of Young People', which is important in determining general policies in our country as well as in Europe.

Today, young people are better at actively using the Internet and new communication technologies than in the past, and young people are born into technology. Therefore, they attach more importance to the internet and information technologies (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 59). While the way young people express themselves and the tools, they use change shape and the internet takes an important place, collective politics does not change (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 66). Postmodern participation includes participating in online protests and becoming a member of non-governmental organisations (Erdoğan, 2013, p. 35).

Young people see the political sphere as inadequate in solving their problems and perceive it negatively. They perceive that it is very difficult for them to change the political sphere individually. Political organisations and political parties are defined by young people as authoritarian groups where they cannot express themselves freely but can exist as part of a group (Lüküslü, 2011, p. 49).

According to the results of the research on the political preferences of young people, 1 out of every 2 young people think that politicians do not understand them and do not make enough effort to bring solutions to problems. Although young people are not deeply aware of the work of the municipalities in the settlement they live in, they want to have a say in municipal activities that affect their lives, such as transport, culture and arts, zoning and budget management. According to the 2021 survey conducted by Metropol across Turkey, the voting behaviour of young people differs from that of general voters and their families, and young people do not vote for the same political party as their families. According to the 2021 Turkey-wide survey, it was found that young people are generally reluctant to participate in politics (<https://www.stgm.org.tr/genclerin-politik-tercihleri-arastirmasi-raporu-yayinladi>). In addition, although there are youth branches within the political parties, which are the representatives of political participation, they are insufficient in supporting the development processes of young people's skills, knowledge and ideas. As a result, the realisation that young people cannot take an active position in political parties causes them to move away from politics (Akman, 2021, p. 176)

In Becel's 2017 study on young people studying at the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, it was concluded that students mostly participated in voting behaviour among the types of political participation. Apart from voting behaviour, the rate of high-level active political participation is low. In addition, it was concluded that students who come to the university care more about politics and their interest in political issues increases when they come to the university. It has been observed that students are interested in political events by following the political agenda (Becel, 2017, p. 70).

It is necessary to raise awareness and pave the way for local-political participation in order for young people to produce ideas and have a say on the social, economic and political structure of the

country, starting from the neighbourhood, which is the smallest unit they live in. It is necessary to improve the living conditions of young people when they start their lives, to ensure that they do not have future concerns and to pave the way legally for their greater participation in social life.

## 2. METHOD

### 2.1. Sample of the Research

The population of the study consists of 1712 students studying at the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences of Uşak University . While calculating the sample size, a 99% confidence level and a 1% margin of error (t table value = 2.575) were accepted, resulting in a sample size (n) of 478 individuals. Additionally, the frequency of occurrence for the examined event (p) and the frequency of non-occurrence (q) were both taken as 0.5. The sampling error of the study (d) was 0.05 (Erdoğan, www.academia.edu). Based on these parameters, 478 student participants were surveyed. In the first sample group, 272 students were surveyed, while in the second sample group, 206 students participated in the survey. The main reason why the study covers the students of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences is that they take courses in the field of political and administrative issues and they are likely to participate in the political and administrative administration of Turkey. The sampling method used in the study is convenience sampling method. In determining the sample size, the criterion of reaching at least ten times the number of participants was taken into consideration (Akgül, 2003). The data were collected between April-June 2023 and September-October 2023.

In order to construct the scale, firstly an exploratory factor analysis and then a confirmatory factor analysis were conducted. Separate sample groups were used for both factor analyses. Data were obtained from 272 participants for exploratory factor analysis and 206 participants for confirmatory factor analysis. Table 1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants.

**Table 1.** Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants

<b>I. Sample</b>			<b>II. Sample</b>		
<b>Variables</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Variables</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Gender</b>			<b>Gender</b>		
<b>Woman</b>	193	71,0	<b>Woman</b>	136	66,0
<b>Male</b>	79	29,0	<b>Male</b>	70	34,0
<b>Age</b>			<b>Age</b>		
<b>18-21</b>	149	54,8	<b>18-21</b>	71	34,5
<b>22-24</b>	99	36,4	<b>22-24</b>	120	58,3
<b>25 and above</b>	24	8,8	<b>25 and above</b>	15	7,3
<b>Income</b>			<b>Income</b>		
<b>Low income</b>	40	14,7	<b>Low income</b>	48	23,3
<b>Middle income</b>	218	80,1	<b>Middle income</b>	152	73,8
<b>High income</b>	14	5,1	<b>High income</b>	6	2,9
<b>Political membership</b>	<b>Party</b>		<b>Political membership</b>	<b>Party</b>	
<b>No</b>	255	93,8	<b>No</b>	197	95,6
<b>Yes</b>	17	6,3	<b>Yes</b>	9	4,4
<b>Total</b>	272	100,0	<b>Total</b>	206	100,0

## 2.2. Development of Data Collection Tool

After a subject related- limited studies (Aldemir&Şen, 2020, Keçe&Dinç, 2015) review for the development of the scale, a question pool consisting of simple, clear and understandable expressions that can measure the perception of the participants was created. Expert opinions were taken and a consensus was reached on 21 items and it was decided to test the statements with a five-point Likert-type measurement method. The answers to the statements were evaluated as '1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (undecided), 4 (agree), 5 (strongly agree)'. Inverted questions were not included in the scale. In order to test whether the statements measuring the perception are divided into factors with factor loads, exploratory factor analysis was performed and then confirmatory factor analysis was applied.

## 2.3. Analysing the Data

### 2.3.1. Findings Related to Exploratory Factor Analysis

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Barlett tests were applied to examine the construct validity of the scale. The lower level of factor loadings was determined as 0,40. Since the results of Barlett (3360,871) and KMO (0,913) tests enabled factor analysis, factor analysis was applied and four factors were reached. In the analysis, the statements explaining more than one factor were removed. The first factor consisted of five items (Q13, Q17, Q19, Q20, Q21) and accounted for 51,743% of the total variance, the second factor consisted of four items (Q2, Q10, Q11, Q12) and accounted for 14,354% of the total variance, the third factor consisted of three items (Q14, Q15, Q16), It was observed that the fourth item consisted of three items (Q6, Q7, Q8) and accounted for 5,324% of the total variance and these four factors explained 78,475 of the total variance. The first factor was named as administrative awareness, the second factor as political participation, the third factor as administrative participation and the fourth factor as political awareness by the experts. Cronbach Alpha (Reliability values) are 0.941, 0.806, 0.879 and 0.860 respectively.

**Tablo 2.** Explanatory Factor Analysis results of the scale

Questions (Item)	Administrative Awareness	Political Participation	Administrative Participation	Political Awareness
Question19	,910			
Question20	,908			
Question21	,881			
Question17	,876			
Question13	,819			
Question12		,859		
Question11		,797		
Question10		,789		

<b>Question 2</b>	,563
<b>Question14</b>	,855
<b>Question15</b>	,828
<b>Question16</b>	,707
<b>Question7</b>	,872
<b>Question6</b>	,824
<b>Question8</b>	,625
<b>Total variance:</b>	%78,475

### 2.3.2. Findings Related to Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis was performed on the structure consisting of a total of 15 items explaining the four factors obtained as a result of the exploratory factor analysis<sup>4</sup>. The data obtained from the second sample were used in the analysis. For construct validity, firstly, convergent validity was tested using the composite reliability (CR) and the average variance extracted (AVE) values. Afterwards, discriminate validity test was applied.

Convergent validity shows how the items are related to each other as well as whether the items are within the measurement. The acceptable lower value is 0.70 for CR and 0.50 for AVE (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). As shown in Table 3, the CR of each variable is more than 0.80 (0.935-0.808) and the AVE of each variable is more than 0.50 (0.744-0.517). These results mean that convergent validity is achieved with composite reliability.

**Table 3.** Factor loadings, CR and AVE values

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Phrases</b>	<b>Factor Loadings</b>	<b>CR</b>	<b>AVE</b>
<b>Administrative Awareness</b>	Q13	0,809	0,935	0,744
	Q17	0,797		
	Q19	0,791		
	Q20	0,958		
	Q21	0,941		
<b>Administrative Participation</b>	Q2	0,547	0,808	0,517
	Q10	0,735		
	Q11	0,792		
	Q12	0,776		
<b>Political Participation</b>	Q14	0,906	0,887	0,726
	Q15	0,908		
	Q16	0,729		
<b>Political Awareness</b>	Q6	0,858	0,896	0,742
	Q7	0,843		
	Q8	0,883		

Discriminate validity shows to what extent a construct is different from other constructs with which it is related. (Hair et al. 2010). The important criterion for discriminate validity is that the square

<sup>4</sup> The confirmatory factor structure of the scale is shown in Appendix I.

root of AVE (average variance explained) is higher than the correlation between constructs for each construct (Khine, 2013). As seen in Table 4, the square root of AVE is higher than the correlation between constructs.

**Table 4.** Discriminant Validity

	<b>Administrative Involvement</b>	<b>Administrative Awareness</b>	<b>Political Involvement</b>	<b>Political Awareness</b>
<b>Administrative Involvement</b>	0,852			
<b>Administrative Awareness</b>	0,506	0,862		
<b>Political Participation</b>	0,605	0,368	0,719	
<b>Political awareness</b>	0,497	0,740	0,588	0,861

Note: Bold items are the square root of AVE for each variable.

The goodness of fit indices of the measurement model were determined as<sup>5</sup> CMIN/DF=214,175/83=2,580, GFI=0.875, AGFI=0.819, CFI=0.945, RMSEA=0.088. The goodness of fit values prove that the constructed scale constitutes an acceptable measurement model.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. CONCLUSION

Today, political and administrative participation is found as a solution to the debates about the deficiencies and insufficiency of representative democracy. In political participation, the targeted citizen should convey his/her views and thoughts through various instruments. It is believed that new methods can be developed except for politically long, complicated and costly elections. In administrative participation, those affected by public decisions are called internal stakeholders and external stakeholders. Internal stakeholders are employees in the public institution, who make the decisions. External stakeholders, on the other hand, are citizens, non-governmental organizations and businesses. For those in both groups, public administration should have solution tools in order to enable administrative participation. This is the goal of the council-type formations established by describing the laws created by public institutions. Apart from this, each local government unit does, can create and should create its own mechanism.

The study aims to develop a scale that can be used to determine the level of political and administrative participation of young people. Firstly, a question pool was formed by taking expert opinions. Twenty questions selected from the question pool were applied to the first sample group and data were obtained. The data obtained were subjected to explanatory factor analysis and it was observed

<sup>5</sup> In order to improve the goodness-of-fit indexes, covariance was applied between error faults e3-e4.

<sup>6</sup> When the number of samples exceeds 250, the CMIN/DF ratio should be less than 5 (Byrne, 2011: 55). If GFI, AGFI and CFI values are close to 1, this indicates a good fit (Kline, 2005: 207). For a good fit, RMSEA should take values ranging from 0.05 to 0.08 (Weston and Gore, 2006: 742).

that the relevant statements were grouped under four factors. The four factors were named as 'administrative awareness', 'political participation', 'administrative participation' and 'political awareness'. The reason for this quadrilateral distinction is the idea that in order for an individual to exhibit a behavior, he or she must first have an attitude toward it, then a thought, and then an action that can be taken on the basis of this thought. From the perspective of individuals, it is aimed to evaluate the stage in which this attitude and thought may have developed as awareness, and the action stage as participation. It was decided to remove some questions that explained more than one factor and had factor loadings below 0.40 from the scale. Thus, the number of questions of the Scale of Political and Administrative Participation of University Students was fifteen.

After the exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis was applied to the data obtained from the second sample group. As a result of confirmatory factor analysis, goodness of fit indices were found as  $CMIN/DF=214,175/83=2,580$ ,  $GFI=0.875$ ,  $AGFI=0.819$ ,  $CFI=0.945$ ,  $RMSEA=0.088$ .

This scale consisting of 15 questions measures both the level of awareness of political and administrative participation and whether political and administrative participation turns into action. In conclusion, the Political and Administrative Participation Scale of University Students is developed as a tool that can measure both the awareness levels of young people about political and administrative participation and the transformation of this awareness into concrete action. This scale constitutes an important resource to better understand the roles of young people in social and political processes and to shape policies in this field. Furthermore, the applicability and validity of the scale could be further reinforced by future studies on different demographic groups as well.

## **AUTHOR DECLARATIONS**

The authors contributed equally to the study.

The study has been crafted in adherence to the principles of research and publication ethics.

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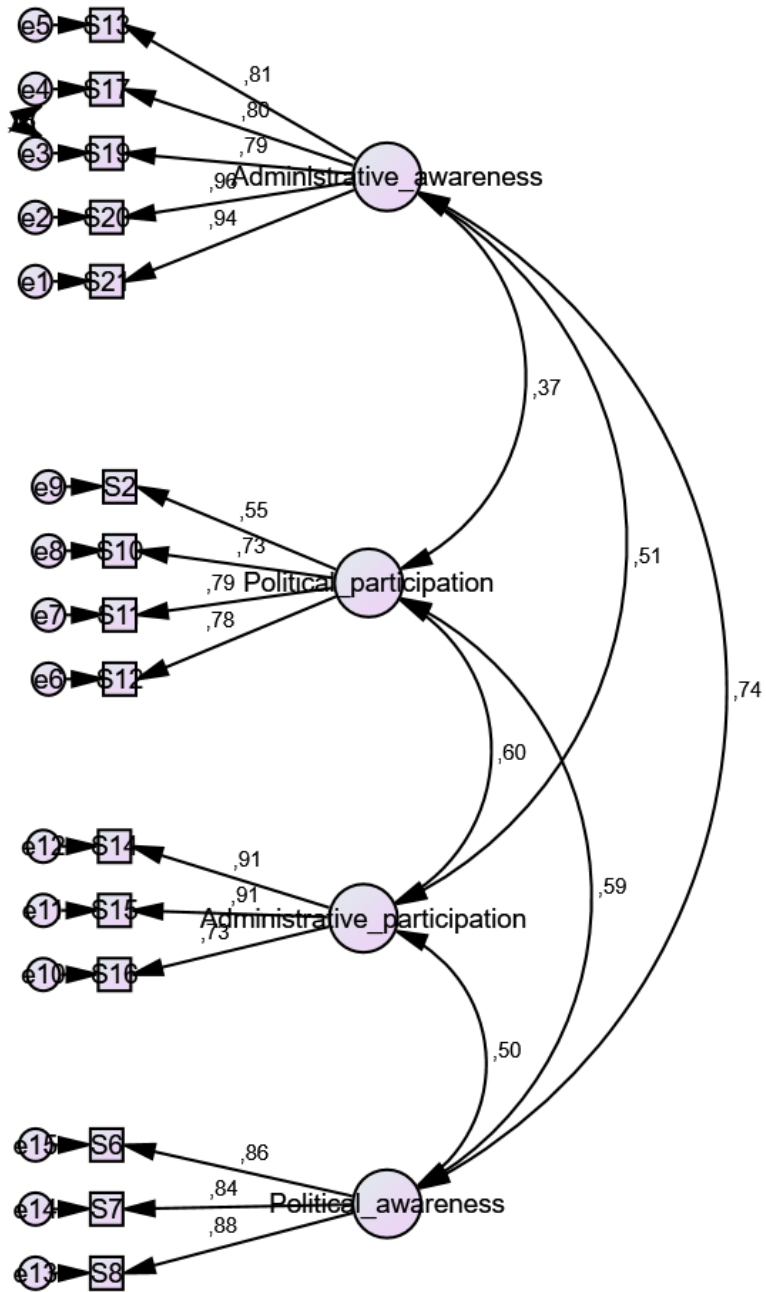
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I. Confirmatory Factor Structure of the Scale



## **Appendix 2. Scale Questions**

### **Administrative Awareness**

Question 13: Local governments (municipalities, special provincial administrations, villages) should take the opinions and thoughts of the public, civil society and private sector representatives in their decisions.

Question 17: Local government units (municipalities, special provincial administrations, villages) should share their decisions and practices in a way that the public can easily obtain information.

Question 19: Services provided by local government units (municipality, special provincial administration, village) should be auditable by citizens.

Question 20: Local government units (municipality, special provincial administration, village) should have open and accessible channels such as telephone, e-mail, website, etc. so that the population they are responsible for can easily reach them

Question 21: Local government units (municipality, special provincial administration, village) should be able to produce services according to the individual characteristics of the population they are responsible for (elderly, disabled, children, women, etc.).

### **Administrative Participation**

Question 14: I agree with the decisions of the municipality where I live on zoning, transport, police, cemeteries, afforestation, parks and green areas etc.

Question 15: I participate in the decisions of the municipality where I live on culture and arts, tourism and promotion, social services and assistance, marriage, vocational and skill acquisition, economy and trade development services.

Question 16: I participate in the decisions of the municipality where I live through organisations such as women's assemblies, youth assemblies and city councils.

### **Political Awareness**

Question 6: I often talk about political issues in my social circle.

Question 7: I often talk about political issues with my family.

Question 8: I frequently follow the political agenda of the country.

### **Political Participation**

Question 2: In my opinion, it is necessary for citizens to become a member of political parties and engage in active politics.

Question 10: I communicate my opinions on political issues on the agenda to politicians via letter/email/social media.

Question 11: I participate in research on politics conducted through various means of communication.

Question 12: I participate in activities such as meetings, demonstrations, marches, etc. permitted by law.