

**TRANSFORMING CITIZENSHIP IN TURKEY:
LEARNING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS**

DİDEM ÇAKMAKLI

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TRANSFORMING CITIZENSHIP IN TURKEY:
LEARNING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

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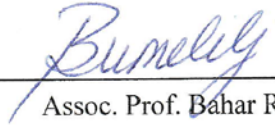
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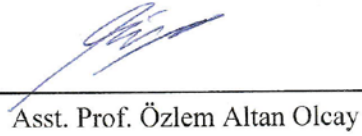
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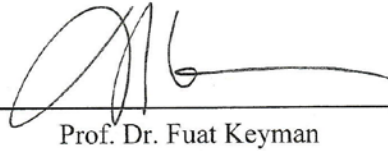
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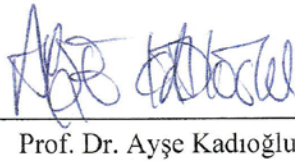
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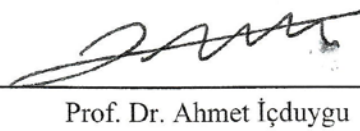
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Dissertation Abstract

Transforming Citizenship in Turkey: Learning Active Citizenship in Civil Society Organizations

This research analyzes whether and how participation in civil society organizations (CSO) in Turkey develops active citizenship practices. Drawing on civil society, citizenship and civic education literatures, and with a focus on Turkey, the civil society organization is studied as a potential site for the learning and practice of citizenship. Learning active citizenship in Turkey is about developing the ability for citizens to engage in a context where citizenship has been conceived as passive. At the same time the Turkish setting witnesses a burgeoning of CSO activity and legitimacy, positioning them as potential sites for participation. This thesis develops an original conceptualization of active citizenship based on three dimensions: civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. Civic action is the will and ability to take action and engage in activities that contribute to the betterment of the community, and of the three dimensions is most critical to achieving active citizenship. Social cohesion entails development of a sense of solidarity and commitment to community, but also increased exposure to diversity. Self-actualization is the development of agency through empowerment and development of self. This research contributes to citizenship, civil society and civic education literatures as it reveals processes that link CSO participation to the development of the three dimensions of active citizenship.

The research design is a comparative case study in which 6 CSOs in Turkey are studied in depth. The analysis is based on a systematic comparison of CSOs that vary on three discursive and structural attributes which are expected to affect participation. The first attribute distinguishes CSOs based on their employment of a rights versus obligations based discourse. The second attribute is a structural distinction between membership and volunteer based CSOs. And finally, CSOs are distinguished based on the types of activities they utilize to implement their objectives. The study places participant experiences at the center of the study. Data is collected through semi structured interviews conducted with 44 CSO members and volunteers in Istanbul.

Findings show that active citizenship practices are more effectively acquired in certain types of CSOs in Turkey. The analysis of rights based versus obligations based CSOs reveal that while rights based CSOs achieve all three dimensions of active citizenship, obligations based CSOs achieve active citizenship through the development of civic action and self-actualization. A comparison of volunteer and membership based CSOs reveals that enabling decision making within the CSO, which is more prominently a feature of membership based CSOs, fosters the development of self-actualization. And establishing regular expectations, which is better achieved in volunteer based CSOs achieves civic action through sustained participation. And finally, comparative analysis of types of activities demonstrate that protest and educational activities are most successful at developing active citizenship among participants, primarily through their ability to foster civic action.

Tez Özeti

Türkiye’de Vatandaşlığın Dönüşümü: Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarında Aktif Vatandaşlığın Öğrenimi

Bu araştırma Türkiye’de sivil toplum kuruluşlarına (STK) katılımın aktif vatandaşlık pratiklerini geliştirip geliştirmediğini ve nasıl geliştirdiğini incelemektedir. Sivil toplum, vatandaşlık ve vatandaşlık eğitimi literatürlerine dayanan ve Türkiye’yi odağına alan bu çalışmada sivil toplum kuruluşlarına vatandaşlığı öğrenmek için olası bir mekân olarak odaklanılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, aktif vatandaşlık için 3 boyuta dayanan orijinal bir tanım geliştirmektedir. Bu üç boyut: sivil eylem, sosyal birliktelik ve öz gerçekleştirme. Sivil eylem boyutu toplum yararına olan etkinliklere katılmayı ve eyleme geçme isteğini ve olanağını kapsamaktadır. Sosyal birliktelik hem bir topluluğa bağlılığı ve birliktelik duygusunun gelişimini hem de toplumdaki farklılıklar konusunda farkındalığın artmasını kapsamaktadır. Öz gerçekleştirme ise bireyin kişisel gelişim ve güçlenmesi sürecini ve bunun sonucunda eyleme geçebilme ve kendisini ifade edebilmesini kapsamaktadır.

Araştırmanın tasarımı 6 STK’nın ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelendiği karşılaştırmalı vaka analizi üzerine kurulu. Analiz, katılımı etkilemesi beklenen farklı STK özelliklerinin karşılaştırılması üzerinden yapılmaktadır. STK’ları ayırtıran ilk özellik hak veya sorumluluk söylemlerine verdikleri ağırlıktır ve STK’ları hak eksenli ve sorumluluk eksenli olarak ayırır. STK’ları ayırtıran ikinci özellik, yapısal bir ayırımdır ve STK’ları üyelik veya gönüllülük esaslı olarak ayırmaktadır. Üçüncü ve son özellik ise STK’ları hedeflerine ulaşmak için kullandıkları aktivite türlerine göre ayırmaktadır. Çalışmanın odağında bireyin deneyimleri vardır. Veriler, İstanbul’da 44 STK gönüllüsü ve üyesi ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlardan elde edilmiştir.

Bulgular bazı STK türlerinde aktif vatandaşlık pratiklerinin daha etkin bir şekilde öğrenildiğine işaret etmektedir. Hak eksenli STK’lar aktif vatandaşlığın her üç boyutunun öğrenilmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Sorumluluk eksenli STK’lar ise sivil eylem ve öz gerçekleştirme boyutları ile aktif vatandaşlığı geliştirmektedirler. Gönüllülük ve üyelik esasına dayalı katılım karşılaştırıldığında üyelikle işleyen STK’larda karar alma mekanizmalarına katılımın daha etkin olduğu ve bunun da öz gerçekleştirme boyutunun öğrenilmesini geliştirdiğini göstermiştir. Gönüllülikle işleyen STK’larda ise katılımı süreklilik daha etkin bir şekilde sağlanabildiğinden katılımcılar arasında sivil eylem pratikleri özellikle gelişmektedir. Son olarak da STK’ların kullandıkları farklı aktivite türleri karşılaştırıldığında protesto ve eğitim aktivitelerinin aktif vatandaşlığın öğrenilmesine en çok katkıda bulunan aktivite türleri oldukları saptanmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: CAN THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION TRANSFORM CITIZENSHIP IN TURKEY?

I. Introduction and Motivation for Research

The motivation for this study is rooted in my experience as a volunteer, member and employee at various CSOs and the development over the years of an academic interest in them. As a volunteer at the Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), a member at the Association for the Support of Women Candidates (Ka.Der), and having worked for Sabancı University's Education Reform Initiative (ERI) and the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) I have acquired both a particular understanding of CSOs and developed a series of questions regarding their role and relevance to political and social life in Turkey. I believe that CSOs are important because they provide a learning environment for their participants. The learning encompasses knowledge as well as skills, values, and habits. I think participants become more aware of the political and social issues concerning their surroundings and that becoming more aware encourages them to work toward ameliorating the grievances that they become aware of. I think people become aware of differences. Differences in ideas and differences in people. I do not think they necessarily become more tolerant toward, or accepting of these differences, but certainly aware. This is evident in many of the CSOs under study in this research. Ka.Der (Association for Support of Women Candidates), for example, is a CSO which both in its written

materials as well as interviews conducted with members emphasizes the necessity for women to come together, despite political divisions, in order to enhance the role of women in politics. While this is a key principle and all members will attest to its importance, at the end of the day, political divisions are not easily set aside and sharp debates emerge among members in activities and correspondences. But perhaps even exposure to such difference and a discourse of unity among difference is a critical first step in achieving understanding and tolerance. And the combination of these processes make individuals more engaged in their community. In my training to become a volunteer for TEGV I learned to appreciate how a CSO can provide a deep and valuable educational opportunity for a child, especially within an educational system I was so critical of. This complemented much of the work I had conducted in the area of education policy previously. Also, as a member of Ka.Der, who took part in and then conducted their educational activities, I became aware of a range of issues concerning women's rights and gender equality. I witnessed the enthusiasm of women in their process of becoming more aware and desiring to become a part of the struggle.

These experiences triggered a series of questions regarding whether other participants have similar experiences. What motivates them to take part in CSOs? Are they engaged in other activities in their communities? How aware are they of the sociopolitical issues surrounding their communities and/or the country? These questions paralleled my academic interest in citizenship and CSOs in Turkey. Questions such as what are the effects of CSO participation on the individual and how does this reflect on to their practices as citizens in Turkey? From an academic perspective this was important for Turkey where civil society is conceptualized as weak and citizenship as passive. I personally perceived and conceptualized "active citizenship" as those individuals who take the time to contribute to the betterment of their communities, either through CSO participation

or other civic activities such as protests, campaigns, and projects. More active citizens implies a more democratic process as it entails the voicing of more opinions, potentially contributing to decision making processes. So ultimately it was about the potential for consolidating Turkish democracy through more active citizens.

At the same time the positive experiences I had as a volunteer and the positive developments to CSOs in Turkey were challenged by serious concerns regarding their ability to achieve anything significant in Turkey. First, I have been concerned with the lack of participation in civil society organizations and civic acts in general. The literature on citizenship on Turkey has emphasized the passive nature of the Turkish citizen in a setting where passive and dutiful citizenship is the norm (Üstel 2004, Arat 1998). This is rooted in part in Turkey's strong state tradition (Heper 1998, Ünsal 1998, Heper 1985) which among other attributes can be characterized by deference to authority and efforts to suppress pluralism. Empirical studies on CSO participation show that engagement in civic acts is limited in Turkey (TÜSEV 2013, İçduygu et al. 2011). And in my own experience, while at times the satisfaction of having touched someone's life generated a sense of achievement, at times the realization of how small the effect was, led to a sense of despair.

Recent and recurring tragic events also highlight the strength of the barriers that exist in Turkey. Despite the scale of protests at Gezi, despite the changing political dynamics in the June 7, 2015 elections, the stronghold of the current government and the strong state tradition that supports it highlights the barriers that persist, and questions what role certain CSOs can play in significantly transforming citizenship in Turkey. It is with this experience and within this setting that I seek to identify whether and how CSOs enable their participants to realize a different script of citizenship practices. Whether this will work to transform citizenship in any *significant* way,

breaking through some of the major barriers, is perhaps a larger question, beyond the scope of this study. But whether the CSO is able to transform its participants, or rather what types of CSOs transform their participants, will have implications for the potential to change CSOs and citizenship in Turkey.

The literature on the effect of CSO participation is controversial. A majority of the literature on CSOs point to a range of positive attributes that contribute to democratic norms and practices (Putnam 1994, Diamond and Morlino 2004, Diamond 1999, Burnell and Calvert 2004, O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986). There is also, however, a significant literature that argue for the need to evaluate the CSO within the contexts in which they function (Altan-Olcay and İçduygu 2012, Encarnacion 2006, Langohr 2004, Berman 1997). These studies point to the divergent effects that CSO participation can have depending on the setting. However, there is insufficient work that focuses on the participant experience in these divergent settings. My own observations regarding the divergent effects that CSOs can have on the participant and their effect in general necessitates differentiating between CSOs. What is lacking in the literature is an analysis of participant experiences in different *types* of CSOs. Thus, in order to understand the effect of CSO participation on generating active citizenship, I would need to delve deep into participant experiences and I would need to look at different CSOs to see if some types developed active citizenship while others did not. So the questions motivating my research at the onset, and later refined, were: Can participation in CSOs generate active citizenship in Turkey? Does participation lead to more action? What skills, values, and habits do CSO participants develop? Are CSO participants more tolerant? Are they more knowledgeable? Do all CSOs produce the same effect? Are there particular types of CSOs with certain characteristics that develop active citizenship

practices? Do different types of CSOs lead to divergent experiences and development of different citizenship practices and values?

Another motivation for this research is rooted in the burgeoning of CSOs, their increasing visibility and legitimacy in Turkey, and their potential to develop citizens that are better able to act and/or resist Turkey's strong state (TÜSEV 2013, İçduygu et al. 2011, Rumelili 2005). The idea is embedded in a setting in which the practice of active citizenship is inhibited while CSOs in number and activity are on the rise. These two subjects, citizenship and civil society, intersect in an effort to understand whether an ongoing transformation to civil society organizations in Turkey has or will have an effect on citizenship practices. This is a necessary step to breaking Turkey's strong state tradition which keeps citizenship passive and is a barrier to Turkey's process of democratization. While one reason for this study is the changing nature of citizenship globally and how this may reflect onto Turkey there is also a normative motivation which is about the *necessity* for a transformation to citizenship in a country which has been unable to break particular traditions of strong state and passive citizenship. Turkey's history reflects a citizenry unable to hold governments accountable and unable to pursue and exercise civic acts without the threat of the state. This study, thus, also has a policy dimension to it to address how and what types of CSOs in fact are able to transform citizenship in Turkey and make its participants more active citizens.

And finally, certain major events that occurred in Turkey during the period of my research reinforced the necessity of such a project. News of over 100 deaths at a peace demonstration in Ankara on October 10, 2015 shook the whole country. At the time, with the November 1st elections nearing, political tension was at its peak throughout Turkey. I had concluded over four years of research on whether and how participation in civil society organizations could foster active citizenship practices in Turkey. Could participation in CSOs develop the skills, values and

practices necessary to engage citizens to benefit matters concerning their communities and country? Several tragic incidents had occurred over the duration of my research that both motivated and frustrated my research. The country had begun to experience increasing tension between state and citizens, rooted in the violence that occurred at the Gezi protests in June 2013. Police violence became the norm at a range of ensuing protests. And then 102 citizens died in a suicide bombing in Ankara in October 2015, just after 32 had died in Süruç, Şanlıurfa in a similar suicide bombing three months earlier. And in a moment of fear and guilt, as an active participant in civil society organizations in Turkey, I asked myself whether active citizenship, which in my research was normatively framed as a necessary and positive form of citizenship for Turkey, was worth the risk of death? Civic engagement should not be associated with risk, let alone the risk of death. Participants in CSOs throughout Turkey are well aware of the risks involved in activism and many choose whether to participate, and the particular CSO to contribute to, based on this risk. While the risk associated with activism has always existed, the massacre in Ankara had revived this risk in its most extreme form. Yet, having even asked these questions reinforced something very wrong about the practice of citizenship in Turkey. The historical legacies that characterize citizenship in Turkey as passive and dutiful on the one hand, the rise in activity and legitimacy of CSOs on the other hand, the lack of a focus on the individual in citizenship studies in Turkey and the political and social dynamics that resulted in the tragic events above are just a few of the reasons that make Turkey a critical site for the study of the potential for active citizenship.

II. Research Design and Methodology

The motivational factors above and the setting within which this study is conducted present the following research questions:

- How do different types of CSOs engage their participants and how does this effect the types of citizenship skills, values and practices they develop?
- Does participation in a CSO develop active citizenship skills? If so, how?
- What *types* of CSOs facilitate the development of active citizenship skills? What attributes of the CSO fosters the development of active citizenship skills? What types hinder the development of active citizenship skills?

The research design best fit to answer these questions requires a systematic comparison of different types of CSOs. It also requires a focus on the participants' experiences. Thus a comparative case study research design is developed to study the experiences of a total of 44 participants in 6 CSOs in Istanbul. The expectation is that different types of CSOs engage their participants in different ways, leading to the development of different citizenship practices and values. CSOs are distinguished based on three key characteristics that guide how the CSO engages its participants. The first characteristic distinguishes between CSOs that employ a rights versus an obligations based discourse. The second criteria is a structural distinction between membership and volunteer based CSOs. And finally, the third attribute distinguishes between CSOs based on the types of activities they utilize to implement their objectives. These three features are systematically compared in the empirical chapters to identify whether and how they affect the development of active citizenship. In order to do so data is collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with 44 CSO participants. With a focus on participant experiences, processes that link CSO participation to various citizenship practices are identified.

III. Relevance of Study and Contribution to Literature

Some of the motivations for this study, discussed above, are closely linked to how this research

contributes to literature on CSOs and citizenship, globally and in Turkey. Theoretical and empirical debates on citizenship reveal a move beyond understanding citizenship as solely a legal status within the nation state (Işın and Nielsen 2008, Sassen 2002, Soysal 1998, Linklater 2007, Kymlicka 1996). And as the definition of citizenship expands so does the space and sites in which it is learned and practiced (Lelandais 2013, Baban 2014, Rumelili, Keyman and İşyar 2011). Beyond voting and/or political party participation new spaces emerge for the citizen to participate. One of these spaces is the civil society organization. This study empirically presents the extent to which CSOs can act as a site for civic learning. Contemporary studies on education point to novel learning and teaching methods such as learning by doing and lifelong learning (Park 2007; Cleaver and Nelson 1998). Beyond learning citizenship through traditional (in school) learning methods, citizenship is learnt through the practice of carrying out one's citizenship. Thus, how one participates in one's community and what one does as a volunteer and/or member of a CSO will have implications for the type of citizenship this develops. This contributes to the literature that emphasizes the practice of citizenship over its legal dimension (Işın and Nielson 2008, Işın 2002, Delanty 2000). Doing so, particularly in the Turkish context, contributes to a newly emerging literature on how citizenship is practiced despite how citizenship is defined or despite expectations of citizenship in Turkey (Rumelili and Keyman 2015, Rumelili, Keyman and İşyar 2011).

An issue I have with the literature on CSOs, which is also supported by my experience as a volunteer is the overwhelming assumption that participation in CSOs contributes to the development of civic values and practices, developing a citizenry that increasingly takes part in participatory democratic governance (Putnam 1994, Tocqueville 1835 (2003), Diamond and Morlino 2004, Diamond 1999). Much has been written on the effect of participating in a CSO. How participation takes effect on the participant and society has been a critical question for studies

on civil society and citizenship. From Tocqueville to Putnam, the importance of CSO participation for the development of civic virtues and democratic practices have been presented and debated. Studies have identified civic associations as fostering closer networks through communication and deliberation, thus cultivating greater trust, ultimately leading to increased awareness and participation in the political democratic community (Putnam 1994). At the same time critical literature on civil society has contested this perspective by emphasizing the need to evaluate CSO outcomes based on the settings in which they function (Altan-Olcay and İçduygu 2012, Encarnaciaon 2006, Langohr 2004, Berman 1997).

This study contributes to this debate first by distinguishing between CSOs to identify whether different practices emerge from different types of CSOs. Distinctions regarding CSOs are frequently limited to areas such as capacity, issue area, and activities. Few studies in general and in Turkey focus on how CSOs diverge in terms of how they engage their participants. An understanding of positive or negative skills, values and practices developed in a CSO requires an understanding of the processes and experiences that lead to these outcomes and ultimately what attributes of the CSO foster these processes. Thus, distinguishing between CSOs based on characteristics that affect the participant's experience is a critical contribution to CSO literature. The criteria developed for this study (rights versus obligations and volunteer versus membership based CSOs) also contributes to novel classifications of CSOs in Turkey. Second, this research design, by delving deeper into the CSO and the participant's experience reveals the processes that link participation in particular types of CSOs to the development of different kinds of citizenship practices. Thus, this research addresses two major gaps in the literature. Taking Turkey as a case study it reveals the pathways linking participation in CSOs to citizenship practices. Second, it addresses concerns about the positive assumptions regarding civil society organizations by

distinguishing between CSOs and identifying what CSO attributes develop what citizenship practices. And in understanding these process and distinctions, the question of whether and how CSOs contribute to democratic citizenship and democratization becomes clearer.

A fundamental contributions of this study is the development of an original conceptualization of the term active citizenship. The term is most frequently used to address concerns regarding a decline in civic participation, particularly in the European setting. Political science, civic education and policy documents reference active citizenship as something that can be learned to increase participation in community affairs (Crick Report 1998, Blunkett and Taylor 2010, Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, Mascherini 2010). However, in other settings, it is about the *ability* to act in settings where civic activity may be more restrictive (Akar 2014, Abou-Habib 2011). Drawing on these various literatures I define active citizenship based on three dimensions that most frequently emerge in the various conceptualizations of the term. The first dimension that defines active citizenship in this study is *civic action*. Civic action is about increased participation in activities that target the betterment of the community. It is about both the *will* and the *ability* to engage more in civic acts. The second dimension is *social cohesion*. Social cohesion is about developing a sense of solidarity and commitment to community as well as exposure to diversity. And the third dimension that defines active citizenship is *self-actualization*, which is the development of a sense of agency through self-development and empowerment. Civic action is the most frequently referenced attribute of conceptualizations of active citizenship and comprises the fundamental dimension in the definition used for this study. Achievement of civic action most effectively contributes to the development of an ideal type of active citizenship. Social cohesion and self-actualization are also critical components of active citizenship and their achievement frequently supports the development of civic action. The extent to which these dimensions are

fostered in a given CSO determines the extent to which the CSO achieves the development of active citizenship practices. With no comprehensive definition of active citizenship in the literature, this conceptualization is a significant contribution to active citizenship literature. Such a conceptualization will enable further study of the concept in different contexts and create potential for further comparative work on the topic.

Debates in citizenship literature have distinguished between types of citizenship in efforts to define the role of the citizen. The traditional distinction between republican and liberal citizenship sets the stage for whether individual rights and interests precede those of the state. However, these categories are not clear cut and thus neither is the distinction between active citizenship and dutiful or passive citizenship. This study enables us to distinguish between CSOs and between dimensions of active citizenship. This plurality presents a more realistic picture regarding both the role of CSOs in affecting citizenship as well as the plurality in citizenship practices.

Much work has been channeled toward understanding the role of the individual, the role of civil society and the role of civic education in contemporary society. However, what is missing is a systematic study linking these three concepts. Another contribution of this study is a systematic analysis of how civil society organizations relate to civic education and citizenship. Studies of civic education have pointed to how practical experience can teach students how to be citizens (Park 2007; Cleaver and Nelson 1998). Civic education via formal, in-class teaching methods is increasingly seen as insufficient and studies of informal civic education have focused on alternative spaces where civic education occurs (Keser et al. 2011, Ribiero et al. 2012). Voluntary work and community service have been noted as popular activities to engage students as citizens. Results of this study reveal processes that enable such positive outcomes.

This study is particularly relevant to citizenship and CSO literatures in Turkey. It is set within a case in which citizenship is defined and debated amongst two contradictory forces: historical legacies that define it and contemporary debates on how to define and transform the citizen in Turkey (Soner 2005, Üstel 2004, Yeğen 2004). Debates continue over the legal definition of citizenship as part of Turkey's constitutional reform process. The duality of a nationalist/ethnicity-based versus a universalist reading and practice of Turkish citizenship persists (Keyman and Kanci 2011, Keyman 2005, Soner 2005, Yeğen 2004). Then there is the duality between the passive, compliant citizen and the active citizen. Turkey's history reflects a passive citizenry in which obligations has been emphasized over rights. On the other hand are the increasingly active citizenship practices that have been on the rise over the past two decades, partly through the strengthening of civil society organizations which have organized and provided a site for the practice of citizenship in Turkey.

The generally established understanding of Turkish citizenship as more dutiful than active is also challenged by major transformations occurring as a result of significant global and domestic dynamics (Kadıoğlu 2005, Keyman and İçdugyu 2005). A surge in CSOs and their variety provide an ideal case to study whether they have an effect on changing citizenship norms in Turkey. This study explores whether changes to internal social and political dynamics necessitate and make way for an increasing role for the citizen and whether CSO participation contributes to this. This study presents a better understanding of what it means to be a citizen in an environment that is seeking democratic consolidation but is caught in between the opposing forces of barriers to space available for the active citizen and space opening up gradually for increased participation. CSO presence as an alternative site where this participation and as a result the practice of citizenship can be practiced and learned and pursued is critical to environments such as Turkey. This critical

moment will reveal whether Turkey can achieve an inclusive, universalist, and active citizenship. It has been established that CSOs in Turkey have risen in number and are alternative spaces for citizens' participation but understanding whether and what types of CSOs promote particular types of participation will link CSOs to changes in citizenship.

From a policy perspective, this study also establishes the potential for CSOs in Turkey to foster particular citizenship practices. This is achieved on one level through the identification of various skills, habits, and practices that participation develops, and on another level by revealing the transformation of relations between the individual and the state. The development of skills and practices of engaged citizenship implies a potential for the expression of divergent voices and interests, and the development of politics that is more inclusive, attributes necessary for Turkey's democratic consolidation. Acquiring alternative perceptions to Turkey's strong state legacy and passive citizenship will contribute to Turkey's democratization. It breaks an established hierarchy and enables accountability and the ability to make claims, all relevant to citizenship in Turkey. CSO participation, in fact, all types of civic acts are political. Understanding the implications of how participation reorganizes state- citizenship relations, citizenship practices, or the development of various social dynamics all work to transform the social and political dynamics through which citizenship is practiced. Thus, findings on how participation in a CSO changes individuals and their relation to the state is a critical contribution to understanding a way in which Turkey's democracy can become stronger. Also, findings that link the role of CSOs in civic education to types of citizenship learned will encourage both the development of CSOs and their role in civic education programs. Tracing the causal mechanisms at play will also help to identify CSOs that more effectively contribute to the development of active citizenship, revealing the necessary policies for such a transformation.

This study contributes to both theoretical and empirical literature on active citizenship and citizenship in Turkey. It provides empirical data on citizenship practices and learning processes within CSOs. Despite extensive studies on citizenship and CSOs in Turkey, the study goes beyond analyses of legal and theoretical studies of citizenship to emphasize citizenship *practices* in Turkey. It focuses on the participant and how citizens themselves are defining and redefining citizenship. It also provides an in depth analysis of volunteer/member experiences which goes beyond analyses of aggregate trends. While the study is on Turkey, the framework established and the causal mechanisms revealed will enable similar studies in other city and country settings, enabling an opportunity for cross case comparisons.

IV. Dissertation Roadmap

This section presents a brief introduction to each chapter, providing the roadmap to the dissertation. **Chapter 2** is an analytical review of the literature on active citizenship, civil society, and citizenship. The chapter begins with a review of the theoretical, empirical and policy work in the field of active citizenship. The review of the concept of active citizenship serves to develop an analytical definition to be utilized in this study. Conceptualizations and definitions of active citizenship emphasize the following three attributes: (1) civic action, (2) social cohesion, and (3) self-actualization. Thus the potential for active citizenship in this study is evaluated based on these three dimensions. Since civic action is a part of all conceptualizations of active citizenship it is the fundamental dimension and carries the most weight in determining the development of active citizenship. Active citizenship is essentially about greater engagement, and with a normative attribute this becomes civic action. The normative attribute implies that engagement is civic, that is, engagement targeting the wellbeing of a community. The second dimension, social cohesion is

about solidarity and community development, as well as exposure to differences. This dimension also has a normative attribute which implies social cohesion as encompassing community and exposure to diversity without resulting in exclusionary behavior. Extreme forms of solidarity risk exclusion of others. And while exposure to diversity does not imply acceptance of diversity it also does not imply acts against particular groups. The third dimension, self-actualization is about citizens being able to realize their agency, that is express themselves, and make claims. The normative attributes associated with self-actualization in this definition implies that self-actualization also considers the wellbeing of others. The development of self and empowerment do not work toward extreme individualism. So an active citizen, ideally, feels empowered regarding what she is capable of doing, gives importance to her community, is aware of diversities within it, and most importantly is willing and able to act for a community interest. Thus the first objective that this chapter achieves is to review the literature on active citizenship and develop a working definition to be utilized in the analysis.

Following the discussion on active citizenship and establishing its definition for the study, the chapter continues with a critical analysis of literature on citizenship and civil society organizations. This section of chapter 2 aims to situate active citizenship and the potential for civic learning in the CSO within the general citizenship and CSO literatures. It also establishes the major gaps in these literatures that this research contributes to. There is a vast literature rooted in the seminal works of Putnam (1994) and Tocqueville (1835 (2003)) that argues that participation in civil society organizations contributes to democratic and civic traits among their participants and thus contributes to the development of a more democratic and civic society. This perspective of CSOs has been contested by works that emphasize the necessity to consider the context in which CSOs function (Altan-Olcay and İçduygu 2012, Encarnaciaon 2006) as this may have an inhibitive

effect. A review of this debate on CSOs presents the necessity to differentiate between different types of CSO, and consider the particular settings in which they are analyzed.

The literature on citizenship is analyzed in order to situate the concept active citizenship within contemporary citizenship theories. A review of literature points to new conceptualizations of the citizen and how the citizen is an actor in defining his citizenship (Rumelili, Keyman and Isyar 2011, Işın and Nielson 2008, Işın 2002). This is an indication of the move away from conceptualizations of citizenship as solely a legal status and within a nation state (Kadıoğlu 2007a, Linklater 2007, Soysal 1998). The changing nature of citizenship necessitates further empirical analysis of how the practice of citizenship works as a way of learning citizenship. An empirical analysis of how active citizenship is or can be learned within CSOs will be indicative of the types of citizenship learned.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of citizenship and civil society organizations in Turkey. This chapter sets the stage and establishes the scope of the study. The fundamental objective of this study is to analyze the potential for the development of a more active form of citizenship in a country where citizenship had been theorized, conceptualized and practiced as passive. Chapter 3 initially provides a historic account of how citizenship has been practiced and perceived in Turkey, which also works to describe the setting in which CSOs have functioned. The issues are analyzed around two dynamics at work that shape citizenship and CSOs in Turkey. These dynamics are *structural legacies* and *processes of change*. The structural legacies that persist in Turkey represent dynamics that support the passive nature of citizenship and an inhibitive setting for CSOs. These are dynamics such as Turkey's strong state and patrimonial state tradition and its nationalist and militarist approach to citizenship (Ünsal 1998, Heper 1998). These attributes affect the definition of citizenship today and debates surrounding how citizenship ought to be defined. The strong state

tradition has also taken its toll on CSOs, where many lament over state interference (İçduygu et al. 2011). In particular, CSOs that have a critical stance against the state are inhibited, threatened or prevented from carrying out their activities.

The processes of change, on the other hand, point to opportunities that have emerged for a change to citizenship perceptions and practices as well as how CSOs function. These encompass global and domestic factors that have emerged particularly since the 1990s in the form of social movements, ideological clashes in Turkey as well as global dynamics such as globalization and Turkey's process of EU candidacy (Kadıoğlu 2005, Keyman and İçduygu 2005). Toward the end of the 1990s CSOs gained increased legitimacy and visibility following CSO initiatives triggered by the 1999 earthquake that hit Turkey's Marmara region. These processes have opened up space for discussion regarding citizenship, both in terms of its definition as well as citizenship rights, initiating a process of empowerment of the citizen in face of the state. In terms of CSOs, domestic initiatives as well as the process of EU candidacy has strengthened CSOs in Turkey both through financial assistance as well as increasing their legitimacy. Significant reforms have enabled more CSOs to be founded and function relatively efficiently as of 2000.

More recent domestic developments, however, have led to a downturn in citizens' ability to engage in particular types of civic acts without significant risk. Events such as the Gezi protests reflects both the potential for associational activity as well the state's intolerance toward them. Moving between democratization packages and peace processes, and their reversals through stricter anti-terror legislation, Turkey continues to move two steps forward and two steps back. Changes to anti-terror laws starting in 2006 and most recently implemented in 2014 expand crimes that can be filed under terrorism. The number of journalists that have been charged with supporting a terrorist organization is reported as one of the highest globally (Brookings 2013). 2014 changes

to anti-terror laws expand state institutions' (police and courts) ability to take stricter measures in areas such as surveillance and seizure of assets, and measures such as allowing police searches or police use of firearms without a court order (Human Rights Watch 2014). Such legislation has made participating in associational activity, particularly protest activity, a significant risk, especially for rights groups that have confrontational relations with the state.

In addition to a historical account, this chapter also analyzes the empirical literature on citizenship and CSOs in Turkey. Empirical studies on CSOs are limited. Many studies provide significant accounts of CSOs on issues such as CSOs in number, issue areas, strengths and weaknesses, internal dynamics, effectiveness, capacity, relations with other institutions etc. (Içduygu et al. 2011, Yeğen et al. 2009, Bikmen and Meydanoğlu 2006). While these are essential to understanding CSO dynamics in Turkey, few studies cover participation and how CSO participation shapes individuals to develop particular values and practices. At the same time empirical studies on citizenship are also limited. Most of the studies on citizenship in Turkey focus on legal, historical, theoretical discussion of citizenship, with studies on the practice of citizenship emerging more recently. This study contributes to this significant gap by examining the practice of citizenship and civic learning processes.

Chapter 4 presents the research design and methodology developed for this research. The research design is based on a comparative case study and utilizes a purposive case selection process. Similar to Gerring's (2008) "diverse case study" design, cases are chosen to reflect a range of combinations of the criteria selected. The comparative case study design is particularly relevant to studies that aim to develop novel concepts, reveal processes, and for hypothesis and theory building (Buroway 2009, Snow et al. 2008, Mahoney 2007). This research is a comparison of six CSOs. CSOs were selected systematically to reflect divergence on attributes expected to

result in variation in participation. CSOs were selected based on the following criteria: (1) CSOs that employ a rights based versus an obligations based discourse; (2) structural differences between volunteer based versus membership based CSOs; (3) Types of Activities utilized by CSOs to implement objectives; and (4) Issue area. Initially, 18 CSOs were selected randomly, and through a purposive selection process, based on the criteria established, they were narrowed down to the six selected for this research. Below is a 1-2 sentence description of these six CSOs, all obtained from their websites, and which are detailed further in chapter 4.

(1) Ka.Der (Association for Support of Women Candidates): Ka.Der aims for equal representation for women in all areas of life, particularly equal representation in elected/appointed decision making positions.

(2) TEGV (Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey): TEGV provides after school education for children aged 7-16. It conducts activities using interactive teaching methods aimed to develop self-confidence, ability to critically think, creativity, and non-discrimination.

(3) Habitat (Habitat Center for Development and Governance): Habitat aims to develop the capacity of youth to support their participation in local and national decision making processes. Other activities also target disadvantaged groups such as women, children and the disabled.

(4) IHD (Human Rights Association): IHD's objective is to conduct work on human rights and freedoms.

(5) TTB (Turkish Medical Association): TTB defends the rights of physicians in various platforms and contributes to decisions taken in the area of medical education. TTB also acts as a watchdog over physicians to ensure that vocational practices are being conducted legally and ethically, thus ensuring patient rights.

(6) TOD (Turkish Hearths Association). TOD aims for the development of national culture and

intellect, the strengthening of national unity and societal build/make-up, and the glorification of Turkishness.

These six CSOs were selected since they show variation on the three criteria developed to distinguish how participants are engaged. It was also important that for each criteria more than one, ideally 2-3, CSOs could be compared for each indicator. The table below reflects this distribution. The empirical chapters compare these CSO based on these attributes to identify how each type of CSO contributes to the development of active citizenship practices.

Table 1: CSO Classification Based on Selection Criteria

	TEGV	Habitat	Ka.Der	TOD	TTB (ITO)	IHD
Volunteerism/ Membership	V	V	M	M/V	M	M
Rights/ Obligations	O	R/O	R	O	R	R
Activity 1	Educational	Educational	Educational	Educational	Research/ Publications	Research / Publications
Activity 2	Social	Lobbying	Lobbying	Social	Protest	Protest

Data was compiled through semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with CSO volunteers and members. A total of 44 interviews were conducted, transcribed and analyzed using Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis program. Atlas.ti was utilized primarily to organize the data derived from interviews. Interviews were coded based on the three dimensions of active citizenship as well as the attributes that define the different types of CSOs compared. The interview consists of 29 questions regarding three main areas aiming to identify how participants are engaged in the CSO (see appendix 1). One set of questions aim to answer the question of

whether and how CSO participation changes the participant. It does so directly by asking participants to list any ways in which they feel they have changed, and indirectly through questions that reveal different ways through which the participant is engaged. The second set of questions focuses on structural attributes of the CSO as well as their employment of different discourses on issues relevant to participation. Questions inquire about, for example, the types of activities utilized, perceived effectiveness of the CSO, or how participants would identify the CSO around concepts such as “rights” and “obligations.” The final set of questions ask participants to voice their opinions on a range of concepts or issues such as citizenship, active citizenship and civil society participation in Turkey. The questions aim to reveal participant perceptions a range of issues significant to citizenship and civil society in Turkey.

Chapter 5 compares the CSOs based on their discourse regarding rights and obligations. It is based on an analysis of CSO objectives and values as expressed in written materials and interviews to determine whether and how the pursuit of rights or fulfillment of obligations affects how the individual is engaged. This distinction is developed for this study as it is expected that the employment of a rights versus obligations discourse will develop divergent values and practices, in particular regarding the relationship between the citizen and the state. Similar typologies distinguish between, for example, advocacy and service oriented CSOs (Yaziji and Doh 2009). Rights based CSOs, in their pursuit of rights, place the responsibility for change on the state. Obligations based CSOs on the other hand, take it upon themselves to ameliorate or change whatever issue drives their activities. Thus, for example, while IHD criticizes the state and demands it to ensure and protect particular rights, TEGV, while it may identify gaps in the education system, addresses them by providing after school activities for children.

Engagement associated with rights pursuit versus fulfillment of obligation or service is

expected to change how the citizen views the state. This expectation became evident as a result of analysis of both the written literature of CSOs as well as preliminary interviews. Yet, the relevance of state-citizen relations is rooted in citizenship literature that defines citizenship based on citizen-state relations. How this relationship is organized is what distinguishes various theories of citizenship, such as republican versus liberal citizenship theories. Liberal citizenship theories place a greater importance on the state guaranteeing rights of citizens, while civic republican citizenship emphasizes the obligations of the citizen to community (Oldfield 1998, Oldfield 1990).

The analysis confirms that in particular the dynamics of rights claims can change one's perception of the state and thus perception and practice of self as a citizen. Rights pursuit is frequently a challenge against status quo. It is evident both in written materials and the state's reactions to particular CSO activities that the struggle for change frequently creates a controversial relation between the CSO and the state. Findings reveal that both rights and obligations based CSOs achieve the development of active citizenship among their participants but through different processes. Rights based CSO achieve active citizenship through the development of all three dimensions of active citizenship and through processes such as knowledge dissemination, shifting citizen-state relations, and convergence of diverse groups for a common cause. Obligations based CSOs primarily achieve civic action and self-actualization mainly through processes that enable the development of a sense of satisfaction, a sense of privilege in society, and increased responsibility. There was little indication of the development of social cohesion in obligations based CSOs.

Chapter 6 compares CSOs based on whether they are membership based or volunteer based. This structural attribute of CSOs is expected to guide the extent and form of participation within the CSO. This structural distinction is based on two features that vary in these CSOs. While

the literature on CSOs rarely makes such a distinction, analysis of written materials of a range of CSOs pointed to these two distinctions which are expected to affect participation. First, membership based and volunteer based CSOs have different *expectations* regarding participation. In general, volunteerism requires a commitment of time or the completion of a particular task within a given time period. And in general, membership based CSOs do not require direct involvement or a commitment of time from members. Expectations are generally limited to the payment of membership dues. The second attribute on which they diverge is the extent to which membership and volunteer based CSOs engage their participants in the CSO's *decision making* structures. Volunteer based CSOs tend to limit the involvement of volunteers in decision making, whereas (well-functioning) membership based CSOs frequently have decision making structures in place for members. The level and form of participation regulated by expectations is expected to have an effect on developing particular skills through a consistent, long term learning environment. Decision making, on the other hand, is an important element of democratic citizenship and gaining practical experience in decision making has the potential to develop skills such as expression of opinions, debate, and decision making itself, all of which can contribute to the different dimensions of active citizenship. Identifying whether, how, and through what mechanisms these distinctions affect active citizenship is the underlying objective of chapter 6.

Chapter 7 compares the different types of activities that CSOs utilize to implement their projects. Type of Activities has been utilized in the literature to distinguish between CSOs (Yeğen et al. 2009, Vakil 1997). The purpose of this distinction for this research is to identify how different types of activities engage CSO participants. What values and skills does participation in a protest activity develop versus participation at a conference, for example? And most importantly what is it about these activities that foster particular practices? What are the processes that link activity to

citizenship practices? While CSOs utilize a vast array of activities to implement their projects, for each of the six CSOs under study the two most prominent activities were selected for analysis, based on an exploration of their written materials and preliminary review of interviews. Types of activities that were analyzed are educational, research and publications, protest, conferences, social and lobbying activities. Analysis of each type of activity reveals divergent processes that contribute to the development of (or lack of development) any of the three dimensions of active citizenship.

Chapter 8 begins with an overview of findings. This is followed by a brief evaluation of how each of the six CSOs fares in terms of achieving active citizenship practices among its participants. It then presents the contribution of these findings to citizenship and CSO literatures. This also includes a discussion of how the findings are relevant to citizenship and CSOs in Turkey. Next is a section on the policy implications of the findings. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of limitations to the study and future research propositions. Findings reveal first that CSOs do in fact provide a learning environment for civic education. Findings also confirm that different types of CSOs foster the development of different citizenship practices and thus have divergent effects on the development of active citizenship. All types of CSOs studied contributed to at least one dimension of active citizenship. The analysis of rights based versus obligations based CSOs reveal that rights based CSOs are better at achieving the development of active citizenship primarily through their ability to foster civic action and shift perceptions regarding citizen-state relations. A comparison of volunteer and membership based CSOs reveals that enabling decision making within the CSO, which is more prominently a feature of membership based CSOs, fosters the development of self-actualization. And establishing regular expectations, which is better achieved in volunteer based CSOs better achieves civic action through sustained

participation. And finally, comparative analysis of types of activities demonstrate that protest and educational activities are most successful at developing active citizenship among participants, primarily through their ability to foster civic action.

Some of the processes through which active citizenship is achieved are knowledge attainment, development of a sense of solidarity, development of a sense of responsibility, developing self-confidence and realizing agency. This study aims to fill important gaps in the literatures on citizenship and CSOs and is motivated by a desire to enhance a novel understanding and practice of citizenship in Turkey. The findings of this study do not point to an immediate transformation to citizenship in Turkey. It does, however, establish a potential for change to how CSOs function in Turkey, which can in turn affect the development of active citizenship in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP, CIVIL SOCIETY & CITIZENSHIP

I. Introduction

This chapter outlines the relevant theoretical debates on civil society, citizenship and active citizenship to establish the conceptual framework through which active citizenship is studied in this research. The next chapter then sets the stage for this study with a discussion of civil society and citizenship *in Turkey*. The concept active citizenship is studied in various literatures to address concerns regarding either the decline of, or barriers to, democratic participation. Active citizenship merges with the concepts civil society and citizenship, in this research, in an effort to understand how the site of civil society organizations influence citizenship practices. Civil society organizations have long been recognized as significant, if not necessary features of strong democracies (Putnam 1994, Diamond and Morlino 2004, Diamond 1999, Dahl 1971). They have also been attributed a role in the democratic transition of many countries (Burnell and Calvert 2004, Bernhard 1993, O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986). Citizenship literature has debated how to organize political life and delineate the roles of the citizen and the state (Oldfield, 1998). Demarcating and ensuring citizen rights has been the basis of a range of theories of citizenship. These three concepts merge to understand how participation in civil society organizations enable or shape the practice of citizenship and particularly whether they enable active citizenship practices.

Active citizenship is juxtaposed to passive and/or dutiful forms of citizenship. Depending

on the political and cultural context in which it is analyzed, active citizenship is either about reversing a decline in participation or promoting opportunities for participation. Passive citizenship refers to a lack of will or interest in participation in community activities. In such contexts active citizenship is about encouraging citizens to take more responsibility and engage in their communities. Dutiful citizenship, on the other hand, is a guided form of participation which diminishes the citizen's agency. Such forms of citizenship are prominent in contexts where a strong state tradition inhibits agency, where citizen duties are defined around traditional forms of participation such as voting, and in which cases, active citizenship is about enabling citizens to participate. The role of the state is more visible, for example through interference in CSO activity, limitations to community activities and in more extreme cases state controlled CSOs. For example, associational activity in many communist regimes was common (Howard 2003), though few were based on autonomous participation or self-determined values and interest. Such organizations had the general aim of transferring and sustaining a particular ideology and/or controlling populations. And, even today, despite significant transformations to post-communist societies, skepticism remains regarding CSOs due to previous experiences with associations (Howard 2003). Similarly, Wiktorowicz (2000) argues how civil society organizations in Jordan are so tightly controlled by the state that it is more of a mechanism to control groups than to encourage pursuit of autonomous objectives.

As will be detailed in chapter 3, scholars of Turkish citizenship have argued that citizenship in Turkey, particularly in its early republican years and to a certain extent today, reflects duty toward the state over rights (Kanci 2009, Üstel 2004, Yeğen 2004). This type of citizenship, along with limited CSO space, mutually reinforces the presence of dutiful citizenship in Turkey. This dutiful attribute of citizenship hinders the development of participatory institutions. Cases where

CSOs are either strictly controlled, or where they are limited such as in the Middle East, may reinforce dutiful forms of citizenship (Butenschon et al. 2000). It is within this context, where dutiful citizenship is prevalent, that the potential for active citizenship is evaluated.

What constitutes active citizenship varies in different contexts of state-society relations. Defining the relationship between the individual and the state is a critical component of citizenship. And, essentially, how involved the citizen is in defining this relationship, delineates the roles of the state and the citizen. In today's societies the citizen is far from Aristotle's ideal of a citizen who both makes the laws and obeys them (Ignatieff 1995, 55). Depending on the role attributed to the citizen and the state, active citizenship may entail developing skills and values that enable the individual to resist state pressure, more autonomously practice citizenship, and pursue interests. In other environments, this relationship may necessitate an active citizenship that is about encouraging citizens to take part in community affairs, where participation is possible but not practiced. This latter case exemplifies experiences in European countries with welfare traditions in which the state desires a citizenry more involved in community affairs, in order to diminish the responsibility placed on the state (Blunkett and Taylor 2010, Crick Report 1998). Cases such as Turkey, on the other hand, where the state is strong and frequently involved in community affairs, participation is about reducing the role of state so that that participation can be realized. This relationship between the state and the citizen defines various theories of citizenship. The necessity for an active type of citizenship, which entails either the *will* or the *ability* to become more engaged, emerges in various settings and is becoming increasingly relevant to understanding citizenship today.

Below, initially, is an analytical review of the concept active citizenship. I reference the definitions of active citizenship that emerges in various literatures to develop a definition for this

research. The review of the literature develops a conceptual framework which defines active citizenship around three dimensions. As will be evident below, there is no single definition for the concept active citizenship. This chapter establishes a comprehensive definition of the concept based on the different attributes that are referenced as constituting active citizenship in the various literatures. This review is accompanied by an analytical review of the literature on citizenship and civil society to establish the role and relevance of active citizenship in these fields.

II. Active Citizenship

The concept active citizenship emerges in a range of literatures including citizenship, civil society, sociology, and education, primarily to address contemporary concerns regarding the decline of citizen participation in democratic societies. A decline in citizen engagement has revived discussions regarding the role of civic education as well as CSOs in enabling and encouraging citizenship participation (Putnam 2000, Crick Report 1998). The discussion surrounding active citizenship encompasses both an exploration of the waning of participation as well as how civic participation skills can be learned (Crick and Lockyer 2010, Crick Report 1998, Park 2007, Cleaver and Nelson 1998). Active citizenship is also a major policy area for several European countries and emerges in significant policy papers in the UK and the EU (Bee and Pachi 2014, Crick Report 1998, Blunkett and Taylor 2010). These documents aim to guide policy makers on how citizens can become more involved in community affairs, mainly through the development of a civic education program. For example, the UK, in a major policy change, integrated civic education into the national education system in 2001 with the objective of encouraging active citizenship (Crick Report 1998, Munn 2010). The Crick Report, which evaluates and guides this initiative, is an important document that assesses active citizenship in the case of the UK. Active

citizenship policy has also been utilized to as a policy tool to develop a European public sphere, particularly in the context of the European Union's efforts to promote democratic participation (Bee and Guerrina 2014).

The context in which active citizenship is assessed has implications for how active citizenship is defined and what it entails. Most of the empirical work conducted on active citizenship is presented in the context of European countries. Studies evaluate active citizenship levels as well as how active citizenship can be developed (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, Mascherini 2010). In countries where civic participation is on the decline, active citizenship is about encouraging greater participation (Crick Report 1998). It implies an effort to engage citizens in community and public affairs. This perspective on active citizenship applies mainly to countries where, in the view of the state, the welfare tradition or an extreme liberal citizenship has hindered the development of more republican and communitarian citizenship practices.

For example, in the UK, concerns regarding extreme individualism triggered a need to develop a civic education curriculum that would teach individuals the importance of national and community engagement. The objective was to encourage individuals to take greater responsibility in their communities, and in doing so, relieve the state of some of its responsibilities. The implementation of citizenship education as part of the national education curriculum, while long integrated into the national education of countries like Turkey, is relatively novel in the UK (Crick Report 1998, Birzea et al. 2004). Civics classes to teach youth about concepts and values of democratic citizenship was initiated in 2002 with the objective to “develop political literacy, community involvement and social and moral responsibility in young people” (Blunkett and Taylor 2010, Munn 2010). The Crick Report describes active citizenship as encouraging engagement with the local community, local and national voluntary organizations, and active engagement in

decisions concerning schools. It also encompasses the contribution of community members, such as MPs, voluntary organizations and community agencies, such as police and faith groups, in the citizenship learning processes (Crick Report 1998, 25). This definition emphasizes engagement with community as well as opportunity to take part in decision making.

In other contexts, where participation is low because it is inhibited or controlled, active citizenship is about enabling a more autonomous type of civic engagement. Empirical studies conducted on other regions such as the Middle East define active citizenship as agency and as access to and pursuit of rights (Abou-Habib 2011, Akar 2014). In this context, active citizenship is about empowerment of citizens to claim rights and services. Abou-Habib, in a study of active citizenship in Egypt, Lebanon and Palestine, defines active citizenship as “a means to expanding human opportunity and achieving social justice and gender equality; it denotes equality between citizens, and promotes collective action as a means of securing that equality” (Abou-Habib 2011, 442).

Whether or not it is coined active citizenship in the literature, scholarship on citizenship points to a shift in citizenship norms from “duty based” to “engaged” citizenship (Dalton 2006), emphasizing citizenship as an active form of engagement. “Citizen duty” refers to norms of social order such as obeying the law, whereas “engaged citizenship” includes measures of solidarity and participation, mainly activity in civil society groups and general political activity (Dalton 2006). According to Dalton, younger generations are less likely to engage in the more traditional forms of participation such as political party membership and voting. He states that “their participation repertoire includes more direct and individualized forms of action. The cognitively mobilized, engaged citizen is more active on referendums than elections, and direct action over campaign work, and volunteering is preferred to party activity” (Dalton 2006, 10). The characteristics of

engaged citizenship described here encompass direct forms of engagement, are individualized but also place value on solidarity. The “duty based” citizenship referenced, on the other hand, is about engagement in traditional mediums, such as political parties, and traditional forms such as voting, both motivated by obligation toward “social order” as Dalton puts it. The emphasis on participation is reiterated in an evaluation of active citizenship in the context of community development. Clarke and Missingham (2009) define active citizenship primarily as “participation, especially bottom-up participation in the domain of civil society (Clarke and Missingham 2009, 955). They observe that community development projects that have an impact have achieved high levels of participation. In addition to participation, Clarke and Missingham define active citizenship with the two features “rights based development” and “good governance” both features pointing to organizing the relationship between the citizen and state to ensure rights of the marginalized and accountability (Clarke and Missingham 2009, 996). Active citizenship as defined here emphasizes both participation and active citizenship as pursuit of rights.

In another study, novel sites for youth engagement is explored. Bennett et al. (2009) emphasize contemporary forms of media as a new forum for youth to learn and practice their citizenship, enhancing the space for citizenship practice for those less inclined to participate through traditional mediums such as voting (Bennett et al. 2009, 105). In analyzing this trend, Bennett et al. distinguish between “dutiful citizenship” and “self-actualizing citizenship.” A “self-actualizing citizen”, as defined by Bennett et al., “1) has a weak sense of duty to participate in government, 2) focuses on lifestyle politics: political consumerism, volunteering, social activism, 3) mistrusts media and politicians, and 4) joins loose networks for social action” (Bennett et al. 2009, 107). This definition emphasizes self-expression, development of social networks and a sense of autonomy from the state and other more formal institutions in defining a novel form of

engagement for youth. A decline in participation in traditional mediums of citizenship encourages participation through alternative mediums.

Empirical studies conducted on active citizenship emphasize the importance of participation and community to active citizenship. Hoskins and Mascherini develop a composite indicator, the Active Citizenship Composite Indicator (ACCI) to assess active citizenship levels in 19 countries in Europe. The ACCI encompasses four dimensions, Protest and Social Change, Community Life, Democratic Values, and Representative Democracy based on 61 indicators derived from the 2002 European Social Survey (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, 459). They define active citizenship as “Participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy” (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, 462). In a comparison of 19 European countries, regional variety was observed in levels of active citizenship. While Nordic countries received the highest score for active citizenship Eastern European countries and Greece were at the lower end of the indicator. For Hoskins and Mascherini, active citizenship is about strengthening participatory and representative democracy and giving the citizen a greater role in the process of governing (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009). This definition encompasses participation intended to enable participants to voice opinions as well as to develop a sense of belonging in a community (Hoskins and Macherini 2009). Mascherini (2010) defines active citizenship in the context of Europe as a “particular form of participation which should be promoted within Europe in order to ensure the continuation of participatory and representative democracy, to enhance social cohesion and to reduce the gap between citizens and governing institutions” (Mascherini 2010, 8). This definition, in addition to participation and social cohesion emphasizes developing channels between citizens and governing institutions to enable citizens’ voices. This is about organizing relatively more

equal relations between the state and the individual. Thus, Mascherini and Hoskins emphasize participation, the ability to voice opinions and social cohesion in their definition of active citizenship.

Blunkett and Taylor in their analysis of active citizenship in the UK state that active citizenship

embodies core values such as empowering men and women to be able to make decisions for themselves. It is vital that individuals are able to contribute, even in small measure, to their own well-being as well as their inclusion in broader society, both at neighbourhood and at civic level. Active citizenship embodies the reciprocity and responsibility which any civilised society requires for its survival. (Blunkett and Taylor 2010, 26)

This depiction of active citizenship emphasizes the development of a sense of responsibility toward community, a critical objective of encouraging participation in the UK. It is about ensuring their own well-being while contributing to the well-being of their communities (Blunkett and Taylor 2010, 28). In this perspective citizenship is about complementing the state as it “provides a dynamic from the bottom up which complements action necessarily taken by government. Active participation is a way of mobilizing, motivating and utilizing the talent of the populace” (Blunkett and Taylor 2010, 28).

Debates surrounding democratic citizenship for today's societies also frequently address the multicultural nature of today's societies and this feature is visible in discussions on active citizenship (Bee and Pachi 2014, Hoskins and Crick 2010; Janmaat and Piattoeva 2007). Achieving active citizenship also becomes about achieving the ability of diverse communities within a nation state to live together and about engaging minority groups. In post conflict settings

this social cohesion may be about reconciliation and in communities with sharp religious or ethnic divides social cohesion is about the ability to live together. Janmaat and Piattoeva, in a comparison of citizenship education in Russia and Ukraine, refer to the emphasis that the Council of Europe's policy on Education for Democratic Citizenship placed on multiculturalism to facilitate the development of multiculturalism in transforming European populations. Efforts for democratic citizenship encompasses the knowledge, skills and values needed in order to achieve understanding of differences in cultures. This is particularly relevant as it points to an egalitarian and inclusive approach to participation (Mayo and Annette 2010; Hoskins and Crick 2010). Understanding of and exposure to difference becomes a tool to encouraging participation of more individuals particularly marginalized groups.

In the context of the UK, Kiwan (2010), critical of the lack of issues regarding ethnic or religious identities in the Crick Report, emphasizes the importance of identity in ensuring participation. Citizenship cannot be analyzed separately from diverse identities.

... in order to be motivated to participate, one must be able to identify or relate one's own personal identity/ies with those reflected in the larger community. . . identity, including a historically contextualized understanding of national identity is crucially important to developing both the knowledge and skills for a participative and inclusive citizenship. (Kiwan 2010, 105)

In 2007 citizenship education in the UK added "Identities and diversity: living together in the UK" as one of the four major concepts of the citizenship education curriculum (Kiwan 2010, 106). The objective in integrating this strand of citizenship is that an

explicit focus on ethnic and religious identities in the context of a participatory conception of citizenship will achieve a wider, more inclusive participation amongst those from a wide range of different ethnic and religious backgrounds (Kiwani 2010, 106).

This reflects the relevance of social cohesion for participation. Encouraging exposure to or acceptance of diversities is one aspect of achieving social cohesion to both encourage and enable participation by citizens. The necessity to develop understanding toward difference and in doing so enabling equality among difference is a theme in discussions on active citizenship.

Another feature that is emphasized in discussions around developing a more active citizenry is equipping individuals with the skills and habits necessary to develop agency, that is, the will and ability to act. While agency contributes to active citizenship, developing active citizenship in return develops agency (Janmaat and Piattoeva 2007). Green, (2008) in a report on development work conducted by Oxfam, states Oxfam's definition of active citizenship as having two dimensions. The first dimension complements conceptualizations that emphasize a more inclusive form of participation.

By active citizenship we mean that combination of rights and obligations that link individuals to the state . . . active citizen use those rights to improve the quality of political or civic life through involvement in the formal economy or formal politics, or through the sort of collective action that historically has allowed poor and excluded groups to make their voices heard. (Green 2008, 12)

The second dimension in Green's definition is about the effect of active citizenship on the individual.

At an individual level, active citizenship means developing self-confidence and overcoming the insidious way in which the condition of being relatively powerless can become internalised. In relation to other people, it means developing the ability to negotiate and influence decisions. And when empowered individuals work together, it means involvement in collective action, be it at the neighbourhood level, or more broadly. Ultimately, active citizenship means engaging with the political system to build an effective state, and assuming some degree of responsibility for the public domain. (Green 2008, 19)

This definition encompasses the various dimensions of active citizenship that emerge in various literatures. It makes reference to increased participation, social cohesion and the development of agency by empowering the individual. Bennett et al.'s "self-actualizing citizen" and Dalton's "engaged citizen," discussed above, also make reference to autonomous individuals, engaged more directly, and able to self-express. Thus, achieving a better sense of self, developing skills that generate greater agency and autonomy, and learning to express one's self, all work toward individual empowerment and are indicators of active citizenship.

What emerges from the literature above is a range of features that are part of the various conceptualizations of active citizenship. In developing a comprehensive definition for my analysis, I group these features under three dimensions: **civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization**. What is also evident from the literature is that civic action emerges as the fundamental feature of active citizenship. Active citizenship is ultimately the *will and ability* to

participate in civic activities, that is, activities that target the benefit of the community. Civic action emerges as the primary feature of active citizenship since all references to active citizenship entail participation. The other two dimensions, social cohesion and self-actualization, are secondary features of the conceptualization used for this study, since they emerge in most, but not all, definitions of active citizenship. Social cohesion is about solidarity, commitment to community, and exposure to diversity. Self-actualization is primarily about development of agency, and increased self-awareness, self-confidence and self-expression. The relevance of these two dimensions is undeniable, particularly when one considers their interaction with civic action. Both social cohesion and self-actualization emerge as features that can also contribute to the development of civic action. For example, attainment of self-actualization skills and values facilitates autonomy, self-awareness, and the ability and willingness to take action, thus enabling civic action. Also, their relevance reaches beyond this trait, since the presence of social cohesion and self-actualization is also particularly important to the Turkish case. As will be detailed below, a dutiful and nationalistic sense of citizenship, both characteristic of citizenship in Turkey, requires transformation that can be achieved through the development of practices such as social cohesion and self-actualization.

The dynamic relationship between the three dimensions is important since attributes such as social cohesion and self-actualization, independent of particular normative features, can trigger negative outcomes, inhibiting the achievement of active citizenship. Self-actualization without the normative attribute of civic engagement, for example, could imply an extreme form of liberal citizenship. Liberal citizenship's emphasis on individual rights, in its extreme conceptualizations, undermines the community. This kind of focus on the individual is in fact what active citizenship aims to prevent in many contexts. The third dimension, social cohesion,

which is about the development of solidarity and exposure to diversity, is also about access to and equality in opportunities to participate. Social cohesion, without the normative attribute of acceptance of difference, can also develop exclusionary outcomes. Thus, how self-actualization and social cohesion interact with civic action will be indicative of whether and how active citizenship is achieved. Following an analytical review of citizenship and CSO literatures below, section VI details how each of these three dimensions are defined for the empirical analyses.

III. The Citizen and the State: From Citizenship to Active Citizenship

This section begins with a brief survey of citizenship literature which highlights that the medium, forms, understandings and practices of citizenship have become much more complex and multilayered, moving citizenship away from being solely a legal status within a delineated nation state. The political culture, institutions and practices, including the extent of the presence of the state in community and individuals' affairs, is fundamental to how citizenship is achieved. How the relationship between the state and individual is organized is a fundamental aspect of citizenship as it defines the citizen's and the state's roles and delineates the forms and mediums for participation. Whether civic action is encouraged and citizens are enabled to participate has to do with this relationship. Thus, understanding state-citizen relations is critical to understanding the necessity and potential for active citizenship in any given context. Notions of citizenship are developed around dynamics of autonomy from state, activity despite state, or participation for society along with state. This is particularly relevant for cases such as Turkey in which the state is a major actor in shaping these roles. The ability for citizens in Turkey to distance themselves from the state will be critical to their ability to develop active citizenship skills.

The significance of participation to a healthy citizenry and a strong democracy is a key

concern for literature on citizenship. Participation is a central concern for political theorists that emphasize the importance of civic participation for the wellbeing of societies (Aristotle 1993, Machiavelli 1997 (1532), Arendt 1958, Dewey 2012(1927)). Participation and forms of participation make up the foundation of republican citizenship theories of Aristotle as well as contemporary political theories where citizenship is about governing and taking part in politics (Aristotle 1993, Arendt 1958). Theories of citizenship attribute various rights and responsibilities to citizens. Liberal citizenship places value on the individual, where the political community exists to ensure that individual interests are most effectively attained (Locke 1690, Mill 1859). Republican citizenship values community over individual and places a greater role on individuals to act toward a common good (Aristotle 1993, Machiavelli 1997 (1532), Rousseau 1762, Arendt 1958). Communitarian citizenship also values community over individual, the focus being on a cultural rather than civic community. In communitarian theories of citizenship (Delanty, 2002) community comes before individual, but the wellbeing of the community is dependent on the participation of its members. Participation itself, however, can take a variety of forms, and the boundaries set regarding who is eligible to participate will have implications for the extent of participation in any given polity. This is where modern theories of citizenship emerge to redefine the conditions of citizenship and establish not only who is a citizen but what the practice of citizenship entails. Thus the boundaries set, and the rights, responsibilities and priorities established between state and individual are all determinate in the potential for active citizenship.

Contemporary definitions of citizenship most commonly refer to the rights and obligations one has as a member of a state. Classifications of citizenship rights frequently reference T.H. Marshall's tripartite model of civil, political, and social citizenship introduced in his seminal 1950 essay (Marshall 1950). This definition, however, fails to account for recent formulations of

citizenship that move citizenship beyond a legal status granted by the state. Novel theories of citizenship posit different ways to be a citizen and multiple layers of citizenship such as subnational, post-national, and international citizenship (Kadıoğlu 2007a, Linklater 2007, Sassen 2002, Soysal 1998). Işın and Nielson's work which has articulated citizenship as practice, defines citizenship as *acts* and *practices* to claim rights (Işın and Nielson 2008). And Kadıoğlu emphasizes a shift from citizenship as membership in a nation state to citizenship as "a series of rights" (Kadıoğlu 2008). Based on the understanding that citizenship is also a "lived experience" citizenship encompasses the ability and space to practice, participate, act, and make claims, moving its definition beyond the provision of rights and responsibilities.

Supranational and local challenges to the nation state as well as globalization provoke ongoing debates on how membership in a community is defined and how membership translates into the practice of citizenship. With global developments and post-national formulations, citizenship debates have been expanded to include issues of post-national citizenship (Kadıoğlu 2007a, Soysal 1998), cosmopolitan citizenship (Linklater 2007), and multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka 1996), among others. They have encouraged the evaluation of novel spaces and forms for its expression (Lelandais 2013, Baban 2014), including, for example, *enacting citizenship* through European institutions (Rumelili, Keyman and Isyar 2011), each establishing different expectations regarding citizenship rights, obligations, and practices. Soysal (1997), for example, asks how associational activities of Islamic groups support the practice of citizenship and integration in Europe. Citizenship is conceptualized here as claims-making, an act that encourages associational activity.

As well as defining certain rights and duties, citizenship denotes participatory practices and

contestations in the public sphere. Through their collective associational and relational activities (formal or informal) in the public sphere, individual citizens mobilize and advance claims. In that sense, a shared public space, within which social actors interact and mobilize, is essential for the exercise of citizenship. (Soysal 1997, 510)

Results from this study on active citizenship contributes to this web of theories that question the practice of citizenship as well as sites in which it is realized. The practice of citizenship is a relation between state and individual that is determined not only by the expectations established by the polity but the experiences that lead individuals to realize different scripts for themselves as they define themselves as citizens. While these theories show that individuals are able to emerge as citizens through these different scripts, this study will reveal some of the mechanisms that shape participants' citizenship practices.

As detailed in the seminal work of Almond and Verba (1963), it must be acknowledged that the political culture within which citizenship practices are developed are critical to understanding the relationship between the state and the individual. Both traditional relations as well as contestations of citizenship occur within a given political and cultural setting. This determines what the established notion of citizenship is, what the desired notion of citizenship may be and what in fact is being practiced. The Turkish context is critical to understanding the relationship between CSOs and the state, citizens and the state, participant perspectives on citizenship as well as their practices. The Turkish context shapes how individuals are engaged in the CSO, impacting the potential for transformation. Chapter 3 will detail these dynamics and set the stage for the study.

IV. Active Citizenship in the CSO

Active citizenship, as established above, is about increased participation, increased agency and when possible increased solidarity. There are a multitude of sites and methods through which skills and values developing these attributes can be learned. One site that is expected to provide a civic learning environment for its participants is the *civil society organization*¹. Various forms of participation such as political participation, participation in community life and civil society, participation in the work place and participation in the home have been studied (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, 462). Studies on active citizenship have explored various sites including the classroom, after school activities, and the work place (Keser et al. 2011, Munn 2010, Benn 2000). Keser et al. find, for example, in a case study of a high school in Turkey, that participating in extracurricular activities contributes to the development of active citizenship in six areas: awareness of human rights and democracy, perceptions of active citizenship; social accountability; intercultural awareness; thinking and research skills; and interaction and intrapersonal skills (Keser et al. 2011, 822). A survey conducted with adult education participants on where certain attributes of active citizenship are acquired finds that the workplace is the most effective site of learning active citizenship skills and the school is less effective (Benn 2000). Such studies emphasize that formal school curriculums are not effective and that learning citizenship requires the practice of citizenship.

There are two significant gaps in the literature regarding the effect that participation has on

¹ The term civil society organization is used to encompass a wide range of associational institutions, which encompass other terms such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community groups, faith based organizations, labor unions, professional associations and foundations (UNDP 2013). As the case of the Turkish Medical Association studied here makes clear, the experience within the CSO is evaluated independent of whether the CSO has a relationship with the government, which in other definitions may prevent its inclusion as a NGO. Since the focus is on the experience of the participant, while the relation of the association with the state may affect participation, it does not preclude it from being considered for analysis.

the participant. First, there are limited empirical studies that establish the processes revealing how participation in CSOs develop various citizenship skills. Putnam (1994) reveals significant mechanisms such as the formation of social networks which increase trust and cooperation, which in turn, contribute to participation and democracy. However, critical literature in the field, detailed below, reveals that these social networks do not necessarily accompany democratic values. Second, is the lack in distinguishing between CSOs to differentiate their potentially varied effect on individuals. While some types of CSOs may encourage civic democratic participation others may trigger “uncivil” acts, hindering or harming democratic politics. Therefore different qualities of a CSO may enable particular practices through different mechanisms to determine how participants are engaged. This study on active citizenship addresses these gaps, first by distinguishing between different types of CSOs, and secondly by identifying the mechanisms that link participation to various citizenship outcomes.

Much literature on civil society ascribes CSOs with the ability to develop civic engagement skills and democratic values. Alexis De Tocqueville, in *Democracy in America*, evaluates the strength of democracy in America in the mid nineteenth century and attributes a great share of its strength to non-political, public associations.

the most democratic country on the world is that in which men have in our time perfected the art of pursuing in concert the aim of the common desires and have applied this new technique to the greatest number of objectives. (De Tocqueville 2003, 598)

De Tocqueville argues no political power could play the role that citizens play via so many small associations daily (De Tocqueville 2003, 598). In the Tocquevillean tradition, Putnam's development of the concept social capital reemphasizes the significance of civic engagement on the formation of social networks which create higher levels of trust and cooperation, leading to better functioning democracies (Putnam 1994). Foley and Edwards distinguish between two types of civil society, one with the function of encouraging acts of civility among members and the second as a space in which individuals can resist the state (Foley and Edwards 1996). CSOs have also been cited as a space through which marginalized groups can voice themselves, especially in dominant party systems with weak opposition parties (Carothers 2002). Democracy literature evaluates how "good" a democracy is in part on the level and form of participation that it enables its citizens (Diamond and Morlino 2004, 23). These attributes point to the potential for CSOs to develop the various dimensions of active citizenship.

The literature relating associational activity to the development of democratic values and citizenship skills is vast. Walzer argues that "the civility that makes democratic politics possible can only be learned in the associational networks" of civil society (Walzer 1998, 305). Walzer's theory of "critical associationalism" asserts the necessity and thus possibility that civil society may also change according to principles of citizenship (Walzer 1998, 306). This highlights the reciprocal relation between citizenship and civil society. The types of CSOs and how they engage their citizens will have consequences for the citizenship practices developed. According to Kymlicka and Norman, what distinguishes civil society theorists is their belief that rather than the market or political participation it is the voluntary associations where "virtues of moral obligation" are learnt (Kymlicka and Norman 1995, 294). Kymlicka and Norman highlight how associational activity is critical to shaping citizenship. Participation in an association strengthens the incentive

to act responsibly over any form of legal threat and that “one of the first obligations of citizenship is to participate in civil society” (Kymlicka and Norman 1995, 295). These studies that highlight the contribution of associational activity to the development of citizenship skills and values lay the foundation for an exploration of how associational activity and what types of engagement develop these attributes.

There is also, however, a vast literature that is critical of the positive role attributed to civil society organizations. Research suggests that CSOs can just as easily lead to the development of uncivil acts, hindering democratization (Berman 1997). Other studies dismiss their effect on politics and democracy, emphasizing the relevance of other institutions such as political parties (Langohr 2004). Further research cautions against generalizing the effects of CSOs independent of the context, particularly the political structures and institutions, in which they function (Altan-Olcay and İçduygu 2012, Encarnacion 2006). Altan-Olcay and İçduygu (2012), in a comparative study of CSOs in Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey, highlight that CSOs conduct their activities within distinct political settings and that national and international dynamics shape the way in which CSOs function. These settings determine, and frequently hinder, CSOs’ ability to realize the expectation of creating a democratic and liberal transformation. Other works emphasize the CSO’s role in reinforcing the status quo or its use as a tool by state agencies. A study on civil society in Jordan exemplifies that in some settings state control on the CSO shapes its activities and in turn CSOs legitimate these state institutions (Wiktorowicz 2000). Others take it further to emphasize that the networks of associationalism can lead to the strengthening and mobilization of individuals on illiberal, undemocratic issues. Sheri Berman presents the case of Weimar Germany as an example of where civil society was strong but political institutions weak, enabling the associationalism that led to the rise of Hitler (Berman 1997).

Empirical studies also point to the decline in civil society activity in countries that transitioned to democracy, also contrary to expectations regarding the flourishing of civic activity as democracy spreads (Encarnacion 2006, Howard 2003). Howard's work on post-communist Europe presents how the legacy of communist regimes, mainly widespread obligatory participation, triggered a reaction against participation in CSOs. In addition, disillusionment with the post-communist regime and strong private friendship networks discouraged participation (Howard 2003). This reinforces the argument that CSOs need to be evaluated within their political context, and cultural and political legacies. The failure of CSOs to foster democratic values may also result from undemocratic values and practices within the CSO and an inability to act in a democratic setting, triggered once again by the context in which individuals associate (Armony 2004).

One of the main objectives of this research is to identify the impact that CSO participation has on the participant. Several empirical studies have examined the effect of CSO participation on the individual (Houtzager and Acharya 2011; Ribeiro et al. 2012). Participation in associations has been found to empower individuals to take part in politics, thus increasing civic engagement (Ribiero et al. 2012; Houtzager and Acharya 2011). Houtzager and Acharya (2011) state how active citizenship results from the empowerment of the individual "to negotiate with state agents for access to goods and services such as healthcare." This points to the ability of CSOs to engage their participants to voice and pursue their rights to goods and services and is indicative of the potential for the development of self-actualization. Studies on active citizenship also reference the CSO as developing active citizenship based on their ability to create an environment encouraging participatory democracy (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009).

A study on NGO perceptions of civic education reveals that NGOs feel that while schools

focus too much on providing knowledge on citizenship, they do little to enable its practice (Ribiero et al. 2012, 41). Consequently NGO representatives feel that in order for individuals to participate in the acts of citizenship they need to develop skills that empower them to take part and create networks that enable them to act (Ribiero et al. 2012, 42). Other studies present limits to the ability of CSOs to develop active citizenship skills. One study on active citizenship among women in Egypt, Lebanon and Palestine finds that CSOs do not positively contribute to the development of active citizenship among women (Abou-Habib 2011). In the cases presented, the political and religious dynamics at play in fact create barriers to women becoming active citizens in these settings since discriminatory mechanisms are in place against women. Women feel that opportunities to engage are limited and they expect services from the state. Abou-Habib does, however, point to the necessity for more research to identify enabling factors of active citizenship to promote them in these communities.

The second gap in the literature on CSOs that this study aims to fill is the lack of differentiation between types of CSOs in analyses of their effect on participants. CSOs have been classified based on various characteristics including type of activity, their legal status, financial capacity, and more recently more qualitative characteristics such as function and motivation (İçduygu et al. 2011, Çarkoğlu and Cenker 2011, Yeğen et al. 2009). Studies have also focused on the effect of CSOs on target groups and their own members and volunteers. These have been conducted primarily through monitoring and evaluation studies and have presented important findings regarding how certain skills, attitudes and knowledge have been attained by their participants (example: TEGV 2009, 2010). However, these classifications do not include distinctions based on how CSOs engage the participant. In failing to distinguish between types of CSOs, studies frequently generalize outcomes and are unable to illustrate the processes that lead

to these outcomes.

While studies on CSOs place importance on how the participant is affected, few studies frame their analysis based on distinctions of CSOs in terms of how they engage their participant. This is in part what prevents the exposure of processes of how particular skills are acquired. While a wide range of distinctions may have an effect on how the participant is engaged, an analysis based on classifications that affect how particular practices are acquired will more directly reveal these processes. Based on this gap, this research develops novel classifications that are expected to demonstrate how different CSOs may foster the development of different citizenship practices. The classifications are based on both structural and discursive attributes.

The first feature that distinguishes between CSOs is whether they are right based or obligations based in their discourse. Rights versus obligations based discourse is expected to affect how the participant perceives the state and the relationship they develop with the state. This relation with the state is fundamental to the citizenship practices that emerge. This is particularly relevant to the Turkish case where the state has a significant role in defining state-citizen relations. The second difference developed is a structural attribute which distinguishes between CSOs that are membership based versus those that are volunteer based. These structural differences are based on a divergence in 1) the expectations that the CSO has from participants regarding participation and 2) the decision making structures in place for participants. The extent and form of participation as well as whether and how participants are engaged in decision making is expected to take effect on the skills and values the participant develops. These features address issues relevant particularly to Turkey since low CSO participation emerges as a concern in many studies. At the same time skills and practices that engage the citizen in decision making are limited in the dutiful conceptualization of citizenship in Turkey, making this attribute relevant to the potential for

transformation to citizenship in Turkey. Finally, the third distinction is a classification that is present in the literature, types of activities. This distinction aims to identify how the types of activities utilized by CSOs may engage their participants in different ways, affecting the development of divergent citizenship practices. The details of these three classifications are detailed in chapter 4, in the discussion of case selection, as well as the empirical chapters. By differentiating between CSOs based on attributes expected to affect participation, this study contributes to CSO literature both through novel classifications of CSOs that focuses on the participant, as well as an understanding of the processes that link CSO participation to acquiring different citizenship practices.

V. Learning Active Citizenship

Literature on citizenship has expanded to stress the pragmatic dimensions of civic education. John Dewey believed that education created the regeneration of democracy and democratic action. He studied alternative, progressive forms of education and promoted schooling that encourages free personalities, judgment over knowledge and the ability to understand and sympathize with others (Dewey 1916). The literature on ‘lifetime learning’ and ‘learning by doing’ reiterates the importance of practice in education. Learning to be a citizen occurs by *being a citizen*, so “how people practice their citizenship shapes what they learn: There is a hidden curriculum in society at large, as well as in the school” (Brookes and Holford 2009, 97). Learning citizenship is also dependent on the culture, institutions and practices through which citizenship is practiced. Thus learning to be an active citizen requires practicing citizenship that encourages participation, agency and solidarity and other features such as those that Dewey highlights as encouraging democracy.

Our effort to study the civil society organization as a site in which citizenship skills can be

learned is also motivated by the literature that emphasizes ‘learning by doing’ and the importance of moving civic education out of the classroom (Park 2007; Cleaver and Nelson 1998). Several studies have addressed the issue of how civil society organizations may play a role in providing civic education. This may include increased experiential learning at school, taking part in after school extracurricular activities, or involvement in community activities (Keser et al. 2011; Cleaver and Nelson 1998). Ribiero et al. (2012) study how NGOs contribute to citizenship education by developing materials for schools but are also ‘contexts for citizenship education, throughout their everyday activity’ (Ribiero et al. 2012, 34). Farouk and Husin (2011) find that civic education by an NGO aiming to promote social responsibility is found to be successful in developing civic respect (Farouk and Husin 2011, 7). Park (2007) conducts a comparative study of NGOs in the UK and South Korea to identify how they reinforce formal civic education programs through their various activities. Park finds that CSOs play an important role in connecting formal and less formal civic education programs (Park 2007). Thus the link between concepts and values learned through civics classes at school and learning through experience is established (Park 2007; Cleaver and Nelson 1998).

Much scholarship on active citizenship posits that skills related to the practice of citizenship can be acquired (Benn 2000) which makes active citizenship particularly relevant to civic education as a form of learning. Active citizenship thus encompasses both the content learned and how it is learned. Civic education in the context of active citizenship emphasizes learning that occurs through the practice of active citizenship. Active citizenship is a complementary form of learning to formal, in-school civics education (Brooks and Holfold 2009). It goes beyond learning of concepts presented in traditional civic education classes and requires learning of knowledge, skills and particular habits, making it a way of living (Naval, Print and Veldhius 2002). Through

novel and active forms of learning, active citizenship is seen as both a result of and as fostering lifelong education (Hoskins and Crick 2010).

Learning outcomes are a culmination of formal, informal and non-formal learning methods. Hoskins et al. (2008) study the effect of formal education on active citizenship and find that formal education, particularly tertiary education has a positive effect on active citizenship. In another example, Keser et al.'s study, mentioned above, reveals the positive effect of extracurricular activities on developing active citizenship in Turkey (Keser et al. 2011). Munn's study on civic education in the UK, based on limited data, since civics classes has only recently been implemented, finds the following methods have a positive effect

...one aspect of education for citizenship, active participation in decision making, can make pupils feel more highly valued by their teachers and peers, can increase a sense of belonging, and can have a positive impact on motivation and achievement. (Munn 2010, 96)

Settings in which a deliberative democratic approach, which asserts more direct engagement, can be practiced are expected to take effect in enabling skills of direct engagement (Mayo and Annette 2010). This is why CSO participation becomes relevant as a method of learning through practice. The practice of active citizenship itself becomes a learning process as 'learning by doing' methods are highlighted as the most effective way to achieving active citizenship (Mayo and Annette 2010). There is an emphasis on pragmatic and affective learning in addition to the more traditional cognitive learning. The focus has been on complementing formal civic education in the classroom with such techniques.

Formal and informal civic education is constituted by the institutions, culture and norms through which it evolves. So not only is civic education constitutive of the type of citizenship that emerges, along with other traditions and cultures, but is also, in turn, shaped by them (Dimitrov and Boyadjieva 2009, 154). Dimitrov and Boyadjieva argue for the development of institutional premises that enable ‘active citizenship’ (Dimitrov and Boyadjieva 2009, 154). Similarly, Delanty, in his analysis of learning processes and their relation to citizenship, points to the governmentalization of citizenship: “there has been a certain discursive coding of citizenship as a cognitive competence. In this discourse, citizenship is constructed by codes, categories and modes of classification that reflect a governmental strategy into which the individual as citizen is inserted” (Delanty 2003, 599). In his distinction between cultural citizenship and disciplinary citizenship he emphasizes that the tradition of disciplinary citizenship which has been a tool for this governmentalization needs to make way for cultural citizenship which has a process of learning that is more developmental. He defines learning as “cognitive processes that allow information to be combined in different ways to provide a subject—individual, a group, a society—to have a capacity for action” (Delanty 2003, 601). The critical point here is the agency attributed to the individual in his/her learning process which transforms the cognitive process of learning into action. Delanty identifies cultural citizenship as a learning process which

shifts the focus of citizenship away from the fact of membership of a polity onto common experiences, cognitive processes, forms of cultural translation and discourses of empowerment. . . It is a learning process in that it is articulated in perceptions of the self as an active agency and a social actor shaped by relations with others. In this view, citizenship concerns identity and action; it entails both personal and cognitive dimensions

that extend beyond the personal to the wider cultural level of society. It is possible to relate this understanding of citizenship to 'life-long learning', as citizenship is an on-going process that is conducted in communicative links (Delanty 2003,602).

As citizenship becomes increasingly multilayered, and moves away from being defined in relation to the state, civic education too encompasses the various sites in which citizenship is learned.

VI. Active Citizenship Indicators

The literature above led to the formulation of a definition for active citizenship to be utilized in this study. This definition is comprised of the three dimensions civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. This section briefly describes how these three dimensions are identified in the empirical analyses. The **civic action** dimension is the fundamental dimension in this conceptualization of active citizenship since it is a part of all discussions on active citizenship. Civic action encompasses features that point to increased and inclusive participation in activities that benefit or aim to benefit a particular community. Moro defines civic action as "a form of citizenship practice consisting in mainly collective initiatives aimed at implementing rights, taking care of common goods or empowering citizens" (Moro 2010, 145). These activities include, among others, protests, lobbying/campaigning, volunteering in community activities, and participation in civil society organizations. In defining civic engagement Son and Lin (2008) refer to the definition used by Pew Charitable Trust which they assert encompasses the diversity of definitions provided:

individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic engagement can take many forms, from individual volunteerism to organizational involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with institutions of representative democracy. (Pew Charitable Trust cited in Son and Lin 2008, 331)

In studies on active citizenship aimed at increasing civic engagement in Europe, civic acts entail values of democracy and human rights (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009, 462). This normative qualification, also a part of the definition of civic action in this study, implies that active citizenship is not about any type of action but action which enhances democratic and community based values. Civic acts that result in exclusionary, discriminatory objectives, for example, are not considered civic acts in this study. The normative feature ascribed to the definition of civic acts ensures that the objective encompasses a concern for the larger community, excluding the pursuit of strictly individual interests. This should not be mistaken for being against the pursuit of individual rights and liberalism in general. On the contrary, the ability of the individual to exercise agency and self-expression are a part of the self-actualization dimension. Civic acts include both more political acts that aim to influence public policy such as engaging in lobbying or protest activities as well as more community service oriented acts that aim to support communities. Participation can be proactive and oppositional (to state) or it can be service oriented and in support of status quo and government (Onyx et al. 2011). It can be motivated by the pursuit of rights by the individual or it can express the state's desire for greater citizen responsibility. Indication of how the individual in a CSO relates or positions oneself in relation to state will thus also be indicative of the civic action

occurring.

Civic action is not just about increasing participation but also about increasing the spectrum of who is able to participate, particularly targeting marginalized and/or disadvantaged groups. Participation is about equality. While access to rights may exist, this does not ensure that all individuals have equal resources to participate (Diamond and Morlino 2004, 24). Thus a trait of civic action is whether participation in the CSO enables the participation of diverse and/or disadvantaged groups. This is also an indicator of social cohesion. CSOs that expose diversity and enable participation of diverse groups contribute both to social cohesion and civic action. Thus, achieving a learning environment for the development of civic action is about ensuring sustained participation in a range of activities that aim for community development and developing opportunities for diverse groups to participate in these activities.

Achievement of **social cohesion**, the second dimension of active citizenship, encompasses acquiring a sense of belonging to a community and/or a greater understanding of or exposure to diversity. Faced with increased diversity in the ethnic and religious composition of many societies, social cohesion addresses issues of reconciling societal clashes. As such, various governments have been compelled to develop policies to deal with such conflicts. Such policies have been integrated into citizenship education programs aimed to foster commitment to a common community. Efforts to reconcile diversity also entails equal access to participation in a democratic context, by diverse, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups (Ribeiro et al. 2012; Mayo and Annette 2010; Ross 2007). Thus, indicators of social cohesion are first, the development of citizenship practices that bring together diverse groups, and work toward the inclusion of marginalized groups, and second, the development of a sense of belonging to a particular community.

Communitarian citizenship theories value community over individual. The focus is on a cultural rather than civic community. Community in this study does not refer necessarily to a geographic area but any social group. It may be the community comprising the target group of the CSO such as women, youth or nationalists. It may be a diverse group of individuals who share the common grievance of rights violations or a group of volunteers providing training to children. Community can also refer to the national or local community. The Council of Europe defines social cohesion as

a concept that includes values and principles which aim to ensure that all citizens, without discrimination and on an equal footing, have access to fundamental social and economic rights. Social cohesion is a flagship concept which constantly reminds us of the need to be collectively attentive to, and aware of, any kind of discrimination, inequality, marginality or exclusion (Council of Europe 2001 cited in Jenson 2010).

Several caveats need to be acknowledged here since social cohesion is a concept that is used in various contexts to encompass a range of different definitions. First, social cohesion does not imply that social trust is necessarily achieved nor does exposure to diversity necessarily imply acceptance or tolerance of this diversity. Social cohesion, in the context of active citizenship, occurs through awareness of differences and even of not fully integrated, ability to coexist within a democratic frame (Jenson 2010). The sense of community achieved toward the CSO or larger community may or may not include the development of a sense of social trust, which social cohesion is frequently related with. Also it should be acknowledged that social cohesion as solidarity may risk exclusion of other groups. Encouragement of solidarity between individuals

that come together around a particular cause or ideology may risk developing exclusionary acts toward other groups. Thus the normative attribute of an inclusive cohesion is important.

The third dimension of active citizenship includes qualities which are parallel to the concept used by Bennett (2009): **self-actualization**. This dimension refers to individual level changes to identity, values, skills and habits which affect the individual's agency (Bennett, Wells and Rank 2009; Janmaat and Piattoeva 2007). Self-actualization refers to developing skills, values and habits that enable the individual to voice ideas, pursue preferences, take part in decision making, and exercise agency. Self-actualizing actions are based less on a sense of duty toward formal politics and institutions, and more on issues related to the expression of the self, one's identity, agency and activism. Agency is achieved through particular skills and values that empower the individual. This includes the development of characteristics such as self-confidence which make the individual eager and able to act.

One caveat to consider here is that an extreme focus on individualism contradicts the normative expectation of civic engagement. Thus self-actualization, in the context of active citizenship, is about empowerment and agency of individual with the motivation of civic engagement. Fowler (2010) defines civic agency as a "predisposition toward, and a capability for, leading life together with others and being concerned for the whole" (Fowler 2010, 151). While agency is defined one way as "the decision process and capability to pursue individual or collective action" what makes it civic is the degree to which others are considered in the outcome (Fowler 2010, 152). The element of civility establishes a normative conceptualization of agency in defining self-actualization.

VII. Interaction between Active Citizenship Dimensions

This section addresses the interaction between the three dimensions of active citizenship and how achieving different combinations of these dimensions affect the development of active citizenship in general. The three dimensions of active citizenship frequently interact and effect the development of one another. Many definitions of active citizenship include all three or at least more than one dimension as the dimensions are frequently related and/or dependent on one another. For example the development of social cohesion and self-actualization practices can both contribute to the development of civic action. Self-actualization can generate or strengthen civic action since self-actualization is about enabling the individual to develop skills or habits that lead them to act. The development of skills that enable agency may be the defining feature that enables civic action, particularly in settings where agency and civic action are restricted. Similarly, social cohesion, both in the sense of acceptance of diversity and development of a sense of community, is a characteristic that can facilitate action, since it is partly about enabling marginalized groups to act.

At the same time since a difference in weight is ascribed to the dimensions, they have divergent effects on the development of active citizenship in general. The development of active citizenship is thus dependent on particular combinations of the three dimensions. As has been established, civic action is ascribed the most weight in its ability to foster active citizenship since active citizenship is, in the least, the ability to and the will to increasingly take part in civic acts. The process of learning active citizenship, in its ideal form, would include the development of skills and values that reflect all three dimensions. The development of civic action (as normatively defined here) is a necessary feature of active citizenship but not sufficient as social cohesion and/or self-actualization are also necessary to achieve it. However, developing only self-actualization

or social cohesion are insufficient to claim that active citizenship has been achieved without the development of civic action. If a CSO is unable to foster civic action then it is found to have limited effect on active citizenship. A CSO that only fosters social cohesion and/or self-actualization, which are also significant citizenship practices, are not sufficient to identify the outcome as active citizenship. While achieving skills and values such as agency or sense of community are important to citizenship, they are insufficient to claim the development of active citizenship.

The analysis of active citizenship is thus based on tracing participants' experiences to identify which of these dimensions are at play in the various CSOs. The extent to which these dimensions are achieved through participant experiences will determine the form and intensity of active citizenship development. Analysis may reveal that CSO participation particularly enhances one dimension of active citizenship over another. Or different types of CSOs may develop different dimensions of active citizenship. There is no set expectation that all three dimensions of active citizenship must be equally influential in creating the active citizen, however the presence of all three dimensions can be considered an ideal type of active citizenship.

VIII. Conclusion

The literature above presents the transformation to studies on citizenship and civil society organizations, parallel to dynamics regarding citizen participation. The emergence of the concept "active citizenship," with no single definition, has been conceptualized as a way to encourage or enable participation in various contexts. This chapter has analytically reviewed conceptualizations of active citizenship to provide a comprehensive definition that will be utilized in this study of CSO participation. The development of active citizenship has the potential to redefine the

relationship between the individual and the state. And the above analysis has set the stage for an analysis of whether and how civil society participation in Turkey can achieve this. The table below is a summary of the features of each of the three dimensions of active citizenship developed for this study.

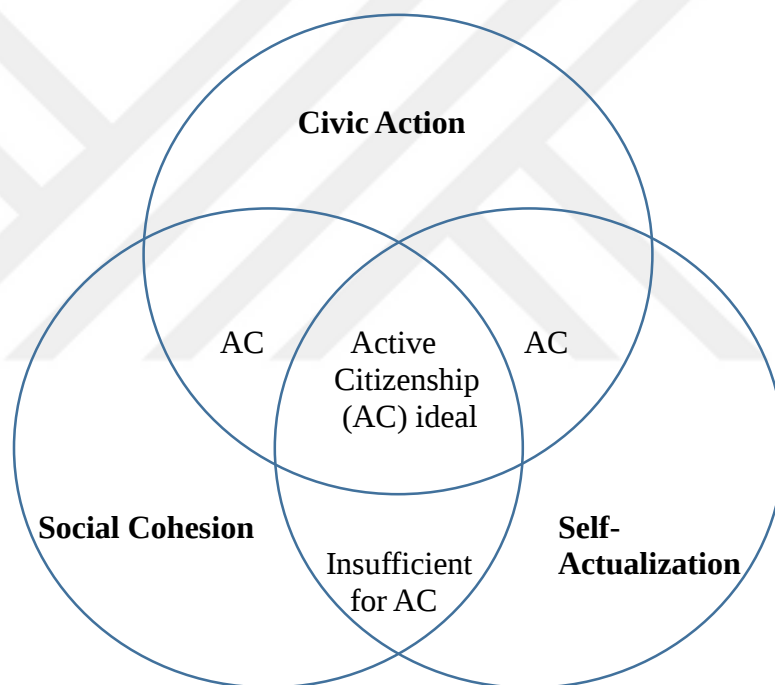
Table 2. Active Citizenship Dimensions

CIVIC ACTION	SOCIAL COHESION	SELF ACTUALIZATION
- Participation in CSOs, community activities, political participation - Civic acts (protest, campaigning) - Inclusive participation	- Sense of belonging - Sense of community - Solidarity - Diversity (exposure & understanding) - Equality	- Agency - Empowerment, Self-confidence - Expression of interests - Decision making - Identity formation

Cultivating the different dimensions of active citizenship will have varying effects on the development of active citizenship in general. Achieving all three dimensions presents the ideal process to the practice of active citizenship among CSO participants. The empirical analyses will establish how different CSOs develop these practices. The Venn diagram below reflects the different combinations that can be achieved between the three dimensions. What is evident from the diagram is that there are different skills and values that can potentially be developed in a CSO. The development of civic action is the necessary dimension to active citizenship. Social cohesion and self-actualization work toward the development of a more comprehensive and ideal form of active citizenship and frequently also strengthen the development of civic action. Achievement of all three dimensions of active citizenship represents the ideal form of active citizenship. Achieving civic action and social cohesion or civic action and self-actualization also indicate the achievement

of active citizenship but with normative gaps. Achieving solely social cohesion and/or self-actualization are insufficient to fostering the development of active citizenship. Thus, the processes that lead to the learning of these various skills and values will be indicative of the extent and form of active citizenship achieved in the three different types of CSOs examined.

Figure 1. Interaction between Dimensions of Active Citizenship



This conceptualization of active citizenship featuring three dimensions, particular normative attributes, and relevant hierarchies between dimensions presents a novel and comprehensive definition for active citizenship. This definition develops the potential for comparative work on active citizenship in different contexts. The following chapter is an analysis of the literature on citizenship and civil society in Turkey to establish the context in which the CSOs are evaluated. A

discussion of how citizenship has been promoted, perceived, and practiced historically, as well as the features that shape citizenship today, will set the stage for the environment in which CSO participation occurs.



CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURAL LEGACIES AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE: CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN TURKEY

I. Introduction

This chapter presents the dynamics that shape citizenship and civil society organizations in Turkey. Following the analysis of the literature on active citizenship, citizenship and CSOs in chapter 2, this chapter is a focus on how citizenship and CSOs in Turkey is situated in the larger picture. It is an analysis of why the study of active citizenship is relevant for Turkey and what factors affect the potential for change toward active citizenship. It discusses the legal, social, political and global structures that determine how citizens practice their citizenship and how CSOs function in Turkey. In doing so the chapter sets the stage for the analysis of how CSO participation affects citizenship practices in Turkey. The discussion is conducted around two dimensions that describe the dynamics that shape citizenship and CSOs in Turkey: *structural legacies* and *processes of change*. These two dimensions aim to represent a duality in Turkey between dynamics that reinforce Turkey's passive/dutiful citizenship tradition and dynamics that reflect a change, or potential for change toward a more active understanding of citizenship in Turkey. This analysis of the theoretical and empirical literature establishes the gaps in the literature which this study addresses. The following section, Section II addresses why Turkey is relevant for a study of active citizenship. Section III is the main review of literature which looks initially at the structural legacies, then processes of change that have shaped citizenship, followed by a parallel analysis of CSOs in

Turkey. It highlights the major approaches to studies in these two areas and traces citizenship and CSOs from historical to contemporary conceptualizations. This is followed, in section IV, by a discussion of the relevance of active citizenship dimensions for the Turkish context. Section V concludes the chapter with a summary of the context in which active citizenship is researched and reiterates the relevance of this research to these two literatures.

II. Why Turkey?

Several factors make Turkey an important site for a study of active citizenship. As will be detailed below, Turkey has a history of strong state influence which has generated a more passive citizenship, with an emphasis on citizenship duties over rights (Ünsal 1998). Parallel to this, contemporary research on civil society organizations shows that state influence continues to inhibit their functioning and effectiveness (Karaman and Aras 2000, Bikmen and Meydanoğlu 2006). Legislative hurdles continue to limit the foundation of, participation in, and level of activity of CSOs. Tense relationships develop between the state and those CSOs that are critical of the state, resulting in their becoming a target of state pressure. As will be evident in the analysis below, these are mainly organizations such as rights based CSOs that are critical of the state/government for rights violations or its inability to prevent them. At the same time, more recently, this tension is multiplied by CSO and citizen activity that is critical of the government's authoritarian tendencies and increased societal polarization. At the same time, within the context of this strong state tradition reforms have been implemented to boost CSO activity and provide them with increased legitimacy. CSOs have burgeoned over the past 2 decades. This implies a quick rise in number of organizations and number of participants (İçduygu et al. 2011). This provides an opportunity to study the CSO as a site in which citizenship can be learned and practiced.

Turkey continues to struggle with its process of democratic consolidation. A history of periodic military coups, a centralized strong state, and patrimonial politics necessitated and generated a dutiful citizenry. Today many of these characteristics persist, yet greater awareness of their presence and the necessity and potential for alternative spaces of participation challenge Turkey's traditional politics. This study identifies the types of CSOs that contribute to this process of democratic consolidation and what types of citizenship practices are emerging from them. The structural factors that define the transition and potential for transition which Turkey is going through directly concerns the role attributed to its citizens. One factor which is elaborated on below is the effect that the European Union has had on Turkey. Accession negotiations have created a more liberal environment in which issues that have been controversial have surfaced. Issues such as rights of minorities, demands of Turkey's Kurdish population, and rights to organize have achieved space for discussion and development. In addition, the European Union's particular concern with the development of civil society organizations in Turkey has strengthened their presence in number and in effectiveness. The EU has made an effort to work with CSOs which has enabled them to increasingly pressure the state and/or act as a watchdog. With less EU support today, however, the responsibility remains for many CSOs to maintain these roles. This study is thus relevant for Turkey as the role of the CSO becomes increasingly important as EU involvement and support decreases. And as CSOs continue to pursue their objectives, the role of the participant, and their skills and values become increasingly important.

The changing nature of politics since AKP's entry into politics, as the single party in rule, has also affected the role of the citizen in Turkey. The active citizen is also necessitated by a seemingly stagnant political activism in Turkey. With AKP governing, as a single party, since 2002, some have argued that Turkey has entered a dominant single party period and that the AKP

has no real and strong opposition (Keyman 2009). With weak opposition parties, there is less of a political channel to voice and represent grievances. This places a greater role on alternative institutions and active citizens to play a role in shaping political and social outcomes.

Citizenship education has been important to the national education curriculum since the founding of the Republic. Parallel to citizenship conceptualizations in Turkey, citizenship education also teaches a dutiful, passive, nationalist, and obligations-based type of citizenship in Turkey (Çayır 2009, Çayır and Gürkaynak 2008, Üstel 2004). Contemporary studies on civic education point to the necessity of novel approaches to teaching and learning citizenship, particularly through methods of active learning and learning by doing, such as participating in extracurricular activities or community projects. In light of this approach, the role of CSOs in creating a space for the learning of citizenship becomes critical as a way to teaching civic education in Turkey. This study provides critical empirical data on what types of CSOs achieve this. This will have implications for a potential transformation to how civic education is executed in Turkey.

Thus an increase in concerns regarding individual liberties, the lack of a strong external watchdog such as the EU, a dominant party period in Turkish politics, and new approaches to learning citizenship, all point to the increasing significance of studying the citizen in Turkey and the potential for CSOs to act as a site for civic education and the learning of active citizenship. It should be noted that the dynamics at play are specific to the case of Turkey. One caveat is that given that cultural and institutional features vary in other country settings, this will limit the generalizability of this research. However, findings will be significant to similar cases on two levels. First, cases which have similar dynamics in terms of citizenship practices, that is a dutiful citizenship tradition, and similar state –citizens relations will also benefit from an understanding of how and what kinds of CSOs can potentially transform citizenship. On a second level, the

revelation of the processes that link CSO participation to citizenship practice outcomes can be evaluated in similar settings for more generalizable claims. These processes will reveal important information regarding how particular features of a CSO can shape citizenship, making findings more generalizable to settings in which there are CSOs with similar features.

III. Structural Legacies versus Processes of Change

In this section, citizenship and civil society organizations are analyzed around two forces that shape them: *structural legacies* and *processes of change*. Structural legacies are those features, rooted in Turkey's Ottoman or early Republican history, which continue to maintain the dutiful and passive nature of citizenship in Turkey. These are in fact historical events, structures and processes that continue to characterize citizenship as passive and/ or dutiful and create an inhibitive setting for the development of CSOs in Turkey. They are the attributes of Turkish politics and government that necessitate the development of active citizenship. Both citizenship and CSOs will be analyzed, firstly in light of these structural legacies. The second dimension that delineates citizenship and CSOs in Turkey is the *processes of change* that have occurred to transform perceptions, practices or functioning of citizenship and CSOs or that have established such potential. These are also structures, events and processes that work against the historical legacies and result in changes to perceptions and practices of citizenship, and perceptions, effectiveness and functions of CSOs in Turkey. The process of globalization and Turkey's EU accession process are two examples of some of the major developments that have led to significant changes to citizenship and CSOs in Turkey, paving the way for further transformation. These are the dynamics that point to a potential for the development of active citizenship as defined in this study. It should be noted that there are a wide range of dynamics that affect the development of citizenship

and CSOs in Turkey. The role of structural legacies and and/or processes of change should not be overestimated but rather understood as a way to understand and frame the many developments both historical and contemporary that take effect on citizenship and CSOs in Turkey.

1. Citizenship in Turkey

a. Structural Legacies

The structural legacies effecting citizenship can be gathered under two traditions: 1) Turkey's strong state and patrimonial state tradition and 2) Turkey's nationalist and militarist conceptualization of citizenship. Many of the issues surrounding the politics of citizenship today are rooted in the period of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, a period which in turn is rooted in particular structures of the Ottoman Empire. Debates that characterize citizenship as "dutiful," attribute it to an outcome of Turkey's strong state and patrimonial politics (Heper 1998, Ünsal 1998, Heper 1985). The transition from Empire to nation state did, in legal terms, lead to a transition from 'subject' to 'citizen' but in practice the exercise of this citizenship has not been completely achieved (Ünsal 1998). Based on a civic republican citizenship model that aimed to define the good citizen, individualism, that is, a liberal element to citizenship, was sacrificed (Kadioğlu 2007b). The type of politics pursued put the interest of the state above the rights of the individual. While a centralized, strong state has been argued as necessary to the founding of a nation state from the remains of an empire, its legacy has persisted in Turkish politics, affecting citizenship practices and the development of civil society. Turkey's strong state practice challenges the development of a citizenship that puts the individual and community before the state (or government) (Ünsal 1998). Rights were given to citizens rather than rights being achieved through a struggle for citizenship rights (Arat 1998).

Turkey's Ottoman past has little experience with alternative circles of power or participation, with some attempts at constitutional reform toward the end of the Ottoman Empire (Ünsal 1998, 15). This centralized form of government paved the way to patrimonial politics in order to retain power at the center. Centralized power politics was the norm in Ottoman politics and despite the transition to nation state politics, the distance between the state and the people reinforced a centralized political system. Patrimonial politics reinforced this centralization by keeping particular circles of people at the center. One factor that deepened the centralized state system was fear of the masses. The fear of or mistrust of the people created a system in which their active participation was not encouraged, if not prohibited, and politics pursued the interest of the state or the government (Heper 1998, Ünsal 1998). This has had consequences for the development of civil society in Turkey. Individual activity was limited to voting and citizenship defined by one's obligation to pay taxes and fulfill military service (Heper 1998).

Alternative sites such as political parties continue to have limited effect on citizenship practices. Much of the literature emphasizes their weakness in representing the individual. Political party participation is based on the will of the party leadership (Ünsal 1998) which creates participation based on patrimonial politics. Individualism is also necessary for citizenship. There is little room for diversity of ideas within parties as the selection of MPs is based on party leadership. This limits civic action as well as self-actualization. Similarly, local governance has been inhibited by this strong state tradition (Ünsal 1998, 29). Local governments serve as a site in which citizen politics emerge. However, the limited role that local governments play in Turkey has also limited the spaces in which citizens are able to actively pursue their interests. What has made a transformation to active citizenship difficult has been the continuation of many of these practices that were deemed necessary for a period of transition but were later sustained and

engrained into Turkish political culture.

A second characteristic that emerges in the literature on citizenship in Turkey emphasizes the nationalist and militarist nature of citizenship, reinforcing readings of citizenship as “dutiful”. This feature of Turkish citizenship is at the root of the exclusionary and polarized understandings of citizenship and what necessitates in particular the development of social cohesion. Sparked by the hardship of a national struggle to establish the Republic, and supported by a strong state discourse upon its founding, the militarist nature of politics in Turkey too limited the space for a vocal and visible citizenry in the public sphere. A nationalist discourse was deemed vital to mobilize citizens during the establishment of a new nation, particularly one emerging from the remains of a multi-national empire. The transition from an Empire to a nation state required the construction of a legal framework for how citizens of the new Republic would be identified and categorized (İşyar 2005, Yeğen 2004, White 1999, Aybay 1998, Eyüboğlu 1998).

Contemporary empirical studies emphasize that the civic republican tradition persists even in the most modern technologies in Turkey. Polat and Pratchett, in a comparison of Britain and Turkey, examine how information and communication technologies (ICT) affect the practice of citizenship. They find that the state traditions and practices are determinant in shaping the effect of ICTs and that the civic republican tradition persists in Turkey, while Britain’s use of ICT reflects a more liberal, individualist tradition. ICTs utilized by the state in Turkey serve more so as a tool of surveillance of citizens as well as encouraging citizens to fulfill particular citizenship obligations online such as tax paying and voter registration. These tools, as well as other state acts such as censorship of political content online, are indicative of the persistence of this tradition (Polat and Pratchett 2014).

Contemporary empirical studies also address how diverse groups within Turkey are

affected today by the “rights and obligations” determined at the beginning of the twentieth century. This literature addresses which groups were to be Turkish citizens, which were granted minority status, and which groups became Turks without recognition of difference. While Greeks, Armenians and Jews were recognized as official minorities, ethnic groups were not granted minority status. This legal framework established during the founding of the Turkish state is at the root of contemporary debates and conflicts regarding religious minorities and ethnic groups and their citizenship practices. (Rumelili and Keyman 2015, Baser and Çelik 2014, Çelik 2005). Turkey’s conceptualization of citizenship has struggled between ethnicity based nationalism and a universal understanding of the Turkish nation and citizenship. Definitions of citizenship based on a nationalist discourse is a part of ongoing debates regarding how citizenship should be defined in Turkey’s constitution. The development of the social cohesion dimension of active citizenship, in particular exposure to diversities, is expected to contribute to a more universal understanding of citizenship.

In the transition from Empire to nation state, first the state was established and then its citizens were defined. Turkishness became an alternative to religion in a secular political setting to ensure the unity of the state and its nationals (Ünsal 1998, 14). Citizenship, equated with Turkishness, was defined and redefined throughout Turkey’s history (İşyar 2005, Yeğen 2004). This supported the centralized strong state approach to ensure unity and allegiance during a period of transition and the pursuit of state interests over citizen interests (Ünsal 1998, 15). Citizenship literature on Turkey emphasizes a duality of territorial/political/civic understandings of citizenship versus ethnicity based readings of citizenship (Yeğen 2004, Keyman and Kanci 2011). This duality consists of, on the one hand, a universal understanding of citizenship which promotes a secular national identity, and on the other hand claims for difference by various ethnic and religious groups

(Keyman 2005). On another level is the duality between the legal framework of citizenship and its actual practice (Soner 2005). Universal readings of Turkey's constitution assert that all citizens are bound by a territory and that Turkishness does not imply an ethnic descent. Other readings of the constitution highlight that the Turkishness implies an ethnic based definition of Turkish citizenship thus discriminating against ethnic minority groups. Yeğen argues that this debate or ambiguity of whether Turkish citizenship is political or ethnic is based on the original texts of Turkey's constitutions (Yeğen 2004). Based on these texts distinctions were drawn between being a citizen of the Turkish republic and being a Turkish citizen, i.e. of Turkish ethnic origin, and this differentiation was used in establishing particular roles and rights (Yeğen 2004). The wording of the 1924 constitutional clause on citizenship implies, according to Yeğen, that there was a political Turkishness established which implied that there too was an ethnic Turkishness (Yeğen 2004). This discussion continues today and is a critical aspect of efforts to redefine citizenship in the constitution.

Analyses of Turkey's current and past constitutions and other legal documents (Aybay 1998, Özbudun 1998) establish who is included or excluded from formal citizenship status in Turkey. The current constitution reads: "Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk" (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası 1982). This is rooted, Yeğen argues, in the 1876 constitution, which in turn shaped the 1924 constitution's article on citizenship. The definition of citizenship in the 1876 Ottoman constitution reads: "Whatever religion or sect they are from, all individuals subject to the Ottoman State, without exception, would be called Ottomans" (Yeğen 2004). The redefinition of citizenship upon the founding of the Turkish Republic reads: "The people of Turkey regardless of their religion and race would, in terms of citizenship, be called Turkish" (Yeğen 2004). Another revision in the 1961 Constitution redefines

citizenship as “Everyone who is tied to the Turkish State through citizenship ties is Turkish” (Yeğen 2004). This root and subsequent changes reflect an effort to gather differences under a universal, civic understanding of citizenship but is at the same time challenged by the terminology of defining the citizen as Turkish. This has been problematic for citizens who identify themselves through a separate ethnic group, such as citizens of Kurdish ethnic origin. Claims made by different ethnic groups in particular have challenged Turkey’s established conceptualization of citizenship and have led to debates emphasizing a more constitutional approach to citizenship (İçduygu et al. 1999). The development of the social cohesion dimension of active citizenship entails exposure to the diversities of and debates regarding Turkey’s citizens in the hopes that can contribute to the development of a more inclusive reading and practice of citizenship.

b. Processes of Change

In the meantime domestic and global processes of change have acted as a force against some of the structural legacies of Turkey’s strong state and passive citizenship. They have contributed to shaping and transforming citizenship in Turkey (Kadioğlu 2005, Keyman and İçduygu 2005, Üstel 2004, İçduygu 1996, Baban 2005). The processes of change include globalization, Turkey’s European Union accession process, as well as domestic factors such as changes to government, novel economic policies, or ideological clashes. The study of the site and practice of citizenship in Turkey, allows us to trace the transformation that Turkey has been going through in its process of modernization (Keyman 2005). As was established in the previous section, the Republic of Turkey comes from a tradition in which the national interest and the societal good were for long dictated to society and where “Turkish modernity was created through an organic vision of society that defines society . . . on the basis of the ‘duties and services’ of different occupation groups to

the state' (Keyman and Icduygu 2005, 6). The 1980s and 1990s comprise the years in which Turkey experienced critical breaks in this tradition. These breaking points challenged the legitimacy of the strong state governing of Turkish society (Keyder 1997). The integration of Turkey into global neoliberal economics, the increase of the politics of identity, the emergence of the language of rights challenged previous strategies of modernization and development (Keyman and Icduygu 2005, 8-9).

1980 is a frequently cited breaking point regarding changes to citizenship in Turkey where the first steps are taken outside the strong state imposed homogenous understanding of nation, community, and citizenship to realize and articulate differences (Kadioğlu 2005, Keyman and Öniş 2007). Beginning in the 1980s, and deepening in the 1990s, the move against Turkey's strong state tradition enabled the expression of differences and rights not articulated before. Following the global trend, new social movements such as environmental and human rights movements emerged in Turkey in the 1980s (Şimşek 2004a). In addition, diverse movements based on ethnicity, religion and other identity based characteristics emerged in Turkey. Keyman (2005) argues that with the rise of identity politics in the 1980s and 1990s "citizenship becomes the practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights or struggle to expand existing rights." While citizenship in Turkey had been a state-defined, "civic/ republican" type of citizenship, it was challenged by demands for a rights-based, "liberal/individual" and multicultural understanding of citizenship. In Turkey, new social movements engaged a variety of groups seeking to pursue multicultural, religious, and ethnic issues in order to both pursue rights and self-actualize. The influence of such a transformation has led to the questioning of the meaning of citizenship in Turkey and emergence of civil society actors in various political, social and economic domains.

Globalization and European Union accession are two external triggers that have transformed understandings, legal aspects and practices of citizenship in Turkey (Ünsal 1998, Keyman and İçduygu 2005, Kadioğlu 2007). Turkey's EU accession process has led to significant legal and constitutional change regarding the status of formal and non-formal minorities, most intensely implemented during the period 2000-2004. However, the internalization of these reforms is a slow process where practice lags far behind implementation. While the activism of the AKP in the reform period leading up to Turkey's formal opening of negotiations with the EU, led to significant developments in the reform process, the AKP and the EU are under very different circumstances today since negotiations have stalled. No new chapters had been opened since 2013 until accession negotiations were reinitiated in October 2015. With the chapter on Economic and Monetary Policy opened in December 2015, 15 of the 35 chapters have been opened and only 1 closed (Ministry for EU Affairs). The initial period of reform created a significant space for the engaged citizen, one being CSOs. New laws on associations made it easier for associations to form, and despite continuing difficulties, a surge of CSOs emerged over the past two decades. The EU has always had a role in supporting civil society development and has been directly involved with CSO activity in Turkey, independent of its relations with the government. However, there are also concerns regarding the form of support that the EU has provided, emphasizing the necessity for more of a focus on normative development to challenge the nature of state-society relations in Turkey, in addition to the predominantly capacity building support the EU has engaged in (İçduygu 2011). Citizens have frequently known the EU to be a watchdog over the Turkish State and an entity that can be appealed to when rights are violated. However, stalled relations with the EU have diminished the EU's role. Perhaps with less backing from a powerful EU, this void places greater responsibility on the citizen and the CSO to fill the role of watchdog.

Despite barriers to the full implementation of reforms that target some of Turkey's most controversial issues it is certain that a space has been opened up for their recognition and debate. This is particularly the case for issues regarding Turkey's Kurdish population and the longstanding Kurdish conflict. Changes to legislation, as part of EU accession negotiations, as well as AKP's reforms under the "Kurdish Opening" initiative were significant steps in curbing the intensity of the conflict, though several ensuing incidents have hindered further development (Başer and Çelik 2014). What started with initiatives such as the opening of a Kurdish language television channel ended in the closing of a Kurdish political party and the imprisonment of Kurdish politicians and activists (Ekmekci 2015, Başer and Çelik 2014, European Commission 2004). And more recently, events following the June 2015 elections have reversed the process, leading to heightened conflict. However, the 2000's witnessed a period in which diversities were more than ever before openly debated in Turkey. While the demands of the Kurdish population regarding citizenship rights are still in conflict with the extent that the state has recognized Kurdish claims, the process of debate enabled the potential for change, and an opportunity to make claims. Increasing awareness of diversity though these reforms necessitates a redefinition of citizenship, particularly for groups whose difference is perhaps for the first time openly being acknowledged. Redefinition of citizenship entails a redefinition of rights and obligations. In this process of redefinition, the dutiful form of citizenship may make room for a dynamic, active citizenship where the citizen has agency in defining his/her citizenship. Recognition of difference, or at least awareness of diversities, is an important element to achieving the social cohesion element to active citizenship.

The debate, discussed above, on the "nationalization of citizenship" has also been challenged by these processes of change. Yeğen (2004) argues that Turkish citizenship has been challenged by "ethno-political resistance of Kurds" and Turkey's aim to join the EU.

Domestically, political developments have created a duality in which the concept of citizenship is trying to be divorced from nationalistic, particularly ethnic based understanding of citizenship, supported by Turkey's process of European Union accession and globalization. Also, other political institutions that move beyond the nation state have become novel sites for status and allegiance of citizenship. These may be supranational national institutions such as the EU or local governance institutions. Kadioğlu (2007a) argues that the 1990s mark the beginning of the process of the denationalization of citizenship. With the increased visibility of plural identities and external factors such as EU accession to support their visibility, she argues that the once nation based conception of citizenship is increasingly becoming denationalized. She also highlights the role of CSOs in promoting this multiplicity of identities (Kadioğlu 2007a). Studies have also pointed to how individuals *enact* citizenship in pursuit of particular rights. Kurdish individuals, for example, use institutions of the EU as a site to pursue their rights and thus in pursuit of particular rights enact a European citizenship (Rumelili, Keyman and İşyar, 2011). All these factors pose a challenge to Turkey's longstanding nationalistic and militaristic characterization of citizenship and have been effective in transforming it. Through novel sites as well as practices of citizenship, processes of change on domestic and global levels have enabled citizens to make claims and define their citizenship outside of the traditional delineations of Turkish citizenship.

2. Civil Society Organizations in Turkey

Below I analyze civil society organizations in Turkey within the same framework of "structural legacies" and "processes of change." The nature and transformation of civil society organizations have also been affected by the structural factors rooted in Turkey's history. At the same time changing domestic and global factors have enabled civil society organizations in Turkey to

burgeon over the past 30 years. As a space for participation, the state of civil society organizations reflect the state of citizenship, so many of the dynamics analyzed above on citizenship are also relevant to civil society organizations.

a. Structural Legacies

Philanthropic organizations as well as trade union type associations called loncas were important components to the composition of civil society in the Ottoman era, (Çizaka 2006). The 1909 Associations Law (Cemiyetler Kanunu) established the legislation defining the right to establishing associations and their functions (İçduygu et al. 2011, 25). With the establishment of the Turkish Republic the state began to utilize CSOs to deepen its modernization project thus supporting particular CSOs while inhibiting others. There was little potential for independent associational activity. The multi-party period in Turkey marks a critical point to the development of associational activity in Turkey, particularly with the 1946 Law on Associations. Urbanization as well a more representative political system created a more enabling environment for diverse associational activity (İçduygu et al. 2011, 25). However, even in this period, political interference in associational activity prevailed and continued in the following decades, intensifying as a result of the military coups which strengthened state control and weakened society. The 1960 coup and subsequent constitution did enable an increase in freedoms for associational activity and diversity in types of associations but this temporary development was retracted with severe limitations to freedoms in the ensuing decades and 1982 constitution (İçduygu et al. 2011).

Political party development as well the establishment of unions and other civil society organizations can be traced to the period 1945-1960 as part of an effort to reflect Turkey as a democratic country (Kaştan 2006). This led to a burst in the number of organizations established

during this period though many of them were unstable and periodically closed down. The simultaneous development of community organizations and the increasingly authoritarian tendencies of the governing party were factors that contributed to the 1960 coup (Kaştan 2006). The period 1960 to 1980, having witnessed three coups, was detrimental to civil society and individual freedoms once again strengthening the hand of the state against society (İçduygu et al. 2011, 56). However, the stance that CSOs had taken against the political center enabled a much more liberal and plural environment for CSOs to enhance their space of activity following the 1960 coup (Kaştan 2006). The 1961 constitution allowed for greater freedoms for associational activity. This period of industrialization and urbanization also raised demand for associational activity and witnessed the emergence of unions and vocational chambers (İçduygu et al. 2011, 57). However, progress was shadowed by the 1971 and 1980 coups that once again built barriers to individual freedoms and associational activity (İçduygu et al. 2011). Violence based on fractionalization was a significant part of the political developments that brought on the 1980 coup, which once again resulted in a strong centralized system of governance. Almost all civil society organizations were shut down and significant restrictions were brought about to associational activity. Many CSOs became structures of control for the state (İçduygu et al. 2011, 57). In reaction to an omnipotent state following the coup, the value of democracy made the development of civil society organizations relevant once again. However, recent studies of CSOs throughout Turkey show that state influence remains one of the biggest challenges to CSO development (İçduygu et al. 2011).

The patrimonial approach of the state created a culture where the state was responsible for providing for the citizen. The citizen, while expecting this from the state, had little incentive or awareness to participate (Ünsal 1998). The development of civil society organizations that provide services such as healthcare or education and thus complement state services have enabled a step

away from this frame of mind. Yet fear of conflicting with the government has led both individuals and CSOs to act more cautiously, limiting their ability to act as an independent site (Ünsal 1998). This is true on the individual level as well. Particularly due to conflicts and violence between groups leading up to the 1980 coup, participation in CSOs and being a member of an organization is still perceived as a risk. Civil society has changed immensely since then and the organizations that comprise civil society today are much more divers and not necessarily along the ideological dimensions that were the main actors of the conflicts in the 1970s. However, how CSOs locate themselves and what types of relations are formed with the state has implications for who participates and the type of participation that occurs.

As this historical account of associational life in Turkey reflects, state centered politics in Turkey took its toll on the development of civil society organizations in Turkey. And in turn, the type of citizenship envisioned for Turkey affected the nature and capacity of civil society organizations. The centralized state mechanisms inhibited the development of alternative sites for the citizen to take an active part in politics. Centralized state politics had two primary and interrelated effects on the development of civil society organizations. First, fear of potential threats to the government limited the strengthening of alternative groups such as civil society organizations. Even political parties and unions emerged with difficulty (Kaştan 2006). Patrimonial politics rooted in the Ottoman political tradition viewed civil society organizations as potential risks to centralized politics and thus this space was limited (Biber 2009). Individual liberties were deemed secondary to ensure that oppositional movements were inhibited (Ünsal 1998). This tradition was maintained through the Republican years through the establishment of a strong and wide system of bureaucracy (Biber 2009). Second, the culture of a state that had full control and thus full responsibility limited the role attributed to citizens and thus limited their sites

of participation. Little was expected of the citizen beyond fulfilling their role as hardworking, good, citizens. Political parties were the main site for participation in politics. However, the patrimonial nature of political parties and the issues taken up by traditional political parties limited not only those who participated but also the issues that were a part of the political sphere.

Civil society emerged later in Turkey than in the west which has been put forth as an inhibiting factor to Turkey's democratic consolidation (Ünsal 1998). The lack of an urban bourgeoisie that would stand between the state and the individual and require an arena of civil society is cited as one factor for this delay (Biber 2009). In a state centric tradition, rights were granted rather than pursued which also inhibited the development of a participatory culture required for the development of civil society (Ünsal 1998, 18). The pursuit of rights and the fulfillment of obligations require different types of citizenship practice than voting, for example, a right/obligation granted to the individual. The Turkish State's explicit inhibition of associational activity significantly undermined CSOs as source of information, space for participation and force for political and societal influence. The inhibiting effect on the development of CSOs that could act as a voice outside of the state took its toll on the emergence of a citizenship that is active and independent of these political forces (Heper 1998).

The strong state legacy ensured that even civil society was developed by the state (Biber 2009). Many of the CSOs in Turkey in the early republican years were either state controlled or closely monitored by the state. Political parties and state mechanisms made an effort to ensure that CSOs became support groups to their government and used them as institutions to disseminate political as well as modernization ideology (İçduygu et al. 2011, Biber 2009). Thus despite efforts to enhance CSOs, rather than acting as a watchdog over the state, or as a site through which interests can be voiced, CSOs became sites for state influence and state support (Biber 2009).

Organizations that functioned outside of the official state ideology were suppressed (İçduygu et al. 2011). Contemporary studies of CSOs find that cooperation and dialogue between the public sector and CSOs are limited signaling the persistence of this legacy (İçduygu et al 2011). One study of CSOs and political parties suggests that CSOs in Turkey continue to act as organs of political parties as they too are polarized along political ideologies (Özler and Sarkissian 2011).

The political tradition in Turkey has also taken its toll on the political party. Turkey has a tradition of either one strong party with little or no opposition or weak coalitions of several parties. There is little room for participation independent from the will of party leaders (Ünsal 1998, 27). Since the survival of MP's depends on the will of the party leadership, their flexibility and diversity within political parties is limited. The weakness of political parties makes the role of civil society organizations critical in creating a space for both citizen activity and the representation of diverse sets of ideas and interests. A shift in politics from the traditional right left spectrums to encompass issues such as the environment, women's rights, human rights and other "postmaterial" issues (Inglehart 1997) has enabled these preferences to be voiced in CSOs, complementing political parties. Civil society may better represent the diversity that exists within Turkey and that is not represented in its political parties.

An analysis of the current state of CSOs is also important in evaluating their potential role in contributing to the development of active citizenship. There is extensive data on aggregate trends through quantitative as well as qualitative studies. Important studies reveal information on CSOs in number, issue areas, CSO functions, their strengths and weaknesses, membership rates, partnership with each other, relations with the state, various classifications, and level of success (İçduygu et al. 2011, Özler and Sarkissian 2011, Yeğen et al. 2009, Bikmen and Meydanoğlu 2006, Simsek 2004, Keyman and İçduygu 2003, Karaman and Aras 2000). CSOs have been grouped

based on various characteristics including type of activity, their legal status, financial capacity, and more recently more qualitative characteristics such as function and motivation (Yeğen et al. 2009). Studies have also aimed to understand effectiveness of CSOs on target groups and their own members and volunteers. These have been conducted primarily through monitoring and evaluation studies and have presented important findings regarding how certain skills, attitudes and knowledge have been attained by their participants (example: TEGV 2009, 2010).

Studies on civil society organizations trace legislative reform and whether these reforms are properly implemented (Ersen 2010; TÜSEV 2013). Such studies and reports have become particularly prevalent following Turkey's European Union accession process as a series of legislative reforms in order to meet the Copenhagen criteria were implemented affecting civil society organizations. As of 2003 and 2004 changes to the "Associations Law" eased restrictions such as the types of foundations that could be established, relationships with foreign associations, and involvement of students in associations (Göksel and Güneş 2005, 64). The EU candidacy and accession process led CSOs to increasingly gain visibility and legitimacy, triggering studies assessing their effect on state and society. Despite a range of legal and institutional reforms both EU Commission reports as well as studies on CSOs in Turkey show that establishing or even participating in CSOs do not necessarily parallel these changes (European Commission 2004, Ersen 2010, İçduygu et al. 2011). Turkey's strong state tradition is a persistent force that impacts the space for CSOs and its participants to maneuver (İçduygu et al. 2011). The presence of a strong state, skeptical of certain types of CSOs, is still very much an inhibitive factor.

b. Processes of Change

Keyman and Öniş (2007) provide a comprehensive analysis of the development of civil society in Turkey, tracing it from its near non-existence in the period between the founding of the Republic

until the 1980s to the post-1980 period where changing political and social identity based dynamics enabled civil society organizations to emerge and grow in the modern sense. They emphasize the importance of the radical transformation of civil society and its contribution to increased pluralism, participation, democracy, and economic development in Turkey, while cautioning against exaggerating its effectiveness, quality and assumed positive attributes. The year 2000 is identified by the authors as another turning point for CSOs, as the 2001 financial crisis, the election of AKP, and particularly Turkey's EU membership process further shook the stronghold of the state and gave way to discourse on more efficient and effective governance (Keyman and Öniş 2007).

The turning point for a transformation to CSOs in Turkey is set in the late 1990s and the early years of 2000. Many scholars of CSOs in Turkey cite the 1999 earthquake in the Marmara region as a turning point for the development of CSOs in Turkey. The tragic outcome of the earthquake led to associational activity throughout the country not witnessed before. The state, established CSOs, and thousands of volunteers worked to bring relief to victims of the earthquake. Both the level of participation by the average citizen as a volunteer as well the level of organization that emerged through the cooperation of different groups working toward relief achieved an unanticipated level of cooperation, associational activity and effectiveness.

The early years of 2000 also point to a period where EU support of CSOs in Turkey gave them increasing legitimacy and effectiveness, leading to increased visibility and activity on the part of CSOs in Turkey. They increased in numbers and activity and became an actor in the eyes of the public as well as the state. The EU has strengthened CSOs in Turkey both by providing technical development assistance and funding, as well as by spreading the values related to the role of CSOs in democracies. This support on the part of the EU has forced state authorities in many instances to acknowledge and include CSOs in political dialogues (Rumelili 2005). Turkey's

EU accession process has led to significant changes in general regarding human rights, minority rights, freedom of speech etc., which has opened up space for the expression of differences.

The EU accession process has also led to changes specifically concerning laws on associations enabling an increase in quantity and quality to CSOs in Turkey (İçduygu et al. 2011). In 2004 a wide range of reforms aimed to give the CSO more autonomy and space to carry out its activities (Ersen 2010). Among many changes, structural changes were made to the General Directorate of Foundations to democratize it. Bureaucratic procedures were cut through the development of electronic forums, the paperwork necessary for establishing an association was cut down, and limitations regarding who could found an association were removed, all facilitating the founding of a CSO (Ersen 2010). Rather than having to attain permission for particular activities (such as international partnerships and funding from foreign associations) associations now are obligated only to report them (İçduygu et al. 2011, 68; Ersen 2010). At the same time, however, despite significant legal reforms, the process of implementing these reforms has progressed much more slowly and restrictions that make it impossible for CSOs to function autonomously persist (TÜSEV 2013, Ersen 2010). The perception remains within a majority of CSOs that they are unable to function independently as a civil society organization (İçduygu et al. 2011).

Recent developments have also taken its toll on the development of CSOs in Turkey. With increased tension building regarding Turkey's long-lasting Kurdish issue, changes have been made periodically to Turkey's anti-terror laws. While periods of reform have eased anti-terror laws, intermittently they have become more restrictive, affecting regulations regarding associational activity. Starting in 2006, and most recently implemented in 2014, anti-terror laws have expanded those crimes that can be filed under terrorism (Brookings 2013). 2014 changes to anti-terror laws expand state institutions' ability to take stricter measures in areas such as

surveillance, seizure of assets, and measures such as allowing police to conduct police searches or use firearms without a court order (Human Rights Watch 2014). Such legislation has made participating in associational activity, particularly protest activity, a significant risk. Thus, while reforms continue to be implemented to strengthen CSOs, the environment within which they function can be increasingly inhibitive.

Empirical studies of civil society organizations in Turkey point to persistent weaknesses as well as a potential for CSOs to become influential institutions. Several studies provide information on CSOs in Turkey that point to some of the problems that the development of “active citizenship” is aiming to resolve. While the 2011 CIVICUS study on Turkey characterizes participation as a major weakness to civil society in Turkey it finds that, though narrow, participation deep². Depth of participation indicates that those who do participate tend to participate in more than one civil society organization. With such limited participation the effect of developing active citizenship is certainly a challenge, yet the depth of participation is indicative of the potential impact of developing active citizenship skills in CSOs. According to the same study, women, ethnic groups and youth are underrepresented in CSOs (İçduygu et al. 2011). While the CSO has the potential to be a site for the pursuit of rights by women and youth they remain insufficient to representing these disadvantaged groups in Turkey. Contemporary studies on participation in CSOs highlight how the intention of CSOs to engage a wider spectrum of society is not necessarily achieved. Sener’s (2014) study on youth and women’s participation reveals, through an analysis of policy documents, that there are limited policies in place that encourage youth and women’s participation in Turkey. In relation to youth she finds that there are no channels for youth to become involved in policies that concern them. Nor are there any youth policies that encourage participation. This

² The CIVICUS study is designed to measure five aspects of civil society: Civic Engagement, Level of Organization, Practice of Values, Perceived Impact, and External Environment.

reinforces both limitations to CSOs as well as the tradition of a passive citizenry.

While CSOs in Turkey are mainly oriented toward social service provision, there have been increased efforts by CSOs to participate in advocacy (İçduygu et al. 2011, 21). The types of CSOs that have been on the rise include advocacy organizations, organizations based on ethnic and religious identity groups in Turkey, and groups that fall under disadvantaged groups working on issues such as homelessness, street children, refugees and immigrants (İçduygu et al. 2011, 64). This may be indicative of an increased awareness of the potential for CSOs to voice claims, which increases the participation of citizens looking for alternative channels of making claims. A recent study by Çarkoğlu and Cenker (2011) explores the link between CSO participation and civic attitudes based on survey data. This study distinguishes between “rent-seeking, materialist, professional organizations” and “post-materialist, charity, leisure and identity and rights based organizations.” (Çarkoğlu and Cenker 2011, 751). Acknowledging the necessity to differentiate the effect of different types of CSOs on democratic performance, they also distinguish between four types of civil society involvement: becoming a member, volunteering, participating in meetings and making donations. They find that non-membership types of activity such as volunteering, donations and participating in meetings is more widespread in Turkey. They find that this more “hands-off” approach, as they call it, makes the potential for the development of civic attitudes such as generalized trust and tolerance less likely (Çarkoğlu and Cenker 2011).

An important study (Yeğen et al. 2009) which classifies CSOs based on more qualitative characteristics focuses on the functions of the CSO, based on their types of activities, and emphasizes how they achieve their objectives via these different activities (Yeğen et al. 2009, 149). Such distinctions may have implications for the institutional nature of the CSO as well as the practices it develops among its participants. Yeğen et al.’s study identifies three main types of

activities (each cluster contains a range of activities under them). The first group of activities are social and aim to bring together their members such as discussion groups, dinner events, picnics and panels. The second group comprises of lobbying activities such as meeting with political figures, press conferences and press releases. The third and final group includes aid activities such as donations and scholarships (Yeğen et al. 2009). This study contributes to Yeğen et al.'s study and classification by analyzing how these different types of activities may influence the skills, values, and other characteristics that shape participant practices and identities.

IV. Active Citizenship Dimensions in the Turkish Context

In chapter 2 the dimensions of active citizenship were established based on an extensive review of the literature on active citizenship. The review established that active citizenship encompassed the three attributes of civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. This section briefly addresses the importance of these three dimensions for the potential development of active citizenship in Turkey. The literature review on citizenship and CSOs above presents in particular the tradition that has inhibited civic action in Turkey. This is reflected in both the practice of citizenship as well as the ability of CSOs to function. Thus the first dimension of active citizenship, civic action, is a critical feature to enabling citizens to act. For the CSO to create a learning site that develops skills and practices that enable citizens to act is a critical contribution to the potential for change in citizenship in Turkey. It is also critical to strengthening the CSO as a legitimate and effective site where civic action can be executed.

Social cohesion, the second dimension of active citizenship, is particularly important to achieving change in citizenship in Turkey. As the above analysis of citizenship makes evident, significant divides, particularly ethnic, are at the root of political and social tensions in Turkey.

They are also at the root of debates regarding how to define citizenship in Turkey. Achieving an increased sense of community, solidarity and most importantly exposure to the diversities that exist in Turkey is a critical first step to mending some of these issues. While exposure to diversity may not necessarily result in acceptance or tolerance, in a prejudiced setting, it has the potential to break through certain stereotypes, an important initial step. And breaking some of these barriers has the potential to develop a more inclusive approach to political and civic engagement in Turkey.

And finally, self-actualization, the third dimension of active citizenship, is critical to changing how citizenship is practiced in Turkey. Once again, the inhibitive nature rooted in Turkey's understanding of citizenship envisions a duty based, passive citizenship. The civic republican tradition that is dominant in Turkey sets barriers to the development and realization of a liberal citizenship practice. The development of skills and values that enable the individual to voice opinions and make claims will enhance a more liberal perception and practice of citizenship. The development of such skills among diverse groups of individuals can also enable more inclusive participation. Individuals that become more self-confident, self-satisfied, more aware of their identity, able to express themselves and exercise their agency will be able to dent the hierarchical culture in Turkey which feeds into the passive citizenship tradition.

V. Conclusion

The literature reviewed above indicates that Turkey's political culture is rooted in a tradition where the citizen's ability to practice citizenship has been limited, and little initiative on the part of the citizen has defined his/her citizenship role. This has changed parallel to global trends and changing dynamics in Turkey. As part of this transformation, civil society organizations create potential spaces for citizens to voice their opinions, pursue their rights, and serve their communities. At the

same time barriers persist to the level effectiveness that a CSO may have in achieving institutional as well as individual goals. However, efforts to ensure the CSO achieves its deserved autonomy in Turkey are being pursued. These changes to both citizenship as well as civil society organizations in Turkey set the stage for an in depth study of the potential for the development of active citizenship in Turkey.

The above analysis of the literature on citizenship and civil society organizations in Turkey achieves two objectives. First, it establishes the context in which the potential for active citizenship in Turkey is studied. Second it identifies the gaps in the literature of citizenship and CSOs in Turkey that this study on active citizenship addresses. In framing the analysis around the structural legacies and the processes of change that have shaped citizenship and CSOs in Turkey, this chapter presents the dynamics at play that define these concepts today. The structural legacies present, in particular, the attributes of citizenship and CSOs that are shaped by Turkey's strong state and patrimonial politics and that make citizenship dutiful and passive and create an inhibitive environment for CSOs. The processes of change present the events and processes that have worked to counter Turkey's strong state tradition to open up spaces for increased and effective CSO activity and for more active forms of citizenship practices and perceptions. These are the dynamics within which the potential for the development of active citizenship as defined in this study becomes possible. The historical account and current debates on citizenship and CSOs makes it evident that the perception and practice of citizenship is still considered "dutiful" and/or passive and that CSOs continue to function in the inhibitive environment of Turkey's strong state tradition. At the same time, however, the processes of change that Turkey continues to undergo point to a potential for transformation to how citizenship is learned, perceived, and practiced in Turkey and how CSOs can contribute.

This study complements the literature in these two areas on several levels. First, studies on the practice of citizenship, that is a study of the citizen's experience, and processes of learning citizenship are limited. The practice of citizenship encompasses the relationship between the state and the citizen, based not on a formal contract or expectations set by the state, but rather the experiences of individuals and how they define their own citizenship through their practices. This is about both how the legal context affects the practice of citizenship and how citizens enact their citizenship despite the legal and formal establishment of citizenship. In light of the changing conceptualization of citizenship as practice over status, changing global dynamics, and demands regarding citizenship in Turkey, a study of how citizenship is pursued, learned and practiced within this context is critical. A citizen may not accept their formal status but may be practicing their citizenship in pursuit of a transformation to his/her status. The practice of citizenship is thus citizenship beyond legal definitions of what the formal status of citizenship entails. This research aims to contribute to understanding whether participation in CSOs develop novel scripts to the practice of citizenship. In-depth analysis of how people participate in CSOs reveals the mechanisms that enable the practical dimension of citizenship within the context of the legal. This study develops the literature that reveals the role of the agent in defining and experiencing citizenship. It reveals the means through which participants becoming agents in shaping their citizenship through different experiences of participation.

As for the literature on CSOs, a major contribution is the development of a study that focuses, in depth, on individual experiences in the CSO. While studies have moved closer to revealing more qualitative characteristics of civil society in Turkey there remains a lag in studies conducting in depth analysis of CSOs. A more agent based approach to the study of civil society organizations in Turkey would entail a focus on participant experiences. Some CSOs, such as

TEGV have conducted studies on their volunteers to assess the impact of volunteering on individuals. However, such studies are limited to a CSO assessment reports and do not encompass the wider range of different types of CSOs and types of participation. A study of the impact on the individual and how this triggers diverse actions will be critical to understanding the effect of CSOs on the agent. A transformation to the participating individual may in turn influence the CSO and contribute to longer term changes. There is also limited comparative studies which differentiate between CSOs based on the effect they have on their participants. This study delves deeper into the activities conducted, relations between participants, revealing a wide range of information both about participant experiences as well as institutional qualities of diverse civil society organizations. It identifies factors, such as CSO type, function, activity, informal/formal learning environment and techniques that make up the processes and experiences that lead to various outcomes. A closer look at the activities, participants and target groups will illuminate these processes.

This chapter has established the context of Turkey which points to both a necessity as well as a potential for the development of active citizenship and thus a transformation to citizenship in Turkey. It also points to the necessity and potential for CSOs to act as a site for the learning and practice of active citizenship. The review of the literature on citizenship and CSOs also points to how this study will contribute an in depth qualitative analysis of individual experiences, and a comparative study differentiating between how CSOs engage their participants.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

I. Introduction

As both chapter 2 and chapter 3 have established there is a vast literature on CSOs in Turkey. Following an increase in CSO activity and visibility over the past two decades in particular, studies on CSOs in Turkey have burgeoned to address questions regarding their role and relevance in Turkish politics and society. Quantitative as well qualitative studies have been conducted in an effort to provide an overall description of CSOs in Turkey as well as their relations to a list of socio-political issues. Reports of CSO numbers, membership rates, types of CSOs, issue areas, types of classification, capacity, strength, and weaknesses, and CSO effectiveness (Içduygu et al. 2011, Yeğen et al. 2009, Bikmen and Meydanoğlu 2006) are complemented by studies on historical accounts of the development of civil society in Turkey, analyzing their past and present role in Turkish society (Şimşek 2004, Keyman and İçduygu 2003, Karaman and Aras 2000). CSOs themselves also conduct research to evaluate their own performance regarding their mission, or ability to reach their target groups and assess participant experiences. Such studies present important findings on how certain skills, attitudes and knowledge are acquired by their participants (TEGV 2009, 2010).

This study on the potential to learn active citizenship skills and values through CSO

participation complements these studies. The primary research questions that guide this study are as follows:

- How do different types of CSOs engage their participants and how does this effect the types of citizenship skills, values and practices they develop?
- Does participation in a CSO develop active citizenship skills? If so, how?
- What *types* of CSOs facilitate the development of active citizenship skills? What attributes of the CSO fosters the development of active citizenship skills? What types hinder the development of active citizenship skills?

These questions point to the expectation that different types of CSOs will develop different citizenship practices. This requires the development of a research design that enables a comparison of different types of CSOs. The CSOs are distinguished based on attributes that are expected to affect how the participant is engaged. These are what define the indicators utilized to select and analyze the CSOs. At the same time the study requires a research design that focuses on participant different aspects of the CSO that affect how participants are engaged. These fundamental expectations, based on the research questions, are what guides the research design and methodology of this study detailed below.

An understanding of how different CSOs lead to different participant experiences requires an alternative classification of CSOs. Studies on Turkey have classified CSOs in different ways. Most have been framed around their legal status, issue area, size, location, membership numbers, or economic strength (Yeğen et al. 2009, 55). İçduygu et al. (2011) map civil society organizations in Turkey based on their legal structure and work areas. According to their study, there are six major legal structures that CSOs in Turkey fall under: associations, foundations, trade unions,

chambers, cooperatives, federations, and confederations³. More than half of all CSOs are associations, almost 40% are cooperatives and the remaining 5-6 % are composed of foundations, chambers and trade unions. While different legislation apply to different legal structures many of these organizations function in similar ways making it difficult to differentiate them (İçduygu et al. 2011, 28). Another CSO classification is based on their area of activity. The categories that emerge in this classification are religious organizations, sports associations, social solidarity organizations, professional solidarity organizations, and development and construction associations (İçduygu et al. 2011, 29). Similarly, foundations work in the areas of social aid, education, health, democracy/law/human rights. An alternative classification developed for CSOs in Turkey by Yeğen et al. (2009) is based on the function of CSOs. Yeğen et al. list more than 30 activity types that are observed in CSOs throughout Turkey. These activities range from dinner organizations, sports events, and picnics, to publications, protests, conferences and media campaigns (Yeğen et al. 2009). Through a cluster analysis, these 30 plus types of activities are clustered into 8 categories that summarize the types of activities that are prominently utilized in Turkish CSOs. These categories are: social activities, scientific activities, campaigning activities, activist activities, aid related activities, arts activities, sports activities, and the construction of hospitals, schools and mosques (Yeğen et al. 2009, 149). As is evident in these studies, CSO definitions and classifications may vary and this variation will inevitably have an effect on research

³ While it is difficult to provide clear cut definitions for these types of organizations in Turkey, due to the similarity in the nature of their activities, İçduygu et al. (2011) provide a general distinction for these legal structures: Associations are member based organizations where members pursue a legal, non-profit goal. Foundations are formed via private resources donated for activities targeting public assistance. Trade unions are composed of workers in a particular industry and aim to advance their rights and interest. Membership is usually voluntary. Chambers also aim to promote the rights of members of a particular profession. They are established by the government and membership is required. Cooperatives are usually business organizations but can also be social organizations owned and operated by a group of individuals targeting their economic benefit. Federations and confederations are umbrella organizations encompassing these other forms of organizations (İçduygu et al. 2011, 28-29).

outcomes. However, while all these classifications are relevant for an understanding of CSOs in Turkey, they do not sufficiently facilitate an understanding of how the participant is engaged within the CSO. As a result, at the root of this research design is the development of classifications of CSOs based on attributes expected to affect how the participant is engaged. These contribute to the literature through a focus on the participant as well as developing novel classifications of CSOs. And in doing so, these classifications contribute to a move away from generalizations regarding the effect of CSOs on participation.

A critical element of the study's research design results from its focus on understanding the experience of the participant by delving deep into the CSO and studying a small number of CSOs in detail. This research is based on 44 interviews conducted with CSO participants to trace, in detail, their experience as a participant and to evaluate the effect of their participation on the development of various citizenship skills. Most studies that evaluate participant experiences are conducted in survey format. While these studies are valuable to understanding the development of values, skills and practices, only the detailed accounts found in interviews reveal the paths that link participation to the development of particular skills and practices. Also, most studies on CSO participation are based on monitoring/evaluation reports or other reports conducted as part of development studies, frequently targeting a policy audience. Rarely is the CSO participant at the center of an academic study. Thus, the design of this research distinguishes itself by focusing, in depth, on the participant, differentiating between types of CSOs, identifying mechanisms linking CSO types to citizenship practice outcomes, and analyzing the potential for transformation to citizenship and CSOs in Turkey. The section below details the research design best fit for the objective of understanding whether and how CSO participation can develop active citizenship.

II. Research Design

This study utilizes a comparative (multiple) case study research design. The case selection is *purposive* (Gerring 2008) in order to conduct a systematic analysis of cases that differ on the criteria established. The comparative case study allows for an *in depth* study of selected cases. Analysis of multiple cases on a particular criteria reveals patterns and also controls for other attributes of the case, enabling more robust and generalizable findings (Santos and Eisenhardt 2004). There are various classifications for case studies, including the most well-known types such as the “most-similar”, “most-different”, or “crucial case” studies (Gerring 2008, Yin 2003, Stake 1995). This comparative case study is most similar to what Gerring (2008) refers to as “diverse case study”. Cases are selected to reflect a range of combinations of the criteria selected. The analysis is then based on a comparison of the divergent combinations of the cases. This is the most suitable case study design to analyze differences in *processes and experiences* between units of analysis. And since the objective of the study is to identify the pathways that link citizenship practices outcomes to participation in different types of CSOs, understanding the processes and experiences are critical.

The research questions that guide this research expect different types of CSOs to have divergent effects on its participants in terms of the citizenship practices they develop. This expectation requires distinguishing between CSOs based on how they engage their participants, and conducting a comparison of these divergent attributes. The comparative case study design is used to compare the CSOs based on three distinctions developed. Based on discursive and structural attributes that distinguish between CSOs, the comparative case study design enables a comparison of *rights versus obligations* based CSOs, *volunteer versus membership* based CSOs, and CSOs that utilize *different activities*. It also enables comparison across these attributes since

interaction between the three indicators is also expected to affect outcomes regarding citizenship practices. While a significant amount of literature has distinguished between different types of CSOs, these distinctions have been developed to address the underlying inquiry of participant experiences.

While types of activities have been utilized to distinguish between CSOs, the discursive and structural attributes, obligations versus rights based and membership versus volunteer based, have not been studied. The objective of this study is to identify whether and how CSO participation contributes to the development of active citizenship skills. How the individual is engaged within the CSO will determine the skills, values and practices they develop. Different attributes of the CSO will create different learning environments, instill different values, develop different skills, and enable different practices. As is detailed below, this criteria was utilized to select CSOs. While five criteria were utilized to select the CSOs, three of criteria comprise the basis of the empirical analyses.

Establishing the criteria for comparing CSOs is the first aspect of the research design suited for this study. The initial analysis of the CSOs is based on their written materials including websites, press releases, progress reports, publications and research papers. This identifies the features of the CSOs to classify them under the different types developed for this research. A focus on the participant is the second critical feature of the research design and requires an in depth study of a few number of CSOs. Analysis of CSOs based on their written materials, or surveys or even interviews with staff provide limited information on the CSO. By studying a few number of CSOs intensely and collecting data from experiences of participants, this study proposes novel paths regarding how CSOs engage their participants. Thus, this study utilizes interviews to trace the participant experience. An extensive analysis if participant experiences limits the number of CSOs

that can be studied. As a result data is collected from 44 individuals that volunteer or are members in 6 CSOs in Istanbul. Since each individual's experience can vary, in order to understand the various effects that different characteristics of the CSO can have, more than 1 interview was necessary for each CSO. Based on interviews conducted with the first two CSOs, an average of 7-8 interviews was established as an ideal number of interviews for each CSO. For each CSO, 6-9 individuals were thus interviewed.

This study also utilizes an *exploratory* research design as it identifies the effect of processes on the development of citizenship practices. Qualitative research design such as the comparative case study have been highlighted as particularly relevant for studies in which novel concepts are defined and elaborated, and for the purpose of theory and hypothesis building and consolidation (Buroway 2009, Snow et al. 2008, Mahoney 2007, Eckstein 1975). This research develops the concept of active citizenship for the Turkish context and explores its practices. Findings of field research, in this case semi-structured interviews, have the potential to develop novel hypotheses and/or theories. This research design enables the identification of processes of participation and enables a deeper understanding of each case at hand. While preliminary research on citizenship, active citizenship, and CSO theories guided the design of interview questions, analysis of initial responses to interviews contributed to reshaping questions and the direction of the study at different stages. This research design is particularly suitable for the study of a concept such as active citizenship which is a relatively novel concept addressing contemporary issues surrounding citizenship.

The scope conditions for this research are limited to civil society organizations in Istanbul, Turkey. While the selected cases aim to represent CSOs throughout Turkey, the objective is not to make generalizations but rather to identify causal mechanisms at play that can then be studied in

a larger context in Turkey and globally. Surveys, through data collection from a larger group of civil society participants, would have enabled quantitative analyses and the ability to derive more generalizable conclusions, for example. While this approach would have also provided insight into parallels between experience and citizenship outcome, survey results risk solely identifying change in outcome with little information on how the outcome was achieved. Surveys limit responses of respondents, not allowing for a full account of experiences. The pathways would not necessarily be revealed. Since the purpose of this study is to assess the potential learning environment within the CSO, these pathways that are observed are critical to understanding the educative nature or lack thereof in different types of CSO.

Based on the case selection criteria driven by the conceptual framework and research questions, I have identified six civil society organizations to compare. The criteria utilized for the selection of these CSOs are as follows:

Table 3. CSO Selection Criteria

1	Rights vs. Obligations
2	Participation Type
3	Types of Activities
4	Issue Area
5	Capacity

Below, the process of selection of the six civil society organizations is detailed. First, I elaborate on the criteria that were used for the case selection. Then I present the selection process. Finally, I provide a brief description of the CSOs, framed mainly around their features in relation to the selection criteria.

The criteria for CSO selection are based on the objective of identifying how participation

in a CSO develops particular citizenship practices. While classifications such as issue areas or capacity are relevant to understanding the state of CSOs in Turkey, they do not provide the necessary framework to study participation. How the individual is engaged in the CSO is the fundamental indicator utilized in CSO selection. Based on an examination of structural and discursive attributes of CSOs three indicators were selected to study participation. First are discursive attributes based on the values/culture of the CSO. The difference studied here is whether the CSO is rights or obligations based. This is chosen as the distinguishing feature particularly because being rights or obligations based in Turkey guides the relationship that develops with the state, which is relevant to citizenship perceptions and practice in Turkey. The second dimension is based on the CSO's structural attributes. The structural distinction analyzed under this dimension is whether the CSO is membership based or volunteer based. This is a distinction that is rarely made, yet as will be detailed in chapter 6, has the potential to create variation in participation. And the third distinction is based on the types of activities that CSOs utilize to implement their objectives. This type of classification has been developed and studied previously (Yeğen et al. 2009) and guides the categories developed here. These are the three main variables utilized in the selection process with capacity and issue area utilized to ensure variation the CSOs selected. The section below details these criteria, and the description of CSOs that follows details which category each CSO falls under.

III. Criteria for CSO Selection and Analysis:

Below is a detailed account of the relevance of the five indicators utilized to select the CSOs. In particular, the indicators developed regarding participation are discussed extensively. As noted above, the main indicators identified for the selection of CSOs are based on those that are expected

to affect how a participant is engaged in the CSO. Discursive and structural characteristics guide how participation occurs. CSOs were selected based primarily on variation in the following three indicators: 1) rights based versus obligations, 2) type of participation: volunteerism versus membership, 2) types of activities.

1. Rights Based vs. Obligations Based

The distinction between these two types of CSOs is based on whether the CSO's discourse points more toward rights pursuit or fulfilment of obligation. It distinguishes between a language that emphasizes, for example, rights of citizens and the obligations of the state versus the obligations of citizens with rights granted by the state. Citizenship literature presents rights and obligations as complementary. When one voices a right it implies that someone has the responsibility to provide and preserve that right. In liberal citizenship literature these rights are guaranteed by the state. When obligations are emphasized it implies that citizens have an obligation toward the state or community and any rights that come with that are earned by fulfilling obligations. This distinction is made through an analysis of written materials such as website pages, press releases and annual reports, and preliminary analysis of the interviews for each of the six CSOs.

A rights based approach in a CSO emphasizes the attainment of particular rights such as the right to equal representation in politics for women or youth, achieving basic human rights, or preservation of the environment. The responsibility to ensure these rights is placed on another institution, mainly the state but also political parties, the media etc. This does not mean that the CSO itself takes no responsibility in the matters they address. Rather they emphasize that it is in the hands of the state and other institutions to make the necessary changes that will ensure the rights they pursue are attained and/or protected.

An obligation based CSO provides a particular service or pursues an interest that is

insufficiently provided by the state. What makes the CSO obligations based is its sense of responsibility toward a particular community or its target group, and that it places the responsibility for change on itself. This may be conducted in a manner which supports and/or complements state services. Alternatively, it may be conducted in spite of the government, critical of particular state deficiencies. Such CSOs, rather than pressuring the state to provide a particular service or lobbying to change policies, attempt to compensate for shortcomings.

Theories of citizenship explore citizen rights and obligations to present varying roles for the individual and types of state- society relations. Liberal citizenship values the individual, where the political community exists to ensure that individual interests are most effectively attained (Locke 1690, Mill 1859). Republican citizenship values community over individual placing responsibility on the individual to act along civic virtue toward a common good (Aristotle1993, Machiavelli 1997(1532), Rousseau 1762, Arendt 1958). While liberal theorists advocated a rights-based understanding of citizenship where the state exists to ensure individual rights, civic republican theories placed the civic community above the individual to emphasize citizen obligations.

The issue of rights and obligations in Turkey has particular significance since citizenship is defined around these concepts. State society relations have traditionally been built on the understanding that the citizen has obligations toward the state. Rights pursuit versus the fulfillment of particular obligations requires a different set of skills which is supported by a different set of values as well. The way the CSO engages the individual in a rights based CSO will foster a different perception of and relation with the state than engagement in an obligations based CSO. An understanding of whether and how rights pursuit and obligations fulfillment engage the participant will have implications for the potential for transformation in state-citizen relations.

Differences in the CSOs' relationship with the state needs to be acknowledged. The tension that arises between the state and CSOs, a prominent feature of civil society in Turkey, as discussed in the historical background, reflects the state's relationship to particular types of CSOs. These CSOs are generally those that conduct activities which are directly or indirectly critical of the state and demand change on the part of the state. Particularly CSOs that pursue issues such as human rights or women's rights are more confrontational with the state since they place the responsibility on the state to ensure rights or prevent rights violations. Lack of will or ability to do so results in criticism of the state. In turn the state makes an effort to inhibit such CSO activity or limit their visibility and level of activity. On the other hand a CSO such as TEGV which is providing after school education is less likely to be engaged in a tense relationship. That is, as long as its activities remain non-confrontational and non-critical of the state's policy on education. Certainly even a CSO such as TEGV is indirectly critical of the lack of a sufficient educational system but their discourse focuses on the service they provide rather than the deficiency of the state in this area. The discourse of the CSO, from the onset, places the CSOs in different positions.

2. Participation Type

This is a novel classification of CSOs that distinguish them based on a structural factor that is expected to guide participation: 1) Volunteer based, 2) Membership based. Volunteer based organizations refer to those that engage their participants through voluntary work. Volunteer based CSOs under this category expect or require their participants to volunteer their time and skills to particular activities of the CSO. In most cases this implies a commitment of a set amount of time or a commitment to completing particular tasks for the CSO. Frequently, in volunteer based organizations the CSO functions as a result of volunteers' participation so it is both dependent on

volunteers and requires commitment. Membership based CSOs are defined here as those organizations that are run either by paid staff or a group of members that manage the organization. Membership is generally acquired through a financial commitment, but there is no set requirements or expectation regarding commitment of time or skills. These structural expectations of the CSO regarding participation is expected to affect levels and form of participation.

There is little distinction made in the literature on membership and volunteerism. Musick and Wilson (2008) juxtapose volunteerism to social activism, where “volunteering is associated with helping and caring, service provision, leisure time activity, and associations that sustain democracy” (Musich and Wilson 2008). Social activism on the other hand is associated with collective efforts for change. Çarkoğlu and Cenker (2011) differentiate the effect of different types of CSOs on democratic performance by distinguishing between four types of civil society involvement: becoming a member, volunteering, participating in meetings and making donations. They identify membership as more “hands on” and the other three types, including volunteering, as “hands off” (Çarkoğlu and Cenker 2011). Most such definitions tend to develop an understanding of volunteerism as a more neutral and passive form of participation. However, the distinctions in this study are based on structural attributes that distinguish between these two CSOs. As such the distinction between the two types of CSOs developed here aims to clarify whether and how they develop different skills and practices through different forms of engagement.

This distinction is made to evaluate how some of the structural differences that emerge between these two types of CSOs may affect participation. Volunteerism is generally accepted as activities conducted to benefit society in general without any material expectation (UNV 2013). There is no formal definition for a membership based CSO. For this study membership based CSOs are those in which individuals formally register as members and pay membership dues.

While requirements for membership varies, what is common is that there is no requirement to participate, that is, commit one's time to the CSO.

3. Types of Activity

A third indicator that distinguishes between CSOs is the types of activities they utilize to implement their objectives. There is an endless list to the types of activities that CSOs conduct to achieve their objectives. I have conducted a comparison of the two most frequently utilized activities for each CSO. This analysis utilizes the categories developed in the Yeğen et al. 2009 study to identify the main activities for each CSO under study. Since activities within each cluster may have a different effect on participation, the analysis considers all activities and not just the clustered categories. Based on preliminary analysis of the CSOs' written materials as well as interviews, the types of activities that emerge are as follows: (1) social activities (dinner events, arts and sports activities), (2) educational activities (including trainings and conference activities), (3) research and publications (4) lobbying and campaigning activities (lobbying & media related campaigns), (5) protest. Certainly these six CSOs utilize more activity types than the ones listed here. This is a compilation of the two most utilized activities for each CSO. Each type of activity is expected to engage the participant in a different way resulting in the development of divergent practices and values.

Interview questions as well as analysis of CSO written materials were designed to identify how these activities engage participants and what citizenship skills they develop. Some questions identify the types of activities that individuals are engaged in by having the participant describe a typical day or comment on the kinds of activities they feel are most effective in reaching the CSO's objectives. Other questions reveal how partaking in these activities develop particular skills and whether they have changed in any way. Outcomes of participation in various activities are

indicative both of the level of participation that the CSO enables and the practices it develops among its members and volunteers. Based on these activities, interviews are analyzed to link these activities to how participants engage and how they evaluate the outcomes of this engagement.

4. Issue Area

Issue area is one of the most frequently used classifications to distinguish between CSOs. This distinction is not expected to have an effect on how participants are engaged in the CSO. Different CSOs in terms of issue areas are selected for this study to ensure representativeness of the diversity of CSOs. An analysis of just women's organizations or education based organizations would limit the representation of the types of CSOs in Turkey. While it is impossible to represent the full range of issues areas, to the extent possible CSOs working on diverse issues were selected. There is a wide range of issue areas that CSOs deal with and it would be impossible to make an exhaustive list. The ones analyzed in the selection process include some of the more prominent issue areas such as education, women's rights, nationalist ideology, vocational (architects and physicians), human rights, health, natural life preservation, environment, cultural heritage, youth engagement, empowerment of the disadvantaged, think tank, early childhood education, and solidarity (*hemşehri*) organizations.

5. Capacity

Capacity was initially chosen as an indicator to ensure diversity among the selected CSOs. The objective was to study small and large, high and low capacity CSOs. Capacity is generally evaluated on the basis of features such as the CSO's assets and property, their membership/volunteer base, whether they have an active website, the extent of their presence, and number of branches throughout the country. Capacity can certainly influence how participants are engaged since capacity will shape the extent of activities the CSO can implement and the extent

to which participants can be part of the implementation process. Low capacity CSOs may not have a sufficient structure in place to enable participation. However, it became evident during the selection process, in evaluating a larger group of CSOs, that most of the CSOs I could utilize in the research needed to have a sufficient membership/volunteer base so I could reach enough participants to interview. They needed to have a website with relevant and sufficient documents that could be utilized for analysis. These usually came along with other features of a high capacity CSO. In the end, all the CSOs that could be included in the study resulted in being high capacity CSOs. Thus, there is no differentiation on this indicator among the six CSOs.

It should be acknowledged that the three criteria developed for analysis are not the only factors that affect participation. However, in developing criteria that encompasses discursive and structural attributes of the CSO, an extensive range of features affecting participation are covered. The relationship between these features should also be noted. These criteria do not act independently from one another and their relations are acknowledged in the analyses. Rights based CSOs may for example prefer to utilize certain activities such as protest or lobbying. The citizenship skills developed will be a result of the interaction between activity types as well the discourse prevalent in the CSO mutually reinforcing one another. Providing after school education, a main types of activity for TEGV, for example, requires a large volunteer base to provide the service. Thus, as will be apparent in the analyses, these attributes are interconnected and together present a picture of whether and how each CSO is able to generate active citizenship among its participants.

IV. CSO Selection Process

Qualitative comparative case studies entail the selection of more than one case yet at the same time restrict the number of cases studied in order to conduct in depth analyses. In this multiple case study research six cases were analyzed. At least two CSOs were analyzed for each criteria. Thus six CSOs provided the necessary variation on the three main selection criteria. Fewer CSOs would not have provided sufficient data for a comprehensive analysis. A comparison of only two CSOs, one for each criteria, could only provide limited and preliminary information on the pathways between CSO type and citizenship practices. With six CSOs, comparison was based on at least two to three CSOs for each type. It is important for the study that comparisons were based on more than one CSO for each criteria. Studying particular phenomena in more than one case enables us to confirm particular claims and findings that emerge in one case, making the analysis more robust and generalizable (Santos and Eisenhardt 2004). It also enables us to identify how different aspects of the case take effect on the criteria under analysis. Analysis of at least two CSOs enabled the identification of patterns that emerge in these types of CSOs and a comparison of CSOs that differ on other criteria, allowing for an evaluation of how the various criteria interact with one another. The empirical chapters reveal these interactions and how they guide participation.

It should be noted here that none of the CSOs are perfect or ideal representations of the criteria established. In fact as is evident in the classifications below, some CSOs are classified under both categories of the same criteria. For example TO is both membership and volunteer based. Habitat is both rights and obligations based. But even beyond these more obvious examples, none of the CSOs can be strictly set in one category. Ka.Der is very obviously rights based but both in its written materials as well as interviews we see references made to obligations.

While TEGV is classified as obligations based, certainly aspects of the CSO reflect sensitivity toward educational rights. As is detailed below, CSOs are classified based on the tendency and weight they exhibit for any one of the categories developed. The six CSOs selected were the most representative of variation on the five criteria. The qualitative, in-depth research method utilized in this study allows for a comprehensive analysis of the CSOs that take these variations into account.

The criteria listed above, in particular 1) Rights vs. Obligations based CSOs 2) Type of Participation and 3) Types of Activities, were utilized for the selection of CSOs. In order to identify the six CSOs that would be studied, initially, a list of 18 CSOs was developed. This number is random. It could have been 20 or 15 CSOs for the initial analysis. I needed to identify six CSOs that showed variation on the selection criteria. Had I been unable to identify six CSO among the 18 examined, I would have selected another 18 to examine. The 18 CSOs were selected among some of the prominent CSOs in Istanbul working on a wide range of issue areas. The selection of these CSOs was purposive in terms of selecting CSOs in different issue areas as well as those we could gather information on to establish their classification in terms of the criteria developed. Not all CSOs have the written materials or websites necessary to attain information regarding how they would be classified for each criteria. The selection was random regarding all other attributes. The 18 CSO were analyzed and classified under each criteria. Among the 18 the list was narrowed down to 6 CSOs that exhibited variation on the 5 criteria. As mentioned above each criteria needed to have at least two cases to compare. Thus the 6 CSOs selected not only showed variation on the criteria but also enabled analysis in which 2-3 CSO represented each criteria (Table 6). Below, table 4 shows the 18 CSOs analyzed. The following table lists the six CSOs selected. And table 6 shows how each CSO is classified for each of the 5 criteria. The

following 18 CSOs were evaluated based on the five selection criteria listed above:

Table 4. 18 CSOs Analyzed to Identify 6 CSOs

1	Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı)	10	World Wildlife Fund (WWF) (Dünya Doğayı Koruma Vakfı)
2	Association for the Support of Women Candidates (Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği)	11	Turkish Medical Association (Türk Tabipleri Birliği)
3	Turkish Hearths Association (Türk Ocakları Derneği)	12	Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği)
4	The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği)	13	The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı)
5	Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği)	14	Association Supporting the thought of Atatürk (Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği)
6	Foundation for Children with Leukemia (Lösemili Çocuklar Vakfı)	15	Community Volunteers Foundation (Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı)
7	The Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage (Çevre ve Kültür Değerlerini Koruma ve Tanıtma Vakfı)	16	Mother Child Education Foundation (Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı)
8	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı)	17	Istanbul Foundation for those from Konya (İstanbul Konyalılar Vakfı)
9	Habitat Center for Development and Governance (Habitat Kalkınma ve Yönetişim Derneği)	18	Artvin Cultural and Support Association (Artvin Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği)

Based on this analysis I identified six CSOs that are comparable in terms of the 5 criteria. The six CSOs show variation both in terms of criteria that determine participation as well as issue areas.

The following 6 CSOs were selected:

Table 5. CSOs Selected for Analysis

1	Association for the Support of Women Candidates (Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği) Ka.Der
2	Education Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı) TEGV
3	Habitat Center for Development and Governance (Habitat Kalkınma ve Yönetişim Derneği) Habitat
4	Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği) IHD
5	Turkish Medical Association (Türk Tabipleri Birliği) (İstanbul Tabip Odası) TTB / ITO
6	Turkish Hearths Association (Türk Ocakları Derneği) TOD

Table 6. CSO Classification Based on Criteria

	TEGV	HABITAT	KA.DER	TOD	TTB	IHD
Membership Type	V	V	M	M/V	M	M
Rights/ Obligations	O	R/O	R	O	R	R
Types Of Activities	E/S	E/Camp	E/Camp	S/E	P/R&P	P/R&P
Capacity	H	H	H	H	H	H
Issue Area	Education	Youth & Development	Women's Rights	Nationalism	Health/ Vocational	Human Rights

Membership Type: V: Volunteer; M: Membership

Rights/Obligations: R: Rights; O: Obligations based; R/O: rights & obligations

Types of Activities: E: Educational; P: Protest; R&P: Research and Publications; Camp: Campaign and Lobbying; S: Social

Capacity: H: High Capacity; L: Low Capacity (As discussed above, preliminary research established that all CSOs under study be high capacity CSOs)

It should be acknowledged that there is a multitude of other attributes that create variance between civil society organizations in Turkey. In fact many of these CSOs, such as religious, ethnic, or other ideology based CSOs, in terms of both their issue areas and activities are important representations of the political and social dynamics in Turkey. This makes them important case studies to analyze the potential for the development of different citizenship skills. Such CSOs were not intentionally excluded from the study. It was necessary that the right combination of CSOs was selected to ensure comparison between the different CSO attributes determined. And as a result, among the selected six CSO the range of ideologies represented through CSOs in Turkey is not fully represented. The selected CSOs best represent variation on the three selection criteria and to the extent possible variation on issue areas.

V. Selected CSOs: Characteristics based on Criteria

Below I provide a brief description of the CSOs under study with references made to their features based on the selection criteria. The three indicators that are analyzed empirically are detailed here. This information provides details on the classification of the CSOs which are analyzed comparatively in chapters 5-7.

1. TEGV (Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey)

TEGV, established in 1995, provides after school education for children aged 7-16 (TEGV website, “about us”). It conducts a wide range of activities using interactive teaching methods that teach content as well as other skills and values such as self-confidence, ability to critically think, creativity, and non-discrimination. Some of its activities aim to support the curriculum of the ministry of education. Their activities (they use the word activity instead of lesson or class to emphasize the non-school environment they try to create for children) range from math, science,

theater, and arts to other club activities such as chess and music. TEGV has a management staff of around 50 individuals (plus another 100 who manage each of TEGVs branches, and educational parks) and a board of directors of 13 (TEGV website, “about us”). As TEGV puts it, TEGV’s strength comes from its volunteers. Over 50,000 volunteers have contributed to TEGV’s activities with just over 8,000 actively contributing in 2014 (TEGV Faaliyet Raporu 2014). Volunteers are required to go through a minimum of three days of training and further 1-2 day training for particular activities (TEGV Faaliyet Raporu 2014). They are required to commit to at least two hours per week for 16 week long semesters during which they conduct one of the activities they have been trained for. TEGV has over 70 branches/ schools throughout Turkey, has visible campaigns and fundraising activities, and a volunteer base that is one of the largest in Turkey. In its mission it emphasizes non-discrimination, equality, and tolerance toward other ideas. These values are integral to their teaching content and teaching methods.

Type of participation: TEGV is one of the three volunteer based CSOs under study. TEGV is identified as volunteer based primarily because all activities are implemented through its volunteer base of over 50,000 individuals. Volunteers join a particular branch where they are required to take part, first in a general training and then a separate training for any activity (lesson) they will be responsible for conducting (for example computer or reading activities). TEGV has offices throughout Turkey and branch managers are directly in touch with and able to monitor and support their volunteers. Volunteers report directly to their branch managers. Volunteers are required to commit a minimum of two hours per week. The primary volunteer activity are the activities/lessons they conduct. However, other volunteer opportunities include supporting office staff or taking part in a “mobile activities truck” which travels around Turkey to provide the same education where TEGV does not have a branch. Volunteerism is not only a fundamental part of

how TEGV functions but, as expressed in much of their written content, also critical to their principle of good citizenship and good education. TEGV considers its volunteers as a second target group which it makes an effort to develop along the same principles and values.

Rights vs. Obligations: TEGV is classified as an obligations-based organization. Much of its written materials emphasize TEGV's mission as an obligation to support the national education system in Turkey (TEGV website, "about"). While TEGV's written materials reference the right to better education, they see equality in access to education as an objective they can contribute to. Their focus is more on the quality of education rather than access to education. At the same time an important educational objective is stated as "the development of social responsibility and to raise awareness on active responsible citizenship" (TEGV 2011, 7). However, the claim to right to education aims to achieve this not through political means or transformation, but through an increased sense of social responsibility within society. TEGV's objective indicates more cooperation with and support for the state rather than positioning itself against the state. In fact it works closely with the ministry of education (MEB). Since 2005 TEGV has worked with MEB to provide their educational activities to students during school hours to schools located near TEGV branches throughout Turkey (TEGV 2010, 9). They work closely with local governments and ministries to develop new projects based on educational needs. TEGV also has a partnership with 42 universities, primarily education departments, where, students volunteer at different organizations as part of their curriculum (TEGV 2010). The focus is on how TEGV can support the system to contribute to the educational attainment of particularly disadvantaged children. While rights based organizations frequently position themselves against the state TEGV in framing its role as supporting the state develops a neutral relationship with the state. It frames its objectives in a way that does not expect the state to be fully responsible for the achievements of better

education and that expects the citizen and the CSO to have a responsibility to contribute.

The state, which has an undisputed responsibility in the provision of national education, often faces impediments in achieving this mission due to the lack of resources and administrative challenge. Volunteer organizations, the private sector and citizens are thus obliged to support the state in this provision for productivity, by creating precedents to address insufficiencies and share responsibility in this vital area. The underlying principle is a contribution to the formal state education. (TEGV 2011, 8)

This relationship with the state is based on its non-controversial issue area and support of the national education system. This analysis reveals that TEGV's objective and mission embraces a sense of responsibility to contribute and support the state in the development of education.

Type of Activities: TEGV's primary activity is educational. TEGV provides afterschool educational activities to children, with the objective of developing knowledge as well as range of skills such as critical thinking. The impact of educational activities on the volunteers is assessed here. While TEGV's second most utilized activity is social, volunteer accounts show that it is much less influential. These activities, which aim to motivate and thank volunteers for their work, occur only a couple of times a year. Conducting educational activities, on the other hand, are a weekly requirement for volunteers.

2. KA.DER (The Association for the Support of Women Candidates)

Ka.Der, established in 1997, aims for equal representation for women in all areas of life, particularly equal representation in elected/appointed decision making positions. Their website

notes: “Assessing politics as the crucial area where change is most urgently needed and believing that politics will open the way to equal representation in all other fields, KA.DER has set its priority as reaching equal representation in the political arena” (KA.DER website, “about us”). Ka.Der has several hundred members registered under 8 branches as well as 8 representatives in cities that do not have a branch. Its nature of engagement in the political process is established on the principle of “equal distance”, meaning that it positions itself at an equal distance to all political parties. It upholds a non-discriminatory approach to all who want to be a member and participate in their trainings without regard to political or other ideological affiliation.

Type of Participation: KA.DER has primarily a membership base and also a very limited volunteer base which help implement activities and projects. Membership to KA.DER requires payment of a yearly fee. There is no training or required informational session that new members attend. Members choose to become a member of KA.DER through the branch closest to them or through headquarters. They become part of KA.DER’s mailing list and are informed about KA.DER’s activities as well as other news items, announcements and activities of other organizations.

Rights versus Obligations: Ka.Der is identified as a rights-based organization. In their revised 2012 bylaws Ka.Der emphasizes women’s rights and equality. Within this framework they work to influence policy in these areas. Under the section on Ka.Der’s “values”, the bylaws list “being aware of issues specific to women . . . working to ensure that women exist as equal citizens in all areas of social life. . . . working to develop and implement all necessary legal initiatives to end all violence and discrimination against women” (Ka.Der 2012a). Ka.Der is also engaged in legislative processes, involving themselves on issues concerning women and women’s representation. Their intense engagement with political institutions and activities that target transformation to the status quo represents Ka.Der’s rights based discourse. Rights based organizations frequently find

themselves positioned against the state in their efforts to create legal and institutional change. Change to the status quo is pursued on the basis that rights are being violated and the role attributed to the CSO is to raise awareness and pressure for change. In explicating their role as a CSO and as citizens acting within the CSO, the emphasis is made on their rights as citizens to pursue, for example, equal representation in parliament.

Type of Activities: Analysis of Ka.Der's written materials as well as interviews reveal that the two types of activities it utilizes the most are educational and lobbying/campaigning activities. Ka.Der focuses on two types of educational activity. One is raising awareness regarding gender equality, and the other focuses on training women who decide to run for political office. One of Ka.Der's main educational activities is its "School of Politics" project which occurs prior to each election period and aims to train women to develop skills and knowledge on how to run for office, how to run a successful election campaign, and what to do when elected. It also stresses issues regarding women and the importance of women in politics. Its main purpose is to increase the percentage of women candidates and elected women to parliament. The second activity is campaigning, conducted mostly during election periods. Through a large media campaign they aim to influence the policies of political parties to encourage the nomination and election of women candidates. Ka.Der is most visible through their election period campaigns.

3. HABITAT (Habitat Center for Development and Governance)

The Habitat Center for Development and Governance was initially established as part of the Youth for Habitat International Network in 1995. Habitat states that it conducts its activities without regard to language, ethnicity, religion, gender or ideology (Habitat website, "principles"). In its processes of policy development they pledge to act for the benefit of society as a whole with an

emphasis on disadvantaged groups such as youth, women and the disabled (Habitat website, “principles”). One of its primary objectives has been to develop the capacity of youth to support their participation in local and national decision making processes. However, in addition to their activities targeting youth they are also involved in activities that target other disadvantaged groups such as women, children and the disabled (Habitat website, “about habitat”). They have a staff of over 20 comprised of coordinators of various projects and a board of directors and advisory board of approximately 10 individuals (Habitat website, “staff”). Habitat’s presence throughout Turkey varies according to its projects. Each project is pursued in different regions and cities; however they are all spread out throughout the country. Their projects are realized through partnerships with various organizations including other CSOs, private corporations as well as government based partnerships. Most of Habitat’s projects function through volunteers affiliated with its various projects (habitat website, “projects”).

Type of participation: Habitat is the second volunteer based CSO. Habitat has a staff of project managers, however the overall implementation of projects occurs with the participation of volunteers. Habitat only has its headquarters in Istanbul and no branches. Volunteers determine where the projects are implemented based on where they are from. Habitat operates under a more flexible system with less monitoring. The main expectation of the CSO is that their volunteers participate in a training that will enable them to conduct at least one educational activity in their hometowns.

Rights and Obligations: When evaluating Habitat in terms of whether it is a rights based organization or an obligations based organization it presents a case where both discourses are present and prominent in their written materials. Most of their activities directly or indirectly target the attainment of particular rights. Activities such as the national youth parliament engage in direct

lobbying activities which reflect the pursuit of rights for different groups. On the hand many of their educational activities reflect the organization being driven by the responsibility to ensure that disadvantaged groups are provided the training that will make them more capable but also more socially aware and responsible individuals. This reflects a more obligations based discourse. The presence of both a rights and obligations based discourse in its written materials results in Habitat's classification as both a rights and an obligations based CSO.

Type of Activities: Habitat's primary type of activity is educational, targeting several disadvantaged groups such as youth and women. These trainings/ educational activities include areas such as computer and technology, financial management, strategic governance (which targets local governments to enhance their strategic capacities), women's computer training, and the Young Leaders Academy (which provides extensive training on a range of issues for potential young leaders ages 15-30) (Habitat website, "projects"). Habitat's second activity type is lobbying/campaigning. The CSO campaigns primarily to promote the role of youth in politics and other decision making mechanisms. The establishment of the "National Youth Parliament," for example, enabled Habitat to be a part of the process that effectively lobbied to decrease the age requirement to run for parliament.

4. TOD (Turkish Hearths Association)

The stated mission of the Turkish Hearths Association (TOD), established in 1912 is: "the development of national culture and intellect, the strengthening of national unity and societal build/make-up, and the glorification of Turkishness. In short, the named objective 'Turkish Nationalism' is this association's 'National Cause'" (TOD bylaws).

Type of Participation: TOD is classified as both membership based as well as volunteer based.

While officially TOD functions as a membership based organization it also has a very active youth volunteer group that are not encouraged to officially become members. The activity of this youth volunteer group is significant, steady, and visible and as such the CSO is classified as both membership and volunteer based. TOD has seven boards such as the board of directors, advisory committee, the arts and literature committee, and the “ladies committee” through which members are able to participate.

Rights vs Obligations: In terms of rights and responsibilities, TOD’s written materials reflect it as a responsibility based organization. They present their aim as the protection of and dissemination of the ideology of Turkish nationalism. There is implicit indication that TOD functions through the obligation to ensure Turkish unity and its members are attributed the responsibility to do so. There is no explicit reference to the pursuit of any particular rights. Their relation with the state is neutral but at times controversial due to their effort to remain at an equal distance to all parties. However, as is stated by TOD’s members, Turkey’s leading nationalist party, MHP as well as its right leaning parties, including the AKP, frequently make an effort to associate the CSO with their political agenda so as to gain support. Their effort to remain outside the political domain does at times creates tense relations with the state.

Type of Activities: The two main activities that TOD utilizes are educational and social activities. Most educational activities are conferences. One particular conference, the “Friday Discussions” which has been held weekly, every Friday, consistently for the past 29 years, has become TOD’s highlighted event. TOD’s social activities include events such as luncheons or breakfasts or discussion sessions on a wide range of topics. Both activities aim to strengthen and disseminate information on the national cause, and raise awareness among its members/volunteers.

5. TTB (Turkish Medical Association)⁴

Established in 1953, the Turkish Medical Association (TTB) is composed of 80% of Turkey's physicians and has approximately 83,000 members. TTB is present in 65 cities where the number of physicians exceeds 100. Among its stated objectives are to protect and develop healthcare in Turkey, to ensure that all have access to quality, affordable, and easily accessible health care. It also aims to defend the rights of physicians in various platforms and contribute to decisions taken in the area of medical education (TTB website "about TTB"). In addition to pursuing physician rights, TTB also acts as a watchdog over physicians to ensure that vocational practices are being conducted legally and ethically, thus ensuring patient rights.

Type of Participation: With over 83,000 members, TTB is classified here as a membership based CSO. TTB a vocational CSO is unique in its membership requirements. It is mandatory in Turkey for physicians working in the private sector to become a member of TTB. However, interestingly half of TTB's membership base is comprised of physicians working in the public sector. Membership requirement also include payment of a membership fee set by the ministry of health. Questions have been raised regarding the extent that TTB can be considered a CSO based on a system of mandatory membership. However, as stated, 50% of membership is based on physicians who voluntarily become members. Also, those members that are active in the CSO, implement its activities, produce its publications, and work to defend physician and patient rights are not forced to do so. On the contrary these members, whether their membership is formally mandatory or not, choose to actively participate themselves. Thus based on the nature of participation of members, the activities the CSO carries out, and its unique structure, TTB was identified as a significant case

⁴ General information is presented here on TTB. The analysis of this study is based on TTB's Istanbul branch. The Istanbul branch is referred to as the Istanbul Medical Chamber (İstanbul Tabip Odası). TTB and ITO may be utilized interchangeably throughout the text.

to be studied.

Right and Obligations: TTB's discourse positions it as a rights based CSO. Much of its activities target ensuring that physicians are defended on a range of vocational issues and the public on issues of access to quality healthcare. Their publications, advocacy work and interaction with political platforms reflect their pursuit and defense of particular rights. There is certainly reference among participants as well as written materials regarding the responsibility to ensure that the healthcare system runs on ethical principles. However TTB states its objective as acting as the voice of organized physicians in Turkey. TTB's political nature and position of rights pursuit frequently creates a tense relationship with the state. TTB's internal structure is based on a system where different groups compete to run the organization. This is also the case for each chamber (branch). Elections occur among groups that affiliate themselves with different political parties. Thus a clash between the group heading TTB and the governing political party, as is the case during the period of this study, results in tense relations.

Type of Activities: The two types of activities that stand out at ITO are protest activities and research/ publications. Their website lists a significant amount of literature regarding both rights of patients/doctors as well as literature that reflects ITO's stance on a range of political issues. These publications aim to inform both physicians as well the general public regarding the healthcare system, and their rights. While their issue area is health, TTB is known for making public statements on a range of other sociopolitical issues as well. TTB achieves visibility through their second main activity, protests, which are mostly on issues regarding health and/ or doctor/patient rights. However, similar to their publications, they also frequently make statements on a wide range of other political issues through protest. TTB's protest activities aim to both pursue rights and influence policy.

6. Human Rights Association (IHD):

IHD was established in 1986 by a group of human rights activists. The Association was established as stated on their website “to raise awareness and help alleviate the devastation caused by the outcomes of the 1980 military coup including, the closure of political parties, associations and unions, increased authoritarian tendencies, annulment of fundamental rights and freedoms and increased torture in prisons” (IHD website, “about”). Their stated objective is “to conduct work on human rights and freedoms” (IHD website “about”). IHD has branches throughout Turkey with each branch loosely attached to headquarters but directed by its own board of directors and committees. It is important to note that IHD has been affiliated with Kurdish political movements (and terrorism), which has intensified its tense relations with the state, frequently leading to state efforts to prevent IHD’s activity.

Type of Participation: IHD is a membership based CSO, with a large membership base spread throughout Turkey. The membership requirements to participate in IHD include references from two members of the CSO (IHD board member) and the payment of an annual fee (IHD website, “membership requirements”).

Right vs Obligations: IHD, given its issue area, is an explicitly rights based CSO. It engages in both pursuit of human rights, acts as a watchdog to ensure that violations are reported, and conducts protest and lobbying activities to pressure government for change. Due to the highly political nature of the issue area and particularly IHD’s perceived affiliation with Kurdish politics, IHD’s relation with the state has been tense and controversial, to say the least, throughout its existence. Its pursuit of human rights is based largely on issues, such as the prison system, that it holds the state responsible for. As a result it has and continues to face severe pressure by the state.

Type of Activities: Analysis of IHD written materials and interviews with its members reveals

IHD's main activities as research/publications and protest activities. IHD is adamant about tracking and publishing human rights violations through various mediums. Their main publication is their annual report which presents rights violations throughout the country. Their second most utilized activity to reach their objectives is protest. IHD is known for making public statements regarding human rights violations. While some protests are larger than others, IHD is known for disseminating their messages through physical and written protest.

The table below presents how each CSO is classified for each of the three main indicators.

Table 7. CSO Classification based on 3 Main Indicators

	TEGV	Habitat	Ka.Der	TOD	TTB (ITO)	IHD
Participation Type	V	V	M	M/V	M	M
Rights/ Obligations	O	R/O	R	O	R	R
Activity 1	Educational	Educational	Educational	Educational	Research/ Publications	Research / Publications
Activity 2	Social	Campaigning	Campaigning	Social	Protest	Protest

VI. Methodology

Analysis is based both on an examination of CSO written materials as well as semi-structured interviews conducted with volunteers and members of these six civil society organizations. Initially, CSO written material were analyzed to classify the CSOs under the three attributes compared. The comparative analysis, however, is based primarily on the interviews conducted, with written documents used as supplementary documents where necessary. CSO documents were analyzed to identify how each CSO represents themselves through their written content. The primary written content analyzed were CSO websites. Descriptions of their objectives and missions, details of their activities, requirements for membership, application and training

procedures for volunteerism were all accessed through websites. Classification of whether a right or obligations discourse was prominent is based on these documents and how each position themselves in terms of rights and obligations. Information regarding each CSO's relationship with the state also becomes evident through their websites, particularly through documents such as press releases or project summaries. The structure of the CSO, sites for participations, and what responsibilities participants are given were identified to establish whether they are volunteer or membership based. And details regarding the range of activities the CSO utilizes, the details of how each activity is implemented, and how participants can take part in them established the classification necessary to distinguish CSOs based on their types of activities. In addition to their websites, other written materials such as press releases, progress reports, publications, and research reports were analyzed.

The comparative analysis was based on 44 interviews conducted between October 2012 and May 2014. While most of these CSOs have branches throughout Turkey, all interviews were conducted with members of the Istanbul branches and all took place in Istanbul. Coincidentally 50% of the interviewees were female and 50% male. Interviewees were selected using the snowballing technique. Each volunteer or member interviewed was asked to recommend 1-2 other volunteers/ members to be interviewed. Frequently, the initial contact was made through administrative staff at the CSO. Staff would recommend 1-2 volunteers and set up meetings. Following this initial contact, volunteers I interviewed recommended 1-2 other volunteers and put me in touch with them. If I was unable to reach or set up meetings with these volunteers I would contact the staff as well as the volunteer who had recommended the names to request other names. All TEGV and TOD interviews were conducted at their branches. Other interviews were conducted mostly at cafes that were conveniently accessible for the interviewee. While some

CSOs were more accessible in terms of reaching interviewees, the necessary number of participants were interviewed at each CO. The numbers of interviews conducted at each CSO is presented below:

Table 8. Number of Interviews and Female/Male Ratios

Civil Society Organization	Number of Interviews	Women/Men
Ka.Der	8	8/0
TEGV	9	3/6
Habitat	6	1/5
IHD	6	5/1
TTB (ITO)	7	3/4
TOD	8	2/6
TOTAL:	44	22/22

The number of interviews conducted ranged between 6 and 9 for each CSO. It was important to interview more than 1 participant since each volunteer's experience can vary and a single interview would have been insufficient to capture the range of ways in which a CSO engages its participants. Several interviews are also necessary to confirm or reinforce findings that may emerge in one interview. An average of 6-8 interviews revealed sufficient information on what types of CSOs developed what types of citizenship practices and through what mechanisms. Any more became repetitive which set 6-8 interviews as providing sufficient data for analysis. The limited number of CSOs under study enabled in depth analysis through extensive interviews. Initial interviews conducted at TEGV and Ka.Der established the ideal number of interviews to be conducted for each CSO. As established earlier, a larger number of CSOs with fewer interviews

would not have provided the necessary information for each CSO. Multiple interviews are necessary for more robust analysis that reveals and reinforces emerging patterns.

Where possible I also conducted participant observation. However, this was not a method of data collection that I consistently utilized and as such information acquired was utilized as supportive data to the interviews. As a volunteer at TEGV, I took advantage of my personal experience and my interaction with other volunteers and the target group. I also participated in several educational activities at Ka.Der. I took part in one of IHD's protests and attended some of TOD's Friday Discussions conferences. I was not able to take part in any of Habitat or TTB's activities.

The interview is comprised of 29 questions (see appendix 1). Interviews lasted between 35 and 90 minutes with most averaging at about an hour. Interview questions are categorized under three sections, each section gathering a different set of information. The first set of questions aim to answer the fundamental question of whether and how CSO participation changes the participant. It does so by asking participants to directly list any ways in which they feel they have changed, such as whether they have gained particular skills, values and practices through their participation. At the same time questions attain information indirectly through questions that reveal different ways through which the participant is engaged. That is, what roles and responsibilities are they given? What expectations does the CSO have of them? How frequently do they participate? Such questions reveal the development of skills and values that shape citizenship practices as well as identify the pathways that link different attributes of the CSO to these outcomes.

The second set of questions focuses on structural attributes of the CSO as well as their prominent discourses on issues relevant to understanding participation. Questions inquire about

the types of activities utilized to implement objectives, the perceived effectiveness of the CSO or particular activities, how participants would identify the CSO around the concepts “rights” and “obligations.” This enabled me to identify perceptions of the CSO as well as attain information from participants regarding the CSO that may not be reflected in their websites. Understanding structural and discursive attributes of the CSO also revealed information regarding how the participant is engaged in these different CSOs. Questions were generally asked indirectly so as not to influence the answers provided. This way links between different questions were able to reinforce findings. Various questions were utilized to confirm and reinforce answers provided.

The final set of questions ask about participant perceptions regarding concepts such as citizenship, active citizenship, and issues related to CSO participation in Turkey. These questions aim to attain an understanding of factors that influence how the participant is engaged in the CSO in Turkey specifically. How a participant perceives certain types of CSOs can, for example, affect what types of CSOs they choose to engage in. All questions aimed to identify different dimensions that affect how the participant is engaged in the CSO, what values, skills and practices they develop and how this is reflected in the development of active citizenship dimensions in Turkey.

All interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti. The method used for analysis of interviews was based on the conceptual framework developed for “active citizenship.” Interviews were coded based on the three dimensions of active citizenship: civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. At the same time interviews were coded based on selected concepts and issues representing the types of CSOs. Concepts related to rights and obligations, volunteerism and membership, and finally the various types of activities were coded. Coding enabled the organization of data so that, for example, sections that referenced CSO type and active citizenship dimensions could be retrieved.

This allowed for a more organized analysis of the interviews by enabling me to categorize and pair CSO indicators with active citizenship outcomes and identify the details of the mechanisms within the texts. Frequency of selected codes for particular CSOs were also extracted but only used as a general framework since content of comments provided more accurate data over frequency data.

Findings of the research are presented in three empirical chapters (chapters 5-7). Chapter 5 is an analysis of whether and how being a rights versus obligations based CSO affects the development of active citizenship dimensions. Chapter 6 is an analysis of whether and how being a volunteer based CSO versus a membership based CSO affects the development of the three dimensions of active citizenship. And finally, chapter 7 analyzes the effect of activity types on the development of active citizenship.

CHAPTER 5

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS

I. Introduction

This chapter is the first of three empirical chapters. The chapter distinguishes between “rights based” and “obligations based” CSOs to understand how this particular indicator of the CSO may contribute to developing and changing citizenship perceptions and practices among participants. As framed in chapter 4, the three empirical chapters present comparisons based on CSO attributes expected to affect how the participant is engaged and thus what citizenship values and practices are learned. This chapter evaluates how a *discursive* attribute, that is whether the CSO is based on a rights discourse or an obligations discourse, affects the participant’s experience in the CSO. Grounded on an analysis of its written content, activities, and preliminary analysis of interviews, each CSO is classified either as rights based or obligations based. This distinction identifies whether and how participation based on the pursuit of rights versus fulfillment of obligations affects the type of citizenship practices attained. The institutional discourse is expected to guide the acts taken and values developed by the participants.

Literature points to the ability of institutions to “constrain action, define opportunity, and facilitate patterns of interaction” (Clemens and Cook 1999). Institutions are also “models, schemas, or scripts for behavior” (Clemens and Cook 1999). One area that emerges as critical to understanding changes to citizenship practices is understanding how institutional discourses of

these CSOs, that is, the scripts, models or patterns of interaction, affects participants' perception and relation with the state. Since citizen-state relations are fundamental to how citizenship is practiced, this particular distinction in discourse becomes critical to understanding how individuals are engaged within the CSO. In this relationship citizen responsibilities toward the state and the state's responsibilities to ensure citizen rights are outlined. Citizenship as rights and obligations is reflected onto the CSOs to see whether and how rights pursuit or fulfillment of obligation is reproduced in the participant. In the distinction between the two types, in one case the CSO is pursuing a right and in the other case providing a particular service. A rights based CSO places the responsibility for guaranteeing rights on the state whereas an obligations based CSO takes on the responsibility itself. All these factors contribute to defining how the participant perceives the state and to molding the types of citizenship practices developed in these CSOs.

Whether a CSO is rights or obligations based, as defined here, establishes a hierarchy between CSOs from the onset. Rights based CSOs, generally, since they place the responsibility for change on the state embody a discourse that is critical. The state is frequently accused of rights violations or the inability to prevent them. This in turn can result in a reaction from the state to limit, inhibit, or penalize these CSOs. What emerges is a group of CSOs that are constantly in conflict with the state (to differing degrees) and are required to spend a significant amount of energy trying to implement their activities faced with efforts on the part of the state to prevent them. Certainly not all CSOs have the same degree of conflictual relations. Ka.Der, while critical of the state also maintains a dialogue with government officials. IHD, however, is a case that reflects perhaps one of the most conflictual relations between a CSO and the state in Turkey. Most of its organized public events are met with police force and they have difficulty disseminating information through the media which affects their visibility. This confrontational relationship

between the CSO and the state is reflected onto the participant, shapes the practices and values learned, and demarcates their own perception and relation to the state.

On the other hand are organizations that maintain either a partnership or a neutral relationship with the state. TEGV works with the ministry of education, for example, in its implementation of after school educational programs for children. This does not mean that TEGV is not critical of the state or does not hold the state responsible for developing education policy. Rather, TEGV bases its discourse on how TEGV can contribute to create change, rather than placing the responsibility on the state. And in working in partnership on some projects, CSOs such as TEGV do not experience confrontational relations with the state. This has consequences for how participants view the state and thus how their relation to the state is defined.

Thus a range of relations exist between CSOs and the state. The hierarchy that emerges from these relations place some CSOs at an advantage in terms of factors that can affect a CSO's capacity: finances, levels of participation, branches, access to media and overall visibility. This does not mean that obligations based CSOs are more successful or more effective in their activities but rather that they are able to operate in a setting that is less inhibitive. Rights based organizations may achieve greater visibility and effectiveness but do so in a more challenging environment. This inhibitive environment is frequently cited as one of the major barriers to CSO development in Turkey. How the participant is engaged and the skills and values they attain is expected to be affected by the nature of the CSO as a result of its relationship with the state and the setting in which it functions.

It should be noted here that the classification of rights versus obligations is not clear cut. CSOs can fall into both rights and obligations categories, and to a certain degree most do. In fact, Habitat is classified here as both rights and obligations based. There are CSOs that provide

services and conduct significant advocacy work simultaneously and thus through some activity take it upon themselves to achieve particular objectives and through others make claims from the state. This also means that a rights based CSO may also make reference to their responsibilities or sense of obligation toward society. In fact interviews reveal that many participants of rights based CSOs also feel that they are fulfilling particular obligations toward society.

I think rights and responsibilities need to be balanced. If we claim a right, and wish to use it we must take on the responsibilities that come with it. . . Without taking responsibility rights cannot be attained. (IHD member)

Participation is more about fulfilling a responsibility. When I first started it was more about the mission. (Ka.Der member)

The sense of responsibility that participants in these rights based CSOs feel is reflective of the nature of civil society organizations in general, since all types of participation place a degree of responsibility on the individuals and much CSO work is about taking responsibility to create change. As the IHD member above states even pursuit of rights requires taking responsibility in order to attain them.

Thus the classification here is based on the weight in the discourse regarding rights and obligations and CSO priorities. This is why while a rights based CSO such as IHD may reference a sense of responsibility, given their focus on rights pursuit in general and their expectation from the state regarding ensuring these right, they are classified as rights based. And this is why Habitat is classified as both rights and obligations based since their discourse is almost equally weighted

in both areas. This classification achieves two things. First, rights pursuits and obligations fulfillment in CSOs in Turkey reflect divergent dynamics between the CSO, their participants, and the state. This enables an analysis of how state-CSO-participant dynamics effects participant engagement and types of citizenship skills developed. Second, I identify the processes and experiences that emerge in each type leading to this variation in engagement.

As discussed in detail in chapter 4, the CSOs were classified based on written materials and initial analysis of interviews. While some CSOs frame their objectives around the pursuit of rights and individual interests, others emphasize their service provision, framing their mission around a sense of obligation. Fulfillment of *obligation* or *responsibility* are used interchangeably and imply fulfilling a responsibility the participants place upon themselves though their participation. It does not imply fulfilling any obligation toward the state. The literature on civil society develops many different typologies which divide CSOs into two broad categories: 1) those that organize individuals to pursue a particular right, to influence policy, to change the status quo, to pressure governments on issues and 2) those that provide services (with or without an explicit objective of supporting or supplementing state services), aim to fill a gap through service provision, and may be in support of or in conflict with the state (Yaziji and Doh 2009, Yeğen et al. 2009, Munsick and Wilson 2008). Section II, below, is a discussion of the concepts “rights” and “obligations” in citizenship and CSO literatures and as well as CSO classifications based on this distinction.

II. Rights and Obligations in Citizenship and CSO Literature

Citizenship, while ensuring the attainment and protection of citizen rights, also obligates individuals to fulfill the duties that come with membership in their respective communities. The

legal nature of citizenship ensures that all citizens are equal in terms of their rights and obligations based on their status as a citizen (Gosewinkel 2010). Theories of citizenship have been defined based on the role attributed to rights versus obligations. Liberal citizenship theories place a greater importance on the state guaranteeing rights, while civic republican citizenship emphasizes the obligations of the citizen to community (Oldfield 1998).

Studies on CSOs point to a range of classifications used to distinguish them around the concepts of rights and obligations. One typology divides CSOs into “service” versus “advocacy” CSOs (Yaziji and Doh 2009, 8). Another classification of CSOs in Turkey, for example, establishes 13 categories based on the area of activity among which “advocacy” versus “charitable” are the closest to the categories developed in this chapter (Yeğen et al. 2009). Another study references a distinction between “volunteerism” and “social activism” where “volunteering is associated with helping and caring, service provision, leisure time activity, and associations that sustain democracy, while activism is associated with change oriented collective actions like demonstrations and maybe even riots that challenge the smooth running of society” (Musick and Wilson 2008). This definition can be problematic since in many cases demonstrations are in reaction to the lack of a smooth running society, and volunteering may not necessarily be supporting democratic acts. Henriksen and Svedberg highlight this problem by noting that volunteerism is wrongly frequently kept separate from “the world of political struggle because it is embedded in a discourse of neutral altruism” (Henriksen and Svedberg 2010, 96). What Henriksen and Svedberg’s discussion contributes and what is parallel to our distinction between rights and obligations based CSOs is that some CSOs provide a service while others work toward creating change in policy. This distinction does not imply that obligation based CSOs as we define them here, are non-political or that they are necessarily satisfied with the status quo. There is a

political struggle in obligations based CSOs as well. However, the objective is not an immediate transformation to state policies or government. TEGV, as an obligations based CSO, does not advocate for major educational reforms, but through their contribution to the education of thousands of children throughout Turkey, are certainly engaged in a political act of transforming education and society.

Obligations based CSOs should not be understood as those that function through a sense of obligation toward the state. While citizenship as rights and obligations provides the general framework for this classification of CSOs, obligations based CSOs, as defined here, do not function out of a sense of obligation toward or an obligation imposed by the state. While rights based CSOs position themselves as pursuing rights that the state can grant/protect, obligations based CSOs may have a neutral relationship with the state. Thus the use of the term “obligations based” refers to the sense of responsibility or sense of obligation, generally toward a community, that motivates the *individual* or that the CSO engrains in its discourse. Thus TEGV, as an obligations based CSO for example, does not implement activities out of a sense of obligation toward the state nor is it obligated by the state to implement its activities. Its neutral and/or cooperative relation with the state does not imply a sense of obligation. Rather its discourse highlights the necessity to participate in the activity of educating children out of a sense of responsibility or obligation toward those children and /or society in general.

As discussed extensively in chapter 3, the issue of rights and obligations has particular significance for Turkey since it comes from a tradition in which the citizen is defined around obligations toward the state. Üstel, in a study of how citizenship is defined, particularly in civic education textbooks, in the late Ottoman and early republican years, presents how an “ideal” or “acceptable” type of citizen was designed (Üstel 2004). The “ideal” citizen was defined around

the concepts of the nation and the state, and depending on various periods throughout history, around the concepts of national citizen, militant citizen and a passive citizen with responsibilities (Üstel 2004). This prevented the development of a citizenship that prioritized the individual over the state. (Üstel 2004, Heper 1998, Ünsal 1998). Keyman and İçduygu state that “Turkish modernity was created through an organic vision of society that defines society . . . on the basis of the ‘duties and services’ of different occupation groups to the state” (Keyman and İçduygu 2005, 6). Despite challenges to the legitimacy of the strong state, citizenship in Turkey remains very much under the influence of the state.

State influence over society is reflected in its impact over CSOs. Several studies point to the fact that advocacy based CSOs are the weakest in Turkey (Bikmen and Meydanoglu 2006, İçduygu et al. 2011). Advocacy CSOs by nature challenge state policies and the dominant nature of the state can make their survival and ability to act a challenge. Thus, the prevalence of CSOs that do not necessarily challenge the state or work in partnership with the state has consequences for how its participants position themselves in relation to the state. Given the relevance of state society relations since the founding of the Republic, whether one participates in a rights based or obligations based CSO has consequences for how one develops as an individual and relates to the state. CSOs that frame their objectives and missions around a rights based discourse are still low in number in Turkey. These CSOs articulate activities around rights unattained or rights not implemented. In the Turkish context this challenges the view of a society in which state and society pursue common objectives. It places the citizen, not necessarily opposite of the state, but outside of the sphere of the state. It gives citizens the authority and initiative to pursue matters that challenge the state or that are not taken up by the state. Rights based discourse also has the international legitimacy which may empower the citizen beyond country borders. Turkey’s EU

relations in particular provide tremendous support to legitimate rights based discourse. This use of universal human rights/rights discourse as legitimization of CSO objectives creates a new recognized space for citizens.

On the other hand are CSOs which provide a particular service. These CSOs work to fulfill a particular task such as supporting education or health services. They may or may not be working in support of or in partnership with the state. For example, an education *rights* CSO would advocate for change to the educational system. It may recommend policy or put pressure on the state to change or ameliorate the educational system. An *obligations* based CSO would take it upon itself to deliver educational activities in the hopes to contribute to what it perceives to be lacking in the educational system. For example, TEGV provides after school activities to develop skills such as critical thinking, a feature it feels is lacking in Turkey’s educational system.

It should be acknowledged that choosing to participate in a rights versus obligations based CSO may already be indicative of particular values, and habits of the participant. However, this analysis will focus on participant statements that point to how the experience at the CSO in particular did or did not affect the development of civic action, social cohesion or self-actualization. The CSOs under study have been labeled “rights-based (R),” and “obligations-based (O)” based on an analysis of their written materials, discussed extensively in chapter 4. While KA.DER, IHD, and TTB are rights based CSOs, TEGV and TOD are obligations based, with Habitat identified as a rights *and* obligations based CSO.

Table 9. CSO Classification based on Rights vs. Obligations Discourse

	Ka.Der	TEGV	IHD	TOD	Habitat	TTB
R/O	R	O	R	O	R/O	R

III. Analysis

Findings show first that participation in rights and obligations based CSOs contribute to different dimensions of active citizenship. Each type of CSO has a different effect on developing civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. Second, achieving these different dimensions of active citizenship occur through different processes and experiences. And third, findings reveal that rights based CSOs are more successful in developing the civic action dimension of active citizenship in comparison to obligations based CSOs which better develop self-actualization. As established in chapter 2, the different dimensions have different weight in their influence on developing active citizenship and the development of civic action is particularly important to developing active citizenship. Thus how each type of CSO develops the three dimensions determines their overall effect on active citizenship development. Below, I begin with findings regarding rights based CSOs, followed by findings on obligations based CSOs. Each section includes a discussion of the processes that link the types of CSOs to the dimensions of active citizenship. These two sections are followed by the conclusion which discusses the overall effect of rights and obligations based CSOs on active citizenship, as well as a discussion of the implications of the findings for citizenship in Turkey.

1. The Pursuit of Rights

The CSOs engaged in the pursuit of rights are Ka.Der, IHD, TTB (ITO) and Habitat. This analysis reveals how a rights based discourse contributes to the development of active citizenship. These CSOs, similar to the “advocacy” or “social activism” based CSOs discussed in the literature above are distinct because of their tendency to be more political and potentially controversial. These rights based CSOs are known for their political stance on their own issue areas as well as on a

range of other social and political issues. And since the politics of rights pursuit establishes expectations from the state and frequently involves an element of criticism of the state, their political agendas often lead to a more confrontational interaction with the state. At times the state makes an effort to inhibit CSO activity and for some participants, participation bears actual or the perception of risk. This tension with the state, which is a part of most rights based CSOs in Turkey, is one factor that dictates the types of skills, practices or habits of its participants.

Rights based CSOs have specific expectations from the state. They place the responsibility to eliminate grievances regarding their rights claims on the state. The ability to question governing institutions and place responsibility on governing institutions through such a setting enables the participant to act by demanding rights. Gains attained from such acts may then trigger acts of demand in other areas, and through other CSOs and civic acts. Pursuit of rights and the method of protest and demand that is utilized in many rights based CSOs encourages the individual to be more active. The participant tends to develop habits in reaction to constraints implemented by the state, which empowers them and inspires action. They learn to react instead of accept particular restrictions implemented by the state. Most of Ka.Der's members are around or above the age 50 and they reference how they were raised in an environment where the discourse of an all-empowering state, protective state, the father figure of a state, was very much a part of their education and societal norms. Thus, in our discussions of citizenship in Turkey, many of these members interviewed made reference to the realization they experienced regarding their role as citizens and the role of the state in their process of becoming more aware of issues of gender and equality. One Ka.Der member notes that she sees Ka.Der as "one of the only associations that is able to stand against the state and defend rights" (Ka.Der member).

Participants in rights based CSOs develop a defense mechanism toward what they

understand to be an intentional effort on the part of the state to prevent their activities and dismiss their claims. They develop ways in which to resist the state, solidarity being one.

What makes one weak are the feelings of loneliness and despair. This is why the state tries to prevent organization. When you feel weak you are paralyzed, you lose hope. But in places like this you see power, you see activists that think and resist like you and this gives you power and hope. This brings with it a lot of responsibility and many problems, but resisting against violations of rights, being able to resist, standing against it, trying to change it . . . you feel more human and that gives meaning to life. (IHD member)

This member emphasizes how the ability to resist and change along with the support of other members is empowering and enables the participant to act in pursuit of change. The idea of the omnipotent state in Turkey is shaken when CSO members are able to pressure the state, question its acts, and critically evaluate it through a variety of activities and mechanisms.

The relationship that develops with the state through rights pursuit can be intimidating in Turkey when relations with the state are confrontational. However, this intimidation declines when the participant realizes he/she is not alone. When supported by a CSO or the crowd of a CSO the participant is empowered and encouraged to act, triggering increased civic action enhanced by the development of social cohesion. An ITO member states:

CSOs and terror organizations are perceived to be the same in Turkey. However, doing something together, in a common place is quite natural. This type of organization should exist everywhere. . . An organization like TTB brings together Turkey's doctors, and of

course a crowd has power. (ITO member)

Becoming equipped on my rights as a result of my experiences as an activist affected my ability to act, my decisiveness, and my approach to my job. Having a power like ITO behind me enables me to seek my rights safely and protest without fear. (ITO member)

These statements exemplify how rights pursuit not only instigates an urge to act but also develops a sense of community with others pursuing the same activities, empowering the individual and encouraging action. This is also indicative of how the dimensions of active citizenship are linked. The development of social cohesion, through a sense of solidarity, empowers the individuals and urges civic action.

A second attribute of rights based CSOs that emerges as fostering civic action is *knowledge attainment*. For rights based CSOs dissemination of knowledge is a critical and frequently used tool to inform members of rights violations, grievances and how to act in response. Most members of Ka.Der acknowledge that they learned much more about their rights through Ka.Der. And this awareness of rights enabled them to question and critically evaluate the state. Knowledge and awareness on a range of issues tends to encourage civic action since more knowledge of rights encourages pursuit of those rights. Also, these two processes that emerge in rights based CSOs, relations with state and knowledge attainment, are interlinked. Acting in pursuit of rights frequently requires one to separate oneself from the state, particularly in a setting where citizenship obligates the citizen to the state. Realization of rights is also a realization of what the state is responsible for and what the state is or is not doing regarding these rights. Thus knowledge attainment and relations with the state both work to shape the extent to which participants develop

active citizenship skills. Analysis shows that many participants in rights based organizations mention either the importance of the CSO in checking the state and/or their learning process of situating one's self outside of the sphere of the state. Thus, individuals who have experienced this process note that they are able to be more vocal and active about their rights.

I am more self-confident, I have learned to stand stronger in that face of authority (ITO member).

Citizens need to be educated on their rights and responsibilities. Our people just submit to the state. They follow every rule. They adapt to whatever is presented to them. They don't ask why, they live without questioning. Many of us are like that, particularly our generation. This is how we were educated. Those who take part in civil society are one step ahead. Even if all that a person does is pay membership dues. Because this one step taken reflects the potential to take one more step. It also reflects an awareness of one's rights and a struggle. (Ka.Der member)

This is a significant indication of increased civic action. Knowledge attainment triggers a habit of claiming rights. The learning process begins with the learning of particular rights, followed by the pursuit of these and related rights.

When you look at rights in general, Ka.Der taught me to be more demanding in other areas it exposed me to. For example, I would never get up on a Sunday to go to a protest but I do now and I think that is important. When you gain that awareness you automatically do it.

That learned feeling of “it’s impossible” disappears. Even though sometimes you get sick of it I still do it. (Ka.Der member)

In order for our members to be aware of their rights, first we educate them. We work one on one to ensure that the new members’ questions are answered, that they develop a membership awareness, and that they internalize the bylaws . . . but to really be a human rights activist, the member has to work in one of our commissions. By working in the commission, by coming to the CSO, and volunteering they will develop awareness and continue to work. (IHD member)

I am forced to be on top of the agenda. This makes you more sensitive and more aware. Both regarding my rights and the country in general. I see the problems around me through a different perspective. On the one hand your capacity is enhanced on the other hands your perception widens. You become more aware and conscious. (Habitat volunteer)

It is fascinating to hear of the experiences, particularly of the youth at Habitat and women at Ka.Der, regarding how they became more aware of their rights, their country, and their roles and capacities as citizens. The widening of their perception, as many put it, and understanding of their capabilities is very empowering and you certainly sense this when you talk to women and youth who have participated in rights pursuit.

The relationship between rights based CSOs and the state as well as the experience of knowledge attainment contribute to the development of self-actualization. In their reactionary approach individuals are more likely to question the status quo. The process of questioning, and

a critical approach toward governing institutions contributes to identity development. First, in realizing their rights and how to pursue them they feel more empowered. Second, in becoming more knowledgeable and aware they become more self-confident. This awareness also reflects on them in a process of self-awareness, particularly among women and youth, and this also contributes to self-confidence and empowerment.

I don't feel like just any citizen, but a citizen with a greater ability to "do things" and I think this is in fact the case. Membership in and working for so many CSOs taught me certain channels . . . you learn what to do and how to pursue your rights. Not through a direct form of education, rather the process takes you there. (Ka.Der member)

Information circulated, particularly to mobilize individuals around the particular right pursued, increases one's knowledge on the issue and thus boosts self-confidence. Whether direct attainment of knowledge on rights or a process of pragmatic learning of rights, the individual feels empowered. Another Ka.Der member states that after her experience at Ka.Der she started to explore more radical feminist groups and that this exposure and experience shaped her character as a feminist (Ka.Der member). In participating in something that they believe in or that is parallel to their ideas individuals are able act out these beliefs and ideas, contributing to their self-actualization.

I started out at Ka.Der because I thought women's rights in politics were being violated and because Ka.Der's objective and my personal beliefs were a perfect fit. And it had just been founded. So I developed as Ka.Der developed. (Ka.Der member)

These examples reveal how these experiences foster self-actualization and also how they enhance the development of civic action. Many of the Ka.Der members interviewed have been members for years and they express a revelation on two levels. First is their level of knowledge. Becoming aware of their rights, and *really* understanding some of those rights, and developing a sense of self through these realization as their rights as women. Second, is the revelation regarding opportunities to question and demand. Similarly, youth at Habitat emphasize repeatedly their ability to interact, pressure and, most importantly, be in setting where people take them seriously and listen to them or ask them about their preferences. These are all experiences that are possible through CSOs that value rights and work to empower their participants and encourage them to pursue these rights through an understanding of these rights.

Rights pursuit also contributes to the development of social cohesion, as is evident in several of the discussions above. Right pursuit is built in part on the development of a sense of solidarity among members of the CSO. Due to the tense environment in which they participate, resulting from relations with the state, and even potential risks associated with them, members value and depend on this sense of solidarity. Participants depend on the fact that there are others acting along with them and that there is the CSO to guide them. This dependence and action along with a group of people develops a sense of community, contributing to social cohesion. In terms of exposure to diversity, rights based CSOs also contribute to a certain extent to exposing members to diversities. Rights issues are generally encompassing of diverse groups of individuals experiencing similar grievances. This exposure to different peoples and the solidarity that can develop enhances an understanding of diversity in Turkey, strengthening social cohesion. In an organization like IHD, for example, a wide range of rights violations brings together these

individuals. One IHD member states:

I don't think that the diversity that exists at IHD exists in any other CSO. There are many differences in the profile here. Differences like ethnic differences, sexual orientation, etc. Because there are so many kinds of grievances. (IHD member)

This process enables diverse groups to converge over an idea which develops a sense of community around that idea. Similarly at Ka.Der, women with diverse political affiliations are able to converge over the idea that women's representation in elected and appointed positions is inadequate and they are able to work together to alleviate this situation. This is certainly not as simple as it sounds since diversity may lead to conflict over the issue and individuals may diverge on aspects of the shared objective. And there is frequently division within Ka.Der. But the common ground they establish lays the foundations for the sense of community. Ka.Der makes an effort to create this common ground by its principle of equal distance to all political parties. It is not as successful as it aims to be in terms of uniting women of divergent political affiliation but is able to achieve a sense of unity in its projects and campaigns. Habitat brings together youth from cities throughout Turkey in a large event called the "national youth parliament." One Habitat volunteer expresses her experience of becoming aware of differences in the country through her effort to pursue youth rights through this parliament:

Habitat gave me the opportunity to meet people from 81 cities...I am from the Black Sea region. I didn't know anything about the East of Turkey, I had no friends from the East. Let me tell you something terrible. You know how on TV they constantly show the terrible

acts of PKK. The connection was always imposed on us growing up. But when I first went to the national youth parliament at Habitat in 2005 I realized that many of the people I met and talked to were from the East. I realized how close we were. Habitat gave us this sense of being a whole. I realized everybody was there to do something for the country and to figure out what they could take back to their hometowns. (Habitat volunteer)

We work on the ground, constantly with people. I had prejudices toward groups of people I had never even met. This is also the case for other countries. You come together, you produce together for a common purpose. Our fundamental focus was problems of youth, the country, being able to contribute toward different problems. I gained the opportunity to work with them and get to know them. And this enabled me to destroy all the “others” in my head. (Habitat volunteer)

These are a few examples of how participating in a CSO exposes individuals to diverse peoples and ideas and in most cases in an effort to achieve a common objective enables them to get to know these differences. Though they may not always be as positive in accepting differences, exposure to difference allows for the development of social cohesion.

To summarize this section on rights based CSOs, this analysis finds that one of the factors that dictates how participants are engaged in the CSO is the relationship established between the CSO and the state. This relationship is reflected in the discourse that the CSO is built on and shapes how participants engage in the CSO. The frequently confrontational relationship between rights based CSOs and the state requires participants to develop skills that enable them to make claims, critically approach and question policies, and pressure the state for change. It also develops

solidarity among participants who find strength in questioning, criticizing or making claims from the state with the support of the CSO community. Another factor that determines participant habits and practices is the importance that rights CSOs place on knowledge development and dissemination. The pursuit of rights involves informing participants on their rights and how to pursue their rights, making them more knowledgeable on the issue at hand, and encouraging them to take action. This knowledge enhances their self-confidence and sense of self. This empowerment fosters self-actualization and civic action. And the knowledge that encourages and enables claims making also develops civic action. Finally, rights pursuits can encourage social cohesion by its potential to bring together diverse individuals or groups under one common objective and through a sense of solidarity that develops in potentially risky environments.

Findings point to the potential of rights based CSOs to develop active citizens. Rights pursuit is effective particularly in developing civic action, the fundamental dimension of active citizenship. Creating awareness of rights as well as how to pursue those rights, exposing participants to various grievances, and engaging them with the state, are all experiences that citizens become exposed to. The ability to achieve all three dimensions of active citizenship indicates that participation in rights based CSOs are likely to develop a relatively ideal form of active citizenship. These dimensions also strengthen active citizenship indirectly through their contribution to civic action. Confident, aware individuals engage in civic acts and the development of a sense of solidarity also encourages action among participants. The overall analysis illustrates that participating in a rights based CSO is successful at developing active citizenship.

2. Fulfilling an Obligation

The obligations based CSOs studied are TEGV, TOD, and Habitat. As established above, based

on its discourse, Habitat is classified as both obligations and rights based and as such is analyzed under both types of CSOs. Findings reveal that obligations based CSOs also contribute to the development of civic action and self-actualization. There is limited indication of the development of social cohesion. Thus while obligations based CSOs achieve active citizenship, they lack an important feature. Obligations based CSOs, in comparison to rights based CSOs, tend to be less political. This is partly due to their issue areas, objectives and types of activities. Obligations based CSOs mainly work toward providing a service. Their work may target gaps they identify in state services such as healthcare and education. If they are not involved in policy development it is not likely they will have the tense relationship with the state that rights pursuit triggers. A CSO that works to fulfill an obligation can best be described as one that delivers a service deemed necessary for the benefit of society and takes upon itself the responsibility to deliver this service. As a result the discourse of the CSO is framed around the need for such a service and how members of that CSO community can achieve it. The tendency in CSOs in Turkey and the CSOs in this study is that service delivery aims to ameliorate certain grievances and diminish deficiencies, rather than influence or change policy. And at times it does so in cooperation with state institutions. The CSO's discourse emphasizes the obligation to provide these services itself rather than working to ensure that the state does so. Building on findings regarding rights based CSO, this less confrontational and at times close relationship with the state does not expose participants to alternative relations with the state, which implies that a major factor dictating the learning process in rights based organizations is not present here. This does not suggest that this reinforces a citizenship based on obligations, but rather that it does not develop different perceptions of the state and state-citizen relations, an important factor in defining citizenship in Turkey.

As for the processes and experiences that dictate the skills and practices developed in

obligations based CSOs, two primary processes emerge. The first is the *sense of satisfaction* that is achieved by fulfilling one's duty and by generating some sort of change in the lives of others. Second is a sense of privilege that develops and motivates participants in these CSOs. This privileged position generates acts based on a sense of owing society. TOD, as an ideology based CSO is different from TEGV and Habitat, both which work with disadvantaged groups in society. However, it too is classified as obligations based as its discourse is founded on fulfilling a task to ensure that Turkish culture is protected and enhanced. TOD's members and volunteers take it upon themselves to ensure that their objective is achieved. And with little involvement in politics and policy they achieve this with minimal confrontation with the state. For example, one TOD volunteer describes his participation as "the reason I come to TOD is to serve the cause." TOD participants feel obliged to protect, conserve and spread an ideology. The sense of obligation at TOD is not toward the state, but the ideological community and the act of participating in the CSO is driven by a sense of obligation toward this community. Another TOD volunteer states:

The reason I come here is to produce. I like to be a part of the production process. I like to be able to say 'I am here.' I think about a problem in my country, I develop ideas and as a result I fulfill my duty and ease my conscience. (TOD volunteer)

This is indicative of the self-satisfaction or in this volunteer's words "easing one's conscious" that is achieved. Fulfilling a responsibility tends to encourage a sense of satisfaction that primarily enhances the self-actualization dimension of active citizenship. Achieving a sense of satisfaction also indirectly contributes to the development of civic action since the satisfaction derived from acting and witnessing particular positive outcomes encourages more action.

To do something, even if it is minimal, for children and for humanity. It makes me happy. Sometimes children can remove you temporarily from your life and this is therapeutic for many. (TEGV volunteer)

. . . as much as we are helping others, individually we are satisfying our egos . . . we are filling an inner emptiness. As you take responsibility, and you witness the outcomes of your efforts, you fill personal voids. And the more you fill these voids with good things the more I believe you will be empowered. (TEGV volunteer)

Just like you feel good and are proud when you succeed at something at work, I feel something similar here. (TEGV volunteer)

. . . those committed to social responsibility tend to deal better with their personal problems. I feel stronger psychologically. Sharing something with children, helping others is good for me. I see that it enables me to stand against difficulties. (TEGV volunteer)

These experiences point to the significant effect that service provision and fulfillment of a responsibility has on achieving self-actualization. Fulfilling an obligation contributes to aspects of self-actualization such as developing self-confidence, empowerment, psychological strength, and shaping of one's identity.

The feeling that comes with fulfilling one's social responsibility is very different. Your

character becomes more complete. (TEGV volunteer)

Another mechanism that urges fulfillment of an obligation is a *sense of being privileged in society* and thus acting out of a sense of owing society. This privilege urges participants to make an effort to help the less advantaged. What the interviews reveal, and some of the accounts quoted above also reference, however, is that this sense of privilege frequently emerges among participants in an elitist fashion. While many participants mention how they are humbled by their experiences, especially those working with disadvantaged groups, their approach toward their participation and their target groups frequently have an elitist tone. In the case of TEGV, participants maintain how it is their duty to ensure that these children become better off through their contribution. While volunteers certainly make a positive difference in the lives of these children, the immediate distinction they reference between the target groups and themselves is reflective of this elitist approach. A volunteer at TEGV states:

As an educated member I owe society . . . in our society taking part in social responsibility projects such as this is seen as a kindness/favor that good people do. However, this is not the correct way to think. I see these projects as the responsibility of those who were raised under better conditions, and received a better education, to fulfill their responsibilities. Some people wouldn't even think of participating in a social responsibility project, don't feel that something is lacking and thus do not see it as a necessity. But for me it is an obligation. Either here or elsewhere I have to fulfill this obligation. (TEGV volunteer)

At TOD, the elitist approach is more explicit. Both the board members as well as youth volunteers

explicitly state how TOD is a Turkish nationalist ideological CSO targeting the educated members of society. It is not like other nationalist groups which several volunteers refer to as addressing the general public (halk). In order to be a part of TOD you have to have a certain level of education or be in a certain place in society. They take pride in only accepting an elite group of people. One young college student volunteer states that in order to be a members of the board as a representative of the youth group you need to have an MA or be a PhD student. They realize that as a result their activities do not appeal to a large segment of society. However, they feel that they can best contribute to the preservation, development and dissemination of nationalist ideology through such a select group of people. It is interesting to see how the youth look up to the elder members of the CSO and their director of TOD in particular. They see these members as a source of knowledge and depend on their guidance. The structure of the CSO is based on a system in which the youth have older “brothers” and “sisters” they are guided by, and who, in turn, are guided by the directing members of the board.

Knowledge is power. I have learned so much here though conferences, the journals we read here and my conversations with the elders. As a result of this knowledge my self-confidence is intact. When you are self-confident you feel powerful. (TOD volunteer)

The elitism at TEGV and TOD are somewhat different since the elitism at TOD functions within and among members of the CSO. It also restricts membership to the CSO which makes it an exclusionary type of elitism. TEGV’s elitism on the other hand is more between volunteers and the target group which are disadvantaged children. However, both types of elitism take effect on the practices and values developed since their position within the CSO contributes to their identity

development.

This somewhat (and certainly not in all cases) elitist approach affects, in particular, self-actualization since it instills or reinforces a sense of empowerment and self-confidence among participants that fulfill their duty toward society. This empowerment encourages agency and thus contributes indirectly to increased civic action. In addition, as discussed above self-actualization occurs in obligations based CSOs through developing a sense of self satisfaction. Self-actualization in rights based CSOs, on the other hand, was established as occurring through a self-awareness and self-confidence gained from increased knowledge. Thus, in rights based CSOs, empowerment is achieved through the process of rights pursuit and a process of learning and self-awareness that results from it. As for obligations based CSOs, most participants start out feeling they are in a position of power. In such cases the sense of empowerment is reinforced through the activities of working for the betterment of society, whether it is through the dissemination of an ideology or helping disadvantaged groups. Self-actualization in obligations based CSOs is less about a process of learning toward self-awareness.

Civic action is also enhanced through the cyclical process that emerges in obligations based CSOs. The cyclical process many participants report, is that while a sense of obligation encourages participation in the CSO in the first place, participation then elicits a greater sense of responsibility through one's experience, effectively encouraging civic action.

Participation leads to participation. You develop a habit. And when you develop this habit you say "I have the responsibility to serve." And then you go elsewhere, and then elsewhere, and you get pleasure from this. Everywhere you go you learn something new and develop as a person. (TOD volunteer)

The discourse emphasizing a sense of responsibility is also utilized by obligations based CSOs as a way to more regularly engage participants. Participation becomes more sustainable if you place responsibility on the participants. Establishing specific expectations from the onset increases the chance that participants will engage regularly. One TOD volunteer states:

Participation can be taught by assigning duties. In time the duty transforms into participation. When I first came here I helped prepare invitations for an event. This made me both a responsible person and also ensured my participation. Helping them made me feel like I belonged, and an atmosphere of friendship developed. (TOD volunteer)

After you start to participate a TOD spirit starts to develop and this brings with it responsibility. CSOs create an attachment for their participants through a sense of responsibility. By telling a young volunteer to write for the CSO's journal, as soon as he sets foot in the CSO, you are telling him that he is a part of that community. (TOD volunteer)

What is responsibility here? Participants are volunteers but there is the expectation of implementing an educational activity. And to realize that expectation they work with organizations, they inquire, they explore. It is about taking responsibility and initiative to do a good job. (Habitat volunteer)

The sense of commitment rooted in giving participants responsibility is experienced in both TEGV

and TOD. In TOD, the assignment of responsibility also develops a hierarchy between older members and youth volunteers. Within this hierarchy the younger volunteers develop a sense of achievement and self-satisfaction in fulfilling their responsibilities which fosters self-actualization. The development of a regular and consistent form of participation is a challenge frequently faced by CSOs. In this cyclical process the CSO places responsibility on the participant which requires action, and fulfilling the responsibility achieves a sense of satisfaction which again cultivates an urge to act.

There is a weaker relationship between the feature of being an obligations based CSO and the development of social cohesion. One potential link is that the sense of obligation that motivates participation, can also develop toward other members of the CSO. This may cultivate a stronger sense of community as individuals realize that the other participants depend on their participation. Another feature, similar to that discussed above, under rights based CSOs is the ability of diverse individuals to come together for a similar cause under the same sense of obligation. This has the potential to develop a sense of solidarity as well as expose individuals to differences. However, there was little mention of these features among participants within the context of engagement in these obligations based CSO.

To summarize the effects of participation in obligations based CSOs on developing active citizenship, analysis reveals that they are most effective in achieving the civic action and self-actualization dimensions of active citizenship. The primary process that leads to civic action and self-actualization is the sense of satisfaction that participants achieve and the empowerment and self-confidence it gives them. The second process is the sense of privilege that is prominent among participants at obligations based CSOs. The sense of privilege further boosts self-confidence through the act of helping others. This sense of privilege boosts self-actualization and

fosters civic action as it motivates participants to act to ameliorate grievances. The two obligations based CSOs, TEGV and TOD also achieve civic action by ensuring that participants are given responsibilities that ensures more consistent and sustainable participation. This leads participants to develop a heightened sense of responsibility and urges increased participation in the CSO. There is little information linking participation in obligations based CSOs to the development of the social cohesion dimension of active citizenship. Thus obligations based CSOs do succeed in developing active citizenship, primarily as they achieve the development of civic action, supplemented by self-actualization. However, the lack of social cohesion is indicative of a normative gap in the type of active citizenship that is achieved in obligations based CSOs.

IV. Conclusion

The findings of this analysis reveal that both rights and obligations based CSOs contribute to the development of active citizenship, however through different processes and with an emphasis on different dimensions of active citizenship. A comparison of the two types of CSOs reveals that rights based CSOs are successful in enabling the learning of active citizenship, through an environment that fosters all three dimensions of active citizenship. Thus the development of rights based CSOs, points to the potential for the development of active citizenship in Turkey parallel to the extent that participation in rights based organizations expands. A critical part of developing civic action skills is developing skills that enable individuals to make claims, critically analyze issues, pressure institutions for change, all of which are a part of how individuals are engaged in rights based CSOs. Thus a major factor that dictates how participants are engaged in the CSO is the relationship that emerges between CSOs and the state. The tense relationship requires participants to develop skills that enable them to critically approach and question policies.

Claims making separates the individual from the state. This distance enables the participant to act more independently. The pursuit of rights involves informing participants on their rights as well as how to pursue them, encouraging them to take action. This relationship between participant and state also encourages the development of solidarity between members who are able to act with support of the CSO community. This solidarity achieves civic action as well as social cohesion.

Knowledge attainment is a primary result of rights pursuit since CSOs make an effort to inform participants on rights violations and how to pursue rights. The development of knowledge develops self-confidence and a sense of empowerment through increased awareness which triggers civic action and self-actualization. Rights based organizations also contribute to the development of social cohesion mainly through their exposure to a range of grievances despite the issue area that one is involved in. Working on women's rights you are exposed to the issues and activities of other rights based CSOs. Uniting under a common objective works to bring together diverse individuals and at the same time develops a sense of community. Solidarity is also achieved as individuals depend on one another's support in standing against the state, particularly in CSOs where risk is involved.

Obligations based CSOs are most effective in developing civic action and self-actualization among their participants. What motivates individuals is primarily the sense of satisfaction that they achieve from fulfilling their duty which enhances their self-confidence and potential for agency, leading to the development of self-actualization and civic action. Many participants in obligations based CSOs are motivated by their privileged status in society, that is they feel they are in a position, socially and educationally, to be able to help and ameliorate grievances of disadvantaged groups or in the case of TOD to best serve a cause. This sense of privilege fosters civic action through an urge to act to help others and self-actualization as it reinforces an already

present sense of empowerment. Civic action is also achieved through a cyclical process where placing responsibility on the participant immerses them in the CSO, motivating the opportunity to take on more responsibility. As for the third dimension of active citizenship, there is less indication that obligations based CSOs influence social cohesion.

What are the consequences of these findings for citizenship in Turkey? The first implication is that rights based organizations contribute to changing the relationship between the individual and the state. Both knowledge dissemination and the nature of rights pursuit, which requires the individual to make claims, question, and make demands succeeds in separating the individual from the state and breaks the established perception of citizenship as obligated toward the state. It transforms this relationship by empowering the citizen in the face of the state, making them “more equal” in their dialogue. This does not imply that demands are met and that citizens achieve equal status. Quite the contrary, because the state continues to act to inhibit and limit their activities and secure a hierarchy, rights based CSOs continue to act reactively. While this feeds the citizenship skills developed within the CSO, it does not necessarily resolve the limited capability it gives these individuals to achieve their objectives. In addition, the confrontational nature of the relationship frequently prevents individuals from participating in rights based CSOs as a way to serve their community. The risk associated with participating in some rights based CSOs lead individuals to prefer to serve through other types of CSOs.

From a policy perspective the development of rights based CSOs are critical to the development of active citizenship. However, this needs to be paralleled by macro institutional changes to the state so that claims are legitimately evaluated and risks involved in participating in right based CSOs are eliminated. The struggle for such a relationship and the pursuit of rights is still critical to transforming how these participants view and communicate with the state and other

governing institutions, which is in itself critical to the process of change to citizenship. Participants are empowered if not by the obtaining of their rights at least by their ability to pursue them in this space. The experience of participants in rights based CSOs point to the potential for an environment in which, through the experience of learning by doing, citizens become more active, challenging the passive nature of citizenship in Turkey. This is a virtuous cycle in which developing active citizenship will change relations with the state which will change citizenship practices.

As for obligations based CSO, since the motivation to act is driven by a sense of “owing” or sense of satisfaction from fulfilling a responsibility, it develops a different set of skills that affect citizenship. It reinforces the discourse around citizenship as achieving ‘good citizenship’ practice. This does not necessarily mean that it obligates the citizen toward the state but rather that the motivational factor is based on fulfilling a responsibility. Participation in these CSOs achieve personal objectives via a larger societal objective (such as education development). This means that in contributing to aiding grievances, individuals achieve their personal objectives as well. This process has less of an effect on transforming perceptions and practices of citizenship in Turkey since there is no motivation for large scale policy change. The lack of social cohesion development indicates a gap in the form of active citizenship achieved. Both rights and obligations based CSOs contribute to ameliorating societal grievances. They both contribute to developing citizens that act more and are able to self-actualize. However, the processes at play in rights based organizations are more effective in transforming citizenship practices and perceptions toward an active form of citizenship. The diagram below summarizes the processes and experiences that link participation in rights and obligations based CSOs to the various dimensions of active citizenship.

Table 10. Linking Rights and Obligations based CSOs to Active Citizenship

		Processes/Experiences		Active Citizenship Dimensions Achieved
Rights CSOs	1	transforming state-citizen relations	solidarity	social cohesion, civic action
			<i>ability</i> to make claims	civic action
	2	knowledge dissemination	self-confidence, empowerment through awareness	civic action, self-actualization
			knowledge on how to act, claim rights	civic action
	3	convergence of diverse grievances	diverse grievances converge and diverse groups converge for common objective	social cohesion
	1	achieving self-satisfaction	self-confidence, empowerment, happiness	self-actualization
			successful outcome motivates action	civic action
Obligations CSOs	2	sense of privilege	urge to help others, sense of obligation to help	civic action
			increased sense of empowerment and self confidence	self-actualization
	3	placing responsibility on participant	immersion in CSO, motivation to take on increased responsibility	civic action

CHAPTER 6

TYPES OF PARTICIPATION:

VOLUNTEERISM VERSUS MEMBERSHIP

I. Introduction

This second empirical chapter is a comparative analysis of CSOs that differ on a structural attribute that distinguishes between CSOs based on their types of participation. It compares CSOs that are volunteer based to those that are membership based to identify whether and how these structural attributes guide participation and in turn affect the development of different citizenship skills. One gap in CSO literature is the lack of comparative analysis of CSOs based on the distinction between being volunteer or membership based. The two terms are frequently used interchangeably to identify participants in any given CSO. This chapter establishes the structural characteristics that define volunteerism and membership based CSOs. Identifying the features that distinguish between the two types reveal further significant structural attributes that shape participant experiences.

This distinction established between participation types is based on the expectation that volunteering and membership at a CSO occur within divergent structural attributes which effect CSO expectations and participant practices. The distinction between the two types is based on an assessment of whether the CSOs' activities are executed primarily by a volunteer base or a membership base. TEGV, for example, with its volunteer base of over 10,000 individuals is

classified as volunteer based. TTB, which requires all medical doctors working in the private sector to register as a member is classified as membership based. These are the more obvious examples. The other four CSOs were classified based on an analysis of activities, written documents and information attained from preliminary interviews regarding how individuals participate and how activities are implemented. While the previous chapter on Rights and Obligations was an analysis of how the discursive nature of the CSO effects participation, this chapters looks at how particular structural features influences participation.

Civil society participation is generally defined around the concept of volunteerism. And the general perception regarding volunteerism is that it is good citizenship practice. *Membership* in a CSO is perceived as equally positive and frequently used interchangeably with the term volunteerism. These concepts are juxtaposed to involuntary membership where activity in a CSO is required or closely controlled. An example of this is the forced membership in CSOs in communist regimes as studied by Howard (2003). Similarly, Wiktorowicz (2000) describes how CSOs in Jordan are tightly controlled and used as a tool for societal control. Turkey's history similarly references periods where CSOs were used as a tool by the state to disseminate ideology (İçduygu et al. 2011, Biber 2009). TTB, studied in this research, functions through a system of obligatory membership. Required membership is generally not considered normal to contemporary CSO participation. An organization with forced membership is generally not even considered a CSO. However, forced membership does not necessarily shape the participation that actually occurs in these types of CSOs. As will be evident in the case of TTB, despite the requirement that all medical doctors working in the private sector be members, not only does membership exceed requirement to include 80% of all medical doctors throughout Turkey, but those who run the CSO are not required to do so. Required membership or membership for that

matter does not automatically imply participation. As a result, this chapter goes deeper into these two types of CSO to uncover the divergent structural attributes that guide participation whether voluntary or membership to identify what citizenship practices emerge.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion on volunteer and membership based CSOs in Turkey. This is followed by the analysis on whether and how structural features of these two types of participation effects the development of the three dimensions of active citizenship.

II. Volunteerism and Membership in CSO Literature

It has been established, in previous chapters, that both volunteerism and membership in CSOs is quite low in Turkey. Yeğen et al. (2009) find that CSOs are usually established by a group of 1-25 individuals, meeting the minimal requirement for founding a CSO. They interpret this as a lack in CSOs that are built on mass grassroots movements (Yeğen et al. 2009, 97). This also reflects on membership numbers in general. Those CSOs with more than a 1000 members (categorized as mass CSOs) represent only about 8% of CSOs (Yeğen et al. 2009, 98). The distinction between membership and volunteerism is rarely made in studies on CSOs, and membership is frequently also considered volunteerism. Musick and Wilson (2008) juxtapose volunteerism to social activism, where “volunteering is associated with helping and caring, service provision, leisure time activity, and associations that sustain democracy (Musick and Wilson 2008). Social activism on the other hand is associated with collective efforts for change. Çarkoğlu and Cenker (2011) explore the link between CSO participation and civic attitudes based on survey data. Acknowledging the necessity to differentiate the effect of different types of CSOs on democratic performance, they distinguish between four types of civil society involvement: becoming a member, volunteering, participating in meetings and making donations. They identify membership

as more “hands on” and the other three types, including volunteering, as “hands off” (Çarkoğlu and Cenker 2011). Most such definitions tend to develop an understanding of volunteerism as a more neutral and passive form of participation. Henriksen and Svedberg (2010) caution against keeping volunteerism out of the realm of the political as volunteerism may not necessarily be in support of neutral or even democratic acts (Henriksen and Svedberg 2010). Thus such distinctions are insufficient to understanding and distinguishing how the participant is in fact engaged and how they act in the CSO. As such the distinction between membership and volunteer based CSOs developed here aims to clarify whether and how they develop different skills and practices through different form of engagement.

For our analysis the distinction between the two types of CSOs is based on who implements the activities of the CSO, but the distinction is deepened by attributes that distinguish how these participant are engaged. Volunteerism requires a certain (and sometimes regular) commitment of time and service whereas membership does not. Whether there is a written or verbal contract that requires individuals to execute particular tasks is what makes it volunteer based. While there is no one or official definition of volunteerism it is generally accepted as activities conducted to benefit society in general without any material expectation (UNV 2013). One may be a volunteer as the head of the board of directors, a member of a particular commission, or as an administrative assistant. The common denominator is that the individual willingly provides service and time to the CSO with no financial compensation. By agreeing to be a volunteer they commit to fulfill a predetermined task or tasks. Membership, on the other hand, can include provision of service and time, but is not a part of the contract of becoming a member. Frequently, paying a fee to support the CSO is sufficient to become a member.

One of the weaknesses of civil society in Turkey is that there is no legislative or institutional

structure that defines, develops or monitors volunteerism in Turkey (TÜSEV 2013). Regulations and expectations regarding volunteers are primarily developed by the CSO itself to meet its own stated objectives (TÜSEV 2013). This is problematic because legal issues arise regarding the status of the volunteer working at a CSO. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security in fact fined a CSO that had volunteers for “employing uninsured workers” (TÜSEV 2013, 55). Such incidences may deter CSOs from choosing to develop volunteer programs or encouraging volunteerism in general.

Studies have also been conducted on how volunteerism contributes to civil society and to volunteers themselves (TEGV 2012, UNV 2013). Research has emphasized the necessity for a more institutional framework for volunteerism and ways in which it can be promoted in Turkey (TÜSEV 2013). The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), with over 10,000 volunteers, has one of the largest volunteer bases in Turkey. TEGV has conducted several studies regarding volunteerism in Turkey as well as volunteerism specifically at TEGV. Their research finds that approximately 5% of those aged 18-25 volunteer in Turkey. The research they have conducted over the past 5 years show that volunteers develop positive perceptions about themselves. They are more empathetic, are less affected by feelings of anomie, more trusting of others, and overall more content (TEGV 2012).

Since studies generally do not distinguish between membership and volunteer based CSOs results of most studies are based on active members and volunteers. There is no formal definition for a membership based CSO. For this study a membership based CSO functions with individuals that formally register as members and pay membership dues. The requirements for membership may vary, but there is no set task that a member is committed to upon registration. Some individuals register as members only to financially support an organization and do not take part in

anything beyond paying yearly dues. Others may participate for a short period of time then stop completely, while remaining a member. In the case of TTB for example, membership is required for all doctors working in the private sector.

Being volunteer based versus membership based demonstrates difference on two CSO features which are expected to affect participation: (1) the *expectations* that a CSO sets regarding participation which determines regularity and intensity of participation and (2) *decision making* mechanisms in the CSO which determine the space and form of participation. Regarding expectations, most membership and volunteer based organizations have conditions for participating. These are requirements such as age, level of education, time commitment, or commitment to particular principles or ideology. Other expectations may be the payment of yearly dues, required trainings, or references from members. This analysis is based mainly on expectations regarding time commitment or the fulfillment of particular predetermined tasks. It evaluates whether expectations cultivate more regular or more flexible participation and whether and how this effects active citizenship dimensions.

The second distinguishing feature, variation in the decision making structures, evaluates the extent to which participants have access to the governing and decision making mechanisms of the CSO and whether and how this effects active citizenship dimensions. This includes the extent to which participants are able to contribute their ideas, sit in during decision making meetings, voice opinions, or take initiative in the activities they conduct. Can a volunteer develop an idea for a new activity? How closely are participants monitored in their activities? How structured are the activities they implement? Answers to these questions identify the space enabled for participation. It also determines the form of participation since level of independence or room to maneuver all contribute to the development of particular values and skills.

The CSOs under study have been labeled volunteer-based (V) and membership-based (M) based on an analysis of their written materials as discussed extensively in chapter 4. Among the 6 CSOs under study, TEGV and Habitat are volunteer based organizations, Ka.Der, TTB, and IHD are membership based and TOD is a mix of the two. The analysis is based on interviews which present participant accounts regarding how expectations and decision making mechanisms effect their participation. In addition, observation of CSO activity and written descriptions of the CSO's structural attributes are also included in the analysis.

Table 11. CSO Classification based on Type of Participation

	TEGV	Habitat	Ka.Der	TOD	TTB (ITO)	IHD
Participation Type	V	V	M	M/V	M	M

III. Analysis

1) Volunteerism

When one becomes a volunteer, they enter a contract in which they commit to fulfilling a particular task for the CSO. This commitment, which requires the volunteer to spend time at/for the CSO is the basis of volunteerism. The main task may be accompanied by a range of other expectations as well, such as receiving a training or assignment to a committee. In this section TEGV, Habitat, and TOD are analyzed around the two structural features, expectations and decision making structures. Volunteer based organizations generally have more clearly defined expectations regarding time commitment or fulfilling a particular task within a given time frame, which, as is

detailed below, contributes positively to the development of active citizenship skills. If the volunteer fails to adhere to this commitment their volunteerism is frequently terminated or their status becomes passive (TEGV and Habitat volunteers). Analysis reveals first that establishing expectations influences the amount of time a participant spends at the CSO, which can foster civic action skills. On the other hand, the decision making structures in the volunteer based CSOs studied are weak. This limits opportunities for decision making and opportunities for initiative. So set expectations generally foster active citizenship (how and through what processes are detailed below). Lack of decision making, though not necessarily a barrier to active citizenship, is found to be an important absence in most voluntary organizations.

Analysis of these CSOs also revealed variation *within* volunteer based CSOs, particularly regarding how expectations take effect. This is why the analysis needed to delve deeper than the distinction between volunteerism and membership. TEGV, for example, is based on a system in which the volunteer must commit to 2 hours per week for an entire semester. Habitat volunteers, on the other hand, after receiving their own training are expected to conduct at least one training (preferably more), lasting between 1 week to 2 weeks, on their own time, and in their home towns (Habitat volunteer). So while TEGV has a weekly, structured, closely monitored volunteer schedule, Habitat volunteering is periodic and flexible, with limited oversight. In terms of developing particular skills, both the more structured as well as the flexible systems of expectations develop active citizenship skills through divergent mechanisms. Regular and consistent participation by TEGV volunteers develops primarily civic action. TEGV has a system of monitoring and warning so regular participation is usually achieved. This ensures that the volunteer is consistently contributing to the community, an important aspect of civic action defined here. This process is enhanced by the development of a sense of responsibility and commitment

that derives from consistent participation. Volunteers realize that implementing activities depend on their participation and they feel obliged to participate consistently. Most TEGV volunteers state that they feel responsible toward the children and their fellow volunteers which ensures consistent participation.

Responsibilities at TEGV are shared between the children, the volunteers and the trainers. If I don't want to I don't have to come here next week. There is no written contract here. I am a volunteer. But I can't do that. Because I have a sense of responsibility. (TEGV volunteer)

This is one quote among many other accounts of volunteers stating their sense of responsibility toward the target group children but also their partners, with whom they conduct the activities. In listing what they have learned at TEGV, for example, several volunteers state that knowing the difficulty of conducting an activity alone, they are more careful to be on time and not skip activities. In listing what the CSO's expectations are from their volunteers most reply by saying being punctual, attending trainings and regular commitment. This is reflective of the unique contract that is established among volunteers. Choosing to be a volunteer comes with this non-written agreement that one will fulfill the task given to them. This structural attribute is supported, in this case, by the discursive approach of placing responsibility on the participant and the sense of satisfaction they attain from fulfilling their responsibilities. Volunteer based CSOs, since they are dependent on their volunteers for the implementation of activities, ensure this contract is adhered to. While expectations establish this commitment the CSO also places significant responsibility on the volunteer to realize these expectations.

The quote above is also indicative of a pattern that emerges between the different attributes of the six CSOs studied. For example, TEGV and Habitat (Habitat is classified as both obligations and rights based) are both volunteer based and obligations based CSOs. On the other hand, two rights based CSOs, IHD and ITO are both membership based as well. These parallels are indicative of how the different indicators of the CSOs interact. At TEGV, for example, the motivation to participate based on a sense of obligation is enhanced by that same sense of responsibility that CSO expectations set at volunteer based CSOs. The analysis on membership below also reveals parallels between how the discourse of rights pursuit and structural attributes of membership such as opportunities for decision making reinforce one another.

TEGV and Habitat establish different expectations from their participants, though they are both dependent on their volunteers for the implementation of their activities. For Habitat, where activities are implemented alone and more flexibly, there is less of a commitment toward other volunteers or members of their target groups. Habitat volunteers conduct their activities on their own with support from headquarters in Istanbul. One Habitat volunteer describes the structure of Habitat well:

Habitat is different from other associations. It works on the logic of creating networks. It can be defined more as a “facilitator” office. Habitat’s primary objective is to facilitate things for youth, not represent them or decide for them . . . This is why our logic is different from other associations (Habitat volunteer).

With headquarters acting more as a facilitator, the volunteer needs to be motivated to fulfill what they commit to.

Within volunteer based organizations accepting to take on particular tasks is a precondition to becoming a volunteer. Thus, whether menial or substantial the task, an attachment is formed toward the group of people you work with or feel responsible toward. In the somewhat exceptional case of Habitat, where volunteers may only complete one task, such as a training, they tend to form an attachment to the project they are part of. One volunteer states that a volunteer's commitment is more toward the particular project they volunteer for rather than Habitat itself: "Volunteers take responsibility for the project. Our commitment is to the project . . . we are in love with the projects not necessarily Habitat" (Habitat volunteer). This lack of attachment to the CSO in general brings with it particular risks. It makes community development as well as civic action difficult. Though the volunteer is a part of the Habitat community, much of the work they do is in their home towns and on their own, so they remain physically distanced from the CSO community. In addition, since attachment is usually to the project, rather than to Habitat, it may be short term. One volunteer notes, "if the project is canceled or limited in how long it lasts, you pretty much lose the network you had built based on that project" (Habitat volunteer). In all the interviews conducted with Habitat volunteers, all but 2 had been involved at one point but were not active at the time. They all spoke enthusiastically about the CSO and the project, but sustaining participation seems to be difficult.

The above discussion indicates that the structured nature of TEGV's expectations are more effective in ensuring the sense of responsibility that triggers civic action. Habitat's flexible structure, detailed below, on the other hand, contributes more to the self-actualization dimension of active citizenship. And their exposure to diverse individuals from throughout Turkey contributes to the development of the diversity dimension of social cohesion. Several Habitat volunteers note their commitment to the CSO or to the particular project that they are a part of but

they do not mention relations with other volunteers or target groups.

The structured, monitored, regular, and long term participation that TEGV achieves, also contributes to the self-satisfaction aspect of self-actualization but less toward to self-expression or agency. Through a 13 week commitment volunteers witness the transformation that children go through. The sense of satisfaction achieved from fulfilling the responsibility given to them and having contributed to the lives of these children fosters the self-satisfaction dimension of self-actualization. Many TEGV participants reiterate how fulfilling a given task and witnessing the positive outcomes of the CSO gives them a sense of satisfaction and feeling of content (TEGV volunteers). These feelings contribute to a sense of self-confidence and empowerment among volunteers.

Habitat fosters the development of self-actualization among their participants through a different set of experiences. For example, its flexible structure of expectations requires its volunteers to take initiative, which fosters self-actualization. Since the responsibility to organize a training (setting date, finding attendees, acquiring a venue) is placed fully on the individual, it encourages the individual to take initiative and exercise agency. This initiative also requires interaction with a range of officials and target group members in their hometowns through which they enhance their network. TEGV's more structured organization, on the other hand, limits the ability for initiative. Everything is set up for the volunteer, including venue, participants, curriculum, and anything needed for the particular activities (TEGV volunteer). Even the lesson plans are quite detailed to ensure that a particular text is followed. This is partly due to fact that the target group is young children which makes them a more sensitive target group. As a result, Habitat's structure of expectations is more effective in developing self-actualization over social cohesion.

TOD is both a volunteer as well as a membership based CSO due to its primarily membership base, supported by a group of about 30 volunteers that assist in activities (TOD volunteer). These volunteers, mainly students, are not official members (because they are not encouraged to apply for membership due to TOD's very exclusive membership requirements and base) yet they volunteer their time. There are no formal expectations from volunteers, similar to the membership based CSOs discussed below, so they volunteer based on a schedule they set themselves. The motivating factor here is that the more responsibility they take on the more they are acknowledged. And, similar to TEGV, they develop a sense of responsibility toward the CSO. This sense of responsibility and striving for acknowledgment are driving forces in developing civic action at TOD. Many emphasize how, though it may not be formal, the board of directors has significant expectations of the youth group and their commitment is necessary to sustain their role in the youth group. In the case of TOD we witness that though there are no set requirements for volunteers, the expectation to contribute and the acknowledgment for doing so is strong enough to enable sustained participation. Expectations are established through tasks given to the volunteer which increases this sense of responsibility. Even a menial task given to a new member may generate a commitment and bond to the CSO. This point was brought up by several participants who noted that tasks encouraged their sustained participation:

When you are given a duty, it then turns into participation. The first task I was given both made me a responsible individual and kept me participating. I helped them and even this made me feel a sense of belonging to the CSO. (TOD volunteer)

If you give a volunteer who has just set foot in the organization the opportunity to write an

article for their journal, you are telling them that they are a part of this organization. After a while you develop an attachment. (TOD volunteer)

The process of developing an attachment to the CSO through a given responsibility also exemplifies the potential for the development of social cohesion through community development.

What is evident in the three volunteer based CSOs analyzed above is that while volunteer based CSOs enable a commitment through established expectations from volunteers, it is more about how regular, long term, and structured these expectations are that determines how and what dimensions of active citizenship are developed. The effect on active citizenship is based on the expectations the CSO sets regarding intensity and regularity of participation. And volunteer based CSOs generally have high expectations of a larger group of volunteers since they are dependent on them to implement their activities. The extent to which the expectations foster regular participation effects civic action. The case of Habitat reveals that less structured expectations, but the ability to ensure that tasks are completed, develops self-actualization through the generation of initiative but are weak at sustaining let alone developing civic action. And the case of TOD shows that by motivating participation, mainly through giving participants tasks, the outcome is similar to establishing regular expectation. It encourages increased civic action.

The *decision making mechanisms* that are in place in a CSO comprises the second structural feature that varies among volunteer and membership CSOs. The extent to which participants take part in decision making is expected to effect the development of active citizenship. In particular, it is expected that this process will cultivate the skills necessary for decision making, an important feature to realizing agency. Through the ability to voice opinions, debate ideas and ultimately express self and agency through processes of decision making, the participant is expected to

acquire an important set of self-actualization skills. As will be detailed below, analysis shows that membership based CSOs provide more opportunity and sites for decision making for their participants in comparison to volunteer based CSOs. Volunteer based CSOs do not significantly engage their volunteers in the CSO's decision making bodies. In volunteers based CSOs, headquarters, where decisions are taken, are frequently a separate entity from the space in which we find volunteers. The bodies or individuals that the volunteers interact with are mostly other volunteers or perhaps a project manager. They have little or no interaction with directing boards or bodies, and thus little influence on the CSO's agenda.

Volunteers at TEGV and Habitat have little contact or interaction with headquarters or the board of directors. They deal directly with their project manager or branch directors and interact and communicate mostly with their fellow volunteers. At TEGV, management and volunteer activity are separate. And at both TEGV and Habitat management, or at least part of management, is run by paid staff. As a result the management of the CSO is not volunteer based though the CSO is dependent on the volunteer base for the implementation of CSO activities. Membership based CSOs are mostly run by their boards which are comprised of members and if they do have paid staff it is usually limited to administrative assistance. Thus at TEGV and Habitat volunteer contribution to any decision making is limited to the activities they implement. And since TEGV volunteers deal with children, their interaction with children is scripted to a certain degree, with little room for personal contribution.

The content of activities are developed by specialists and they include detailed instructions for volunteers. Volunteers may be competent but there are pedagogical rules we must adhere to. But a volunteer may choose one day to take the kids out to play which reflects

the room we have to maneuver. (TEGV volunteer)

The same volunteer notes how he started a chess activity for kids from scratch. These are some examples of the (limited) extent to which volunteer can take initiative and decisions. Since the volunteer is not directly involved in any decision making structure their participation has little influence on developing or enabling significant decision making skills. There is no mention of decision making as an attribute that is acquired though their experience at TEGV.

Habitat, while similar to TEGV in its limited opportunity for decision making regarding the CSO, is able to foster the development of these skills by requiring participants to take initiative in implementing Habitat's activities. Habitat develops its projects and manages their implementation through its Istanbul office and through paid staff. Its volunteers have little to do with decisions regarding the CSO, the content of the educational activities or the development of projects. They are introduced into projects, through trainings, into predetermined schedules, timelines, curriculums etc. set for the project. However, Habitat volunteers, in comparison to TEGV volunteers, do have space for decision making, due to the CSO's more flexible structure. Habitat volunteers are given the responsibility to implement the educational activities on their own, after they have received the necessary training, which requires initiative and decision making. While the decision making may not concern the CSO in general the decisions and interaction necessary to implement an educational activity contribute to the development of these skills. Despite this level of initiative, participant accounts still reflect that many volunteers feel isolated from management. One Habitat volunteer mentions the central office as an entity he barely knows. Similarly, a TEGV volunteer expresses his wish that the central office and its employees were more accessible to the volunteers. This distance between management and volunteers is a feature

that can inhibit the development of self-actualization attributes.

TOD, similarly, does not include its youth volunteer base to take part in major decision making processes. In this sense they resemble the volunteer based CSO structure. In fact, TOD has quite a hierarchical structure which has been headed by the same board director for the past 27 years. Even members of the board have limited influence. Interviews with TOD board members, youth group members as well as the board director himself emphasize the responsibility the director holds regarding decisions concerning the CSO. Interestingly, this is noted as being problematic mainly by the director himself, who in his account would like to share this burden with other members of the CSO. He laments over the legal framework in Turkey where a board of directors and its director are elected, after which all responsibility is placed on the director. He emphasizes the lack of initiation of board members:

People avoid responsibility. They don't want to be held responsible for the CSO's actions. When asked why something hasn't been done their reply is 'but you never ordered us to do so.' And when they put forth new ideas they expect you to lead the new initiative. Even 50 year old board members are unable to take initiative. (TOD president)

Certainly, this is the account of a director who has agreed to stay on as director for almost three decades which does indeed question how eager he in fact is to share the burden. And the level of awe that the youth volunteers have for this director reinforces the hierarchy. The students see the director and the board members as role models. The exclusive membership regulations at TOD emphasize the importance of societal status and education in particular and as a result reinforces the hierarchy between board members and student volunteers. In organizations like TEGV or

Habitat, since most interaction occurs among volunteers there is a sense of equality among them and they are kept away from the hierarchy that may exist on the management side of the CSO.

On the other hand, interestingly, many of the members of the youth volunteer group at TOD do feel that they are a part of the decision making mechanism of the CSO. They have their own youth board and are encouraged to develop and implement their own ideas. The director of the board instills in the volunteers a sense of responsibility for taking initiative on activities. Thus within a limited domain they are enabled and encouraged to make decisions.

There is actually no official status for the youth group and we are not officially members. But because there are many young voices at TOD, there is a youth group for us to facilitate activities among ourselves. We take decisions among ourselves and present them to the board, and the board decides. But our president wants us to take more initiative and implement our own ideas. He wants us to go to him as a last resort (TOD volunteer).

The sense of equality is instilled among volunteers at all three CSOs, since volunteers interact mostly with their peers. However, at TOD, several factors cultivate the hierarchy. Since volunteerism is informal at TOD, volunteers interact with members in a hierarchical setting. Also since the volunteer base is non-formal, the volunteers do not have a legitimate status to make claims through, so they are embedded in a structure which is hierarchical and where there are no formal expectations from volunteers.

This section has analyzed whether and how CSO expectations and decision making mechanisms, two structural features, affect the development of active citizenship dimensions in volunteer based CSOs. Interestingly what emerged is that having set and *regular* expectations

triggers civic action as well as self-actualization. Whether the participant is involved on a regular basis and through a long term commitment or whether the participation is flexible and sporadic are different experiences that foster different active citizenship skills. This emerged through the difference observed between TEGV and Habitat. If the expectation from the volunteer enables structured, regular and long term participation this contributes to civic action. Habitat on the other hand is unable to achieve active citizenship since its irregular expectations are unable to sustain civic action. Though the initiative it engenders enhances self-actualization, the opportunities for these skills to develop are not regular or consistent enough. Thus the extent and intensity of participation that expectations develop are determining factors in the development of active citizenship.

Both TEGV and Habitat limit their participants' ability to contribute to decisions in the CSO, however Habitat's flexible structure allows for more decision making in implementing activities. The ability to make decisions develops the skill of voicing one's opinion. While this has the potential to contribute to the development of civic action through the development of agency, the opportunities are limited through irregular participation. Thus we see that Habitat's structural attributes contribute mostly to the development of self-actualization while TEGV's is able to achieve civic action as well. TOD's mixed structure achieves civic action through the regular responsibility placed on the volunteers despite a lack in formal expectation. It also achieves limited self-actualization through the role for decision making it provides its youth volunteers. TEGV and TOD achieve active citizenship through their ability to foster civic action and self-actualization. Habitat lags in its ability to achieve civic action and thus is not able to develop active citizenship practices, as defined here.

2) Membership

What distinguishes membership based CSOs from volunteer based CSOs is that they have little or no *formal* expectations, regarding commitment of time, from their members. Membership usually requires a payment of a fee but no set time commitment or tasks. Informally, there is certainly the expectation that members will contribute to the activities of the CSO, however, there is no mechanism to ensure or monitor it. Those who choose to become active in the CSO through boards and committees, for example, do so with no such requirement for becoming a member (IHD, TTB and Ka.Der websites). For example, in order to participate in IHD you must be a member and in order to become a member you need references from two members of the CSO (IHD board member). A structural feature of membership based CSOs is the opportunities that they provide for participation for members who do choose to participate. Volunteer based CSOs, for example, depend on their volunteers to implement activities and achieve CSO objectives, and thus are built on the participation of their volunteers. Membership based CSOs provide opportunities for participation to the extent they see necessary to achieve their activities. These two factors are mutually reinforcing. In order to enable participation, structures for participation are necessary and increased participation and expansion of activity in turn requires even more participation.

Among the membership based CSOs IHD is flexible in terms of providing opportunities for participation for those who choose to participate. In an effort to create space for participation it encourages initiative on the part of members to establish committees and develop activities. Encouraging initiative develops both self-actualization and, through the opportunity to participate, civic action. Such an effort is not visible in all membership based CSOs and distinguishes how members are engaged within this type of CSO. TTB is an interesting case for this study as it reflects how participation reaches beyond formal membership and expectations. At TTB

membership requirements are different from the other CSOs analyzed here, however, the dynamics that regulate their activity in term of participation are parallel to the other membership based CSOs under study. All doctors working in the private sector in Turkey are *required* to be a member at TTB. This may seem to be the strictest form of expectation possible for membership but since their only obligation is to pay membership dues. There is no commitment of time or service required. And interestingly, despite the requirement for private sector doctors, half of its membership base is comprised of doctors working in the public sector. TTB, whose formal status as a CSO is questionable, is able to create an environment for participation.

The political nature of the CSO also interacts with its structural attributes in encouraging (or inhibiting) membership and participation. This is relevant to politics within the CSO and for the CSO's political activities in general. At TTB, for example, political groups within compete to direct the CSO and thus competing groups need a strong membership base in order to gain support. The political group in power in each branch at TTB affects the members that actively participate. The effect of the political nature of the CSO can also be analyzed in light of the discussion in chapter five. TTB and IHD are both rights based CSOs. The processes at work discussed in the previous chapter, that is knowledge attainment and relations with the state also affect how membership based CSOs encourage participation. The process of rights pursuit is able to generate civic action as discussed previously. As long as the CSO has the structural features in place that enable participation, such as well functioning committees or boards, these individuals are able to exercise their will to act, fostering the development of civic action. This also has to do with expectations since disseminating a rights based discourse can contribute to raising expectations, regardless of the presence or absence of any formal expectations for participation.

One example in which active citizenship is developed through a rights based discourse, but

its affect diminished due to a lack in sufficient structural attributes, is the case of Ka.Der. Ka.Der is able to develop civic action and self-actualization effectively through its rights based discourse. Individuals interviewed emphasize in particular their personal transformation as a result of their Ka.Der experience. However, as a membership based CSO, Ka.Der does not set any requirements for participation and as is discussed below has limited sites for participation. Compared to TTB and IHD, at Ka.Der, channels for participation are limited which confines the space available for those who are willing to contribute. Ka.Der members state that there are few committees and in those that are in place, members contribute sporadically during project or political campaign periods (Ka.Der volunteer). One member at Ka.Der states that while there is a desire to have more individuals participate actively, too many participants may become problematic because they do not have the essential structure in place to accommodate many participants. Almost all members, particularly those in management, desire greater participation for greater effectiveness. However, they also acknowledge that they are limited in what they can do to mobilize their members.

Despite the limitation to participation that may occur it should be acknowledged that in order for these CSOs to function, a steady group of members that actively participate to fulfill the objectives of the CSO is necessary. And for many of these CSOs these objectives require a significant amount of participation by members. Thus despite the lack of formal expectations from members these CSOs manage to maintain a level of participation that is sufficient. This is achieved partly through CSO attributes such as its discursive feature as well as its structural features which enable participation and decision making and induce engagement.

As discussed for volunteer based CSOs, not having established expectations has several potential outcomes for engagement. First, there is the risk that participation will be low which will affect the potential to develop and sustain particular skills. At the same time, participating despite

no requirement shows initiative on the part of the member. Membership based CSOs use a variety of activities or mechanisms to encourage participation despite not having a formal requirement to participate. TTB and IHD provide the opportunity for participation through their well-functioning committees. Ka.Der also has committees, however limited. In all cases, without established requirements to contribute time, it places significant responsibility on the individual to initiate and sustain participation. Additionally, if you do not have the structure in place you risk conducting CSO activities with a very small number of members. The variation in expectations thus makes a difference particularly for fostering self-actualization as it places responsibility on the participant to take initiative. Those members that end up taking the initiative to participate are more likely to develop skills of agency, self-expression and networks.

Membership based CSOs fare better on the *decision making* attribute in comparison to volunteer based CSOs. In the membership based CSOs under study the governing bodies of the CSO are comprised of the members themselves. This reflects a structure that involves more members in governing bodies. At IHD and TTB, not only are governing bodies comprised of members, but the committees are important to the CSO's governing structures and so individuals involved in committees are also involved in decision making (IHD and TTB board members). While ultimate decisions are taken by boards of directors, boards frequently refer to committees for recommendations based on the activities and research they conduct. This enhances and encourages opportunity for participation. This empowers the committees and their members as they are able to contribute to debate and decision making in the CSO. Engaging in decision making mechanisms fosters self-actualization as members are able to express themselves through their ideas, actualize agency through decisions taken, and achieve a sense of accomplishment, all encouraging self-development and self-confidence. These participants achieve a greater sense of

accomplishment and self-confidence because their ideas are considered within their committees as well higher boards. Individuals at TOD, TTB and IHD all feel that their opinions are sought and heard and they express the feeling that they are active participants in a democratic process within the CSO. One TTB member states

I have been a member of a range of committees over the years. I am a natural activist here. The way the chambers are structured allows for you to participate in the decision making mechanisms of the board of directors even if you are not a member of the board. (TTB member)

The exchange of ideas and voicing of opinions develop the individual's ability to express self. It may also lead to exposure to and/or greater acceptance of diversity if they are given the ability to voice diverse opinions in committee or board meetings, thus developing the diversity dimension of social cohesion. It exposes members to differences of opinion and necessitates compromise, which are all significant factors to developing social cohesion skills.

An IHD member states:

Individuals can actualize themselves here. If they want to form a new committee they can. Also, all board meetings are open to all members. Everybody can voice their opinion at these meetings. Most of the time we don't vote. It doesn't necessarily have to be a consensus but we agree upon certain issues or tendencies of the members. (IHD member)

At membership based CSOs members themselves generally elect their board of directors which

allows them to be a part of a decision making process even if it is as minimal as choosing representatives and having the opportunity to be elected. However, this is not the only opportunity they have to participate. While most responsibility is placed on the board of directors for the functioning of the CSO's activities, those CSOs with well-functioning committees place a significant level of responsibility on members to define, research, and act on the committees particular agenda. One TTB member emphasize that

it would be impossible and cruel to expect a board of 7 individuals to deals with all the issues the chamber faces. Whatever their agenda is, they depend on the research and work of the relevant committees. Anything can be on the chamber's agenda . . . there are a wide range of health issues and the board relies on the expertise of its members. (TTB member)

All four membership based CSOs (including TOD which is formally a membership CSO) have a board of directors as the central site and body for decision making. Each CSO's role for their board may vary, yet they all stand out as the central structure where decisions are made. In membership based CSOs there is not such a distinct delineation between the members and the boards of directors since the board of directors is comprised of CSO members. How involved a member wishes to be is up to him or her, but those that choose to be active members have access to management positions in the decision making mechanisms such as board of directors or committees. The boards at both TEGV and Habitat were completely separate from volunteers.

Despite the positive skills that access to decision making and leadership engenders, one structural factor that can be inhibiting is the hierarchical structure that is present in most membership based CSOs. While access to and contribution to decision making is certainly a part

of the membership based CSO this also results in a stricter hierarchy which gives the boards of directors a power that can be abused and inhibit participation. Ka.Der, for example, places a great deal of the responsibility for decision making and carrying out activities on the board of directors which can prevent participation by a larger group of members. The younger members at Ka.Der complain of how there is a group of older members that have somewhat of a monopoly over the CSO and are reluctant to engage younger members. TOD is also an example of this hierarchical tradition. The director of the board had been the same for 27 years which reflects a hierarchy as well as limited means and effort to engage others in the running of the CSO.

Ka.Der also has limited alternative structures for participation and decision making beyond the board of directors (Ka.Der volunteer). It functions to the extent that its board is active. Though committees exist, most of them are led by board members, and based on the accounts of several interviewees, the committees are not active. In addition to enabling members to become members of the board of directors, for example, alternative committees and boards need to be present in order to enable greater participation in decision making. In the example of volunteer based organizations board members are separate from the volunteers. Analysis reveals that in comparison to volunteer based organizations membership based CSOs are better at integrating their participants into decision making structures which contributes positively to the development of self-actualization and potentially social cohesion.

One issue that arises, mainly in TOD and Ka.Der is the generational gap and the hierarchy this creates between board members and some of the younger members of the CSO. For TOD just being a member of the CSO is a serious privilege and being a board member is possible through a very selective process. Not just age but education also factors in to participation in decision making. Several members of TOD's youth group emphasize how the younger members of the

board are those who have their Masters of Arts degrees or are pursuing a PhD. This is an example of an inhibitive mechanisms guiding who can take decisions. One member of the board of directors states:

Everybody can contribute their ideas during board meetings. Decisions are taken together, and depending on the situation, tasks are distributed. We can also go to the meeting with items to add to the agenda . . . based on my age and level of education I am in a position to state my ideas. (TOD member)

While this member states that all ideas can be shared at board meetings he also explicitly states that his ideas, due to his age and level of education, are more acceptable. Youth group members are aware of this hierarchy as well: “the upper level of management is comprised of those that are more mature in terms of both age and experience” (TOD volunteer). Members of the youth group are encouraged to develop ideas and implement activities among themselves. However, this is not raised as a concern by either group at TOD. Both the youth group and interviewed board members feel this is an important quality for TOD and that it is democratic. One member of the group states:

If an idea comes from the upper management we are held responsible for smaller tasks such as setting up a conference hall or putting up posters. But let me note that no CSO in Turkey is as democratic as the TOD. This place allows someone who has been here even just for one year to voice their opinion and have their idea seriously debated. Of course the final decision is in the hand of the board . . . at least that idea will be recorded in that day’s report. (TOD volunteer)

This is a reflection of the hierarchical structure that is embedded in many of Turkey's institutions. The expectation is very low regarding what the participant will be responsible for especially if you are a student. For Ka.Der, the issue of age arises as problematic. Several younger members emphasize the need for younger individuals in decision making posts to revive the CSO and while some of the older board members agree, little seems to be done toward this end, reinforcing a hierarchy based on age. At the same time one member notes that though participation of younger members is encouraged there are not enough interested members.

To summarize, this section analyzed the extent to which structural attributes of membership based organizations contribute to the development of active citizenship skills. What was revealed was that expectations, or rather lack of expectations, common to most membership based CSOs, has an effect on active citizenship through the initiative it triggers among those members who do choose to participate. Similar to the case of Habitat, this experience of taking initiative develops networking, self-confidence, and communication skills, all relevant to developing self-actualization and if sustained, triggering civic action. Thus while establishing set expectations is a positive attribute that encourages civic action at volunteer based CSOs such as TEGV, its absence, as long as the CSO has the structures in place for sustained participation, can also contribute to civic action through initiative and self-actualization. However, this does not necessarily alleviate the fact that establishing no requirement of participation risks low and inconsistent participation. If the only requirement to being a member is paying membership dues this will not encourage greater participation, something that all CSOs, including membership based CSOs claim to be frustrated about.

On the other hand, the presence of significant structures for members to be a part of decision making mechanism does enable the development particularly of self-actualization skills,

the opportunity for civic action and where exposure to diversity is present, social cohesion. Since membership based CSOs are run by the members themselves they provide more opportunities for members to be a part of, or at least contest for the opportunity to be a part of, governing bodies or committees. The process of contesting to be a part of and the ability to be in decision making bodies develop skills through the practice of voicing opinions, making decisions and governing, all practices necessary for the development of democratic citizenship. Thus the extent to which bodies enabling participation, such as committees, are present will be determinant in the extent to which members achieve these active citizenship skills.

IV. Conclusion

This analysis revealed that structural attributes that delineate volunteer based and membership based CSOs are both able to generate dimensions of active citizenship, yet through different processes and experiences for the participant. It also points to structural attributes that hinder the development of active citizenship. While volunteer based CSOs better achieve civic action and self-actualization to the extent they are able to set expectations regarding consistent and long term participation, membership based CSOs better achieve civic action and self-actualization through their ability to encourage initiative and engage their participants in decision making. The case of Habitat reflects that irregular expectations and inconsistent opportunities for participation is a barrier against the development of civic action and thus such structural attributes are a barrier against achieving active citizenship. Findings initially revealed that the distinction made between volunteer based and membership based CSOs was insufficient. While being volunteer or membership based results in differences in expectations and decision making mechanisms, further variation is present *within* the two types of CSOs. Thus, in addition to CSOs that have no

expectations from their participants and those that have regular expectations, there is the category of those volunteer based CSOs with irregular expectations.⁵ And, second, in addition to whether members or volunteers are involved in decision making structures that affect the CSO in general, is whether there are alternative bodies that enable decision making.

The first distinction compared was the expectation that CSOs set for their participants, mainly whether volunteers and members are expected to commit to a consistent amount of time at the CSO. The anticipation was that expectations regulate participation and allow for skills to develop through consistent participation. While membership based CSOs had no expectations from their members, the expectation for time commitment varied between regular and irregular commitment at volunteer based CSOs. Thus no expectations, regular expectations and irregular expectations create different outcomes regarding active citizenship. In the cases under study, volunteer based CSOs with regular expectations mostly developed civic action since consistent time commitment developed a sense of responsibility toward fellow volunteers and thus an urge to act consistently. Irregular expectations were able to develop self-actualization through the initiative it requires of volunteers, yet inconsistent participation prevents the development of civic action, since participation is not sustained.

The second attribute differentiating between volunteer and membership based CSOs, the extent to which CSOs integrate participants in their decision making structures, also has varied outcomes within the types of CSOs. Since volunteers are rarely exposed to the management of the CSO or other decision making mechanisms, they do not experience this learning process which has the potential to foster self-actualization and civic action skills. Membership based CSOs fare

⁵ Irregular expectations include having set expectations from the participant that does not require regular participation but does require some kind of time commitment and completion of task (as in the case of Habitat above). Regular expectations include regular time commitment for an extended period of time such as in the case of TEGV where volunteers conduct activities every week.

better in promoting decision making and related skills such as voicing opinions and debate. Since membership based organizations are run by members themselves, members are integrated into the management and thus decision making structures. However, some membership based CSOs, such as Ka.Der are less able to create the opportunity for members to become a part of the various decision making mechanisms due to weak or a lack of alternative structures for participation. Beyond the board of directors, which is usually comprised of a handful of members, whether there are committees or similar bodies to ingrate a larger amount of members into decision making processes is critical to the development of the self-actualization skills mentioned.

In terms of policy for CSOs, how these two types of CSOs regulate participation is key. Ensuring sustained participation is one of the most difficult problems that CSOs face. CSO directors and participants frequently lament over the low numbers in participation or the lack of sustained participation. While this has much to do with the motivation of the participant, findings of this chapter show that mechanisms that the CSO puts in place can help regulate this. For example, this analysis shows that establishing expectation for regular and long term participation develops a sense of responsibility which strengthens commitment to the CSO and motivates participation. It also reveals that having no expectations or irregular expectation is a risk for participation and places responsibility on the member to sustain participation. Thus for membership based CSOs, ensuring opportunities for participation and encouraging initiative or developing policy that establishes expectation of participants can ensure sustained participation.

At the same time enabling participants with opportunities to take initiative is important to developing active citizenship. CSOs like TEGV where participation is regulated and structured, are less able to foster self-actualization. The self-actualization TEGV achieves is based on developing a sense of satisfaction. However, it must be acknowledged that initiative requires much

more on the part of the individual and is less in the hands of the CSO. Another way in which CSOs can achieve the development of self-actualization in both volunteer and membership based CSOs is by developing opportunities for participants to take part in decision making, whether large scale such as decisions regarding the CSO or smaller such as decisions within a committee. While this is an attribute of membership based CSOs some are unable to achieve it and many volunteer based CSOs tend to keep their volunteers separate from the governing of the CSO. As a result, in terms of the development of active citizenship, volunteer based CSOs, except for the case of Habitat, achieve active citizenship through the development of self-actualization and civic action, and membership based CSO also achieve active citizenship through the development of self-actualization and civic action. Social cohesion emerges in membership based CSOs that are able to engage their members in decision making mechanisms. These sites generally witness debate and exposure to diverse ideas in the process of decision making.

These findings reinforce and delineate some of the findings in the previous chapter on rights and obligations. As discussed above, there are some parallels between rights and obligations CSOs and volunteer and membership based CSOs. For example, two of the rights based CSOs are also membership based (IHD and ITO). TEGV is obligations and volunteer based. And TO which is obligations based is both membership and volunteer based and Habitat which is both rights and obligations based is also volunteer based. While rights based CSOs were found to develop active citizenship skills, particularly through civic action, this chapter establishes parameters to this. The extent to which civic action can be achieved is also affected by the structural attributes of the CSO. The extent to which the CSO can achieve sustained participation, opportunities for initiative, and contribution to decision making mechanisms all work toward facilitating or inhibiting an environment for the development of active citizenship dimensions. Processes that enable claims

making and knowledge attainment can be boosted through settings that also enable the participant to take part in decision making, giving the participant the voice through which s/he can make claims. Lack of such opportunities on the other hand can suppress the effect of discursive gains toward claims making or rights pursuit in general. Ka.Der for example, while successful at encouraging disseminating knowledge and encouraging its participant to make claims, limits the extent of members that are able to achieve this by limiting the sites available for participation. The discursive analysis of obligations based CSOs in the previous chapter revealed that placing responsibility on the participant as well and the satisfaction of fulfilling responsibility developed self-actualization and civic action skills. TEGV's ability to encourage civic action and self-actualization is enhanced by the regular expectations it places on its participants.

The table below summarizes the processes that develop the three dimensions of active citizenship based on the structural differences between volunteer and membership based CSOs.

Table 12. Linking Volunteer and Membership Based CSOs to Active Citizenship

		Processes/Experiences		Active Citizenship Dimensions Achieved
Volunteer CSOs	Expectations	regular, consistent expectations	sense of responsibility, sense of satisfaction	Civic Action, Self-Actualization
		irregular expectations	initiative	Self-Actualization
	Decision Making	Weak decision making mechanisms		NA
Membership CSOs	Expectations	No expectation, but presences of sites for participation	potential for initiative	Self-Actualization (if initiative achieved). Civic Action
	Decision Making	Presence of committees, boards. Member participation in governing the CSO	voicing of opinion, agency, self-expression, debate, exposure to other ideas	Self-Actualization, Civic Action, Social Cohesion

CHAPTER 7

TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

I. Introduction

This chapter is the third and final empirical chapter which analyzes how different types of activities conducted in civil society organizations engage their participants differently and whether and how this contributes to the development of different citizenship practices. This is the third indicator evaluated as a potential attribute of CSOs that guide participation. Having established important discursive and structural features that affect participation, this chapter looks at some of the more specific structural features, that is, the activities that participants engage in to execute the CSOs' objectives. Certainly an activity cannot be analyzed independently of the CSO within which it is conducted. Each of the activities are thus evaluated within the context of how they interact with these discursive and structural attributes. The objective, however, is to identify the effect that particular activities have on participation within different discursive and structural settings. Thus while educational activities in different types of CSOs may vary, similar experiences may develop particular skills and values. An educational activity conducted by TEGV may differ from one conducted by Ka.Der and the dynamics at play that differentiate them will engage the participant in different ways. Thus while educational activity is one activity type under exploration, it is differentiated based on variation in how it engages its participant as this will have a different effect on the citizenship developed.

CSOs utilize a range of activities to pursue their objectives such as educational activities, publications, social activities, protest, and infrastructure development, among many more. Different CSOs, working in the area of women's rights, for example, may use different activities to achieve their objectives. One may advocate for rights through the use of research and publication as their primary type of activity, while another may emphasize protest or lobbying activities. These two CSOs will differ in how they engage their members and volunteers. This, in turn, is expected to influence the development of divergent citizenship practices. The first section of this chapter provides a brief overview of how types of activities have been studied in the literature on civil society. This is followed by a presentation of findings on how different activity types effect the development of civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization.

II. Types of Activities in CSO Literature

Though limited, types of activities have been utilized to classify CSOs for theoretical, conceptual, as well as empirical studies. Vakil (1997), in a critical analysis of how CSOs are defined and categorized identifies "orientation" as one of two "essential descriptors" to classifying CSOs. Orientation is described as "the type of activities that NGOs engage in" (Vakil 1997, 2063). Under types of activity Vakil lists six categories: welfare, development, advocacy, development education, network, and research. While one CSO may have more than one orientation these categories are what distinguishes CSOs.

In an empirical study of civil society organizations in Turkey Yeğen et al. (2009) also differentiate CSOs based on the types of activities they utilize to carry out their objective. In their typology, they emphasize the *function* of the CSO over other dimensions. As function gains importance in defining the CSO, so do the types of activities they utilize to carry them out. Yeğen

et al.'s study lists more than 30 types of activities that are observed in the CSOs they study. These activities range from dinner organizations, sports events, and picnics, to publications, protests, conferences and media campaigns (Yeğen et al. 2009). Through a cluster analysis, these 30 plus types are clustered into 8 categories that represent the range of activities that are prominently utilized in Turkish CSOs. These categories are: social activities, scientific activities, campaigning activities, activist activities, aid related activities, arts activities, sports activities, and the construction of hospitals, schools and mosques (Yeğen et al. 2009). Both Vakil and Yeğen et al.'s studies exemplify the relevance of CSOs' functions over issue area through their distinctions based on types of activities. My analysis contributes to this discussion by analyzing how types of activities steer participant engagement in the CSO.

This analysis utilizes the categories developed in the Yeğen et al. study to identify the most frequently observed types of activities in each CSO. Based on preliminary analysis of written materials as well as interviews, the types of activities that emerge are as follows: (1) social activities (dinner events, arts and sports activities), (2) educational activities (training activities), (3) research and publications (4) Lobbying activities (and media related campaigns), and (5) protest. Certainly these six CSOs utilize more activity types than the ones listed here. This is a compilation based on the two most utilized activities for each CSO. Distinctions that arise within a type of activity are also acknowledged. For example, educational activities create different experiences for the participant based on whether the participant is conducting the educational activity or a recipient of it.

Interview questions as well as analysis of CSO written materials were designed to identify how these activities engage participants and how this may reflect on the development of citizenship skills. Some questions identify the types of activities that individuals are engaged in by having

the participant describe a typical day or comment on the kinds of activities they feel are most effective in reaching the CSO's objectives. Other questions reveal how partaking in these activities develop certain skills and whether the individual has changed. Participation in various activities reflect differences to both the level of participation that the CSO enables and the practices it develops. For each CSO I have identified the two most utilized activities. Based on these activities, interviews are analyzed to link these activities to participant engagement.

Table 13. Classification of CSOs based on Types of Activities

	Ka.Der	TEGV	IHD	ITO	TOD	Habitat
Activity 1	Educational	Educational	Research / Publications	Research/ Publications	Educational	Educational
Activity 2	Lobbying	Social	Protest	Protest	Social	Lobbying

Analysis reveals that some activities are more effective at developing active citizenship skills and different activities affect different dimensions of active citizenship. Parallels between activity type, and the other two CSO attributes analyzed, rights/obligation and membership/ volunteerism, are also acknowledged. This allows us to strengthen or question some of the findings in the previous chapters. Whether and how activity types facilitate or hinder the mechanisms that link volunteerism, membership, rights or obligations based CSOs to citizenship practices is important. Thus the results, where relevant, are analyzed as a whole, considering all CSO indicators analyzed.

III. Analysis

Each type of activity is evaluated and presented below separately. However, relations between activities are acknowledged and presented where they emerge.

1. Protest

One activity type that the CSOs under study utilize to achieve their objectives is protest. Protest is used as a priority activity by IHD and ITO. There is not much variation within protest activities, however, there is variation in how protest activities can be carried out. Protest activities generally occur sporadically, the timing based on a need to make a statement against something or to relay a message on a particular issue. Though rare, they may also be regularly scheduled protests, exemplified in IHD's "Saturday Mothers" protests. These protests which have been going on every Saturday since 1995⁶. They aim to pressure the state to unveil information on, and resolve cases of individuals who went missing in custody or were victims of unresolved political murders mainly in the 1990s. The group, originally comprised of mothers of these "missing" individuals, has gained support by many IHD members and others. The persistence of the protest is quite rare, and is an important example of a form of protest that has successfully relayed their message.

Most protest activities are utilized by CSOs to gain attention, raise awareness and make a statement on a particular issue, and frequently to pressure relevant authorities for change or action on these issues. Analysis reveals that participation in protest activities develop all three dimensions of active citizenship, and is particularly effective in developing civic action. The two CSOs that utilize protest activities are also both rights based and membership based CSOs. Rights based CSOs, as discussed in chapter five are frequently positioned against the state, pressuring the state

⁶ Police force exerted against the Saturday Mothers led to the decision to stop convening in 1999. The Saturday Mothers did not convene between 1999 and 2009.

for change. At the same time knowledge dissemination is a fundamental tool to encourage action as part of rights discourse. Thus, in order to relay their message and disseminate knowledge, they utilize activities that can assist them in raising awareness, such as protest. In fact the second activity these two CSOs utilize, as discussed below, are publications which create and disseminate knowledge to inform the general public and to pressure state authorities.

Rights based CSOs also require that its members become active in rights pursuit and gain the skills necessary to question and challenge the state, and protest activities are effective in encouraging civic action. One IHD member highlights the importance of protest activity:

Reporting on rights violations is not enough. We also want these violations to be seen. We are in the streets with our activists. We are trying to expose violations by being the voice of the street in the street. The street is why there are so many grievances . . . because that is where people seek their rights and where they protest. That is why we find it necessary to be in the streets. (IHD member)

An ITO member highlights the importance of their protests:

We frequently publish press releases but the media doesn't show much interest in them. Even regarding topics that are most important to people we are unable to create the desired effect through the media. . . . Our protests are the most effective and visible activity. We lost a colleague in Gaziantep in an attack. The protest we held regarding that was very effective. (ITO member)

First, protest is in itself an example of a civic act. But more importantly, it engenders increased action within the CSO. Accounts of participants at ITO and IHD point to how experiences at protests encourage a greater will to take part in other protests in particular, and increased participation in the CSO. The civic action that is developed through protest activities is supported by the development of social cohesion and self-actualization. Protest is a good example of how the three dimensions of active citizenship are interrelated. One mechanism that links participating in a protest to the dimensions of active citizenship is the sense of security that develops from being part of a larger group and the solidarity that emerges as members of the protest group act together. Both security and solidarity are particularly important for CSO participants in Turkey, where one of the major barriers to civic action is the risk associated with participating in protest activities. Protest is generally perceived as resistance against the state and associated with violence. What emerges from the interviews is that the perceived risk associated with protesting diminishes as feelings of security and solidarity increase. The sense of security, gained from being a part of something larger, encourages the development of both social cohesion and civic action. One ITO member states:

Being an activist equipped me with knowledge of my rights and affected my power for action and my decisiveness. Having a powerful organization like ITO behind me enabled me to pursue my rights safely and to protest and resist without fear. (ITO member)

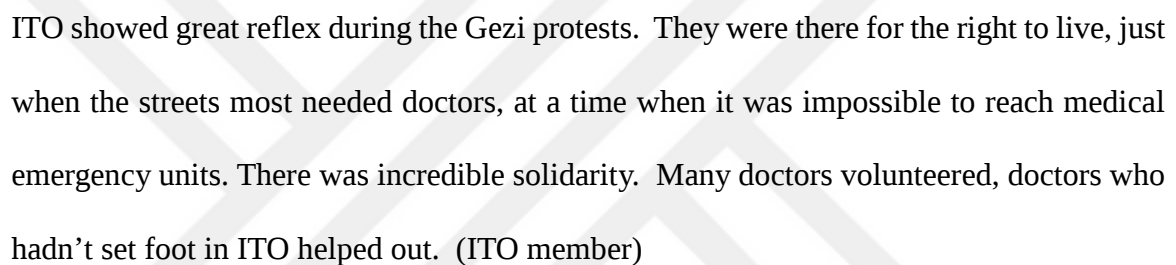
It is very important to be able to know that if anything happens to us, the chamber is behind us. You take part in many protests, and you get arrested. But when this happens the chamber's activists and lawyers are there to support you. In that respect it is an institution we trust. (ITO member)

This sense of security from being a part of something larger is mentioned by members of both ITO and IHD. These accounts are also examples of the persistent divide between state and society in Turkey and the continued risks in taking part in particular CSO activities. As discussed in chapter 5, rights based organizations in particular, due to their controversial relations with the state, pose a risk for participants. This requires that particular skills and values are developed within these CSOs to enable participants to be active. One of these necessary practices is a feeling of security and/or solidarity to encourage participation. While this does not necessary eliminate risk, it does encourage solidarity and civic action among participants. The link between security and civic action is also dependent on the capacity of the CSO. Since IHD and ITO are both large CSOs, they are able to instill this sense of security. The protest activities of a smaller CSO with less of a capacity may not ensure the same level of security but at the same time they may not be perceived as much of a threat by the state making participation less risky. The risk associated with protest encourages or perhaps necessitates the development of solidarity and thus the experience of participating in a protest activity is quite different from other CSO activities. The solidarity developed enables further action engendering civic action skills among participants.

Protest activities also contribute to the development of social cohesion through the solidarity that emerges from actively participating alongside a group of people toward a common objective. One IHD member states:

what leaves a human at its weakest is feeling alone, single and desperate . . . and when you feel weak you are paralyzed, you lose hope. But here you see power, I mean there are people who think like you, activists who resist and contest. This gives you hope, power and the ability to resist. (IHD member)

This account reflects how a protest activity contributes to all three dimensions of active citizenship. Being around people who resist and contest alongside you instills a sense of empowerment which also encourages self-actualization. The same experiences generate a feeling of solidarity which also contributes to feeling safe and empowered, developing social cohesion and civic action. The Gezi protests come up as an example of how a CSO, in this case ITO, through increased visibility was able to significantly increase support from its members.



ITO showed great reflex during the Gezi protests. They were there for the right to live, just when the streets most needed doctors, at a time when it was impossible to reach medical emergency units. There was incredible solidarity. Many doctors volunteered, doctors who hadn't set foot in ITO helped out. (ITO member)

This statement points to how ITO created a sense of security as well as solidarity encouraging members and non-members to take part in their activities. These participants not only supported protest activities but they also become more involved in the CSO's activities during and after the Gezi events (ITO member).

The process of self-actualization, as evident in some of the accounts above, occurs mainly by participants becoming progressively more self-confident and empowered. The confidence is rooted in knowing that there are many individuals working toward the same cause. Members develop or deepen a sense of belonging toward the CSO as protest activities bring likeminded members together. Achieving self-confidence or empowerment is transformative for many CSO participants. Previous chapters have highlighted how the development of self-confidence has enabled participants to voice their opinions and express themselves. This ability to "be you" is

articulated by many participants as something that participation via protest has contributed. It has instilled in them the ability to take initiative and actualize their agency, contributing both to civic action as well as self-actualization.

Having the support of the CSO and developing a belonging to it empowers you. Knowing that you are an activist at ITO even changes how people perceive you. People know you have a powerful group behind you and this makes you more confident. (ITO member)

At both IHD and ITO, self-actualization as *self-satisfaction* is also achieved through protest. An ITO member states how participating in the protest activities led to “the happiness of feeling present in life and knowing that I am not alone” (ITO member, EA). The sense of satisfaction resulting from fulfilling a personal desire and/ or feeling supported in the process encourages self-actualization. Participants are able to realize their individuality within a community in which they feel safe, supported and strong. An IHD member states how despite the difficulties associated with protest, being able to resist gives her a sense of satisfaction:

It is not easy to take on such responsibility, all the trouble that comes with it. But then there are all the ideals and beliefs and ability to resist and really feel your humanity. I mean you can really resist. So many wrongdoings are occurring in front of you and you are able to object and contest and resist and try to change things. (IHD member)

This analysis illustrates that protest activity in CSOs such as IHD is particularly successful at generating active citizenship. This is mainly because it is successful at generating civic action

but also because protest develops the other two dimensions of active citizenship. The three dimensions are linked in a virtuous cycle where social cohesion and self-actualization further develop civic action. The solidarity that is achieved by a group activity strengthens the commitment and dynamic of the group enhancing social cohesion. The sense of security that is achieved in the group activity fosters self-actualization through empowerment and civic action as members are encouraged to act. And finally the solidarity achieved also develops a sense of satisfaction that contributes to self-actualization among participants. The dynamics that are evident in most protest activity is reflective of the skills and practices it can potentially develop in individuals and is thus a critical activity for the development of active citizenship. Activities such as protests are an important tool for developing the skills and values necessary to make claims, to feel empowered and place the individual apart from the state. These are critical attributes to breaking down rooted practices of citizenship in Turkey.

2. Educational

Educational activities are one of the most frequently utilized activities in CSOs. Educational activities encompass a range of activities which have the objective of disseminating knowledge to their participants. The educational topic may be on the CSO's issue area but can also encompass other topics. They include educational activities such as teaching their target groups various skills like as computer skills or arts and crafts as is the case at TEGV and Habitat. They also include conferences such as those that are frequently utilized by TOD to inform their participants on diverse topics. Educational activities also encompass trainings of participants and/or target groups on a particular subject such as women's rights in the case of Ka.Der. Thus educational activities emerge in different formats in Ka.Der, TEGV, TOD and Habitat and require an analysis based on these distinctions. Another distinction made in the analysis is whether the participant is conducting

the educational activity or is a recipient of the educational activity. In all CSOs there are educational activities that members/volunteers conduct for target groups and those they participate in themselves. At TEGV and Habitat, since education is the main issue area of the CSOs, their primary activity is comprised of educational activities conducted by volunteers and aimed at their target groups. Analysis of these CSOs rests mainly on volunteer experiences of conducting educational activities. Members at TOD and Ka.Der, on the other hand, mainly reference the educational activities that they have received and how this has affected them.

What also emerges from this analysis and is important to evaluating the effect of educational activities is how they are related to the discursive and structural attributes of the CSO as discussed in chapters 5 and 6. For example, TEGV as an obligations based CSO, and Habitat as rights/obligations based CSO, with education as their main issue area, engage their target groups in more technical or nonpolitical issues and generally execute their activities in non-political settings.⁷ Conducting or receiving educational activities in a generally neutral environment makes a difference in the values and skills they generate. The educational activities in these settings contribute mainly to knowledge development and skills such as organizing a training or presenting in front of a crowd. These skills contribute particularly to the development of self-confidence and thus self-actualization. TOD, also an obligations based CSO does not utilize its educational activities as a tool to mobilize its participants. Rather they are forums to engage their participants and provide an opportunity for the advancement in knowledge on issues relevant to the CSO. On the other hand, members at Ka.Der mainly reference being recipients of educational activities. Some Ka.Der members also conduct educational activities, but a majority of those interviewed made reference to how participating in educational activities as recipients affected them. Ka.Der,

⁷ Accounts by volunteers reflect that there are some exceptions for Habitat which is approached with skepticism in some cities. Volunteers note however that generally they are able to establish a neutral, non-confrontational stance.

as a right based CSO, in conducting training on issues such as gender equality or how to run for political office, engage participants in more political settings. Their trainings aim to develop knowledge among participants to enhance their civic engagement. The objectives are to increase the political engagement of women in politics and instill in women an awareness of gender equality that will encourage their ability and will to make claims. Many of these educational activities set the stage for potential confrontation with the state. Thus the dynamics that are present in an educational activity that is based on rights pursuit develops a different set of values and practices that affect citizenship. These educational activities, are also based on disseminating knowledge, which fosters civic action and self-actualization. Increased knowledge on issues, as well as what one's rights are or how they can be pursued can generate a desire to act and a sense of self-confidence and empowerment that develops self-actualization.

Both participants that conduct educational activities as well as those that receive it state that their involvement in educational trainings has increased their knowledge, particularly on the issue at hand but also local and national political issues.

When you look at rights in general, Ka.Der taught me to be more demanding in other areas it exposed me to. For example, I would never get up on a Sunday to go to a protest but I do now and I think that is important. When you gain that awareness you automatically do it.
(Ka.Der member)

TEGV also makes me more sensitive toward my community and country. I used to skim over the news, now I read more carefully, particularly education related news. (TEGV volunteer)

Participants highlight how becoming more knowledgeable on the issue area leads them to pursue further acts on the issue, either through other CSOs or by participating more frequently within the same CSO. As is evident in the above account of a Ka.Der member, this reinforces findings presented in chapter 5 regarding the mechanism of knowledge attainment and its impact on developing civic action skills in rights based CSOs. Knowledge dissemination is successfully achieved through educational activities. Another Ka.Der member states that Ka.Der's educational activities "keeps the volunteerism alive," ensuring sustained participation (Ka.Der member). Another Ka.Der member notes how the educational activities at Ka.Der lead women who may not otherwise act in pursuit of their rights to do so and to help other women to pursue their rights as well. The increase in level of knowledge on women's rights or how to run for office leads members to become increasingly active, strengthening their civic action (Kader member). Ka.Der is able to instigate civic action through new knowledge to the extent that it involves its members in the educational activities. Inconsistent implementation of these activities, however, remains a barrier for Ka.Der to generate sustained civic action skills.

Conference activities that occur at TO are also evaluated here under educational activities since the objective of their conferences, generally, is to disseminate knowledge, mainly on Turkish nationalism, but also on a range of other issues from the sciences to religion. Conferences are also effective to the extent that TOD volunteers or members participate in them. TOD conducts a wide range of conferences for its youth group, its members and the general public including the "Friday conversations" that it is best known for. The main mechanism at work here is also knowledge attainment. Participants point to the importance of conferences in developing their knowledge and awareness on a range of issues. This awareness and knowledge contributes to self-confidence enabling self-actualization. One TOD volunteer states:

Knowledge is power. I believe I have learned a great deal through conferences, the newspapers and journals I read here, and through my conversations with our older members. As a result of this knowledge my self-confidence, thankfully, is intact. And when one has self-confidence one feels powerful. (TOD volunteer)

Listening to these conferences, you become aware of a range of issues. This contributes to your personal growth. You have at least an idea on many different issues. (TOD volunteer)

Self-actualization also occurs when volunteers are given the opportunity to take part in the conference activity such as presenting and acquire skills:

Last year we held seminars where one of us would present in front of 150 people. For people our age speaking in front of such a crowd is very difficult. We developed our presentation skills (TOD volunteer).

It should be acknowledged here too that as in the case of the activities discussed above, the content of the conferences and the CSO within which they occur will also impact their effect on the development of active citizenship. The content of the conferences at TO do not aim to develop action among members as do some of the protest or research activities discussed above. The generally neutral nature of TOD in terms of relations with the state is reflected in its conference activities. As a result, the impact that conferences have on civic action is limited. While it has been established in previous sections that knowledge generally fosters civic action, in the case of

TOD, the civic action that occurs is more about how they can contribute to further disseminating knowledge and enhancing the network of the CSO. Many point to the networking that occurs at these conferences and how it has led to their participation in activities at other CSOs in the same issue area. Overall the knowledge acquired through conference activities in TOD is less about inciting a desire to act but more about the development of self-actualization.

Knowledge attainment at Habitat and TEGV also contributes to self-actualization via the development of skills, self-confidence and a sense of satisfaction. Educational activities contribute to self-actualization on two levels. First is the knowledge they relay to participants boosting self-confidence and shaping their values and skills. Some of the characteristics that CSO participants claim to have acquired as a result of the educational activities attended are as follows: (1) self-confidence from knowing more about the issue or local/national/global issues (2) self-confidence from learning various skills such as talking in front of crowds, and organizational skills, or by taking initiative and making decisions to implement an activity. For volunteers at TEGV and Habitat conducting educational activities induces self-actualization through the skills acquired from implementing these educational activities. The responsibility placed on the volunteer to learn and implement the materials, requires the volunteer to develop a range of skills. Communication, presentation, and self-confidence are among these skills. Habitat expects a great deal from its volunteers to carry out the educational activities in their hometowns after they have been trained themselves. These volunteers highlight the feeling of satisfaction that arises from having touched someone's life, but more so they emphasize that these activities have enabled them to develop a wide range of skills because of the communication and initiative they have to engage in as they plan and implement the activity. Self-confidence, the ability to communicate and build relations with their community and community leaders have transformed them as individuals, developing

their leadership roles, and making them more outgoing and active. One volunteer that has been involved in both TEGV and Habitat states:

as a result of the training I received during TEGV's orientation, and then my experience at TEGV and Habitat afterwards, I learned first how to communicate with children and then with adults. I gradually realized that I had become more outspoken, a skill I still have today. (Habitat volunteer)

Self-actualization through educational activities is also achieved through a sense of satisfaction. This occurs as volunteers realize they have made a difference through their participation. One TEGV volunteer laughingly notes how his boss called him into his office and told him that he was the only employee who had not asked for a raise in three years. "My sense of success changed drastically after TEGV. I began to see the happiness of those children as success" he states (TEGV volunteer). Interaction through these educational mediums triggers the feeling of satisfaction from having contributed to a child's (or disadvantaged person's) life. One TEGV volunteer states:

I feel psychologically stronger because I realized that sharing something with children, helping people is good for me. It has helped me stand in the face of difficulties. (TEGV volunteer)

For some volunteers the self-satisfaction derives from the enjoyment experienced at the CSO. They enjoy conducting the activities and witnessing children enjoy themselves.

I like to experience each of TEGV's different educational activities. Each of the educational activities are fun at TEGV. For example, witnessing the expression on a child's face when they touch a computer key for the first time is very satisfying. Or seeing a child frustrated at having missed a class after seeing what we did that week. And hearing from parents the transformation they witness in their child. (TEGV volunteer)

I learned how to focus on the 'benefit' rather than issues like profit. If you don't achieve some sort of benefit you don't remain a part of the process. Making sure that something beneficial comes from your efforts is what keeps you going as a volunteer. (Habitat volunteer)

Conducting an educational activity and knowing that you are contributing to changing a person's life is rewarding for most CSO participants and develops this sense of self-satisfaction.

Some educational activities are also successful at achieving the social cohesion dimension of active citizenship. Social cohesion develops first, through the solidarity that can be generated among a group of individuals that are receiving a common training and second, through the exposure to diversity that can potentially occur. Frequently, educational activities enable individuals to more easily voice their opinions in a familiar or trusted setting. An educational activity that targets similar individuals or that brings together individuals for a common objective creates a sense of solidarity. In this trusted setting individuals develop a stronger sense of community while exposed to the diversity of participants. This trusted setting encourages sharing of opinions and debate. This is a setting I witnessed, particularly at Ka.Der's educational activities.

The trainings I attended at Ka.Der achieved a sincere dialogue among women that are not only competitors, but diverge on fundamental values and ideas, given their affiliation with different political parties. However, their ability to dismiss their difference when the subject matter becomes the common goal of achieving political success for women in Turkey, they not only develop a sense of solidarity but are more “peacefully” able to discuss their differences. And, when the CSO is able to bring together individuals of diverse backgrounds, through the exposure to diversity, the development of social cohesion becomes even stronger. Habitat also exposes its volunteers to Turkey’s diversity as their trainings bring volunteers from all over Turkey together, and their educational activities take place throughout the country. One Habitat volunteer, in regard to some of their large scale trainings, states that the strongest aspect of Habitat is its ability to:

develop a bridge between different people in different parts of the world, and the ability to develop this culture. It was not so possible in the 1990s for a kid from Trabzon to get together with a kid from Diyarbakır, there was such a culture, or maybe there wasn’t but people were enemies as far as I know. But young people have started to come together and when they come together they put aside their differences and unite in the name of youth. Habitat’s greatest success is its ability to be that roof under which youth was able to develop such a partnership (Habitat volunteer)

At the minimal, a sense of community emerges among a group of individuals that have an interest in common such as gender equality for Ka.Der, or youth for Habitat. A sense of solidarity develops though the pursuit of a common objective and coming together for a training/educational activity.

The social cohesion that occurs at TEGV is based mainly on the potential to expose

participants to diversity, in this case socio-economic diversity. One volunteer states that conducting educational activities with children makes you more tolerant – it forces you to try to understand the different behaviors of children, which then reflects onto all your relationships.

TEGV's greatest contribution is that it changed my perspective on life. I used to be more judgmental of people. I wouldn't consider the circumstances they may be in . . . volunteering at TEGV made me more understanding of people, taught me to stop and think before I judge. It also makes one more sensitive toward one's community and country.
(TEGV volunteer)

TEGV participants note how much they have learned from the children there, mainly regarding diversity in character and tolerance and patience toward others, all significant attributes for the development of the diversity feature of social cohesion. The diversity that these educational activities achieve in each CSO generally differs, reflecting the range of divides that are present in Turkey. The emphasis at Ka.Der is generally political, at Habitat ethnic or religious, and at TEGV socio-economic, each potentially exposing their participants to diversities that comprise Turkey's citizens.

As the examples above reflect, educational activities contribute to all three dimensions of active citizenship through different experiences. And different types of educational activities develop different dimensions. The first process observed is that knowledge accumulation through educational activities encourages both civic action and self-actualization. Awareness of grievances and knowledge of how to act, as established particularly in rights based CSOs, can trigger civic action. At the same time knowledge can be empowering through the development of self-

confidence, fostering self-actualization. Conducting educational activities can also equip individuals with critical thinking or public speaking skills, all of which contribute to the development of self-actualization. Several volunteers note how they *realized* that they had a talent regarding speaking/ teaching in front a group of people. Others note how they *developed* the skills of public speaking and became more outgoing. Educational activities also lead to self-satisfaction, from having impacted the lives of others, again developing self-actualization.

Educational activities that enable an environment in which diversity of opinion can be expressed and debated also encourages social cohesion. Social cohesion is also achieved through the pursuit of a common goal which can develop a sense of community among members. As was establishes in chapter 2, since civic action is the fundamental dimension to active citizenship, educational activities that encourage or achieve increased civic action are the most successful at realizing active citizenship in general. Ka.Der, to the extent that it is able to encourage women to take part in Turkey's political process through its educational activities, is successful at developing active citizenship among its participants through civic action. TOD, TEGV and Habitat's educational activities best achieve self-actualization and their contribution to civic action occurs to the extent that they become more aware and sensitive toward the issues they are engaged in. Ka.Der and Habitat achieve social cohesion in terms of exposure to diversity by bringing together individuals of divers political, ethnic, and religious backgrounds and TEGV volunteers are exposed to socio economic diversities through their interaction with economically disadvantaged children.

3. Research and Publications

The third activity analyzed is research and publications. The two CSOs under study which utilize this activity are IHD and ITO. Analysis shows that CSOs that engage its participants through the

research and publications activities contribute mainly to self-actualization and civic action through the mechanism of knowledge development. The mechanisms at play are similar to educational activities discussed in the previous section, in terms of knowledge development and knowledge dissemination. Knowledge works toward self-actualization through increased self-confidence as a result of becoming more knowledgeable. And by instilling the will to act, usually in reaction to grievances or the will to create change, it also contributes to the development of civic action. The two CSOs that utilize this type of activity are also rights based CSOs, so research and publications are important to developing and disseminating knowledge among their members. There is no indication, based on the analysis of interviews that this activity contributes to developing social cohesion. In both these CSOs knowledge is acquired and developed through the various issue based committees. Similar to educational activities the content of the research has implications for the values and practices they encourage. Since the two CSOs under evaluation here are rights based CSOs, there is an objective to incite civic action. This can be compared to more neutral types of publications such as annual activity reports, monitoring and evaluation reports or project outcomes that most CSOs produce. The research that takes place in these rights based CSOs is critical to their knowledge accumulation and knowledge dissemination as discussed in chapter five. Here too, the mechanisms of knowledge development works to generate civic action in these CSOs. The range of publications developed at IHD and ITO is indicative of the importance they place on disseminating knowledge:

We have periodicals, bulletins, press releases, theory books and other publications. IHD established an academy. This should occur in all IHD branches. For the sake of education. It would serve to inform academics and the general public. (IHD member)

Several ITO members emphasize how ITO is like a school. As a result of participating in the committees and conducting research for publication you become knowledgeable on a wide range of policy issues (ITO member). This is a good example of how the discursive and structural attributes of these CSOs interact with activities. The membership structural feature of these two CSO had been successful at achieving civic action to the extent that they encouraged participation in well-functioning committees. In addition to this structural feature the activity of research development also encourages increased participation as well as the potential to incite further participation. Increased awareness leads members to become aware on other issues and this can trigger research and involvement in other issue areas.

If I hadn't been a member of ITO, even though I am a pediatrician I may never have been interested in the 4+4+4 system.⁸ But now I feel compelled to research and learn about it. I have started recording and archiving everything so as not to forget. For example, previously, perhaps issues of occupational medicine (*işyeri hekimliği*) would not have interested me but now I think about what I can do in that area. I think of physicians working in the public sector. I take responsibility for everything that I do and advocate for others.

All ITO members emphasize how they have become increasingly aware of their rights as well as issues regarding problems in the health sector as a result of their research for their respective

⁸ The 4+4+4 refers to a reform to Turkey's educational system implemented in 2012 which made mandatory education 12 years and divided the levels of education to 4 years of primary, 4 years of middle and 4 years of high school. This replaced a system where mandatory education was 8 years and not divided. This reform was controversial because it enabled the reintroduction of religious schools (*imam hatip*) into the system along with an emphasis on vocational schools. In the previous system students could choose to go to religious or vocational schools after 8th grade whereas in the 4+4+4 system they can choose to do so after 4th grade.

committees. CSOs that utilize knowledge dissemination are successful at developing awareness beyond the CSO's issue area which generally encourages increased activity. ITO is particularly successful at creating awareness among its members because despite the fact that it is a CSO based on the issue area of health, and though their publications and research emphasize this subject, their press release and public statements encompass a wide range of political and social issues such as education and human rights. As a result, their contribution increases as they become involved in various committees within the CSO but also take part in protest and other civic acts outside of the CSO. The urge to act to ameliorate grievances is rooted frequently in the knowledge accumulated through the research that occurs in specific committees or the publications disseminated by the CSO.

As was established in chapter five, knowledge accumulation and dissemination is an important mechanism that also generates self-actualization in rights based CSOs. The publications and research under evaluation here are of two rights based CSOs so the processes of becoming more knowledgeable contributes to self-actualization among members. The position that one takes on an issue and the self confidence that complements this also supports civic action as individuals develop a stance. This analysis shows that research and publications in rights based CSO are successful at generating knowledge and thus developing civic action and self-actualization. A comparison of other types of research may show variation in its effect on these dimensions of active citizenship. However, this analysis shows that this activity can be utilized to foster active citizenship in CSOs

4. Lobbying and Social Activities

The last two activities that were studied as priority activities of the CSOs are lobbying and social

activities. Lobbying is a priority activity for Ka.Der and social activities for TOD and TEGV. There was less reference made to these activities in participant experiences so this section is an overview of the information obtained regarding the impact these activities have on developing the three dimensions of active citizenship.

Social activities are priority activities at TEGV and TOD. TEGV's main activity, as discussed above, is its educational activity, and it has few other activities that it engages its participants in. The one other activity are social activities which are quite infrequent and less relevant in comparison. The social activities at TEGV occur a couple of times each year, with the objective of motivating volunteers and/or to thank them for their service to the CSO. TEGV's social activities were rarely mentioned and as a result no significant analysis can be made regarding their effect on the volunteer in terms of developing active citizenship. Perhaps the motivational factor at these events encourages further participation, or the appreciation voiced develops a sense of satisfaction. These are hypotheses that require further observation in order to identify any links to civic action or self-actualization.

As for TOD, social activities are frequent events and one of the primary activities utilized particularly to increase youth participation in the CSO. The setting at TOD encourages a social atmosphere where members and volunteers can drop by and "hang out." In all my visits to conduct interviews, there were young volunteers that had convened in a welcoming setting. Whether they are working toward the planning of an event or just socializing, the welcoming atmosphere achieved is successful in bringing in participants. Accounts of volunteers regarding TOD's social activities reveal that they mainly enhance the community aspect of social cohesion. Members emphasize how eager they become to take part in these social discussion groups. This occurs for two main reasons stated. First is that they are in a setting which encourages them to voice their

opinions. Participants state that they feel they are in a trusting setting and though not everybody thinks alike they enjoy the ability to debate. Second, social cohesion occurs as a sense of belonging develops among participants as they become increasingly attached to the CSO community.

In addition to community development, social activities also develop self-actualization as the ability to express opinions and engage in debate enables the individual to self-express and self-actualize. The social activities at TOD, as the young volunteers put it, are both educational and social. One TOD volunteer states: “such mediums of friendship will enable me to learn how to build and develop future friendships” (TOD volunteer). Another member states that the solidarity and friendships that transpire at the CSO helped him discover skills that may not have otherwise surfaced (TOD member). This kind of socializing contributes to self-actualization as it strengthens the individual’s ability to develop relationships with others and enhance networks. Creating networks develops a support network which enables one to feel stronger and more confident about one’s self. One TOD volunteer states:

We develop an atmosphere of friendship here. And we are able to transfer this to our social lives. It helps us shape our future friendships. I became mature very quickly here. I learned many things much earlier than many people my age. (TOD Volunteer)

There was no reference to social activities as fostering civic action. It can be suggested that the development of social cohesion through the development of a sense of community can encourage and motivate increased participation in the CSO. While this is a likely expectation, further information is necessary to establish this link. Thus the potential for such social activities to achieve active citizenship are dependent on whether or not they achieve its civic action dimension.

Lobbying and Campaign activities are utilized by Habitat and Ka.Der. Lobbying and campaign efforts are generally a tool utilized by rights based CSOs to raise public awareness on an issue, similar to protest activity, or to pressure state or other officials through lobbying. Campaigns include, for example, large scale media campaigns or the publication of press releases to raise awareness. Lobbying efforts may include initiating petitions to pressure officials or interacting with political officials. Ka.Der's election period campaigns to raise awareness is one of its most visible activities. At the same time Ka.Der interacts with political figures to pressure for measures regarding equal opportunities for women in politics. Campaign activities also vary depending on content and the CSO within which they are conducted. Habitat's rights based nature emerges in its lobbying and campaigning activities. While lobbying/campaigning activities are a priority at Ka.Der, less information was revealed in interviews regarding the role of campaigns at Habitat. In comparison to their educational activities, Habitat's lobbying/campaign activities are less visible. As a result, there is limited reference in interviews to the effect of these activities on participants' practices. One Habitat volunteer did, however, emphasize the relevance of one of their successful campaigns aimed to change legislation to develop youth participation in politics. He highlights how the process of taking initiative and interactions required in campaigning contributes to active citizenship:

Our lobbying campaigns make us more active citizens. You change laws, or present proposals to change laws. We interacted with TOBB to discuss our common agenda regarding constitutional change . . . even someone who just signs a petition is an active citizen. (Habitat volunteer)

Participants feel that campaigning activities encourage action and interaction to influence policymakers and/or the public, pointing to its contribution to civic action.

Ka.Der's media campaigns that occur primarily during election periods are one of its most visible and publicly known activities. In addition, lobbying activities occur throughout the year as members interact with political figures. However, one of the problems with evaluating the effect of campaign activities, is that a very limited number of members take part in these activities. This is a structural problem that was addressed in chapter 6. Many of Ka.Der's major activities are conducted at the level of its board of directors. And as such only a handful of members comprise a committee that works on lobbying activities and only board members are involved in campaign development in partnership with an ad agency. Similar to Habitat, though these are important activities of the CSO, there was too little reference made to them to evaluate any effect on the dimensions of active citizenship. Since lobbying and campaign activities, similar to protest activities, are usually about pressuring for change they are inclined to place their participants against the state. And as established in previous chapters this has the potential to develop skills and values such as claims making, voicing of opinions, all which develop self-actualization and civic action. While campaign activities carry this potential unfortunately not enough data is available to make any definitive links with active citizenship dimensions.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter analyzed a range of activities that CSOs utilize to implement their objectives. The types of activities analyzed in this chapter are protest, educational, research and publications, lobbying and campaign, and social. Findings reveal that different types of activities contribute to different dimensions of active citizenship and through varying experiences. Analysis also reveals

that the activities themselves and their effect are dependent on other discursive and structural features as discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Looking at the effect of activities within the context of the different types of CSOs enables an understanding of what skills and practices different activities may develop. This in turn allows us to evaluate the potential for different CSOs to foster different citizenship practices. From a policy perspective this means that CSOs, based on their objectives can choose to utilize different activities and guide how their participants are engaged, the role given to them and the process through which they implement their objectives.

Analysis reveals that protest, educational activities, and research and publications all successfully foster the development of civic action. Protest activity most directly is able to instigate civic action through its ability to develop a sense of solidarity and security encouraging participants to act. Educational activities and research and publication activities, on the other hand, achieve civic action primarily through knowledge attainment among participants. Increased awareness triggers a reaction that leads participants to further engage in the CSO or other CSOs. This is, however, dependent on the content of the information and whether the knowledge disseminated aims to motivate the participant to act. Lobbying and campaign activities also carry the potential to develop civic action, through the initiative they require. However, further research is necessary to establish this link. The top two activities at IHD and ITO are protest and research and publication activities, and as such, are examples of CSOs that are particularly successful at developing civic action.

The types of activities that develop social cohesion skills are protest, educational, and social activities. One mechanism at play that fosters social cohesion as community development is the development of solidarity, which occurs mainly through the pursuit of a common objective. This is achieved through educational activities and protest. Another mechanism is the development of

a sense of belonging and solidarity which may that develop through social activities. Social cohesion as exposure to diversity also occurs through education and protest if the setting allows for an open exchange of ideas. The pursuit of a common objective can also achieve solidarity among diverse individuals which contributes to social cohesion. Habitat, TEGV, and Ka.Der, through their educational activities enable an environment for the expression of ideas. Educational activities such as gender awareness or political candidate trainings at Ka.Der prove successful at developing a sense of community among women. Ka.Der also exposes its members to diversity since its members are composed of those with diverse political affiliations and encourages acceptance through its support of such affiliations. Habitat, in particular, fosters social cohesion through exposure to diversity since its volunteers come together from different cities for trainings. Almost all volunteers highlight how this exposure to diverse identities has positively influenced their understanding of difference.

As for self-actualization, analysis reveals that all the activity types under study, in some form, contribute to the development of self-actualization. This is a critical finding as it reflects the positive effect that a wide range of CSO activity has on the personal development of the participant. Regardless of whether the CSO is rights or obligations based, the activities, whether social, protest, educational or lobbying, contribute to self awareness, self confidence and self satisfaction among participants. These activities foster agency primarily through the development of self-confidence which is frequently generated by knowledge attainment achieved through educational and research and publication activities. Self-actualization also occurs through the development of solidarity, as it empowers the individual, as observed mainly in social and protest activities. The realization of a sense of satisfaction is revealed mainly in educational activities, as participants witness the positive outcomes of their contribution. Self-actualization is also achieved through the

development of a sense belonging to the CSO community. The environment of trust develops a network that empowers the individual and facilitates expression of self as in the cases of social activities and protest activities. Activities that contribute to the development of this self-confidence particularly develop the agency dimension of self-actualization.

Based on the findings above, each CSO under study can be evaluated based on their potential to foster active citizenship in general. IHD and ITO have the same two priority activities, protest and research and publications. Findings indicate that these two CSOs are successful in fostering all three dimensions of active citizenship. While protest activities develop all three dimensions, research and publications related activities boost this process by supporting self-actualization, in particular, as well as civic action. Thus both IHD and ITO, in terms of the activities they prioritize, are highly successful at generating active citizenship skills among their participants.

TEGV's priority activities are educational and social. TEGV's educational activities contribute to the development of all three dimensions of active citizenship. While social activities foster social cohesion (as community development) and self-actualization, since TEGV's social activities are quite rare their effect on any dimension is quite limited. Thus the development of active citizenship skills observed among TEGV volunteers are based mainly on the civic action that conducting educational activities leads to. Self-actualization is also generated through knowledge acquired as it develops self-confidence. And social cohesion is fostered to the extent that volunteers are exposed to and understand the diverse socio-economic conditions of their target groups. Their activity range is quite narrow so the development of active citizenship is dependent on the affect that the educational activity has the volunteer.

Habitat, similarly achieves all three dimensions through its educational activities and self-

actualization through its campaigning activities. Its educational activities encourage civic action mainly through skills that taking initiative develops. Initiative also encourages self-actualization through the development of various organizational and communications skills. And the implementation of educational activities throughout Turkey and the trainer trainings that bring together volunteers from these different cities expose them to the diverse ethnic and religious composition of Turkey. Habitat's ability to achieve active citizenship in general is dependent on its ability to ensure that civic action is achieved through the implementation of these educational activities. As discussed in chapter 6, the structural nature of Habitat gives way to irregular participation which risks the effectiveness of its educational activities and thus their effect on participants.

Among TOD's two activities educational and social activities, self-actualization emerges as the main dimension of active citizenship that is developed by both activities. TOD's social activities also contribute to the development of social cohesion and its educational activities encourage civic action. However, its educational activities and the objective of the CSO in general does not aim to generate increased action or action in other CSOs thus the effect on developing civic action is limited. The knowledge accumulation and development of awareness on various subjects enhances self-actualization through self-confidence. Also the implementation of activities, particularly by young volunteers, develops a range of organizational, and communications skills that develop self-actualization. TOD is more able to develop self-actualization and is limited in its ability to foster civic action and thus active citizenship in general.

Ka.Der achieves active citizenship through its educational activities. Data on the effect of its lobbying/campaigning activities were insufficient to analyze. Its campaigning activity while successful in terms of visibility of the CSO involves only a handful of members of its board of

directors. Its educational activities are more effective in fostering active citizenship to the extent that its members take part. Ka.Der is most effective in developing civic action through the knowledge that it disseminates and that encourages its participants to take action. It achieves social cohesion to the extent that it is able to bring together diverse women in its educational activities and through the solidarity that it is able to generate among these diverse women in pursuing a common cause. And it is also able to generate self-actualization, again as a result of the increased awareness acquired through its educational activities and the development of self-confidence.

As discussed in chapter 2 on the section of the dimensions of active citizenship, among the three dimensions, the development of civic action is the strongest indicator that active citizenship has been achieved. Thus the activities and CSOs that are most successful at generating civic action are identified as the most successful in developing active citizenship. Certainly the relation with other discursive and structural features of the CSO are also at play yet the type of activity that the CSO utilizes plays an important role in enabling civic action and other dimensions of active citizenship. Among the activities analyzed above, civic action is best achieved through some types of educational activities and through protest activities. Protest is in itself a civic act, however the sense of security, and solidarity that it achieves among participants leads to a desire to act further. As for educational activities, as discussed above, the content and the form matters. TEGV and TO's educational activities are not as successful in triggering civic action since their content does not aim to do so. When and if the objective of the educational activity is to develop knowledge, so as to instigate action, educational activities are more successful. Social cohesion and self-actualization are also critical attributes and the extent to which they are generated by various activities is also important for the development of active citizenship, particularly since the development of active citizenship is frequently bolstered by the development of these two

dimensions. The ability to achieve civic action is achieved best through protest and educational activities that aim to generate action and as a result ITO, IHD and Ka.Der are particularly successful at generating active citizenship values and skills among their participants. The table below is a summary of these processes that link activity types to active citizenship outcomes.

Table 14. Linking Types of Activities to Active Citizenship

Types of Activities		Processes/Experiences		Active Citizenship Dimensions Achieved
Protest	1	security	empowerment, self-confidence	civic action, self-actualization
	2	solidarity	empowerment, sense of belonging	civic action, self-actualization, social cohesion
	3	sense of satisfaction	fulfilling their objective, supporting disadvantaged	self-actualization
Educational⁹	1	knowledge	self-confidence, empowerment	civic action, self-actualization
	2	solidarity	empowerment, sense of belonging	civic action, self-actualization, social cohesion
Research and Publications	1	knowledge	self-confidence, empowerment	civic action, self-actualization
Lobbying and Campaigning¹⁰	1	initiative, network	self-confidence, empowerment	civic action, self-actualization
Social¹¹	1	community development	sense of belonging, self-confidence	social cohesion, self-actualization

⁹ The effect of Educational activities diverge depending on issues such as content and whether one is conducting the activity or is a recipient of it. The outcomes listed here are a simplification of the extensive discussion above.

¹⁰ Since there was limited reference to lobbying and campaigning activities at Ka.Der and Habitat this information is based on the limited references made by a Habitat volunteer and an analysis of the *potential* outcomes lobbying can achieve.

¹¹ Since there was limited reference to social activities at TEGV, this information is based on the effect of social activities revealed through TO volunteer experiences.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

I. Introduction

The motivation behind this research was to understand whether and how participation in diverse CSOs led to diverse experiences. Based on my own experience as a volunteer and member in different CSOs and my academic interest in in them, I had developed a series of questions regarding the learning processes that occur in CSOs. I had personally become more knowledgeable on a range of issues from women's rights to education and this had instilled in me a sense of satisfaction and confidence in the time I spent at these CSOs. I had been exposed to divergent perspectives in these CSOs, all of which helped shape my stance on a range of political and social issues, adding an unexpected layer to my academic interest in and experience of CSOs in Turkey. The individuals that engaged in the CSOs that I had taken part in contributed a significant amount of time and energy to fulfilling their roles at the CSO. This sparked an interest regarding whether and how they were affected by their participation as well as what motivated them to participate. Did all CSOs engage their participants in the same way and did all CSO participants develop the same sense of satisfaction or confidence that I had. What other skills and practices did the CSO develop and could the CSO be a space for the learning of more engaged, active citizenship practices. This was an important question for Turkey where citizenship practices and perceptions are conceptualized around a passive perspective. Could CSOs act as a learning

environment for the development of more engaged citizenship, and how would this ultimately affect citizenship in Turkey.

Based on these initial motivational factors, the objective of this study was to identify whether and how participation in different types of civil society organizations led to different citizenship practices and in particular whether and how they contribute to the development of active citizenship practices. The following research questions guided the study:

- How do different types of CSOs engage their participants and how does this effect the types of citizenship skills, values and practices they develop?
- Does participation in a CSO develop active citizenship skills? If so, how?
- What *types* of CSOs facilitate the development of active citizenship skills? What attributes of the CSO fosters the development of active citizenship skills? What types hinder the development of active citizenship skills?

In order to address these questions a comparison of different types of CSOs was necessary. At the same time it was necessary to focus closely on the participants' experiences. Thus the research design is comprised of a comparative case study focusing on 44 participants in 6 CSOs in Istanbul. CSOs are distinguished based on three characteristics that guide how participants are engaged in each CSO. The first, a discursive distinction, differentiates between CSOs that emphasize a rights based discourse over an obligations based discourse. The second, a structural distinction, differentiates between membership and volunteer based CSOs. And finally, the third attribute used to distinguish between CSOs is the types of activities they utilize to implement their objectives. These three attributes were compared in the empirical chapters to identify how they guide participant engagement, revealing their effect on the development of active citizenship and the processes that link CSO participation to various citizenship practices.

The empirical chapters revealed that participation all types of CSOs studied affects the development of at least one dimension of active citizenship. However, variation occurs on the dimension and what experiences develop them. Chapter 2 had established a hierarchy between the three dimensions of active citizenship: civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. Based on the roles attributed to these different dimensions in the literature on active citizenship, civic action emerged as the fundamental indicator for achieving active citizenship. Self-actualization and social cohesion, also a part of most definitions of active citizenship are also defining features of active citizenship. Based on this hierarchy civic action is a necessary though insufficient condition to achieving active citizenship. Civic action along with either social cohesion and/or self-actualization establishes the sufficient condition for achieving active citizenship. Social cohesion and self-actualization, as established in their normative definitions, are necessary to support the *nature* of civic action that leads to active citizenship. Thus despite this hierarchy, the relevance of social cohesion and self-actualization to achieving active citizenship should not be underestimated. And CSOs that successfully develop all three dimensions are identified as most effectively developing active citizenship values and practices.

Though civic action carries most weight, all three dimensions address important aspects relevant to citizenship in Turkey. The development of civic action is a critical feature to enabling citizens to act. And this is a critical contribution to the potential for change in citizenship in Turkey. It is a challenge to the perception and practice of citizenship as passive. Social cohesion is also particularly important to achieving change in citizenship in Turkey. Significant divides, particularly religious and ethnic, are at the root of political and social tensions in Turkey. Achieving an increased sense of community, solidarity and most importantly exposure to the diversities that exist in Turkey is a critical first step to mending some of these issues. Finally, self-

actualization is also critical to changing how citizenship is practiced in Turkey. The understanding of citizenship as duty based and passive is challenged by the development of skills and values that enable the individual to voice opinions and make claims.

A critical finding of the study is that all types of CSOs contribute on some level to the development of active citizenship. While CSOs do not all perform equally at developing active citizenship or while some CSOs may be weaker at developing particular dimensions, CSO participation overall contributes to *at least* one of the three dimensions. And interestingly, all CSOs studied contributed in some way to self-actualization. This means that participants at any given CSO develop skills and values that, for example, develop their agency, their ability to express themselves, their self-awareness, self-confidence, or self-satisfaction. All these attributes are positive outcomes of the various values, structures and activities that guide participant engagement in various CSOs. Another interesting finding in this regard is that social cohesion emerged as the least developed dimension. While certainly most of the CSOs do achieve a certain level of community development and/or exposure to diversity, relative to the other two dimensions this dimension was referenced less. Perhaps this is indicative of the persistence of the social divides in Turkey. Certainly the fact that CSOs convene to pursue particular interests leads to their focus on particular groups/interests and cannot be expected to be all encompassing. However, as the examples of CSOs that do achieve social cohesion show, enabling particular experiences can contribute to community development and exposure to diversity.

Thus, this study has two major findings under which we can list an array of others. First, the CSO attributes and experiences that lead to the development of active citizenship are revealed. Second, it confirms the role of CSOs as spaces for learning citizenship values and practices. This research points to the potential for CSOs to generate citizens that are more active, attached to their

communities, aware of diversities, self-confident, self-satisfied, and self-aware, among other attributes. Findings are important on a policy level not only for citizenship but also for civic education and civil society. They may guide the development and implementation of various structural and value based innovations to achieve set objectives regarding participant engagement in CSOs and the learning of citizenship.

As stated among the objectives of this research, empirical analysis reveals the processes that link particular types of CSOs to the three dimensions of active citizenship. These mechanisms, which emerge simultaneously in different types of CSOs, reveal multiple paths as well as barriers to active citizenship. Section II of this chapter is a brief review of the findings of the processes that surface for each indicator analyzed in the empirical chapters. The third section is an evaluation of each CSO studied to identify how they fare on their ability to foster active citizenship. Section four discusses the major contributions of the study. This is followed by section five which present the policy implications that are derived from the findings. Section six concludes the chapter with a discussion of limitations to the study and proposals for future research.

II. Active Citizenship Processes Revealed

1. Rights vs. Obligations

This distinction is based on the discourse of the CSO regarding right and obligations, derived from written objectives and values and participant statements. Rights and obligations are fundamental to defining citizenship in terms of the citizen's relation to the state. The premise of the comparison is the expectation that the CSO's stance in terms of rights and obligations will guide the participant's relationship with the state. In the case of Turkey, where citizen-state relations are generally perceived and practiced as obligations based, this analysis identified whether the

objectives and values of the CSO transformed or strengthened this understanding.

Analysis of rights versus obligations based CSOs revealed that rights based CSOs are successful at generating active citizenship, mainly through the civic action they foster but also through social cohesion and self-actualization. Increased knowledge that aims to trigger action, which is key to rights based CSOs, develops civic action as well as self-actualization. One of the most important achievements of rights based CSOs is their ability to transform the established hierarchical and passive relationship between individual and the state through a more confrontational relationship. The process of claims making, pursuit of rights, and reaction toward grievances instills in the participant the desire and the ability to make demands from the state. This breaks through the traditional understanding of state-individual relations in Turkey. This process is key to developing civic action and establishes rights based CSOs as effective in developing active citizenship. This process also fosters self-actualization as it can empower the individual who learns how to pursue rights. The pursuit of a common objective, frequently based on a common grievance, in rights based CSOs, also develops social cohesion. The effect that participation in a rights based CSO has on the development of all three dimensions of active citizenship establishes it as an important feature to creating an environment that enables the development of active citizenship.

This is particularly important for citizenship in Turkey since citizenship has been and continues to be defined more around obligations of citizens toward the state over rights of citizens to be guaranteed by the state. Rights pursuit instills in the participant the understanding that the state has particular responsibilities toward the citizen and not just vice versa. They become more willing and able to demand from the state and place responsibility on the state to prevent rights violations or guarantee rights. This redefined relationship points to the potential for change in how

citizenship is perceived and practiced in Turkey.

This does not imply that obligations based CSOs are necessarily in compliance with the state or government, but rather that the values and objective of the CSO are more about providing a service, and initially taking upon themselves the task to ameliorate grievances rather than placing the responsibility on the state. Obligations based CSOs are more successful at creating an environment where skills and values that develop self-actualization and civic action occur. Many participants in obligations based CSOs start out in position of feeling empowered as their objective is to help the less advantaged. This is enhanced through their experience which triggers self-actualization through increased self-confidence. However, it also risks moving away from the normative feature of self-actualization in taking a more elitist form. Self-actualization is achieved mainly through the self-satisfaction that emerges from fulfilling an obligation. Participants also feel empowered as a result of the positive effect that the CSO has on their target groups or as they feel satisfied for having accomplished a task. And the sense of responsibility that participants develop toward one another fosters civic action within obligations based CSOs. Participants realize others are dependent on them which ensures more sustained participation. Obligations based CSOs are less effective in developing social cohesion.

2. Volunteerism vs. Membership

The second empirical chapter analyzed how membership versus volunteerism based CSOs engage their participants. Two structural differences in these two types of CSOs are the *expectations* they have from their participants and their *decision making mechanisms*. These structural attributes guide the extent of participation achieved in the CSO. Findings show that the *decision making structures in membership* based CSOs and *expectations set in volunteer* based CSOs contribute

better to developing active citizenship skills. Distinctions arise within these types of CSOs, resulting in diverse outcomes. For example, in volunteer based CSOs like TEGV which have expectations for regular participation, sustained participation achieves the development of civic action as well as self-actualization. Whereas the irregular expectations that Habitat sets for its volunteers result in sporadic and infrequent participation which prevents the development of civic action.

Membership based CSOs are successful at developing self-actualization mainly because they provide greater opportunities for members to contribute to the CSO's decision making processes. This occurs mainly through their committees and managing boards, all comprised of members themselves. There is a structure in place that enables participants to contribute to management and decision making. The loose structure in place, that is lack of expectations for participation, requires members to take initiative which also contributes to strengthening the participants' agency and thus self-actualization. Lack of expectation from participants, however, is a significant risk which membership based CSO can potentially overcome by ensuring opportunities for participation and encouraging initiative. Volunteer based CSOs, on the other hand, generally separate their volunteer base from management. Volunteers are limited in their contribution to decisions regarding the CSO. Self-actualization that occurs in volunteer based CSOs, usually occurs through the development of a sense of satisfaction from fulfilling the expectations set.

The advantage that volunteer based CSOs hold in terms of developing active citizenship are the regular and generally long term expectations to participate that they establish. Volunteer based CSOs, because the implementation of their activities are dependent on the volunteers' participation, require that volunteers commit to a certain period of time. Membership based CSOs,

on the other hand, risk low participation, and are dependent on opportunities for participation and members that take initiative.

3. Types of Activities

The third empirical chapter compared CSOs based on the activities they utilize to implement their objectives. The two most utilized type of activity was noted for each CSO. As expected, analysis revealed that different activities encourage the development of different dimensions of active citizenship. The two activities that are most effective in developing active citizenship are (particular) educational activities and protest activities. All activities contributed to at least one dimension of active citizenship, and all activities contributed to self-actualization. This indicates that CSO participation, in the least, has a positive effect on developing self-actualization among participants whether it is developing agency, self-confidence, identity development or self-satisfaction. Protest and educational activities are identified as most effective based mainly on their potential to generate civic action but also their impact on developing all three dimensions of active citizenship.

Educational activities vary based on their content. Content that aims to generate action, through knowledge on grievances, for example, in the case of rights based CSOs, are more effective in fostering civic action. More neutral educational content on technical, nonpolitical issues have less of an effect on developing civic action. However, all educational activities increase knowledge among participants. Thus the mechanism at work that triggers civic action is the same as that identified in rights based CSOs, that is, knowledge. Increased knowledge can trigger both civic action as well as self-actualization. Knowledge attainment is a mechanism that we observe in educational, and research and publications activities. Protest activities are effective

at generating all three dimensions of active citizenship mainly by the sense of security and solidarity that develops through group activity. Individuals are more likely to act when they feel secure in what they are doing, relevant particularly in Turkey, where there are risks associated with CSO participation and protest in particular. The solidarity of the group and the empowerment from a sense of security also develops social cohesion and self-actualization.

Research and publications activities were found to achieve self-actualization and civic action, particularly since the two CSOs analyzed here are also rights based CSOs and the content of the publications aim to encourage action. Social activities as studied in TOD achieve social cohesion as well as self-actualization. Social activities aim primarily to develop a sense of community which they do achieve when they are regularly executed as in the case of TOD. Self-actualization develops primarily as a result of the self confidence that results from developing a sense of solidarity and sense of belonging. Lobbying activities have the potential to develop civic action and self-actualization, however sufficient analysis could not be conducted due to limited reference to these activities.

Analysis of all three types of CSOs reveal the multiple mechanisms that lead to active citizenship dimensions and their overall impact on the development of active citizenship. Some of the processes that emerge in this analysis are knowledge that fosters civic action and self-actualization, solidarity and security which trigger social cohesion, initiative which enhances self-actualization and civic action, responsibility which develops civic action and exposure to diversity which cultivates social cohesion. By comparing the CSOs on three different levels, I identify the various CSO indicators that enable these mechanisms. The parallels between these three indicators reinforce the links between processes and citizenship practice outcomes. Knowledge attainment,

which contributes to civic action and self-actualization, for example, is a mechanism that is triggered in CSOs that pursue rights and also occurs primarily through the utilization of activities such as research and publications and educational activities. Security, for example, is a feature that is specific to rights based CSOs and primarily the activity of protest, which enables the development of social cohesion and indirectly, through social cohesion, bolsters civic action. In another example, solidarity emerges more so in rights based CSOs and activities such as protest and social activities, developing the social cohesion dimension of active citizenship. Providing the opportunity to take initiative is another important experience that works toward the development of self-actualization in particular as well as civic action. Volunteer based CSOs with irregular expectation and most membership based CSOs require a certain level of initiative on the part of the participant, which if achieved, enables the development of self-actualization as well as civic action. And some of the major barriers to active citizenship that emerge are irregular participation as in the case of Habitat, limited opportunities/sites for participation as in the case of Ka.Der and a rooted hierarchy that is present in Ka.Der and TOD.

III. CSO Success Reviewed

This section analyzes how each CSO performs in terms of developing active citizenship values and practices among their participants. The table below reminds us of the indicators for each of the CSOs under study.

Table 15. CSO Classification based on 3 Main Indicators

	Rights Vs. Obligations	Volunteerism Vs. Membership	Types of Activities
TEGV	O	V	E/S
Habitat	R/O	V	E/Camp.
TOD	O	M/V	S/E
Ka.Der	R	M	E/Camp.
IHD	R	M	P/R&P
ITO (TTB)	R	M	P/R&P

Types of Activities: P: Protest; E: Educational; R&P: Research and Publications; Camp: Lobbying & Campaign; S: Social

IHD and ITO are two CSOs that are successful in generating skills and practices that develop active citizenship. Both are rights based CSOs with a membership base, and their two primary activities are protest and research and publication. IHD and ITO are successful at fostering active citizenship mainly through the two mechanisms solidarity and knowledge. Knowledge attainment is a critical mechanism since it is a rights based CSO and knowledge dissemination among its members is critical to encouraging and guiding rights pursuit. This knowledge achieves civic action and self-actualization among members. Increased knowledge and awareness exposes tools on how to pursue rights and by equipping the participant to do so develops a new relationship between the citizen and the state. Rights pursuit also nurtures solidarity through the pursuit of common objectives usually based on common grief. The fact that they are membership based, and have functioning committees also makes them ideal for developing decision making skills, contributing to the development of self-actualization. The responsibility that members develop in

participating in committees also strengthens their commitment to the CSO and encourages civic action. Their lack of expectations from their members is their greatest barrier to reaching a larger group of members and achieving sustained participation. This weakness is not as visible since both have a large membership base with a relatively large number of active participants that take the initiative to participate. In smaller membership based CSO, this becomes more problematic. And finally, the activities that IHD and ITO utilize also cultivate active citizenship practices. Protest activities achieve a strong sense of solidarity, security and empowerment all developing civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. Acting alongside a group of individuals (particularly in a setting like Turkey where there are risks associated with protest) the individual is empowered, committed to the group and able to act. Research and publication in particular support ITO and IHD's efforts for knowledge dissemination. Particularly those that take part in the production of knowledge but also those that the knowledge reaches contribute to knowledge accumulation among members, triggering civic action as well as self-actualization. IHD and ITO in terms of their objectives, structural features and their activities are successful in achieving active citizenship practices among their members.

Ka.Der, is a CSO that is similar to IHD and ITO, except it is smaller in scale (membership base) and utilizes different activities to realize its objectives. Ka.Der's success in achieving active citizenship skills derives from knowledge development which fosters civic action and self-actualization. Knowledge attainment is a priority for Ka.Der's agenda of rights pursuit and is supported by its educational activities to realize this objective. Ka.Der is also particularly successful at developing social cohesion through its ability to bring together women of diverse political affiliation under a common objective. While this does not necessarily create "peace" among these competing ideologies it does expose its members to diversities significant to Turkey.

The greatest barrier to Ka.Der is rooted in its structural attribute as a membership based CSO. It lacks set expectations from its members and it has very weak bodies in place for participation. The lack of space for participation limits the development of active citizenship practices to the low number of members that participate. Knowledge dissemination to all members via email, and some of their educational activities, are the only ways they engage a larger scale of their members which has limited effect.

TEGV, as an obligations and volunteer based CSO, with educational and social activities as its primary activities achieves certain dimensions of active citizenship. TEGV achieves civic action and self-actualization through the sense of responsibility that the CSO instills in its participants. This commitment to the CSO fosters increased and consistent participation. It also achieves self-satisfaction through the fulfillment of responsibilities supporting the development of self-actualization. As a volunteer based CSO which sets expectations for regular participation, TEGV is able to ensure and motivate its volunteers to participate regularly, which develops civic action. The educational activities that occur at TEGV are nonpolitical, technical, and geared toward children. Thus there is no objective in the educational activity to encourage civic action. However, conducting educational activities supports the development of self-actualization through a range of skills that volunteers acquire. Its social activities on the other hand are too limited to sufficiently evaluate.

Habitat is also a volunteer based CSO and is both rights and obligations based. Its primary activities are educational and lobbying/campaign activities. Habitat, is less effective at fostering civic action skills among its participants. Its irregular expectations for participation prevents long term, sustained participation. However, this same loose structure places a great deal of responsibility on the individual to conduct activities on their own, which requires them to take

initiative. This process contributes to the development of self-actualization. While Habitat's educational activities develop a range of skills that develop self-actualization their effect on civic action is inhibited by its sporadic and irregular implementation of activities. Habitat is also particularly successful at achieving the exposure to diversity dimension of social cohesion among its participants. It achieves this mainly by bringing youth from different regions of Turkey together under a common objective. The exposure to individuals from different cities works to break down deeply rooted stereotypes regarding ethnic and religious identities in Turkey. Habitat, while it is successful at achieving social cohesion and self-actualization is unable to achieve civic action. As a result, Habitat is unable to achieve the development of active citizenship, as defined in this study.

TOD is an obligations based CSO. It is also classified as both membership and volunteer based since it is *formally* membership based but also functions through an informal group of volunteers. Its primary activities are educational and social activities. TOD is most successful at developing social cohesion among its participants, mainly through its regular social activities. TOD also achieves self-actualization as its educational activities develop self-confidence, agency, and various technical skills such as organizational and presentation skills. The sense of responsibility that volunteers develop also triggers civic action. TOD volunteers, though there are no formal expectations from them, are motivated to participate regularly. TOD also has a distinct hierarchical structure which affects the dimensions of active citizenship. While volunteers are encouraged to be active within the CSO they are limited in the decisions they can make, similar to experiences in volunteer based CSOs. The hierarchical structure at TOD, where membership is exclusive, committees are inactive, and there are only a handful of board members are active, the opportunity for participation, particularly in decision making structures is limited. While an enthusiastic group of youth participate in the CSO, they are not officially recognized as members.

Such a hierarchy risks participation among TOD's members. TOD is able to achieve all three dimensions of active citizenship, however there remain certain barriers to civic action particularly for its official members.

IV. Contribution

This research contributes to civil society and citizenship literatures on several levels. First, in conducting a review of the literature on active citizenship it develops an original conceptualization of active citizenship that is comprehensive of the various indicators widely referenced in the literature. This definition conceptualizes active citizenship along three dimensions. It also establishes a hierarchy between the three dimensions to highlight that active citizenship is primarily about increasing civic action but normatively necessitates social cohesion and/or self-actualization. This conceptualization presents a comprehensive definition that can be utilized to further study active citizenship in different contexts. This research also contributes to the development of novel classifications of CSOs. Activity types have become an important aspect of classifying CSOs. Going beyond CSO issue areas, to understanding the activities through which CSOs work to achieve their objectives is critical to understanding their nature. Classifications based on type of activity exist and this study contributes to this thread of literature by identifying their effect on participants through their contribution to the development of various skills and practices. The other two indicators that distinguish CSOs, rights and obligations and membership versus volunteerism are conceptualized in novel ways and contribute to understanding how different discourse based and structural attributes affect participation. Given some of the legislative hurdles regarding volunteerism in Turkey and the structural attributes of membership in CSOs, this distinction is relevant to how participation is guided in Turkey and how frequently

voiced concerns regarding participation can be addressed. The distinction based on rights and obligations is particularly relevant to Turkey since it establishes how the CSO engages its participants with the state. This is a critical indicator for how state-individual relations can transform.

This research is also an example of a novel approach to studies on CSOs as it focuses in depth on the participant. Analysis of the citizen is based on participant experiences. Linking participant experiences to divergences in CSOs is a novel contribution to studies on CSOs. A focus on the citizen's learning process of citizenship practices in a novel site is also a significant contribution to the study of citizenship in Turkey. Analysis of CSOs based on their written materials, surveys, or even interviews with staff provide limited information on the CSO. By studying a few number of CSOs intensely and collecting data from experiences of participants, this study proposes novel paths regarding how CSOs can engage their participants based on their objectives. This can contribute to CSO effectiveness as well as the development of policy within the CSO to increase participation when and where desired. Analysis of individual experiences reveal various skills that individuals develop. While such research has been conducted using other methods, mainly surveys, interviews revealed the mechanisms that link certain features of the CSO to skills, values and practices developed.

Now that we have established which types of CSOs are more effective in developing active citizenship practices and through what mechanisms, below is a discussion of the implications of these finding for CSOs and citizenship in Turkey. As established in the introduction and sections on Turkey, the potential for a transformation to citizenship in Turkey is at the root of this study. Identification of whether and how participation in CSOs can transform citizenship practices is critical to establishing such a potential. In this respect, the study reaches several critical

conclusions. First, CSO participation does foster active citizenship. The empirical chapters have extensively discussed how participation in the six CSOs, generates, through various processes and experiences, the development of civic action, social cohesion and self-actualization. A second finding linked to this is that certain types of CSOs fare better at developing active citizenship, by developing all three dimensions of active citizenship, and mainly civic action. And finally, though not all types of CSOs achieve civic action and thus active citizenship “at its best,” all CSOs contribute to at least one dimension of active citizenship, contributing to the development of social cohesion and self-actualization, both important to citizenship in Turkey.

These findings point to the potential for civil society organizations with particular attributes to lead to the development of more active citizens. In Turkey, where CSOs are on the rise, the implication of this is that participation in CSOs will, in the long run, have an effect on citizenship, generating, among other qualities, more active, aware, self-confident, committed individuals, better able to make claims and realize their agency. Regardless of the type of CSO, individuals become more involved in their communities, more knowledgeable on the specific issue at hand, more aware of their surrounding and its diversities, and more self-confident and satisfied individuals. As for those CSOs that are able to transform relations with the state and cultivate civic action, individuals will better be able to establish their role as a citizens less dependent on and more demanding of the state. And beyond state-citizen relations they will achieve increased participation in their respective communities.

The one dimension that nearly all types of CSO and all types of activities were successful in achieving is the self-actualization dimension. For individuals to become more self-confident, self-satisfied, more aware of their identity, able to express themselves and exercise their agency are critical factors to denting the hierarchical culture in Turkey which feeds into the passive

citizenship tradition. The development of self-actualization through knowledgeable or initiative, given the normative attributes defining self-actualization, create citizens that are able to voice opinions and make claims. This is important to active citizenship and to changing the citizens' perceptions regarding the hierarchy between the state and the individual. Similarly, the development of social cohesion is critical to the development of active citizenship as it addresses a major issue that defines citizenship in Turkey, which is its divided community. While the findings do not point to CSO involvement as necessarily creating more tolerant individuals, certain types of CSOs play a major role in exposing individuals to the diversities that comprise Turkish society. This includes exposure to ethnic, religious and socio economic differences all of which are sharp divides in Turkish society and at the root of political and social tensions. Thus establishing the processes that link particular types of CSOs to the development of social cohesion can enable CSOs to develop policies to expose their participants to these diversities.

A culmination of the above contributions of this study points to the potential effect that developing active citizenship practices can have on the consolidation of Turkey's democracy. Achieving increased as well as more inclusive participation will contribute to a more inclusive approach to democracy in Turkey. The ability for diverse groups to voice their interests and make claims will also strengthen the potential for a more representative democracy in Turkey. Exposure to diversity and the development of a sense of community can also contribute to a more inclusive democracy in Turkey. In establishing the processes and experiences that foster these practices, CSOs can shape their discourse, structure and activities to guide how the participant is engaged, resulting in the potential for more active citizenship and a stronger democracy in Turkey.

V. Policy Implications

It was established in the introduction that this study will also have important policy implications. One policy area to which this study contributes is civic education. The potential for CSOs to act as an environment for civic education has been examined. Findings show that participation in CSOs does provide a learning environment, and mainly through practical methods such as “learning by doing.” Engaging participants in activities, discourses and settings that achieve the development of a range of citizenship practices enables an effective learning process. CSO participation as a setting for civic education can contribute to the learning of important skills and values discussed within the context of democratic civic education.

A second important policy implication of this study is that CSOs may choose to develop their discourse, structure, or activities to guide participant engagement. The map developed linking CSO attributes to citizenship practice outcomes can be utilized by the CSOs under study or any other CSO. CSOs can choose to reorganize their structure, discourse and activities based on the type of engagement they feel will best suit their objectives. A policy recommendation for Ka.Der for example would be to reform its structural characteristics to strengthen its committees and provide more opportunity for participation. The same map can be utilized for and by other CSOs to evaluate their role in fostering active citizenship or to implement reforms toward this cause. Perhaps as part of a future project such an analysis can also help consolidate and refine the findings of this study.

Some of the major problems regarding civil society organizations in Turkey are listed as pressure by the state, lack of advocacy organizations, and lack of participation. Findings point to how CSOs can address some of these barriers based on how they develop their discourse, their structural attributes and their activities. These are certainly policy steps that envisage change in

the *long term*. For example, rights based CSOs are successful at separating the individual from the state. Encouraging the development of rights based CSOs will develop a culture of rights pursuit, reshaping CSO-state relations and increasing mediums through which advocacy work can be carried out. Also, reshaping expectations regarding participation may encourage increased participation within CSOs (though increasing participation in CSOs in general is a different issue).

VI. Limitations to the Study and Future Research

An important limitation to this study is that CSO participation Turkey (and globally) remains very low. How is CSO participation to have an effect on changing citizenship practices in Turkey if people do not participate in CSOs? This is a valid question and points to the important fact that CSO participation needs to be encouraged through education and policy to enable an effective transformation to citizenship. It also points to the fact that any effect of CSO participation on citizenship will be long term and that a deeply rooted understanding of citizenship cannot be transformed swiftly. Particularly since civic action, as it is understood in this study, has the potential to create tension between the state and the CSO, official policy or educational reform to develop civic action may not be encouraged through formal institutions. Thus, while the ability to create a confrontational relationship with the state can enable active citizenship, it also risks generating more reaction from the state. These are some factors that will challenge the effect that CSO participation will have on fostering active citizenship. It should be acknowledged, however, that that objective of this study was to map the experiences of participants to trace the processes that develop active citizenship in different types of CSOs. Thus, regardless of the levels of participation, the processes and experiences that enable a change to citizenship practices have been established.

Another shortcoming to this research includes the scope of the study which is limited to CSOs in Istanbul. While many of the CSOs studied have branches or implement activities throughout Turkey, volunteers and members interviewed were limited to those in Istanbul. The expansion of this project to cover a range of cities throughout Turkey would enable an understanding of the potential for active citizenship in Turkey's various settings. The political and social dynamics vary in Turkey's different cities as do citizenship perceptions and practices and CSO dynamics. Thus, a comparative study would reveal a more comprehensive assessment of the potential for active citizenship in Turkey. Further study to encompass cities in different regions is a necessary next stage of this research. Though this study is limited to civil society organizations and citizenship in Istanbul and Turkey, it reveals important information about different types of CSOs as well as how CSOs can function as a site for informal civic education. These are beneficial to governments, civil society organizations and scholars globally. Revealing the various mechanisms that lead to the development of different dimension of active citizenship can be utilized to study CSOs in different city and country settings.

It should also be acknowledged that active citizenship is not an expected or potential outcome solely of CSO participation. There are a range of other sites where active citizenship can be learned, such as the family or the work place. This research does not imply that in order for a transformation to occur in citizenship in Turkey citizens necessarily need to participate in CSOs. CSO participation, or rather, participation in particular types of CSOs, is but one way in which this can be achieved. Linked to this is another issue relevant to participation that was not explored in this study but that presents potential for future research is a consideration of how past experiences of each participant may take effect on their learning process in the CSO. This study has established how different processes triggered by different attributes of CSOs fosters active citizenship skills.

However, previous experiences in other areas such as the work place, the home, other CSOs and schools may also take effect on boosting or hindering the development of active citizenship for different participants. Future research may include analysis of previous exposure to and experience in settings that develop a learning environment for the development of different citizenship skills and practices.

The fact that 6 CSOs were studied also poses a limitation to the study. As mentioned in chapter 4, the limited number of CSOs selected lead to the exclusion of a range of CSOs that, mainly in terms of ideological spectrum and issue areas, are important to representing the dynamics of CSOs in Turkey. However, the limited number of CSOs was a necessary feature of the research design to ensure an in depth analysis for each CSO and a sufficient numbers of interviews with participants in each. Future research may encompass an exploration of the established processes and experiences in a larger numbers of CSOs that represent some of the other ideological and issue areas in Turkey. This can contribute to refining findings in this study and potentially reveal other mechanisms at play. In particular, a study of a larger number of activity types or particular activities in a larger number of CSOs can reveal and complement the findings of this study.

One last limitation to be considered is the more general nature of politics in Turkey and the setting in which this research took place and the setting to which its implications apply. Turkey continues to be instilled in a strong state tradition and struggles with a government which is frequently criticized for its limitations to civic engagement, particularly large scale protests. While this is a factor that instigates civic action, as was revealed in the case of rights based CSOs, it is also a challenge to participation. Particularly when extreme incidents such as the bombing of demonstrators in October 2015 or the violence throughout the Gezi protests in June 2013 occur, risks associated with participation in Turkey become ever more evident. The duality between

barriers and risks to engagement and the very fact that this is what necessitates engagement will continue to frame the potential for changes to citizenship to Turkey in the long run. CSOs and citizens, despite their ability to develop active citizenship skills, will be faced with a barrier that can only be dented over an extensive period of time.



Appendix

Interview Questions:

1. How long have you been a member/volunteer here?
2. Are you a member/volunteer at any other CSO?
3. How many hours/days do you volunteer?
4. Has your participation in this or other CSOs been steady or has it increased or diminished over time?
5. What motivated you to become a member/ volunteer?
6. How would you define the mission of this organization?
7. Through what mechanisms/ activities does this CSO achieve its mission? Do you think they are effective?
8. What are the strongest and weakest aspects of the CSO?
9. Among these activities who does what? What activities does the staff take part in? What activities do volunteers take part in etc.?
10. What activities do you take part in here? Can you describe a typical day/or hour here as a volunteer?
11. How would you evaluate your level of involvement here? How does this CSO encourage volunteer/ member involvement?
12. What is expected from you here? Are you able to meet those expectations? Do you feel you could or would want to do more?
13. If you were to evaluate the CSO based on the concepts rights and obligations would you consider the CSO a rights based (rights pursuit) or an obligations based (fulfillment of obligations) CSO? Why?
14. Do you think you have changed since you joined the CSO? How?
15. Have you learned new skills or values through your participation in CSOs? If yes, can you list some new skills that you have acquired through CSO participation?
16. Can you list any skills or personal qualities that you have contributed to the organization? Can you list instances where you felt that you contributed as an individual to this CSO?

17. Is there an atmosphere where you and different identities can freely participate and express themselves here?
18. What has been the biggest benefit of your participation here?
19. Has your participation made you more aware of your rights and obligations as a citizen? How?
20. Can you define citizenship?
21. Can you define active citizenship?
22. Why do you think people participate in CSOs?
23. Do you think there is enough participation in CSOs in Turkey? If not, what can be done to increase participation?
24. What are the most important things you have gained through your participation?
25. Do you think that NGO participation has made you a more active citizen? In what ways?
26. Do you think CSO participation makes citizenship stronger? How?
27. Is participation something that can be learned? How?
28. Has your participation empowered you? How?
29. Is there a risk to CSO participation?

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