Investigating Relationship Between Democratic Attitudes and Social Justice Beliefs of Pre-Service Teachers[1]

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Abstract

The number of studies that evaluate and discuss the concepts of democracy and social justice in Turkey from the perspective teacher training, education policies and practices is extremely limited. Thus, the present study attempts to determine democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers and whether these variables differ based on gender, age, family income level, and parental education level variables. The present study also aims to test the relation between the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers using structural equation model. 483 pre-service teachers were included in the study sample. According to the study findings, it was concluded that democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers are medium level and these variables does not differ based on demographic variables. It was also identified that the democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers are significant determinant of their social justice beliefs. The concepts of democracy and social justice were discussed in depth as regards teacher education policies, programs and practices, and recommendations are provided for future implications.

Keywords: Democratic Attitudes, Social Justice Beliefs, Teacher Training, Teacher Education, Pre-Service Teachers

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Introduction

In Turkish education system, social justice and democracy are emerging as important political priorities. To establish an educational organization that promotes democratic, equalizing and fair social and political order, initially, teacher training curriculum and practices, principles, qualification fields, knowledge and skills must be structured based on the above-mentioned concepts. It is conceived that democracy and social justice studies have a critical role in educational research and policies, especially during the recent years. It is necessary to mention that some factors (such as increasing migration, economic inequalities, difficulties regarding the right of access to education, the disadvantaged' individuals or groups' inability to fully benefit from the human rights, increasing rate of school dropouts, etc.) affecting social, economic and political structure of Turkey make social justice discussions more important. In addition, theory and practices including social justice and democracy issues in the programs of teacher training institutions in Turkey are very limited (Akın & Özdemir, 2009; Karatekin, Merey & Kuş, 2013; Saracaloğlu, Evin & Varol, 2004; Özdaş, Ekinci & Bindak, 2014). However, the number of studies that emphasize the concept of social justice and democracy in Turkey within the context of educational policies and practices is limited. In this study democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers were determined and the theoretical model between the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of the pre-service teachers was tested.

Conceptual Framework of Democracy

Democracy historically is an ancient Greek concept and defines a way of life and a political and sociological order that refers to the people, freedom, government, equality, participation, and social contract (Williams, 2011). Its origin is the Latin *democratia* and the roots of the term are Greek *demos* (people) and *kratos* (state) (Çiftyürek, 2007). Historically, democracy is a concept which has been the focus of criticisms. For example, Aristotle stated that "democracy is a state where the government of the state is given to free men and the poor because they are the majority." Plato, on the other hand, explained that "democracy would come into existence when the poor defeat their opponents, kill some or exile others, and live with the rest by giving them equal freedom and power". Aquinas described democracy as the government of people, where the ordinary people govern and oppress the rich with the power of their numbers, behaving like tyrants (Williams, 2011).

The concept of democracy was mentioned in a political constitution in 1641 in the constitution of Island of Rhodes for the first time, and reflected the government of the people. Legislation of the people and the authority of the selection of those who would supervise the enforcement of the law among the people are specifically the focus. In addition to the general definition of democracy as the rule of the majority, representative democracy, where legislative,

executive and judiciary powers are transferred to the elite, has a different meaning and practice (Çiftyürek, 2007; Holden, 2008).

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, democracy was perceived more as the right to vote than popular government, and it became even more valuable with the French Revolution. Afterwards, it became possible for democracy to be perceived a revolutionary term, not an uncontrolled power of majority utilized to suppress or oppress minorities. In the socialist tradition, democracy continues to refer to the government of the people. Social democracy represents a structure where the people exercise the power to monitor rights, justice, equality and political practice (Çiftyürek, 2007). In the second half of the 20th century, democracy theories take into account the complexity of modern political systems and the limited political capacity of the masses have begun to replace passive role of the people. Specifically, pluralistic theory has become prominent by criticizing the elitist theory. Pluralistic democracy theoreticians argued that an elitist system cannot be regarded as a real democracy, and that real democracy can be achieved through broad participation of the people (Holden, 2008). Today, large and complex structures that the governments acquired created a necessity for indirect democracy or which is also called representative democracy rather than a direct democracy where citizens themselves vote for specific proposals or laws. By *representative democracy*, political decision-making rights are given to the representatives who are selected in elections (Birch, 2007; Güçyetmez, 2017). In the modern sense, however, democracy can serve the legitimization of different initiatives through a policy created by capitalist production relationships, and thus, lay the groundwork for new forms of exploitation where the global actors of the world today (Williams, 2011).

As a political system in which public policies are shaped by the will of the people, democracy remains the basic political thought in structuring and execution of educational policies, which are an extension of public policies (Williams, 2011). Chomsky (2007) explained the relationship between education and democracy through an educational system that trains individuals who could communicate and collaborate with one another. By questioning the dominant ideologies and conducting a critical analysis of social norms and judgments, he identifies the liberation of cognitive development, intellectual and moral comprehension of knowledge in individuals with democratic education. When democracy and democratic values are addressed in teacher education, principles such as focusing on social phenomena and events, creating awareness and effort towards minority rights, introducing multiculturalism, fighting for rights, favouring democratic values in decision making processes, achieving susceptibility for humanity, existence and humanism, avoiding discriminatory and racial discourse, thoughts, processes and actions, facilitating existence of several thoughts, and promoting participative experiences should be realized (Apple & Bean, 2007; Mathews, Spearman & Che 2013; Sleeter, 2008).

Social justice and democracy are believed as interconnected concepts (Glasius & Pleyers, 2013). Democracy and social justice are also universal concepts of political thought, and these concepts are related to the distribution of power in the society. Indeed, democracy and justice are the basis of arguments such as active citizenship, democratic institutionalization, political participation, pluralistic thinking and modes of existence, public space based on partnership, public interest, representation of different groups and multiculturalism. In a democratic society, it is imperative to think of the concept of social justice within the context of educational organizations and policies.

Social Justice

Social justice has been debated within the political, economic, social and legal context in the global order (Craig, 2007). It has become a key concept in discussion of the worldwide effects of capitalism, neoliberalism and globalization, and explanation of the concepts of democracy and pluralism (Power & Taylor, 2013). More specifically, social justice has economic, cultural and political dimensions. Economic justice is related to equal distribution of goods and resources while cultural justice requires recognition of cultural elements that are beyond the dominant culture. Political justice is explained by the capacity of individuals to engage in civil and political actions via economic and cultural equality (Power & Taylor, 2013). Concurrently, social justice symbolizes equality in economic, cultural, political and social spheres. Social justice is structured as a very operational and distributed process, rather than a state-oriented quality and operates with the distribution of rights, wealth, resources, public benefits, private benefits and institutional capacities (Touraine, 2000; 2002).

According to the liberal justice theory, social justice focuses on the prevention of the inequalities that could be created by market processes (Dowding, Goodin & Patemon, 2004). From Marxist point of view, social justice aims to maintain the balance of power in the society in favour of oppressed social classes, and to eliminate the imbalance in income distribution and to improve living standards. Miller (1999) attempted to explain social justice with the protection of rights, providing for the basic needs and expectations of the members of the society, security of life and fair distribution, and accessibility of resources. Furthermore, the definition of equal citizenship without compromising cultural, racial, ethnic, economic, linguistic and religious freedom and the legal safeguard for this citizenship model, equal access of all citizens to all means, and a fair distribution of resources are fundamental principles of the social justice (Miller, 2004).

Social Justice in Education

Educational organizations, as actors at the heart of social and political change, are primarily influenced by the debate on social justice and social justice practices (Birkenmaier, 2003). Social justice in education could be explained by the role of schools in fair distribution of resources, and

their institutional and democratic struggle for the recognition of rights, freedom and demands, identities and cultures (Apple & Beane, 2007; Bates, 2005). Specifically, social justice in education is a movement to strengthen the oppressed groups that are left out of the prevailing production and power relations, to remove the conditions that reproduce inequality through schools, and to equalize advantageous groups with the disadvantaged.

Social justice aims to embody hope of renewal in society by promoting social rights and providing a good education system as well as strengthening financial conditions and having political influence (Apple & Beane, 2007; Bates, 2005). Social justice enables students from different social classes to socialize within educational setting, and prepares them to live together and reduces the differences among them. The students not only learn from the curriculum, but they also benefit from learning the functions of schooling that help them to internalizing the social norms, knowledge and skills. Schools provide students multiple affordances by social interactions and interpersonal relationships embedded in the educational processes (Wentzel & Looney, 2007). Thus, school leaders and teachers have serious duties in implementation of social justice practices at schools. First, school leaders should start by identifying the reasons behind existing inequalities in the school. Teachers are also significant part of the political strategy that would be carried out in schools to remove social and economic inequalities. Particularly at the micro level, rendering justice is related to the leadership competency of teachers. Therefore, it is expected teachers to develop strategies that can manage social justice in the classroom. Thus, the role of pre-service training in development of these strategies is a critical issue.

Social Justice and Teacher Education

Topics such as democratic citizenship, race, ethnicity, language, identity, gender, diversity, and disability yield research and implementations in educational organizations (Ayers, Quinn & Stovall, 2009; Banks, 2015; Connor, Gabel, Gallagher & Morton, 2008; Gurin, Nagda & Lopez, 2004; Mitchell, 2001; Nussbaum, 2011; Vincent, 2003). In academic field of teacher training, issues related to social justice and social responsibility, freedom and democracy, equal opportunities and processes are addressed, while in the ethical dimension, humanitarian development, disadvantaged individuals and groups, individual autonomies, rights, laws, and common good are mentioned in teachers' education programs (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2016; Clarke & Drudy, 2006; Wallace, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2017; Sleeter, 2008; Zalaquett et al., 2011; Townsend & Bates, 2007; Zeichner, 2016; 2017). Furthermore, collective learning that diversifies learning opportunities and resources, authentic learning, which includes concepts of integrity, creativity and responsibility, and awareness about being part of the world culture could create pedagogical experiences by introducing social justice approach to teacher education (Starrat, 2014). Indeed, academic structure in teacher training

should be constructed on the foundation of social integration, perception of citizenship and loyalty, effort for intellectual change, academic effort and social capital (Lopez, Naidorf & Teodoro, 2014).

In teacher education process, pre-service teachers need to know the bureaucratic culture in educational organizations that limits individual freedom and areas of autonomy in school. Besides, pre-service teachers need to understand the power structures at school and analyze dimensions and indicators of social justice. The teacher, who can be an agent of change in her or his classroom, can spread her/his justice and equality efforts to immediate neighborhood of the school and then to larger social areas. Thus, it is a prerequisite to train pre-service teachers as democracy and justice advocates within the framework of critical pedagogy (Picower, 2015). Furthermore, the definition of principles and practices of social justice and active citizenship which is based on cooperation, dialogue, transfer of power, comprehension of the content of the social theory, and experiences should be emphasized during the training of pre-service teachers in order to strengthen the perception of social justice. Besides, teachers need to have significant qualifications such as diversity, human rights and social justice awareness. Specifically, there is a need for teachers who would be able to analyse the social structure that s/he lives in, and organize their knowledge, skills and methods based on this analysis. Therefore, it is important to remember that teaching is not only a profession that could be professed with field and vocational knowledge, but also that teachers are activists, intellectuals, professional political entities and agents of social change (Pantic & Florian, 2015). Furthermore, teachers need to have a perspective on justice in celebrating diversity and being aware of structural inequalities. Thus, prospective teachers need to be prepared for the future with the goal of engaging in efforts of justice, addressing the inequalities of the education system, and improving the living conditions and life opportunities of for many students from different colour, low income or languages (McDonald & Zeichner, 2009). For this purpose, educators and researchers in teacher training institutions should be empowered in the context of social justice and democracy (O'Neill, 2005; Warring & Warring, 2006; Zeicher, 2016). To make social justice as a main notion in teacher education, the following elements such as active citizenship and democratic processes, public service responsibility, diversity in learning environment, in-depth critical inquiry, multicultural education, critical pedagogy, dialogue-based active learning, and pluralist classroom environment should be designed and implemented within academic and scientific context (Christopher & Taylor, 2011; Erbaş, 2019; Forde & Torrance, 2016; Nagda, Gurin & Lopez, 2003). In this context, it is obvious that teacher education programs should facilitate teachers' understanding of their beliefs about race, class, culture, other human diversities and social justice (Clarke & Drudy, 2006).

Democracy and Social Justice

It is inevitable to explain social justice in education with the existence of democracy. Social justice at schools is a struggle for democracy struggle at the same time, and social justice could only

survive in a democratic atmosphere. Democracy is about transforming the power areas in favour of the society at large and public interest and providing participation in decision-making mechanisms. Democracy is also about creating an active model of citizenship that equips individuals with problem-solving skills on equality and justice.

The democratic attitude and the belief in social justice should be strengthened in teacher education (Hyten, 2015) since democracy facilitates access to social rights and social justice, and social justice is a concept about access to democratic rights (Arnould, 2015; Matravers & Meyer, 2010; Toens, 2007). It is important to support social integration and responsibility, civil society, distribution of power, decision-making and social skills of pre-service teachers (Christopher & Taylor, 2011; Gunzenhauser, 2015). Adoption of social justice in the society and educational organizations is only possible with a democratic atmosphere and the presence of individuals who have internalized this atmosphere. Thus, it is important for pre-service teachers to experience cooperation by supporting responsibility of strengthening social justice in the school, to learn in a group, to form continuous development strategies, and to experience multiculturalism and differences (Karakaş & Erbaş, 2018; Juarez & Hayes, 2010; Ritchie, 2012; Warren, 2002). As noted by Weale (2016), it is necessary to transform democratic justice, equality in the distribution of power and resources and the resulting social contract into the principle of teacher education.

The development of democratic attitudes in the pre-service education of teachers and their comprehension concerning social justice, and pre-service teachers taking an active role in this process are in the focus of today's education policies. When this is considered within the context of pre-service teachers, it could be argued that democratic attitudes and social justice perceptions of pre-service teachers could be closely related. Besides, if teachers adopt a democratic attitude and expand this attitude throughout the classroom, the school culture considering social justice may be internalized. Thus, it could be argued that social justice can be the consequence of democratic understanding and environment.

Aim of the Study

The aim of the present study was to determine the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers in Turkey and to identify whether these perceptions differed according to some demographic variables. Considering the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs may change due to different roles attributed to the gender in Turkish society and culture, gender was selected as one of the variables. Based on the belief that democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs may increase as the age and life experiences of the participants increase, age was set as one demographic variable. Besides, variables such as family income level, mother and father education levels were chosen considering that these demographic variables may make a difference in pre-service teachers' democratic attitude and social justice perceptions (Manstead, 2018). Furthermore, there are

some studies focusing on democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers separately (Akın & Özdemir, 2009; Karatekin, Merey & Kuş, 2013; Saracaloğlu, Evin & Varol, 2004; Özdaş, Ekinci & Bindak, 2014). However, there are limited research conducted regarding these two concepts, which are complimentary to each other, in the same study and that democratic attitude is an important trigger for social justice. Accordingly, the study also aimed to test the theoretical model that the democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers are associated with the social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers.

Methodology

Due to the fact that the current study examined the relationship between pre-service teachers' democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs, *correlational research design* was used.

Sample

Study population included pre-service teachers attending the faculty of education at a university in Central Anatolia, which is located in the central part of Turkey. Cluster and criterion sampling were utilized as sampling strategies in the present study. All departments with senior students were determined as a cluster since it was thought that pre-service teachers' democratic attitudes and social justice perceptions can mature with taking more courses and having school experiences compared to other classes. The data of the study was collected in the Spring Semester of 2015-2016 Academic Year. Data collection was attempted to reach all 4th grade students, but 521 prospective teachers were invited to participate in. 38 of the participants answered only some of the questions in the data collection tool; thus, 38 participants were excluded from the research as these answers could produce meaningless results. Overall sample of the study included 483 pre-service teachers attending six different college departments. 165 (%34.1) participant pre-service teachers were attending the guidance and psychological counseling department, 111 participants (%23) were attending special education, 43 pre-service teachers (%8.9) were attending computer education, 19 participants (%3.9) were attending science education, 70 pre-service teachers (%14.5) were attending mathematics education, and 75 participants (%15.5) were attending the primary education department. Respondent pre-service teachers ranged between the ages of 17 and 38 (=20.38, *SD*=1.98). Majority of the sample (*n*=288, %59.6) was female while the minority was male (*n*=195, %40.4). Necessary legal permissions were obtained from the faculty for the implementation of the data collection tools. The tools were applied for the participants in course or lesson breaks by the researchers themselves or in the appropriate times for the participants. In data collection process, the volunteerism of pre-service teachers was essential; they informed about having the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Their rights to withdraw was told by the researchers during data collection process and indicated in the data collection tool as well.

Data Collection Tools

The study data were collected using two scales. The first was The Teacher Opinionaire on Democracy Scale (TODS), which was used to determine the democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers, and the second was Learning to Teach for Social Justice Beliefs (LTSJB) scale, which was used to determine social justice perceptions.

Teacher Opinionaire on Democracy Scale

Teacher Opinionaire on Democracy Scale developed by the Attitude Research Laboratory (Gozutok, 1995) was utilized to measure pre-service teachers' democratic attitudes. Scale reliability and validity studies and its adaptation into Turkish language were conducted by Gozutok (1995). The scale consists of one dimension including 50 items, 32 of which are positive, while the rest involve negative statements. The scale was completed by responding with 1 (*I agree*) for positive answers and 0 (*I disagree*) for negative answers. Thus, a maximum of 50 points could be scored in the scale. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was used to determine the construct validity of the scale and Cronbach Alpha coefficient was used to determine internal consistency. Based on the results of the confirmatory factor analysis, the questions were rearranged based on the modification indices, and it was decided to exclude 7 items from the scale. In confirmatory factor analysis, the following goodness of fit indices were used on the theoretical model; Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI), Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Chi-square ($\Delta\chi^2$) and degrees of freedom (Δdf) ratio. First, Chi-square ($\Delta\chi^2$) value and statistical significance levels were determined ($\Delta\chi^2 = 2029.41$, $\Delta df = 819$). The lower Chi-square ($\Delta\chi^2$) value and the ratio of this value to the degrees of freedom ($\Delta\chi^2 / \Delta df = 2.47$), indicate that the scale items fit the collected data. Other goodness of fit indices (RMSEA = .05, AGFI = .86, GFI = .88, SRMR = 0.06) suggested that the proposed model was fit for the scale (Hu & Bentler, 1998; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2001; MacCallum, Browne & Sugawara, 1996). Furthermore, internal consistency coefficient provided an acceptable value ($\alpha = .79$) in reliability analysis (see Table 1 for each scale).

Learning to Teach for Social Justice Beliefs (LTSJB)

Learning to Teach for Social Justice Beliefs (LTSJB) developed by Boston College (BC) Evidence Team (2008) was used as a data collection instrument, to represent beliefs and perspectives of pre-service teachers on social justice in the classroom and school atmosphere (Ludlow, Enterline & Cochran-Smith, 2008). LTSJB is a five-point (1= *strongly disagree*, 5= *strongly agree*) Likert scale that includes 12 items. After adaptation of the LTSJB into Turkish language, confirmatory factor analysis and Cronbach alpha were utilized to examine construct validity and internal consistency of the scale. As a result of confirmatory factor analysis and reliability analysis, goodness of fit indices

($\Delta\chi^2$=218.06, Δdf =51, $\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df$ = 4.27, RMSEA=.08, AGFI=.88, GFI=.92, SRMR=0.06) and internal consistency coefficient (α= .72) showed that LTSJB has acceptable goodness of fit statistics (Hu & Bentler, 1998; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2001; MacCallum, Browne & Sugawara, 1996).

Table 1. Fit Statistics For Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Cronbach Alpha Values

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	GFI	AGFI	SRMR	RMSEA	α
TODS	2029.41	819	2.47	.88	.86	0.06	.05	.79
LTSJB	218.06	51	4.27	.92	.88	0.06	.08	.72

* TODS: The Teacher Opinionnaire on Democracy Scale; LTSJB: Learning to Teach for Social Justice Beliefs

Data Analysis

Mean, standard deviation, and range values as descriptive statistics were used to determine the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers in the study and Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was used to determine whether these two variables differentiated based on demographic variables. Besides, Cohen's (1988) eta-square value was used to determine the effect value. Skewness-Kurtosis values, Mahalonobis distance, *Box M* tests were used to test the assumptions of MANOVA. The path analysis was used to test the independent theoretical model which was developed to determine the relationship between the democratic attitudes and the social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers. Both researchers took part in the analysis of the data obtained from the participants. IBM SPSS Statistics 20 and LISREL 8.7 software were used for statistical analysis in the study.

Results

The mean, standard deviations, range values, and correlation coefficients between democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs are presented in Table 2. When democratic attitudes and social justice mean scores of pre-service teachers are examined, it was determined that they have moderate level democratic attitudes (*M* = 31.93, *SD* = 6.108) and social justice beliefs (*M* = 3.45, *SD* = .466). Pearson correlation analysis was conducted to determine the correlation between the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs scores of pre-service teachers. The results showed that there is a positive relationship (.46) between democratic attitudes and social justice perceptions of pre-service teachers.

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Correlation Between Democratic Attitude and Social Justice Beliefs

	M	*SD*	*Range*	*Skewness*	*Kurtosis*	1	2
1.DA	31.93	6.108	5.0-45.0	-.672	1.046	-	
2.SJB	3.45	.466	2.0-4.6	-.034	-.229	.465*	-

* Correlation is significant (*p*< .01); DA: Democratic attitude; SJB: Social justice beliefs

The Effect of Demographic Variables on Democratic Attitude and Social Justice Beliefs

MANOVA analysis was conducted to determine whether the democratic attitudes and the beliefs of social justice of pre-service teachers that participated in the study differed based on demographic variables such as gender, age, family income level, and parental education level. Firstly, it is necessary to test certain assumptions such as normality, outliers, linearity, and homogeneity of the variance-covariance matrix in order to use MANOVA (Field, 2009; Pallant, 2005). Specifically, Skewness-Kurtosiss values were considered for the normality hypothesis. Skewness and kurtosis values between -2 and +2 are considered acceptable in order to prove normal univariate distribution (George & Mallery, 2010). As seen in Table 4, skewness and kurtosis values ranged between -2 and +2 which indicate univariate normality. Mahalanobis distance values were examined to determine the outliers in the study data. The analysis results demonstrated that three of the obtained Mahalanobis values (14.34, 16.94, 19.75) were higher than the required critical value (Di^2 = 11.00) (Field, 2009; Pallant, 2005). The outliers that could affect the analysis were removed from the data set, leaving the date for 480 pre-service teachers in the dataset.

The linearity assumption in the study was tested by considering whether there is a linear correlation between the dependent variables. The scatterplots that reflected the correlation between the variables confirmed the assumption that all binary combinations of dependent variables have a linear relationship (Pallant, 2005). The final assumption required for MANOVA was homogeneity of the covariance matrices. The equality of covariance matrices of dependent variables was tested by using *Box M* test. The results indicated that equality of covariance matrices are not equal for gender [*Box M* = .339, $F(12, 4191)$ = .112, *p*> .05], age [*Box M* = 1.439, $F(6, 1058)$ = .220, *p*> .05], parent income level [*Box M* = 8.608, $F(9, 349)$ = 8.608, *p*> .05], mother education level [*Box M* = 9.444, *F* > .05], and father education level [*Box M* = 8.505, $F(12, 656)$ = .607, *p*> .05] variables.

The Wilks' Lambda test is recommended to determine the significance of the independent variable on the dependent variable (Field, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Therefore, these test values were utilized in the study. According to MANOVA results, it was determined that there are no significant differences between democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of the pre-service teachers and demographical variables such as gender [λ = .993, $F(2, 307)$ = 1.008, *p*> .05], age [λ = .992, $F(6, 602)$ = 379, *p*>], parent income level [λ = .984, $F(8, 604)$ = .612, *p*> .05], mother education level [λ = .983, $F(8, 606)$ = 653, *p*> .05], and father education level [λ = .996, $F(8, 604)$ =. 140, *p*> .05] (see Table 3). Furthermore, when eta square values (η^2) were examined (See Table 3.), it was observed that demographic variables have no significant effect on democratic attitudes and beliefs of social justice (Cohen, 1988).

Table 3. Multivariate and Univariate Analyses of Variance for Democratic Attitude and Social Justice Beliefs

| | Multivarite | | | | Univariate | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Democratic attitude | | | | Social justice beliefs | | | |
	F^a	df	p	η^2	F^b	df	p	η^2	F^b	df	p	n^2
Gender	1.0	2-307	.36	.00	.23	1-308	.62	.00	.91	1-308	.34	.00
Age	.37	6-602	.89	.00	.20	3-302	.89	.00	.42	3-302	.73	.00
Parent income	.61	8-604	.76	.00	.32	4-303	.86	.00	.97	4-303	.42	.01
Mother education level	.65	8-606	.73	.00	.87	4-304	.48	.01	.90	4-304	.46	.01
Father education level	.14	8-604	.99	.00	.22	4-303	.92	.00	.11	4-303	.97	.00

Goodness of Fit Index Findings

A model based on the structural equation model was designed in the study to determine the correlation between the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers. Based on the theoretical model, the democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers are positively correlated to their social justice beliefs. Prior to testing the theoretical model, correlation analysis was performed to determine the correlations between the variables, followed by path analysis to determine the correlations between the variables by calculating the goodness of fit indices for the theoretical model.

For the theoretical models designed in the present study related to the correlation between democratic attitudes and social justice, the goodness of fit indices for the concurrent contribution of all observed and latent variables to the theoretical model are presented in Table 4. The goodness of fit of the developed theoretical model was determined with GFI, AGFI, SRMR, RMSEA, $\Delta\chi^2$ and $\Delta\chi^2 / \Delta df$ ratio statistics. In the theoretical model, it was determined that the GFI value was .88 and AGFI value was .86. As a result, the GFI and AGFI goodness of fit values were considered as the indication that the theoretical model is suitable for the obtained data (Hoyle, 2012; Kline, 2005; Schumacker & Lomax, 1996). On the other hand, RMSEA includes the mean of variance and covariance that cannot be explained by the model, and in practice, the RMSEA value for the model was found as .058 and was sufficient for fitness (MacCallum et al., 1996).

SRMR, another goodness of fit index value, was calculated as .066 in the study. The arrows that indicate unexplained variance in each latent variable, namely the errors, are also included in the structural model. The variance explained by each latent variable in the model can be determined through its correlation with other latent variables. Thus, the variance explained by each latent variable and the resulting unexplained variance, namely error values, can be regarded as part of the structural model rather than the measurement model. The $\Delta\chi^2 / \Delta df$ ratio was 2.62 for the study model. This means that there is a good fitness between the observed and covariance matrices (Hair et al., 2010; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2001).

Table 4. Goodness of Fit Statistics for the Theoretical Model

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	GFI	AGFI	SRMR	RMSEA
1	3607.76	1376	2.62	.88	.86	.066	.058

The results of the path analysis conducted on the theoretical model to determine the correlation between democratic attitude and social justice in the study are presented in Figure 1. The independent variable of the model which was about democratic attitudes included 43 observed variables. Among these variables, 44(λ_{441} = .21), 12(λ_{121} = .19) and 33(λ_{331} = .19) items were the most significant determinants of democratic attitude. The dependent variable of the structural equation model was social justice belief which is a one-dimensional scale. In the theoretical model, all scale items were set as observed variables while social justice items were included as latent variable. Among these items, 8(λ_{81} = .64), 7(λ_{71} = .58) and 4(λ_{41} = .54) were the most significant determinant of social justice beliefs. In the constructed structural equation model to determine the correlation between democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs, democratic attitudes explained .61 standard deviation variance of social justice variable.
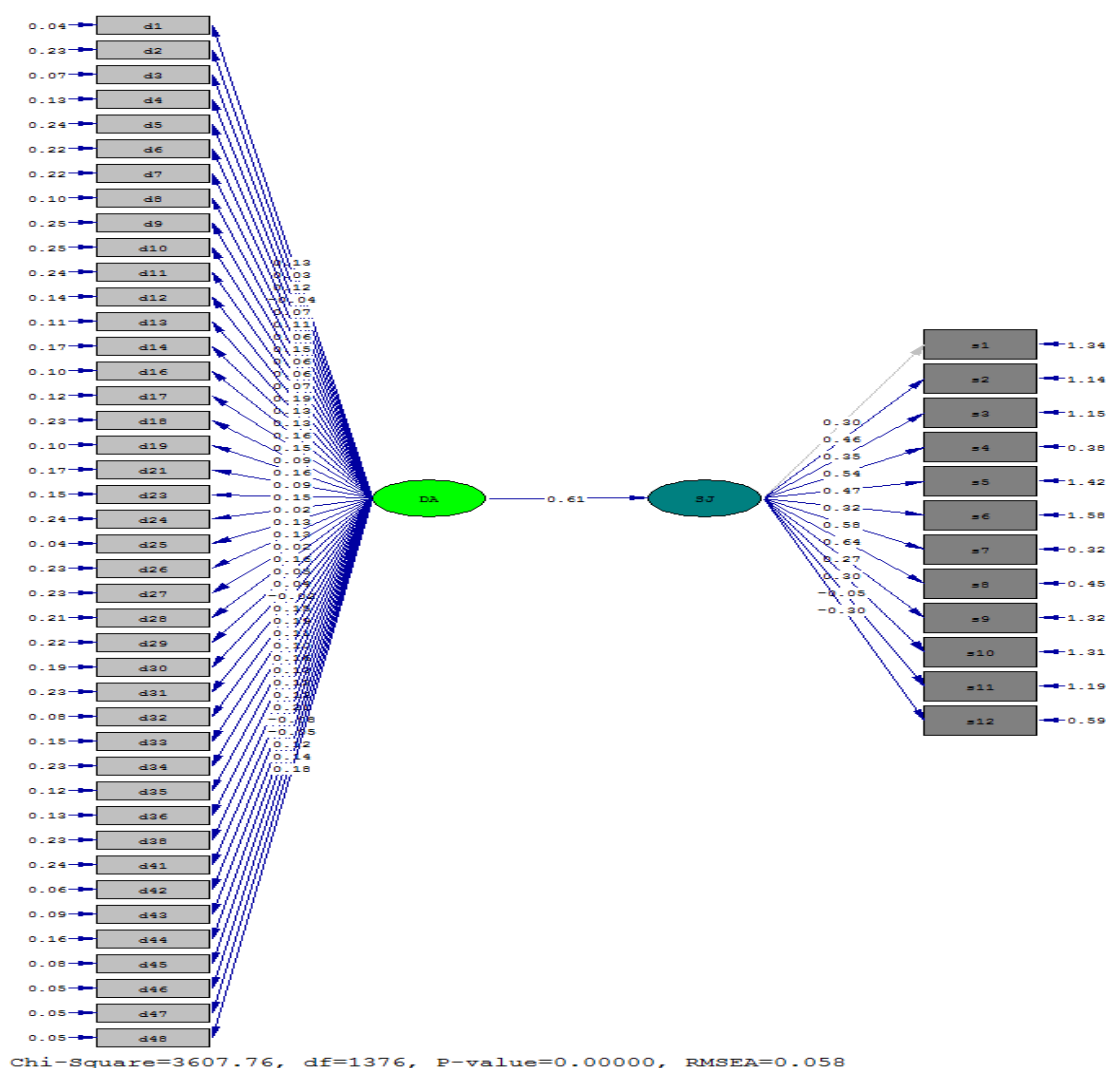

Chi-Square=3607.76, df=1376, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.058

Figure 1. Model for democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers

Conclusion and Discussion

The study findings revealed that the democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers are correlated with each other. Another significant finding in the study was that democratic values and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers are medium level and do not differ based on demographic variables. Age, gender or their families' socio-economic background (parent income level, mother and father education level) did not differentiate democratic values and social justice beliefs of pre-service teachers. Research findings support other research conducted in Turkey. Although democratic attitudes (Arslan & Çalmaşur, 2017; Özbey & Sarıçam, 2018) and social justice beliefs (Cırık, 2015) of pre-service teachers are high level in some studies, other research results have been reached medium and lower levels (Gürgen, 2017; Polat, 2015; Tomul, Çelik & Tas, 2012).

Social justice and democracy are theoretically associated concepts. The study results substantially confirmed the theoretical relationship based on the views of pre-service teachers. The factors such as cooperation, collaborative learning and decision making processes, effective communication, environment based on autonomy, encouraging and supportive attitude, awareness of responsibility, promoting freedoms, original and critical thinking, scientific processes in learning that determine democratic attitudes in educational organizations are also effective in formation of a culture and structure that is based on social justice.

In a metaphor study examining pre-service teachers' perceptions about democracy in Turkey (Yağan Güder & Yildirim, 2014) revealed that democracy were mostly associated with metaphors regarding equality and justice. As in the current study concluded that as democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers increase, their social justice beliefs increase. Indeed, democracy is both a condition and an element of social justice (Enslin, 2006). In addition, democracy and social justice are very close to each other or intertwined concepts that carry values such as equity, justice, respect and equality (Cochran-Smith, 2010). Since democracy and social justice are inherently a part of a democratic way of life, it is asserted that democratic citizens support social justice (Apple & Beane, 2007; Hytten & Bettex, 2011). Thus, educators who support social justice through a vision of democracy maintain a very active, participatory and critical notion of citizenship. Similarly, the results of the current study revealed that democracy and democratic attitudes in teacher education show how important it is for pre-service teachers equipped with social justice beliefs and skills.

The way of transforming social structures to democratic structures or building democratic citizenship and social justice centred society or growing generations who embody democratic culture and values is based on educational institutions. Teacher education passes from the strand on these key issues. Therefore, there is a need for teachers who internalize democracy and social justice in ideas and practice, implement in-class and out-of-class practices effectively, and have democratic and social justic leadership skills (McGee & Hostetler, 2014; Kılıçoğlu, 2018; Subba, 2014). However, some

research concluded that teachers perceive democracy in schools as parent participation in monetary issues and stakeholder participation in asking the ideas (Polat, 2015).

In other studies on democracy and social justice (Bursa, 2015; Gürgen, 2017; Tomul, Çelik & Tas, 2012), it is criticized that some teachers do not make effort for the adaptation and academic achievement of disadvantaged students such as Syrian and Iraqi refugees, perform various activities to students with high academic achievement unlike other students. It is also mentioned that teachers and students may have some problems in the freedom of thought and expressing themselves. Besides, there are some criticized issues such as disregarding the views of female teachers, discrimination of students regarding their beliefs, nepotism or discrimination of teachers regarding their political views, unions or beliefs. In addition, teachers often respect differences while addressing global and religious differences whereas they lack of addressing local differences. Teachers are asserted as using only verbal expressions of social justice and democracy, they are lacking in doing activities or using different strategies regarding democracy and social justice (Bursa, 2015; Gürgen, 2017; Tomul, Çelik & Tas, 2012). However, teachers should develop students' skills, attitudes and values concerning seeking information, communicating, thinking, expressing their emotions, listening actively, and making or participating in decisions. Teachers need to provide an environment students for identifying, expressing themselves and revealing their potential (Botha, Joubert & Hugo, 2016). In order to provide such a service, teachers need to know the basic concepts of democracy and social justice, as well as transforming the culture of democracy and social justice into a lifestyle and have a positive understanding or perception about these concepts. It is a fact that pre-service teachers' democratic attitudes and social justice beliefs shaped in their family and the environment in which they live. Likewise, teacher education has important role in developing the perception of democracy and belief in social justice. Indeed, a teacher training program that develops democratic attitudes and values of pre-service teachers prepares them for a democratic and fair society, and makes them to be ready for a social change. Moreover, teacher education enables pre-service teachers to become better acquainted with the school atmosphere and environment, to be familiar with their values, to acquire different perspectives in decision-making skills, and to develop their attitudes, beliefs and skills related to democracy and social justice (Apple, 2008; Zeichner, Payne & Brayko, 2015). Furthermore, teacher education gives pre-service teachers opportunity to be the agents of change and equipped with knowledge, behaviour and skills for transformation (Westheimer & Suurtamn, 2008)

Research conducted outside of Turkey (Leonard & Moore, 2014; Littenberg-Tobias, 2014; Tinkler, Hannah, Tinkler & Miller, 2015; Torres-Harding, Diaz, Schamberger & Carollo, 2015) showed that education of pre-service teachers on democracy and social justice positively affects their perceptions, awareness, practices and actions of respect, equality and justice. These researchers also revealed that teacher education reduces stereotypical beliefs, prejudices and negative thoughts against differences. Moreover, teacher education encourages teachers to develop their critical thinking, self-

reflection and self-efficacy. At this point, it is significant for pre-service teachers to have democratic attitudes, skills and practices for their social justice beliefs. Thus, it is important for Turkey and other countries considering teacher training programs developing with a sense of social justice and democracy. However, a course named "human rights and democracy education" that focuses on democracy and social justice education in teacher training is only set as mandatory course for social studies teaching program in Turkey, while it is elective for other teaching programs (YÖK, 2019). In a study conducted by Ersoy (2014), it was detected that since teachers do not have adequate knowledge and experience concerning effective and democratic citizenship education, primary students belonging to lower socio-economic levels cannot exercise their rights adequately compared to those who come from higher socio-economic levels. However, generality and equality, equality of opportunity and democracy education are the basic principles of Turkish Education System according to No. 1739 Basic Law of the Ministry of National Education.

In international context, social justice is a constantly changing phenomenon and can never be assumed to be complete in teacher education programs. However, there is an inconsistency in conceptualization of social justice teacher education programs. There is also inadequacy, multiple instantiations and uncertainty regarding social justice concept. Nevertheless, it is democracy that is the common theme in teacher education programs or courses for social justice (Cochran-Smith 2010; Reynolds and Brown 2010). The studies that carried outside of Turkey on the concepts of democracy and social justice in teacher education (Carr, 2010; Hytten, 2015; Kaur, 2012; Kelly, Brandes & Orlowski, 2004; Storms, 2012; Subba, 2014) concluded that the two concepts are closely associated. It was stressed that social justice based on equality would be implemented more effectively by pre-service teachers who have adopted and internalized democratic values. Furthermore, the studies indicated egalitarian and collaborative practices, literacy in social justice, systematic analysis of learning processes, dialogue-based learning, supportive classroom environment, democratic citizenship responsibility, libertarian and critical thinking, asking critical and original questions, active learning and participation, identification of cultural, national, and global identity factors, and analysis of social structures and relationships as the components of democratic values and social justice on teacher training (Banks, 2004; Kelly, Brandes, & Orlowski, 2004). At this point, both in Turkey and internationally sense, these components should be emphasized in the content of courses, curriculum of teacher training program and policies in teacher training institutions. Furthermore, these institutions should integrate the democratic approach and social justice to allow the courses, studies and activities of the faculty members that support democratic attitudes and should structure a democratic organizational culture (Carr, 2010; Carr, Pluim & Thesee, 2014; Kaur, 2012).

The efforts and contributions of teachers are important for the establishment of a democratic administrative process and structure based on social justice in educational organizations. It is especially important to train teachers based on democratic values and their ability to administer social

justice. To strengthen social justice perceptions of pre-service teachers, it is necessary to support their democratic values and attitudes with curricular and implementation processes. Hytten (2015) defined social justice and democratic attitudes as an important area of competence in the future professional life of pre-service teachers to fairly manage micro-social area within the classroom, and discussed democratic attitude of an activist professional identity as a critical variable in the establishment of social justice. Similarly, Nagda, Gurin and Lopez (2003) stated that democracy and social justice are mutually supporting theoretical concepts in critical pedagogy and the critical pedagogy education strengthens democratic and social justice perceptions of pre-service teachers.

Limitations

Democratic attitude and social justice are multidimensional concepts, and the attempt to measure these concepts only with the questions in the abovementioned scales constitute one of the limitation of the study. The fact that findings of the study were not supported by interviews and lacked in terms of qualitative methodology is another limitation. We were able to evaluate and discuss pre-service teachers' democracy and social justice perceptions, the relationship between the two concepts, the status of these two concepts in terms of teacher training and what can be done for pre-service teachers through scale items. This may be the other limitation of the study. Furthermore, the inclusion of only a single university' faculty of education in the study sample may be considered as another limitations. Furthermore, the fact that the 7 items in the democratic attitude scale produced a very high modification index values and exclusion of certain items due to their similarities with other items could be considered as the other limitation.

Future Implications for Teacher Education

Democracy and social justice in Turkey demonstrated in social, political, economic and institutional spheres as significant issues, as well as in the education. In conclusion, within the context of the literature that supports the findings of the current study, it was also confirmed that acquiring democratic attitude promotes social justice. Based on the study findings, it could be recommended that teacher training institutions could consider social justice and democratic attitudes when admitting pre-service teachers and design professional and intellectual development action plans. Curriculum should be structured with instructional practices and roles that enforce equal access, program, climate, shared leadership, a sense of working for the common interest, problem solving skills, communication and representation skills, collaborative culture, continuous dialogue and the new ways of understanding to render democracy and social justice an educational experience (Rawe, Urban & Middleton 2016).

In Turkey, it is important for teacher training policies and programs to focus on the concepts of equality and social justice in the field of classroom management (Pinto et al., 2012) and to

introduce pre-service teachers to the subject areas that would determine their future social justice efforts in the school and classroom in the professional life. Focusing on non-authoritative learning experiences, classroom learning experiences that reinforce the belongingness to teaching profession (Florian, Young & Rouse, 2010) and engaging in critical pedagogical practices that would enable the acquisition of democratic responsibilities would be beneficial. Creating a pedagogical environment that could analyse the social structure, creating a subsequent cohesive interaction climate, spending efforts to reduce the impact of distribution and sharing dynamics that create inequalities in the classroom should be defined as the responsibility and duty of each teacher. Furthermore, teachers should be aware of some significant variables such as economic, social and cultural capital differences among students, equal access of students to the school, instruction and learning materials, academic achievement categorization, physical or mental disabilities and differences, and discrimination based on gender. But what is important is to equip teachers with the skills, perception and pedagogical competence to deal with these dynamics during the training.

Pre-service teachers should have an understanding of fair society where there is a participatory democracy, as Dewey (1932) mentioned. This can be achieved through the creation of new hybrid spaces in university teacher education where academic, school-based, and community-based knowledge come together in less hierarchical ways (Jeffery & Polleck, 2013; Reynolds & Brown 2010; Zeichner, Payne & Brayko 2015). This should be based on an epistemology that in itself is democratic and includes a respect for and interaction among practitioner, academic, and community-based knowledge. Pre-service teachers should experience democracy in the academia and in their school experiences, and they should practice democracy during the relationships with students, their families and school-society. Because pre-service teachers need to be able to more than just "talk" about social justice by making learning meaningful to their lives, noticing and challenging inequities and injustices that prevail in education and society, understanding and interrogating teachers' own positioning. Pre-service teachers' beliefs and attitudes and their role in sustaining the status quo, and at individual and/or collective levels working with and for diverse learners to advocate for a more just and more equitable life chances for all students, to imagine and work for a more just society could be the other steps taken (Bieler & Burns, 2017; Eryaman, 2007; Kaur, 2012; Ratnam, 2015; Reynolds & Brown 2010; Rust, 2019).

Social justice programs should offer the knowledge of democracy, the practice of democracy in the classroom, and use a methodology that improves the democratic attitudes of pre-service teachers. In this context, social justice education need to focus on how to bridge the gap between what is espoused in theory lessons about social justice and what happens in reality in schools and communities (Westheimer & Suurtamm, 2008), but not only for poor, historically disadvantaged, and differentiating from many aspects of the dominant society, it should also address teaching for all students, for the advantaged students in the system as well. In addition, democratic attitudes of pre-

service teachers can be improved through storytelling, autobiography, dialogue journals, literature, films, portfolios and case studies with giving place these methodologies in teacher education curriculum (Cochran-Smith 2010; Reynolds & Brown, 2010). Therefore, a social justice education that practices democracy and increases the belief and attitude of democracy can be integrated into teacher training process. At the same time, it is very important that teacher training institutions and teacher educators exhibit democratic skills, attitudes and behaviours in order to increase these skills of pre-service teachers. When a pre-service teacher does not experience a democratic teacher training process, the teacher cannot be expected to practice democracy in the classroom and cannot show any sensitivity to social justice.

In terms of pedagogical competences and skills that support democracy and social justice, pre-service teachers should be able to synthesize their instructional skills with new and exciting forms of constantly evolving ideas for innovation in art, science, and pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Rust, 2019). In addition, pre-service teachers should enable students to take an active role in their own education and create empowering, critical and democratic educational environments. Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2005) suggest five leadership perspectives help to support social justice advocacy in schools. They claim that leaders must be critically pluralist and democratic, transformative, moral and ethical, feminist/caring, and spiritually/culturally responsive. In this context, pre-service teachers should consider social justice related subjects of the curriculum in the class by recognizing and respecting the differences of all students with a democratic attitude, creating equal learning opportunities for all students, creating a participatory atmosphere and coping with the tensions that may arise in the class.

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