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Research Article

Social Media Use, Socialization, and Perceptions of Syrians among Turkish Youth: Findings from a National Survey

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ABSTRACT

Young people's attitudes towards Syrians will play a decisive role in Turkish society's future as a significant proportion of the population consists of Syrians today. As of June 2022, there are approximately 3,7 million Syrians in Turkiye. The literature shows that social media and socialization are important factors affecting individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. This article explores how (1) the amount of time spent on social media, and (2) self-reported adequate socialization in daily life affect perception toward Syrian immigrants among young adults in Turkiye. We used data from the Turkish Youth Survey (TYS), which was conducted in 2018 by interviewing 7,949 individuals between the ages of 18 and 30. We measured anti-immigrant perception by using answers given to the question of whether the study participants would live in the same neighborhood as Syrians. The findings indicate that young adults become less open to the idea of living with the Syrian immigrants in the neighborhood as they spend more time on social media. We also find that those who say they are adequately socializing in their daily lives are less likely to say they do not want to live in the same neighborhood as Syrian immigrants.

Keywords: Social media use, socialization, anti-immigrant attitudes, Syrians in Turkiye, youth



1. Introduction

The territory of today's Türkiye has seen numerous migration flows throughout history and the history of the Turkish Republic is not an exception. However, since its establishment in 1923 as a nation state, the Turkish Republic has not received mass international migration from non-Turkic ethnic groups. Exceptions to this were the flow of Iranians and Iraqi Kurds between 1980 and 1991 (Kirisci, 2003). In 1923, Türkiye signed a treaty with Greece and agreed to exchange the Greek Orthodox population living in Türkiye with Turkish Muslims living in Greece. More than 400,000 people came to Türkiye within a few years after the signing of the treaty (Çapa, 1990). In 1989, more than 350,000 Muslims of Turkish ethnic origin migrated from Bulgaria to Türkiye. The fact that those who came from the Balkans and who migrated from Greece in the early 1920s and from Bulgaria in 1989 were ethnically Turkish and that they spoke the Turkish language made them relatively more advantaged at least in receiving citizenship and settling into Turkish society (Danış & Parla, 2009). However, the period of the Syrian civil war saw Türkiye receiving large numbers of international immigrants who were from non-Turkic ethnic origins. The first wave of Syrians came in 2011 and the numbers kept increasing as the civil war ensued and expanded into different parts of Syria. In 2019, the number of Syrians living in Türkiye surpassed 3.5 million. As of June 2022, there are 3,763,652 Syrian refugees¹ in Türkiye (Ministry of Interior of Türkiye, 2022). Most of the Syrians live in metropolitan cities like Istanbul and Ankara and the major cities near the Turkish Syrian border such as Şanlıurfa, Mardin and Gaziantep. Other regions and cities received large numbers of Syrians as well.

In the beginning, there was a general understanding in Türkiye that the Syrians were "guests" who would go back to their own countries when the Syrian civil war was over. As the number of Syrians has increased in recent years, many people have started thinking that perhaps Syrians would stay in Türkiye longer and even permanently. Such a shift in the general understanding of the status of the Syrian refugees has also led to a visible increase in anti-immigrant and anti-Syrian attitudes and behavior although many non-governmental and governmental agencies are trying to help accommodate the Syrians in different ways. Within this context, it is important to understand the attitudes of young people toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. This will have an impact on how Syrians and the members of the host society will interact in the near future as adults. Our current knowledge of young people's attitudes vis-a-vis immigrants will have important societal implications on the future cohesion of Turkish society and we can understand the risks of intergroup conflict better through the study of young people's attitudes. There is a need to understand the factors, including the ideological position and perception of cultural differences, which may potentially affect young people's perception of the threat posed by Syrians. According to Erdoğan's study (2019) on the perception of Turkish society on Syrians, a considerable majority (89.5%) of the participants think that Syrians are culturally different or very different from them. The number is also high for the participants between the ages 18-24 (80.5%) and those between the ages 25-34 (82.1%) (Erdoğan, 2019).

¹ Syrians do not have official refugee status in Türkiye but were given "temporary protection" status in 2013 by Article 91 of Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458). The term "refugee" is used for convenience in this study. Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 indicates that "Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Türkiye in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection." (See UNHCR, 2017 for the English translation of the Law.)

Although young people usually hold less prejudice against immigrants compared to older generations, they sometimes express negative views due to the perception that immigrants pose an economic and cultural threat (Keating & Janmaat, 2020). Several factors may contribute to this perception of threat. Based on the analysis of a comparative youth survey conducted in 14 European countries, ethnic nationalism, resource stress on jobs and money, poverty, general social trust, and frequent use of different media channels were found to increase negative attitudes towards immigrants (Mierina & Koroleva, 2015). Young people's perception of the threat posed by Syrians was found to be high in Erdoğan's study (2019). 72% of young people aged 18-34 think that Syrians harm Türkiye's socio-cultural structure and 76% think that Syrians harm Türkiye's economy (Erdoğan, 2019, p. 84). These findings reveal that a considerable proportion of young people perceive Syrians as a threat in different ways.

Being exposed to anti-immigrant sentiments may have detrimental effects on immigrants' well-being in general (Sayas, Aron, & Gurrola, 2013) and immigrant youth's well-being in particular. From a developmental perspective, adolescence and young adulthood years are crucial for identity formation. Consequently, negative stereotypes against immigrants may particularly damage immigrant youth's identity formation (Schwartz, Meca, Cano, Lorenzo-Blanco, & Unger, 2018; Rogers, Niwa, & Way, 2017).

1.1. Young People's Attitudes toward Syrians in Türkiye

The research body on Turkish youth's stance toward Syrians in Türkiye shows inconclusive results and the findings exclusively come from university students (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021; Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021; Baş & Eti, 2021; Şen & Keskin, 2019; Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Ankaralı, Pasin, Karacan, Tokar, Künüroğlu, Çaça, Özislam, & Şahingöz, 2017; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016). While some of these studies (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021) revealed positive attitudes, others (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016) found that negative attitudes prevailed. Afyonoğlu and Buz (2021) found that the students' scores on having negative thoughts toward Syrians subscale were low ($X=2.85$ on a Likert scale). The same study also revealed that positive family attitudes toward Syrians, positive peer attitudes toward Syrians, and having a Syrian acquaintance increase students' scores on the "attitudes toward Syrians" scale, where higher scores indicated lower prejudice. The study by Şen and Keskin (2019) on university students also demonstrated that the students who had Syrian friends and whose families had positive attitudes toward Syrians increased positive student attitudes. Another study (Ankaralı, Pasin, Karacan, Tokar, Künüroğlu, Çaça, Özislam, & Şahingöz, 2017) on university students also demonstrated that family's attitudes toward Syrians affected students' attitudes. Two of the studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016) showed the majority of the sample agreed with negative statements about Syrians. One of these studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018) showed that students' level of civil participation was positively correlated to their support for moderate solutions, advocacy for Syrians' rights, and providing help. An intervention study found that having contact with refugees in the form of an internship and receiving training on refugee health improved the students' attitudes toward refugees (Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021).

The afore-mentioned studies show that the following socialization-related factors predict positive attitudes toward Syrians among youth: Having Syrians in their circles, positive peer attitudes toward Syrians, positive family attitudes toward Syrians, and having contact with refugees in the form of civic participation.

1.2. Social Media and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

Social media is one of the most prominent factors influencing perceptions today, and perceptions toward immigrants are no exception. Due to the rise of rightist populism in the last two decades, anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiments had already been on the rise in the Western world even before the start of the Syrian refugees' flow of immigration after 2011 (Lazaridis, Campani, & Benveniste, 2016, Perrineau, 2002). These anti-refugee sentiments accelerated with the Syrian refugee crisis. In the news media, it became very common to portray refugees as threats to society (Pennington, 2019), and racism and anti-immigration rhetoric have been prominent in the European media (Ekman, 2019). Social media has increasingly become a ground for the quick spread of racist, anti-immigrant, and anti-refugee discourses (Ekman, 2018; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). There were multiple instances where refugees were represented as terrorists through hashtags such as #refugeesNOTwelcome (Kreis, 2017; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015), or even as potential criminals who pose threats to public safety through neologisms such as "rapefugee" (Wurschinger et. al, 2016).

The rise of anti-Syrian discourses and even hate speech have been apparent in the social media in Türkiye as well and there are studies analyzing these discourses (Özerim & Tolay, 2021; Küçük & Koçak, 2020; Yaşa & Öksüz, 2020; Bozdağ, 2019; İşçi & Uludağ, 2019; Toprak, 2018; Kardeş, Banko, & Akman, 2017; Özdemir & Öner-Özkan, 2016; Yıldırım & Yurtdaş, 2016). A study (Bozdağ, 2019) analyzing discursive positions about Syrian refugees on Twitter showed how a discussion on Syrians' citizenship gave way to pro- and anti-Syrian discourses simultaneously. The majority of the tweets were against giving Syrians citizenship status in Türkiye.

The findings of the literature on the relationship between social media use and attitudes toward immigrants are inconclusive. Studies show that mediating variables or the type or reason of social media use may influence the effects of social media use on attitudes toward immigrants. A study (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021) on the relationship between social media use and anti-immigrant attitudes in Singapore showed that consumptive use of social media, defined as reading rather than posting comments, and anti-immigrant attitudes were negatively related. Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang's (2020) study on anti-Asian attitudes during the pandemic in the United States analyzed the relationship between social media use and the level of prejudice. The findings showed that the relationship was mediated by the level of trust in social media: the negative correlation between social media use and prejudicial attitudes was higher for those with higher levels of trust in social media. In another study (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021) on anti-Chinese attitudes in Singapore during the pandemic, the use of social media for news was identified to increase stereotyping and prejudice.

There is only one experimental study (Van Het Hof, Bakır & Birol, 2018) on the effect of the media on attitudes toward Syrians among university students in Türkiye. After watching a video on the experiences of Syrians, the experimental group was found to have more empathy and tolerance toward Syrians compared to the control group.

1.3. Socialization and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

Few studies on prejudice against immigrants include socialization as an independent variable. A study (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021) conducted in Singapore on anti-Chinese attitudes during the pandemic found that stereotyping and prejudice were less common in participants with more extensive social networks. However, studies that analyze the relationship between contact with minority groups and prejudice are more common. Based on the assumptions of intergroup contact

theory, which proposes that prejudice can be reduced and tolerance can be increased by contact with individuals from ethnic groups under certain conditions (Allport, 1954), the effect of contact with the immigrant or ethnic minority groups on attitudes toward immigrants have frequently been studied. Studies that include “contact with the outgroup” or “intergroup contact” as independent variables in their analysis demonstrate that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice (De Coninck, Rodriguez-de-Dios, d’Haenens, 2020; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This means that increased contact may reduce prejudice against ethnic minorities in society. Consequently, intergroup contact has been suggested as a means of preventing conflict among different groups (Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013). For example, a longitudinal study (Binder et al. 2009) conducted on school children in Germany, Belgium, and England showed a bidirectional causal relationship between contact and prejudice: Contact reduced prejudice against ethnic minorities among ethnic majority children, and prejudice was found to reduce contact. However, the nature of contact seems to make a difference. Random contact is not always found to reduce prejudice nor intergroup conflict, and the quality of contact is found to be more important than its frequency (De-Coninck et al, 2020). In addition, the perceived size of the immigrant group affects negative prejudice against immigrants (Strabac, 2009) and frequent contact may have an adverse effect on attitudes toward immigrants by creating the illusion of a larger immigrant group size. For example, Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang’s (2020) study on anti-Asian attitudes during the pandemic showed that frequent contact with Asian people in daily life increased negative attitudes against Asians in the United States after controlling for sociodemographic variables.

The most frequently studied socialization related issue is the effects of friendships on adolescents’ attitudes toward immigrants. One study (Miklikowska, 2017) showed that adolescents with immigrant friends were affected less by their peers’ or parents’ anti-immigrant attitudes. A longitudinal study on German adolescents showed that gaining an ethnic German immigrant friend from the former Soviet Union over the course of three measurement points reduced negative prejudice among native German youth (Titzman, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015). Therefore, it can be argued that socialization with the outgroup in the form of friendships may decrease prejudice against the outgroup. On the other hand, having friends with high levels of prejudice against other ethnic groups was identified to have the opposite effect. For instance, a study conducted in Sweden showed that being surrounded by prejudiced peers increases the possibility of being involved in ethnic harassment (Özdemir, Sun, Korol, Özdemir, & Stattin, 2018). Similarly, friends’ tolerance predicted increased tolerance toward immigrants in another adolescent sample in Sweden (Van Zalk, Kerr, van Zalk, Stattin, 2013).

Political socialization may also play a role in anti-immigrant attitudes. A longitudinal study (Lundberg & Abdelzadeh, 2021) on the relationship between adolescents’ engagement in voluntary work and anti-immigrant attitudes in Sweden showed that the length of volunteer work had a positive impact on the decrease of anti-immigrant attitudes among adolescents.

The reviewed literature on the relationship between socialization and anti-immigrant attitudes suggests that random contact with the members of immigrant groups may increase prejudice and create the impression, in the eyes of the majority group, that immigrants are higher in number than they are. On the other hand, having close contact with immigrants such as in the form of friendships may decrease anti-immigrant attitudes. Close contacts probably help the individuals go beyond the category of “refugee” and perceive minority group members in a more holistic way.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data

We used data from the Turkish Youth Survey (TYS) which was conducted by the Youth NGO's Platform (*Türkiye Gençlik STK'ları Platformu*) in 2018. TYS completed 7,949 face-to-face interviews with individuals between the ages of 18 and 30 in the 12 NUTS-1 regions of Türkiye using a random stratified sampling method. Among other things, the questionnaire includes questions about the participants' socio-demographic characteristics, and about cultural and political attitudes and behaviors. Our findings suggest that where the amount of time spent using social media was high anti-immigrant attitudes increased. On the other hand, respondents who said that they were adequately socializing in their daily lives were less likely to claim not to want to live in the same neighborhood as the Syrian immigrants.

2.2. Measurements

2.2.1. Dependent Variable

TYS asked the participants if they would live with ten different groups of people in the same neighborhood. These ten groups were (1) alcoholics, (2) LGBT individuals, (3) drug users, (4) Syrian immigrants, (5) people from other religions, (6) criminals, (7) people who speak different native languages, (8) people who have AIDS, (9) people from other races and nations, and (10) people with different political opinions. Responses to these questions were (1) Yes, I would, (2) No, I would not, (3) Undecided and (4) No Response. The last category (No Response) was coded as missing values in the data set. In the final analyses (Multinomial Logistics Regression) we compared the odds of saying "No, I would not" and "Undecided" to the odds of saying "Yes, I would." Therefore, the response of "Yes I would" was the reference category in our analyses.

2.2.2. Independent Variables

There were two major independent variables of this research. The first was the time spent using social media. TYS asked respondents how many hours on average they spend using social media. Therefore, the theoretical range of this variable was 0 to 24. We looked at the distribution of the responses and observed that 48 respondents (0.7 % of all cases) reported more than 12 hours of social media use daily. Of these 48, 14 said that they use social media 24 hours a day. We merged values between 13 and 24 to the category of 13 hours or more. Therefore, the final social media usage variable ranged from 0 (never) to 13 (13 hours or more). In further analyses, we used this variable as a numerical scale. The second major independent variable was the adequacy of participation in daily social life. TYS asked the young adults if they thought they were adequately socializing. Responses for this question included "Yes" and "No." In the regression analyses, we used "No" as the reference category.

2.2.3. Control Variables

The control variables were gender, age, employment status, educational level, household income, satisfaction with financial situation and political ideology spectrum. We used age as a continuous variable, ranging between 18 and 30. The gender variable included the categories of male and female. We use females as the reference group in the regression tables. Employment status included five categories: (1) Student/Not working, (2) student and working (3) unemployed but not looking for a job, (4) unemployed and looking for a job, (5) employed. For further analyses, we merged the categories of "unemployed but not looking for a job", and "unemployed and look-

ing for a job” as the category of unemployed. Therefore, the new employment variable had four categories. These were: (1) student/not working, (2) student and working (3) unemployed, and (4) employed. In regression analyses, we used the category of “employed” as the reference group. In the TYS data set, household income was measured using 12 monthly income brackets (1 = 0 to 2,000 Liras, 12 = 7,500 Liras or more). To test the impact of relative perception of income, we used satisfaction with household income levels. In the TYS data set household income satisfaction level was included as a 5-item Likert-scale variable: (1) very unsatisfied, (2) unsatisfied, (3) neither satisfied nor unsatisfied, (4) satisfied and (5) very satisfied. We used both household income and the satisfaction with income variables as scale variables in other analyses without any transformation. The education of the respondents was another demographic variable we used as a control variable. Interviewees were asked about the highest educational degree they had earned. Responses to this question ranged from 1 (Illiterate, no formal schooling), to 7 (Master’s or PhD). We also included information about the education of the respondents’ parents. TYP asked the respondents about the highest degree their mothers and fathers had earned. Like the individual level education variables, the education level of both mothers and fathers ranged from 1 to 7.

Because we were interested in how socialization characteristics of young adults affect their attitudes towards immigrants, we wanted a control variable for the type of family and type of residence. In TYS, respondents were asked to indicate their family type from three options. These were (1) nuclear family, (2) extended family and (3) separated family. We used the nuclear family as the reference in this research. TYS asked the respondents the question “Where are you staying and with whom are you sharing this place?”. Eight response categories were presented to the study participants for this question. These were: (1) with my family, (2) with my friends in an apartment/ house, (3) living alone at a place I rent, (4) living alone at a place I own , (5) with my relatives, (6) at a state-owned dormitory, (7) at a university dormitory, (8) at a private dormitory. We merged the categories of “living alone at a place I rent”, and “living alone at a place I own ” into a single category of “living alone.” Similarly, we combined the responses of “at a state-owned dormitory”, “at a university dormitory”, and “at a private dormitory” into the category of “living at a dormitory.” Therefore, we reduced the type of residence categories from 8 to 5: (1) with my family, (2) with my friends, (3) living alone (4) with my relatives, and (5) in a dormitory. We use “living with family” as the reference group.

TYP asked the respondents to locate themselves on the left to right political ideology spectrum, ranging from 1 to 10. On this scale, 1 indicates far left and 10 indicates far right. We used these variables as a numerical scale in the regression analyses.

3. Findings

Figure 1 represents the frequencies of responses to the question of whether the respondents would live with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood. The vast majority of young adults in Türkiye (69.5%) said that they would not want to live in the same neighborhood as Syrian immigrants. Only one-fifth of the same population (20.5%) responded positively. A smaller proportion (10%) said that they were undecided. Figure 2 depicts the proportion of those who said they think they adequately socialize and the proportion of those who said they do not. Exactly three-quarters of the participants (75%) said that they think they are adequately socializing. However, the remaining 25% reported that their socialization is not adequate.

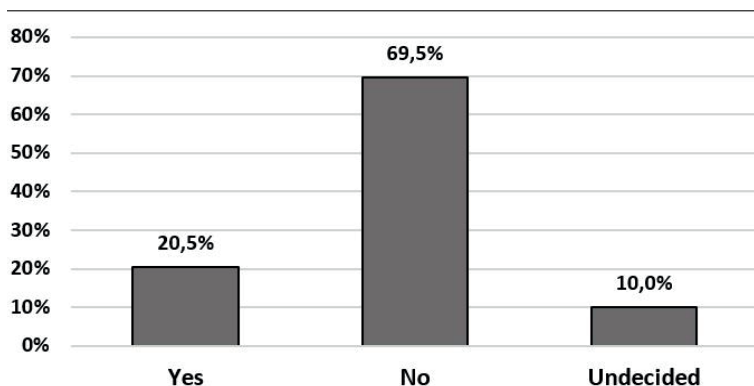


Figure 1: Attitudes towards living with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood

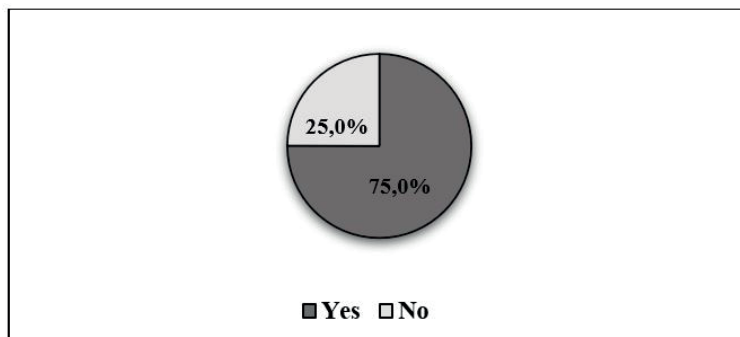


Figure 2: Feeling adequately socialized

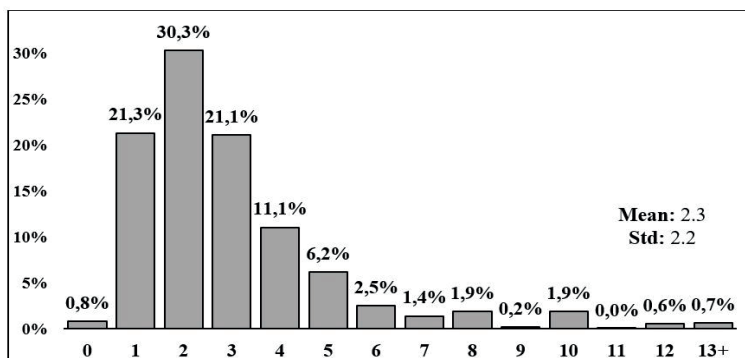


Figure 3: Number of hours spent on social media

Figure 3 shows the frequency distribution for the number of hours young adults spend using social media. The same figure also includes the mean and standard deviation for the same variable. This figure shows that only a very small fraction of the sample (0.8%) said that they never use social media. Most of the respondents (70.7 %) said that they spend up to one (21.3%), two (30.3%) or three hours (21.1%) on social media during a typical day. Around 20% reported that they spend between 4 to 6 hours for the purpose. Around 10% said that they usually spend more than 7 hours or more on social media.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the control variables. More than half of the same are males (53.3%). The vast majority of the young adults (88.1%) are living with their families. The second largest group are the respondents who are living with their friends (4.6%). Most of the young adults in Türkiye are part of nuclear families (81%). Smaller proportions belong to extended (14%) or separated families (4%). Slightly more than half of the sample (51%) consists of students who do not work. Around a quarter of them are employed and are not students (27.1%). Closer to one-fifth (18.1%) of them are currently unemployed.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the control variables

| | | % | Min | Max | Mean | St. Dev. |
|-------------|------------------------------|------|-----|-----|------|----------|
| | Female | 46.7 | - | - | - | - |
| | Male | 53.3 | - | - | - | - |
| Employment | Student Not Working | 51.0 | - | - | - | - |
| | Student Working | 3.9 | - | - | - | - |
| | Employed | 27.1 | - | - | - | - |
| | Unemployed | 18.1 | - | - | - | - |
| Family Type | Nuclear Family | 81.0 | - | - | - | - |
| | Extended Family | 15.0 | - | - | - | - |
| | Separated Family | 4.0 | - | - | - | - |
| Residence | Dormitory | 2.0 | - | - | - | - |
| | With Friends at an Apartment | 4.6 | - | - | - | - |
| | Living Alone | 4.2 | - | - | - | - |
| | With Relatives | 1.1 | - | - | - | - |
| | With Family | 88.1 | - | - | - | - |
| | Age | - | 15 | 30 | 21.9 | 4.5 |
| | Education | - | 1 | 7 | 4.8 | 0.9 |
| | Family Income | - | 1 | 12 | 3.9 | 2.5 |
| | Income Satisfaction | - | 1 | 5 | 2.9 | 1.1 |
| | Mother's Education | - | 1 | 7 | 3.5 | 1.2 |
| | Father's Education | - | 1 | 7 | 4.0 | 1.2 |
| | Political Ideology | - | 1 | 10 | 6.0 | 2.5 |

Table 2 presents multinomial logistic regression results that predict the odds of saying “no, I do not want to live with the Syrians in the same neighborhood” and saying “I am undecided” in comparison to saying, “yes, I would live with the Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood”. This table reveals that among the young adults in Türkiye, men and women are not significantly different in terms of their attitudes toward the Syrian immigrants. However, age is a significant predictor. As the young adults grow older, the odds of saying “no” and saying “I am undecided”

decrease in comparison to saying “yes.” This means that on average anti-immigrant attitudes are more prevalent in the earlier stages of adulthood in Turkish society. On the other hand, increases in household income and income satisfaction levels reduce the likelihood of saying “no,” but increases in these variables do not make any significant difference in terms of saying “I am undecided” in comparison to saying “yes”. These findings imply that individuals with higher income levels and individuals with higher levels of satisfaction with their economic resources are less likely to have negative attitudes towards Syrian immigrants in Türkiye.

Table 2: Multinomial logistic regression results predicting anti-immigrant attitudes

| | No | | | | Undecided | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-----|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | |
| Intercept | 1.817 | *** | | | .199 | * | | | |
| Female | -.017 | | .984 | .860 | 1.125 | -.035 | .966 | .790 | 1.181 |
| Male | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Age | -.025 | ** | .975 | .957 | .993 | -.029 | * .971 | .944 | .999 |
| Education | .010 | | 1.010 | .931 | 1.097 | -.012 | .988 | .874 | 1.116 |
| Household Income | -.034 | ** | .966 | .941 | .993 | .003 | 1.003 | .963 | 1.044 |
| Income Satisfaction | -.165 | *** | .848 | .796 | .904 | .023 | 1.023 | .929 | 1.126 |
| Student Not Working | .074 | | 1.077 | .873 | 1.329 | -.116 | .890 | .651 | 1.218 |
| Student Working | -.086 | | .917 | .627 | 1.342 | -.298 | .742 | .407 | 1.353 |
| Employed | -.219 | * | .804 | .657 | .983 | -.103 | .902 | .669 | 1.218 |
| Unemployed | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Political Ideology | .095 | *** | 1.099 | 1.071 | 1.129 | .055 | * 1.056 | 1.015 | 1.099 |
| Mother’s Education | .106 | ** | 1.111 | 1.036 | 1.192 | -.059 | .943 | .849 | 1.047 |
| Father’s Education | -.078 | * | .925 | .862 | .992 | -.004 | .996 | .897 | 1.105 |
| Separated Family | -.136 | | .873 | .609 | 1.251 | .171 | 1.187 | .696 | 2.023 |
| Extended Family | .130 | | 1.139 | .940 | 1.381 | .147 | 1.158 | .877 | 1.530 |
| Nuclear Family | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Dormitory | -.074 | | .928 | .570 | 1.512 | .224 | 1.251 | .635 | 2.464 |
| With Friends at an Apartment | -.348 | * | .706 | .533 | .935 | -.593 | * .553 | .338 | .904 |
| Living Alone | .146 | | 1.157 | .794 | 1.686 | .071 | 1.073 | .613 | 1.878 |
| With Relatives | -.473 | | .623 | .346 | 1.123 | -.126 | .882 | .376 | 2.070 |
| With Family | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Time Spent on Social Media | .055 | ** | 1.056 | 1.023 | 1.091 | .016 | ** 1.016 | .968 | 1.066 |
| Adequate Socialization (Yes) | -.165 | * | .848 | .722 | .996 | -.333 | .717 | .569 | .904 |
| Adequate Socialization (No) | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

In the same table, we see that being employed in comparison to being unemployed reduces the likelihood of saying “no” but it does not significantly reduce the odds of being undecided as opposed to saying “yes”. Being a working or non-working student does not make a significant difference. Therefore, the main difference is between the employed and unemployed in terms of saying “yes, I would live with Syrian immigrants” and saying “no, I do not want to live with them”. These findings indicate, not surprisingly, that unemployed younger adults are less welcoming of Syrian immigrants in comparison to employed young adults.

Political ideology is a significant predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes. The positive significant coefficients of the political ideology variable reported in Table 2 indicate that there is an increase in anti-immigrant attitudes as we move from leftist ideologies to the right. Therefore, young adults who are closer to right-wing ideologies are less welcoming of Syrian refugees in Türkiye.

Respondents' education does not make a significant difference. However, their parents' education does, albeit in different ways. Increases in fathers' educational levels reduce the likelihood of saying 'no.' On the other hand, increases in mothers' education are associated with the odds of not accepting to live with Syrians in the same neighborhood. In this research, we also investigated if family types hold a significant impact on the young adults' attitudes towards Syrians. Table 2 reveals that respondents from nuclear families are not different from the members of extended families or separated families in this regard. As for the type of residence, only those who are staying with friends in an apartment are significantly different from those who are living with their families. The first group is more likely to say "yes, I would live with the Syrians in the same neighborhood" in comparison to saying "no" or "undecided". In other words, young adults who stay with their friends are more welcoming of Syrians.

Time spent using social media is a significant predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes. Controlling for all the other independent variables included in the model, an increase in the amount of time young adults spend using social media increases the likelihood of saying "No, I do not want to live in the same neighborhood as the Syrians" and the likelihood of saying "undecided" in comparison to saying "yes." Put differently, those who spend less time on social media are more likely to be open to the idea of living with Syrians in the same neighborhood.

The findings indicate that those who say they are adequately socializing are less likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. The odds of saying "no, I do not want to live with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood" are lower for those who say that they think they are adequately socializing in their daily lives. Yet, the odds of saying "I am undecided" are not significantly different from the odds of saying "yes."

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Confirming the findings of several previous studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016), our findings indicate that the vast majority of young adults in Türkiye have negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees, as only 20.5% of the sample said they wanted to live in the same neighborhood as them. Until the arrival of Syrian refugees, Türkiye did not have a visible immigrant population. The TYS questionnaire did not ask the respondents if they would live with immigrants, but they only asked the respondents if they would live with Syrian immigrants. This is an indication that Syrians are perceived as a broad category of immigrants in Türkiye. However, a more detailed study exclusively on attitudes towards immigrants and refugees in Türkiye should include other groups such as Afghans, Iraqis, or Turkmens.

Our findings indicate that young people who spend more time on social media are more likely to have negative attitudes against Syrian immigrants in Türkiye. This finding is in contrast with one previous research study which found that consumptive use of social media (the use of social media in the form of reading comments) and anti-immigrant attitudes were negatively related (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021). However, another study conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic in Singapore showed the use of social media increased prejudice against Chinese people (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021). Based on this contradictory finding, we can argue that the relationship between social media use and anti-immigrant attitudes may be context-bound. The social media platform could also make a difference in anti-immigrant attitudes. However, the survey questionnaire data we used in this paper does not allow us to explore what social media platforms the young adults are using and how they are using them. We also do not know what young people see or say about Syrian immigrants on these platforms. Furthermore, the data set

did not provide us with the opportunity of analyzing any mediating variables such as the type of social media use or the level of trust in social media, which were identified as important factors in previous research (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021; Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang, 2020). The analysis only revealed that the more time young people spend on social media, the more unwelcoming they become towards these groups of immigrants. Future research should include other potential mediators, moderators, and interaction effects in their research design.

Higher household income levels and satisfaction with economic resources are negative predictors of anti-immigrant attitudes. Being employed in comparison to being unemployed has a similar impact. This finding is supported by some previous research, which suggests that higher socioeconomic status reduces anti-immigrant sentiments (Gálvez, Pérez, Cousinou, Azkona, & Domínguez, 2020) and stress regarding resources, jobs and poverty increases negative attitudes towards immigrants (Mierina & Koroleva, 2015). On the other hand, immigration-related social and cultural (sociotropic) concerns might be shaping the attitudes, not the socioeconomic status per se (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Therefore, further research is warranted to explore the relationship between socioeconomic status and anti-immigrant sentiments in Türkiye.

Our findings revealed that parents' education also affects the participants' attitudes toward Syrians. Where the level of education experienced by fathers is high participants are more open to living with Syrians in the same neighborhood. However, higher education levels experienced by mothers indicated a negative predictor of hospitality towards the Syrians. This might be related to modernization and secularization. Respondents whose mothers are highly educated in Türkiye come from more modern and secular backgrounds because women living in cities had earlier and easier access to education. Because the vast majority of Syrian immigrants are of Muslim and Arabic background, some secular and nationalist groups seem to have negative attitudes towards the presence of Syrians in Türkiye. This might be the reason why being open to the idea of living in the same neighborhood as Syrians is lower among the young adults whose mothers have higher levels of education. Nonetheless, these unsystematic observations and assumptions should be investigated further.

The factor of socialization has limited capacity to explain the large proportion of the young adults' negative or positive attitudes towards Syrians; at least in the way the survey we used (TYS) measured it. Our socialization analysis is based on the survey question "Do you think you are adequately socializing?" The majority of the respondents said that they think they are adequately socializing. The regression analyses indicated that adequate socialization tends to reduce negative attitudes towards immigrants in line with the previous research (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021). We also see that the majority of the respondents displayed negative attitudes towards the Syrian immigrants. This is an indication that a large proportion of those who think they are adequately socializing also have negative attitudes. Yet, we understand from the multinomial regression analysis results that the proportion of those who have negative attitudes towards the Syrians is higher among those who think they are lacking in the area of socialization. The survey used in the present study has limitations regarding how socialization is measured. One question is not sufficient to analyze the socialization construct, which has different dimensions. The term "adequate socializing" needs further elaboration. Particularly, the participants' level and type (random contact, friendship) of contact with Syrians would provide valuable insight for the current study's research question. Socialization in the current form provides a thin relationship between participants' understanding of their socialization and their perceptions regarding Syrians. The actual social or psychological mechanism by which inadequate socialization in daily life leads to an-

ti-immigrant attitudes requires further systematic investigation. It is worth exploring the relevance of intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), and seeing if increased contact with Syrians reduces the negative attitudes of the youth toward Syrians. Several studies on university students' attitudes in Türkiye (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021; Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021; Şen & Keskin, 2019) support the argument that contact with refugees reduces anti-refugee sentiments, but further research is warranted. Future research should include different dimensions of socialization such as the quality and frequency of the contact. The interactions of factors such as socialization, the perceptions toward immigrants (perceived threat or perceived size of the minority group), and anti-immigrant attitudes should be explored. Lastly, political socialization should be included as an important aspect of socialization.

Lastly, there is a need for more recent data as the data was collected in 2018. Türkiye has been going through several social and political developments such as the 2019 local elections, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the war in Ukraine. Erdoğan (2019) identifies 2017 as the year in which Turkish public opinion towards Syrians turned from positive to negative. It is worth exploring whether and in what ways recent societal changes have transformed public opinion again.

Ethics Committee Approval: We used secondary data for this manuscript. The data is quantitative survey data and does not include any identifiable personal data. Therefore, we did not need an ethical approval.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Author Contributions: Conception/Design of Study- Z.N., A.N.; Data Acquisition- Z.N., A.N.; Data Analysis/Interpretation- Z.N., A.N.; Drafting Manuscript- Z.N., A.N.; Critical Revision of Manuscript- Z.N., A.N.; Final Approval and Accountability- Z.N., A.N.

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Research Article

The Relationship between School Socioeconomic Composition and Academic Achievement in Turkiye

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ABSTRACT

The socioeconomic distribution of students influences school contexts and learning processes. In this manner, a school's socioeconomic composition has the remarkable potential to shape school climate. This study examines the relationship socioeconomic status (SES) at both the student and school levels has with academic achievement for the first time in Turkiye with regard to academic and vocational tracks. High-stake assessment data of more than 1.4 million students over the last 10 years have been analyzed using two-level hierarchical linear modelling (HLM). The results show parents' education level to be a significant predictor for both academic and vocational tracks, while family income significantly predicts academic achievement just in regard to vocational track. The results highlight both students' and peers' SES to be significantly related to their academic achievement. Additionally, parents' education level is a stronger predictor of achievement than family income level. The results also emphasize the importance the recent improvements and academic support programs from the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) have had in alleviating achievement gaps among schools.

Keywords: School climate, socioeconomic status, academic achievement, equality in education, school tracking



1. Introduction

Schools are the main educational environment for students, and a school's characteristics consequently have a clear and significant impact on the quality of education. Early studies on the relationship between school environment and student achievement investigated schools' physical characteristics (Galloway, 2020; Kuperminc et al., 1997). Although these studies largely indicated the physical characteristics of a school to be significantly related to student achievement, these relationships are relatively weak, and the results vary significantly across countries and contexts (Barrett, 2019; Galloway, 2020; Ligaya et al., 2016). Over time, research has shown schools' psychological environments to play a more comprehensive and decisive role in shaping educational outcomes.

Although a general consensus is found that school climate is critical for educational outcomes, the definition and components of school climate vary considerably among models (Anderson, 1982; Lehr & Christenson, 2001; Manning & Saddlemire, 2016; Marshall, 2014). The school climate mostly addresses the quality and character of school life and educational experiences (Galloway, 2020; Zullig & Matthews, 2014). Considering that different stakeholders constantly interact with the school environment, one can reasonably assert that many factors exist that affect the quality of school life (Marshall, 2004).

Although the elements of school climate vary among models, the major dimensions include school safety, interpersonal relations, learning and teaching, and educational environment (Galloway, 2020; Marshall, 2004) and thus encompass many educational factors at play in schools. Therefore, these dimensions must be considered in order to achieve solid improvements at the school level.

Despite the fact that all local stakeholders impact school climate, students are also major players in how school climate forms (Darling-Hammond & Cook-Harvey, 2018). Thus, school climate and educational outcomes may differ in educational institutions with relatively similar characteristics, given their unique student populations. In this manner, students' characteristics have a greater impact on school climate than the characteristics of teachers or administrators.

At present, the concept of socioeconomic status (SES) has been used extensively to represent students' resources and capital outside of school (Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Broer et al., 2019). Studies on the relationships among SES, school characteristics, and academic achievement increased significantly after the Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966) was published in the United States. Such studies illustrate that SES-advantaged families provide greater support to their children and allocate significantly more resources and budget to education (Blandin, 2016). On the other side, SES-disadvantaged families largely attach inadequate importance and resources to education (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Gooding, 2001; Khan et al., 1999; Orr, 2003). Therefore, children from SES-advantaged families have more resources and opportunities to be successful in an educational context.

While this significant relationship between SES and academic achievement is important for school climate, it may also lead to major differences with regard to education types. Research has indicated that students studying in vocational education and training (VET) programs in many countries, including Türkiye, have a relatively lower SES background than their peers enrolled in more academically-focused institutions (Özer, 2019, 2020a, 2021a, 2021b; Suna et al., 2020, 2021; Suna & Özer, 2021). Teachers' expectations toward these students may change based on their socioeconomic disadvantages, and significantly greater numbers of students may need academic support in these institutions. Additionally, school tracking practices contribute to grouping

SES-disadvantaged students in VET institutions (Özer, 2020a; Suna et al., 2020; Suna & Özer, 2020). This minimizes student heterogeneity within schools, limits the effectiveness of learning methods (e.g., peer education), and decreases teachers' expectations from their students (Bölükbaş & Gür, 2020; Slavin & Braddock, 1993). In this context, school tracking practices affect diverse elements of school climate (Meier & Schütz, 2007; Van Houtte, 2004).

Grouping SES-disadvantaged students in VET institutions through school tracking creates new challenges for building a positive school climate (Özer & Suna, 2019, 2020). Meanwhile, studies on the relationship between school SES composition and academic achievement are limited (Berger & Archer, 2016; Caldas & Bankston, 1997; Education Reform Initiative [ERG], 2014; Li & Dockery, 2015). Research on the relationships between school characteristics and academic achievement in Türkiye has largely focused on schools' physical characteristics (Al Şensoy & Sağsöz, 2015; ERG, 2009), school environment (Demirtaş, 2010), and school administrators' leadership styles (Bozkurt & Aslanargun, 2015). However, few studies in Türkiye have examined the relationship between school SES composition and academic achievement (Arifoğlu, 2019; Aydın, 2015; Ersan & Rodriguez, 2020). Therefore, the present study aims to examine the relationship between SES composition and academic achievement at both the student and school levels according to education types. In this context, the research results show unique features. First, the study has obtained generalizable results using student population data from more than 1.4 million students who've taken the central exam over the last 12 years. Second, the study has examined the relationship between SES and academic achievement with regard to vocational and academic schools and evaluated the results comparatively. At the time of publication, this study is the first in Türkiye to examine the relationship between SES and academic achievement across multiple levels and education types.

Research Purpose

This study aims to examine the relationship between SES and academic achievement at both the student and school levels and to evaluate how this relationship changes across different types of schools (i.e., vocational high schools compared to academic high schools). Thus, this study seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. Does a significant relationship exist between students' academic achievement and SES at the student and school levels?
2. Do the relationships between students' academic achievement and SES at the student and school levels differ according to school type?
 - a. Do academic achievement and SES have a significant relationship in academic high schools at the student and/or school levels?
 - b. Do academic achievement and SES have a significant relationship in vocational high schools at the student and/or school levels?

2. Method

2.1. Research Design

This research examines the relationship between socioeconomic variables and student achievement at different levels and was thus designed as a correlational study. Correlational studies focus on the in-depth relationship between variables without any external interventions (Creswell, 2012). In this context, the high-stakes assessment scores of the students who had participated in national central exams over the last 12 years were used as an indicator of academic achievement.

The total years of education these students' parents received as well as their family income levels were considered as SES indicators.

2.2. Population

This study uses the data of all students who had participated in secondary education entrance exams in the last twelve years without any missing data to evaluate the relationship between SES and academic achievement in the most generalizable way. Consequently, the population of the study consists of 1,406,115 students from 6,724 different high schools who had studied in the 12th grade between 2010 and 2021. Using student population data allows researchers to be able to generalize outputs without any sampling method. Table 1 provides the demographic distribution of the student population.

Table 1: Demographic Distribution of Students in the Research Population

| Variable | Group | All High Schools | | Academic High Schools | | Vocational (VET) High Schools | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|
| | | <i>n</i> | % | <i>n</i> | % | <i>n</i> | % |
| Gender | Female | 780,809 | 55.5% | 377,690 | 56.5% | 274,784 | 52.1% |
| | Male | 625,306 | 44.5% | 290,439 | 43.5% | 252,770 | 47.9% |
| Family Income Level | Low | 294,041 | 20.9% | 109,328 | 16.4% | 132,730 | 25.2% |
| | Medium | 688,736 | 49.0% | 316,061 | 47.3% | 269,083 | 51.0% |
| | High | 423,338 | 30.1% | 242,740 | 36.3% | 125,741 | 23.8% |
| Parents' Total Years of Education | 1–10 | 594,457 | 42.3% | 214,900 | 32.2% | 267,906 | 50.8% |
| | 11–20 | 520,069 | 37.0% | 240,091 | 35.9% | 202,416 | 38.4% |
| | 21–30 | 229,319 | 16.3% | 156,869 | 23.5% | 53,896 | 10.2% |
| | 31+ | 62,270 | 4.4% | 56,269 | 8.4% | 3,336 | 0.6% |
| Total | | 1,406,115 | 100% | 668,129 | 100% | 527,554 | 100% |

Table 1 shows the gender distribution to be quite balanced, with 55.5% of the students in the research population is female and 44.5% is male. The higher number of female students is in line with recent Ministry of National Education formal education statistics (MoNE, 2021). Additionally, about half of the student population group's families are at the middle-income level. Table 1 indicates the rate of VET students at the low-income level (25.2%) to be higher than the percentage of similarly socioeconomically disadvantaged students enrolled in academic high schools (16.4%). The percentage of students whose parents had received 31 years or more of total education is 8.4% in academic high schools, but drops to 0.6% for students in VET high schools. Therefore, the key demographic differences between students enrolled in these two types of schools are clearly reflected in the research population.

2.3. Data Collection and Analysis

The student data employed in this study have been used with the official permission of MoNE's Information Technologies Department (Official Permission No. 65968543/622.01-E.16394481). Students' scores on high-stakes assessment exams and data regarding socioeconomic indicators were obtained from the MoNE online school system. The data on parents' education and family income levels are based on the students' personal statements (self-reports) provided with the approval of their teachers. To quantify the education levels of the students' parents, the average of the parents' years of education was calculated according to the schema provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Parents' Average Years of Education

| Education Level | Average Years of Education |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Illiterate | 1 |
| Primary School | 5 |
| Secondary School | 8 |
| Primary | 8 |
| High School | 12 |
| Upper Secondary Education | 12 |
| Associate's Degree | 14 |
| Three-Year Education Institute | 15 |
| Undergraduate | 16 |
| Postgraduate – Master Degree | 18 |
| Doctorate | 21 |

As seen in Table 2, parents' total years of education in this study are able to range from 2–42 years. Moreover, the average income level was evaluated at three stages: high (3), medium (2), or low (1) based on students' self-reports. The school-level indicators of socioeconomic characteristics take into consideration the school-level means for the parents' total years of education and income levels.

To measure students' academic achievement, this study uses the high-stakes testing scores from the central examinations used to track students into secondary education institutions over the last 12 years. Given the time period under investigation (2010–2021), the central examinations include both the Level Specifying Exam (SBS) and Transition from Middle School to High School Exam (TEOG). As an indicator of school-level achievement, the mean of students' central exam scores was calculated for each individual school. Schools with fewer than 30 students ($n < 30$) were excluded from the analysis due to inadequate data representation. Anatolian high schools, science high schools, and social science high schools were considered among the academic high schools, while vocational and technical Anatolian high schools, Anatolian fine arts high schools, and sports high schools were considered among the VET high schools.

Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) was used to examine the relationship between SES and academic achievement at both the student and school levels. HLM is an analysis method that allows one to examine the relationships among variables at multiple levels in nested designs where students are grouped in schools (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002; Woltman et al., 2012). HLM reduces estimation errors by considering the common variance between variables at different levels. Given its suitability for the research purpose and the advantages it provides, this study uses two-level HLM analysis.

3. Findings

3.1. Findings on the Relationship Between Students' Academic Achievement and SES at the Student and School Levels

The two-level HLM analyses were performed with the entire student population. The outcomes of these analyses are provided in Table 3.

Table 3: Two-Level HLM Results on the Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement for the Total Student Population

| Confidence estimate | | 0.992 | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|--------|
| Fixed Effect | Coefficient | Standard Error | t-statistic | df | p |
| <i>Level 2</i> | | | | | |
| Intercept | 142.4 | 5.92 | 24.07 | 6,721 | <0.001 |
| Parents' Total Years of Education | 8.78 | 0.19 | 45.83 | 6,721 | <0.001 |
| Family Income Level | 26.54 | 3.78 | 7.02 | 6,721 | <0.001 |
| <i>Level 1</i> | | | | | |
| Parents' Total Years of Education | 0.60 | 0.01 | 47.98 | 1,399,389 | <0.001 |
| Income Level | 1.25 | 0.08 | 15.21 | 1,399,389 | <0.001 |

As seen in Table 3, when including all students in the analysis, the relationships between socioeconomic variables and academic achievement are significant both at the student and school levels. In other words, both parents' years of education and family income level have a significant relationship with academic achievement. Additionally, the finding that the relationship between academic achievement and parents' total education is stronger than the one between student achievement and family income is also significant. At both levels, the *t*-statistics on the relationship between parents' total education and student achievement are significantly higher than the those regarding family income level and student achievement. Moreover, student achievement is related to both their peers' income level and parents' years of education. Moreover, student academic achievement has a stronger association with the education period of both their own parents and their peers' parents.

3.2. The Relationship Between Students' Academic Achievement and SES at the Student and School Levels According to School Type

The two-level HLM analyses were then performed with student groups from different school types. Tables 4 and 5 present the findings from these analyses.

Table 4: Two-Level HLM Results on the Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement for Academic High Schools

| Reliability Estimation | | 0.992 | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|---------|--------|
| Fixed Effect | Coefficient | Standard Error | t-statistic | SD | p |
| <i>Level 2</i> | | | | | |
| Intercept | 271.97 | 8.58 | 31.70 | 3,262 | <0.001 |
| Parents' Total Years of Education | 7.06 | 0.25 | 28.28 | 3,262 | <0.001 |
| Family Income Level | -8.14 | 5.34 | -1.53 | 3,262 | 0.127 |
| <i>Level 1</i> | | | | | |
| Parents' Total Years of Education | 0.50 | 0.01 | 36.82 | 664,862 | <0.001 |
| Family Income Level | -0.29 | 0.10 | -2.88 | 664,862 | 0.004 |

As seen in Table 4, the findings for academic high schools differ significantly than those for VET high schools. According to the findings in Table 4, the only socioeconomic variable significantly associated with academic achievement regarding academic high schools is parents' total years of education (school level: $t = 28.28$, $p < 0.001$; student level: $t = 36.82$, $p < 0.001$). In other words, family income level did not have a significant relationship with academic achievement at

the student level ($t = -2.88, p > 0.001$) or school level ($t = -1.53, p > 0.001$). This finding indicates that parents' educational attainment is much more effective at increasing student achievement, while family income is not a significant predictor of student achievement in academic high schools. Therefore, the years of education for students' own parents and their peers' parents become more critical in terms of student achievement in academic high schools.

The findings regarding the relationships between socioeconomic characteristics and academic achievement in VET high schools are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Two-Level HLM Results on the Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement for VET High Schools

| Reliability Estimation | | 0.992 | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|
| Fixed Effect | Coefficient | Standard Error | <i>t</i> -statistic | <i>SD</i> | <i>p</i> |
| <i>Level 2</i> | | | | | |
| Intercept | 146.59 | 10.11 | 14.50 | 2,122 | <0.001 |
| Parents' Years of Education | 7.57 | 0.47 | 16.04 | 2,122 | <0.001 |
| Income Level | 21.81 | 6.00 | 3.63 | 2,122 | <0.001 |
| <i>Level 1</i> | | | | | |
| Parents' Years of Education | 0.51 | 0.02 | 28.89 | 525,427 | <0.001 |
| Income Level | 2.17 | 0.13 | 16.89 | 525,427 | <0.001 |

As seen in Table 5, the findings regarding VET high schools largely align with the findings from the overall Turkish student population (in Table 3). In other words, both parents' total years of education and family income level have a significant relationship with academic achievement at both the student level ($t = 16.89, p < 0.001$) and school level ($t = 3.63, p < 0.001$). This indicates that increasing student achievement in VET high schools is directly related to both parents' educational attainment and family income. Therefore, when including parents' total years of education in the regression model, family income level continues to make a significant contribution to the model. When comparing the predictive power of the SES variables, parents' total years of education appears to be a stronger predictor of achievement than family income for the student population enrolled in VET high schools.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

School-centered approaches are frequently used around the world to increase the quality of education. School climate incorporates all components of the psychological environment of the school and is therefore a critical concept in endeavors at improving education (Maxwell et al., 2017). A school's socioeconomic composition is also quite critical for many internal school processes (Skowron, 2005; Xuan et al., 2019). Moreover, SES affects teachers' expectations from students, school leadership, and learning and teaching methods (Adejumo, 2017; Teddlie & Stringfield, 1985; Xuan et al., 2019). Although school SES composition is important for school climate, studies on the relationship between these demographic characteristics and student achievement are limited in Türkiye (Arifoğlu, 2019; Aydın, 2015; Ersan & Rodriguez, 2020). Therefore, the present study has aimed to examine the relationship between socioeconomic composition and academic achievement at the student and school levels across diverse education types. For this purpose, the study has used the high-stakes assessment data of more than 1.4 million students over the last 12 years. As an additional dimension, the relationship between SES composition and

academic achievement was examined in both academic and vocational tracks using a comparative approach.

The main results from this study demonstrate that socioeconomic characteristics, specifically those illustrated through parents' education levels and family income, have a significant relationship with student achievement. The findings also show this relationship to be significant at both the student and school levels. Therefore, in addition to the students' own family's socioeconomic characteristics, the socioeconomic characteristics of their school peers' are also significantly related to their personal achievement. This is true both when all students were included in the analysis and when comparing the academic and vocational tracks. Another important result is that parents' total years of education have a significantly stronger relationship with academic achievement than family income level. This result supports previous studies that have indicated more educated families to give greater importance and support to their children's education (Duan et al., 2018; Qishan et al., 2018). Therefore, an increase in parents' total years of education provides a greater benefit than an increase in the family income alone.

Second, parental education level becomes more prominent as a determinant of academic achievement in academic high schools, while the relationship between family income level and academic achievement becomes insignificant in these types of institutions. Therefore, the results indicate that the holistic support families provide based on their years of education is more critical for increasing student achievement in academic high schools. When this support is provided by parents, family income no longer contributes significantly to student achievement. In VET high schools, on the other hand, a significant relationship was found for student achievement with both parents' total years of education and family income level. In this context, increasing parental educational attainment should be a priority, but family income can also make significant contributions to student achievement. This result could also stem from the long-term socioeconomic disadvantage of VET students in Türkiye (Özer, 2020a, 2020b, 2021a; Suna & Özer, 2021, Suna et al., 2021). Students who face greater disadvantages in terms of both parental education and family income are likely to need greater support.

The findings signal the importance of further studies designed to support family education, promote equal educational opportunities, and alleviate the infrastructure differences between schools in Türkiye. The fact that students' personal achievement is closely linked to the characteristics of their peers at school makes mitigating the differences between academic and VET schools a priority. Ongoing policies and programs prioritizing equal educational opportunities, such as the 1,000 Schools in Vocational Education, 10,000 Schools in Primary Education, and Libraries for All Schools projects aimed at mitigating achievement gaps, and providing equal opportunities in schools (Özer, 2021c; MoNE, 2022). The findings from the present study show parent education to be the most important characteristic for increasing student achievement. Ensuring that parents participate in education through these and other MoNE projects, as well as encouraging their enrollment in open secondary and/or high schools and lifelong education courses, will contribute to increasing student achievement.

Improving practical skills through VET alongside increasing students' earnings through the revolving fund contributes to family income, which again may bolster student achievement. The regulation made through Vocational Education Law No. 3308 improves the earnings of VET students, which can in turn boost family income (Özer & Suna, 2022). Conditional education support (ŞEY in Turkish) has been implemented since 2003 and made significant contributions to the participation of socioeconomically disadvantaged students' education as well (Özer et al., 2021). Finally,

the Remedial Education & Support Program in Primary Education (IYEP in Turkish) and support and training courses (DYK in Turkish) offered for students who require academic and psychosocial support to continue their education have also helped to close these critical achievement gaps (Özer, 2022; Özer et al., 2021). The continuation of these and other projects that support all education stakeholders, diversify educational opportunities, and provide support from MoNE will contribute to alleviating the gap between school types and providing equal opportunities to all students.

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Yükseköğretim Kurumlarında Kurumsal Sosyal Sorumluluk ve Örgütsel Adalet Algısının Örgütsel Bağlılığa Etkisinde Kamu Hizmetleri Motivasyonunun Aracı Rolü Üzerine Bir Araştırma*

Public Service Motivation's Mediating Role in the Effect Perceptions of Corporate Social Responsibility and Organizational Justice Have on Organizational Commitment in Higher Education Institutions

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*Bu çalışma, Adnan KARATAŞ tarafından Atatürk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi Ana Bilim Dalı'nda tamamlanan "Kamu hizmetleri motivasyonu, kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk ve örgütsel adalet algısının örgütsel bağlılık üzerine etkisi: Bir kamu kurumunda alan araştırması" başlıklı yüksek lisans tezinden üretilmiştir.

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ÖZ

Bu araştırma sosyal kimlik kuramı, sosyal mübadele kuramı ve örgütsel adalet kuramı perspektiflerinden kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk (KSS) ve örgütsel adalet faktörlerinin örgütsel bağlılık üzerindeki etkisinde, kamu hizmetleri motivasyonunun (KHM) aracılık etkisinin tespit edilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Araştırmanın örneklemini Yükseköğretim Kurulu'nun 2019 yılında yayınladığı üniversite izleme ve değerlendirme raporlarına göre topluma hizmet ve sosyal sorumluluk kategorisinde, üniversite sosyal sorumluluk proje sayısı alanında birinci sırada yer alan Atatürk Üniversitesinde çalışan öğretim elemanlarından seçilmiştir. Çalışmanın evreninden çok aşamalı örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak evreni temsil gücü yüksek bir örneklem grubu belirlenmiştir. Veriler beşli Likert ölçeğine dayalı anket yöntemi ile 341 katılımcıdan toplanmıştır. Bu verilerden yola çıkarak kullanılan ölçeklerin istatistiksel olarak geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik analizleri yapılmıştır. Daha sonrasında yapısal eşitlik modeli kullanılarak değişkenler arasındaki ilişkiler, doğrudan etkiler, dolaylı etkiler, tam aracılık rolleri ve kısmi aracılık rolleri analiz edilmiştir. Anketten elde edilen verilerin analizi neticesinde öğretim elemanlarının örgütsel adalet ve KSS algılarının duygusal ve normatif bağlılıkları üzerinde hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı etkilerinin olduğu belirlenmiştir. Diğer taraftan bu çalışmanın bulguları ile örgütsel adalet ve KSS'yi örgütsel bağlılığın önemli öncül değişkeni olarak kabul eden literatüre önemli bir katkı olarak KHM'nin aracılık etkisi olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu Hizmetleri Motivasyonu, Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk, Örgütsel adalet, Örgütsel bağlılık



ABSTRACT

This research aims to determine the mediating effect that public service motivation (PSM) has on the effects from the factors of organizational justice and corporate social responsibility (CSR) from the perspectives of social identity theory, social exchange theory, and organizational justice theory. The sample of the study was selected from the academic staff of Atatürk University, which ranks first in terms of the number of university social responsibility projects in the category of community service and social responsibility according to the university monitoring and evaluation reports published in 2019 by Türkiye's Council of Higher Education. The data were collected from 341 samples using the questionnaire method based on a five-point Likert-type scale. The results from analyzing the data obtained from the questionnaire have determined faculty members' perceptions of organizational justice and CSR to have both direct and indirect effects on their emotional and normative commitment levels. Meanwhile, the findings from this study have also determined PSM to have a mediating effect, and this is an important contribution to the literature that accepts the premise of organizational justice and CSR as significant variables of organizational commitment.

Keywords: Public service motivation, Corporate social responsibility, Organizational justice, Organizational commitment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This study has been conducted to contribute to the literature on micro-level human resources and micro-organizational behaviors as well as to investigate the mediating effect of public services motivation (PSM) in the relationship employees' perceptions of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and organizational justice have with their organizational commitment types. The research seeks answers to the following research questions: Does CSR have a significant impact on organizational commitment and its sub-dimensions? Does organizational justice have a significant impact on organizational commitment? Does PSM have a mediating effect on the relationship between CSR and organizational commitment? Does PSM have a mediating effect on the relationship between organizational justice and organizational commitment?

CSR-related research is seen to neglect those who work in higher education institutions and to instead focus more on the perspectives of students, who are generally accepted as the main social interest group (Mascarenhas et al., 2020). However, talented and motivated employees who do their job well are considered critical factors for any type of organization in terms of the sustainability of organizational success (Brammer et al., 2007; Du et al., 2010). Many empirical studies have shown organizational justice to affect organizational commitment (Colquitt et al., 2001; Çolak & Erdost, 2004; Gilliland, 2008; Schmiesing et al., 2003). When approaching the subject in the context of CSR, Rupp (2011) claimed to have evaluated employees' perceptions toward organizations' CSR activities as externally oriented third-party judgments on justice. Employees' perceptions toward CSR are accepted as a proxy for corporate justice, increasing the likelihood that organizations treat employees treated fairly based on how fair they treat their stakeholders (Rupp, 2011). On this point, corporate social responsibility, organizational justice, and organizational commitment form the basic dynamics of ideal management. The literature on CSR, has stated a strong need to exist for micro-based studies (Ng et al., 2019). This study has been conducted based on the gaps in the literature in order to contribute to the literature on micro-human resources and micro-organizational behaviors by investigating the mediating effect PSM has in the relationship between employees' perceptions of CSR and organizational justice and the type of organizational commitment they express. The main reason for focusing on PSM mediating effect is that PSM together with internal and external factors is used to evaluate the reasons that lead employees to work in public institutions (Giauque et al., 2012). Meanwhile, Edward and Kudret's (2017) study stated investigating the mediating effect of PSM to also be a great way to fill the gap in the CSR liter-

ature based on the claim that not enough studies are found explaining why and what to expect in terms of employees' different responses to CSR activities that focus on internal and external stakeholder goals. This is because PSM as a fairly new concept in the field of public administration was put forward based on the assumption that different factors than those in private sector organizations affect individuals' desire to work in public institutions as well as their willingness to continue working (Perry, 1996).

This study has preferred the survey method, a quantitative research method. The data required for this study were obtained from Atatürk University. The multi-stage sampling method has been used to ensure that the selected sample has a high representative power of the population in terms of the determined sample number. Data from 341 surveys were obtained as a result of multi-stage sampling based on title and department. Four different scales were used for measuring CSR, organizational justice, organizational commitment, and PSM within the scope of the research. The study's hypotheses are based on the conceptual framework and experimental research and seek answers to the research questions. The researchers analyzed the data collected with the survey method using the programs SPSS and AMOS. Reliability and validity analyses, exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses, and correlation analyses were performed, followed lastly by the path analysis of the structural equation model.

As a result of the analyses, CSR is concluded to have a significant effect on all the dimensions of organizational commitment apart from continuity commitment. Likewise, the effect organizational justice has on the sub-dimensions of organizational commitment was also found to have a significant effect on other sub-dimensions apart from those in organizational justice. On the other hand, the hypothesis tests regarding the mediating role PSM has in the effects from the predictive variables over the predicted variables determined PSM to have a mediating role in the significant effects on the sub-dimensions except for continuation commitment. As a matter of fact, continuity commitment can be said to have a relatively negative organizational quality compared to the other two sub-dimensions of organizational commitment that affect the results in line with this.

1. Giriş

Türkiye gibi gelişmekte olan pek çok ülkede yükseköğretim kurumları, dinamik ve zorlu bir çevrede faaliyet yürüterek hem dahili hem de harici çıkar gruplarının yükselen beklentileri ve baskıları ile karşı karşıyadır. Carroll (1979) çıkar gruplarının bu beklentilerini kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk (KSS) perspektifinden; ekonomik, yasal, etik ve gönüllü beklentiler (dörtlü sınıflandırma) şeklinde sınıflandırmıştır. Carroll'a (1979) göre ekonomik ve yasal sorumluluklar beklentilerin karşılanması açısından birer zorunluluk iken; etik sorumluluk beklenen, gönüllü sorumluluk ise arzu edilen bir durumdur. Aynı zamanda bu dörtlü çalışan beklentileri (ve kurum sorumlulukları) KSS'nin alt boyutlarını teşkil etmektedir. Carroll bu tanımlama ile KSS'nin yalnızca örgüt yararı için değil; toplum yararı için gerçekleştirildiğini ifade etmektedir (Pirsch, Gupta ve Grau, 2007). Ekonomik beklentiler, örgütün ve paydaşlarının maksimum kazanç sağlaması yönündeki beklentilerdir. Yasal beklentiler ise faaliyetlerin yasal mevzuata göre yürütülmesi beklentisini ve bu mevzuatlardan doğan hakların elde edilmesi beklentisini içerir. Etik beklentiler, hukuki sorumlulukların oluşturulmasının arkasındaki itici bir güç olmakla birlikte toplumun ve örgütlerin doğru olarak kabul ettiği ilkeleri sahiplenmesi gerektiği üzerinde durmaktadır. Gönüllü beklentiler ise sınırları net olmayan ancak genel olarak çalışanlara ve topluma katkıda bulunulması gerektiği yönündeki beklentileri ifade eder. Dörtlü sınıflandırmaya dayalı olarak çıkar gruplarının beklentilerinin karşılanmasında; KSS, kurum faaliyetlerinin gerektiği şekilde algılanmasının sağlanması açısından önemli bir faaliyet alanı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Aslında KSS; küresel farkındalık ışığında büyüyen, sosyal güvenlik, çevrenin korunması, güçlü bir kurumsal yönetim ihtiyacına yönelik olarak çıkar gruplarının yükselen beklentilerinden dolayı, modern kurumsal kültürün yaşamsal bir parçası haline gelmiştir (Hou, 2019). Ancak kurumların KSS eylemleri çalışanların tutum ve davranışlarını yalnızca bu paydaş grubunun onları algıladığı ve değerlendirdiği ölçüde etkileyebilir (Gond vd., 2010). Bu yönüyle kurumların uyguladıkları KSS faaliyetlerinin amacına ulaşabilmesinde, çalışanların algıları temel belirleyici olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Zaten önceki çalışmalara bakıldığında bir kurumda yürütülen KSS faaliyetlerine yönelik çalışanların algısal değerlendirmeleri onların mikro düzeyde; duygusal, tutumsal ve davranışsal tepkilerini harekete geçirdiği düşünülmektedir (Lee vd., 2013). Buna dayalı olarak da çalışanların sahip olduğu iş tutumu ve iş çıktısı çalışanların KSS algılamalarına bağlı olarak oluşabilmekte ve değişebilmektedir. Ancak gerek kurum içi gerekse kurum dışı yansımaları nedeniyle ortaya koyduğu kompleks ve çok boyutlu yapısını konu edinen çalışmalara bakıldığında; KSS'nin etkilerinin yeterince keşfedilmediği ortaya çıkmaktadır (Wang vd., 2016).

Yükseköğretim kurumlarında KSS ile ilgili çalışmalara bakıldığında ise, bu çalışmalarda çalışanların ihmal edildiği ve daha çok toplumsal ve genelde de ana çıkar grubu olarak kabul edilen öğrencilerin bakış açısına odaklanıldığı görülmektedir (Mascarenhas vd., 2020). Oysa ki örgütsel başarının sürdürülebilirliği için işini iyi yapan, yetenekli ve motive olmuş çalışanlar her tür kuruluş için kritik faktör olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Brammer vd., 2007; Du vd., 2010). Yükseköğretim kurumlarının; artan karmaşıklık, kaynak kıtlığı ve üniversite sıralamaları için agresif rekabet içerisine girdiği bir dönemde; yüksek kaliteli çalışanları çekmek, beklentilerini karşılamak ve elde tutmak çok önemli bir konu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu konuda örgütsel davranış literatüründe önemli kavramlardan biri olan örgütsel bağlılık, organizasyonlara sağladığı faydalar göz önüne alındığında, kritik bir faktör olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Hofman ve Newman, 2014).

Sürdürülebilir örgütsel bağlılığının ön koşulu ise örgütsel adalet kavramıdır. Birçok ampirik çalışmada örgütsel adaletin örgütsel bağlılığa etki ettiği görülmüştür (Colquitt vd., 2001; Çolak

ve Erdost, 2004; Gilliland, 2008; Schmiesing vd., 2003). Konuya KSS bağlamında yaklaşıldığında ise Rupp (2011), organizasyonun KSS faaliyetlerine yönelik çalışan algısının dışsal odaklı üçüncü taraf adalet yargılaması şeklinde değerlendirildiğini iddia etmektedir. Çalışanların KSS algıları paydaşlara ne kadar adil davrandığına bağlı olarak, çalışanların kurum tarafından adil muamele görme olasılığını artırarak, kurumsal adalet için bir “vekil” olarak kabul edilmektedir (Rupp, 2011). Bu noktada kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk, örgütsel adalet ve örgütsel bağlılık konuları ideal bir yönetimin temel dinamikleri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

KSS ile ilgili literatürde mikro temelli çalışmalara yönelik güçlü bir ihtiyaç duyulduğu belirtilmektedir (Ng vd., 2019). Literatürdeki boşluklardan hareketle mikro insan kaynakları ve mikro örgütsel davranış literatürüne katkı sağlamak amacıyla hazırlanan bu çalışma; çalışanların KSS ve örgütsel adalet algıları ile örgütsel bağlılık türleri arasındaki ilişkisinde KHM'nin aracılık etkisini araştırmaktır. KHM'nin aracı etkisine odaklanılmasının temel nedeni, KHM'nin çalışanları kamu kurumlarında çalışmaya yönelten sebepleri içsel ve dışsal faktörler ile birlikte değerlendirmesidir (Giauque vd., 2012). Diğer taraftan Edward ve Kudret (2017)'in yaptıkları çalışmada, çalışanların iç ve dış paydaş hedeflerine odaklanan KSS faaliyetlerine verdikleri farklı yanıtların neden ve nasıl beklenebileceğini açıklayan çalışma sayısının çok az olduğu iddiasından hareketle KHM'nin aracılık etkisinin araştırılması KSS literatüründeki boşluğun doldurulması açısından da büyük bir anlam taşımaktadır. Çünkü kamu yönetimi alanında oldukça yeni bir kavram olan KHM, bireylerin kamu kurumlarında çalışma istekleri taşımalarında ve çalışmaya devam etme istekliliği göstermelerinde, özel sektör kuruluşlarına göre farklı etmenlerin etkili olduğu varsayımından hareketle öne sürülmüş bir kavramdır (Perry, 1996).

Bu çalışmada oluşturulan kavramsal modelin test edilmesine yönelik olarak akademi bağlamını seçilmiş ve örneklem grubu Türkiye’de faaliyet gösteren köklü üniversitelerden birinden seçilmiştir. Akademi bağlamının seçilmesinin temel nedeni KSS'nin yeni bağlamlarda incelenme ihtiyacının (Voegtlin ve Greenwood, 2016) yanı sıra yükseköğretim kurumları bağlamında KSS ile ilgili çok az sayıda çalışmaya rastlanmış olmasıdır (Costin ve Tregua, 2018; Mascarenhas vd., 2020; Rahman vd., 2019).

Makalenin bundan sonraki kısımları şu şekilde organize edilmiştir. Öncelikle çalışanların KSS algıları sosyal kimlik kuramı ve sosyal mübadele kuramı ışığında kavramsallaştırılarak KSS algılarının çalışan davranışları üzerindeki etkisi değerlendirilmektedir. İkinci kısımda çalışanların KSS algılarının, örgütsel adalet kuramı ışığında, örgütsel adalet ve örgütsel bağlılık ile ilişkisi ele alınarak KHM'nin aracılık etkisi ile ilgili literatür görünümü ve ilgili hipotezler sunulmaktadır. Ardından metodoloji ana hatları ile çizilerek bulgular değerlendirilmektedir. Son olarak, oluşturulan kavramsal modelin gelecekteki araştırmalar için potansiyeli tartışılarak yöneltimsel sonuçları açıklanmaktadır.

2. Teorik Çerçeve ve Hipotez Geliştirme

2.1. Yükseköğretimde Çalışanların KSS Algılarının Kavramsallaştırılması

Tüm dünyada olduğu gibi ülkemizde de yükseköğretim kurumları ile ilgili düzenlemelerde önemli değişikliklerin yapıldığı görülmektedir. Bu değişimler sonucunda yükseköğretim kurumları sayısal olarak artmasının yanında; devlet ve sanayi gibi üniversite dışı aktörlerin kontrolü ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadır (Önder ve Erdil, 2015). Söz konusu değişimle birlikte devletin, toplumun, öğrencilerin, çalışanların ve diğer çıkar gruplarının yükseköğretim kurumlarından beklentileri gittikçe artmış ve çeşitlenmiştir. Özellikle kamu yükseköğretim kurumlarının temel faaliyetlerini yerine getirebilmeleri için kendilerine tahsis edilen özerk bütçeleri nedeniyle, Türki-

ye’de çıkar gruplarının yükseköğretim kurumlarından; ekonomik, siyasal, yasal ve etik beklentileri bulunmaktadır. Bunun temelinde Türk Kamu Yönetiminde hizmet yerinden yönetim kuruluşu olarak kabul edilen bu tür özerk kurumların sorumluluklarına ilişkin beklentilerin toplumsal normlara bağlı olarak değişmesi yatmaktadır. Değişen toplumsal normlara bağlı olarak bireylerin sosyal beklentilerindeki değişim; bir kurumun ekonomik, yasal ve etik yükümlülüklerinin ötesine de geçebilmektedir. Toplumsal normlar ve kurum faaliyetleri arasındaki dengenin sağlanmasında ve çıkar gruplarının beklentilerinin karşılanabilmesinde kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk (KSS) önemli bir girişim olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Carroll (1979) KSS’yi çıkar gruplarının belli zaman dilimlerinde örgütlerden beklediği ekonomik, yasal, etik ve gönüllü beklentiler şeklinde tanımlamıştır. KSS, işletmenin toplumdaki rolüyle ilgili bir dizi felsefi ve normatif konuyu kapsar, bu nedenle KSS’yi geniş bir konsept içinde anlamak çok önemlidir. Bu geniş konsept çerçevesinde kurum ve kuruluşlar hem bir bütün olarak toplumun refahını hem de örgütün çıkarlarını korumak ve geliştirmek için hareket etme sorumluluğu ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadır (Lee vd., 2013).

Yükseköğretim kurumlarında çalışanların KSS algılarını kavramsallaştırarak açıklayabilmek için iki teori ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bunlar; sosyal kimlik kuramı (Tajfel ve Turner, 1985) ve sosyal mübadele kuramıdır (Blau, 1964; Cropanzano ve Mitchell, 2005). Hem sosyal kimlik kuramı hem de sosyal mübadele kuramı örgütsel kimliğin bireysel seviyesinin sosyal mübadeleyi etkileyebileceğini varsayar. Aynı zamanda bu iki kuram KSS tarafından tetiklenen sonraki süreçlerin organizasyon içindeki sosyal değişim dinamiklerini etkileyebileceğini de varsaymaktadır (Gond vd., 2010). Sonuç olarak iki kuramın bakış açısına göre KSS gibi kurumsal faaliyetler çıkar gruplarının tutum ve davranışlarında belirli bir etkiye sahiptir.

Yükseköğretim kurumları bağlamında KSS kavramının ana hatlarını çizmek zor olsa da (Es-fijani, 2013), yükseköğretim odaklı literatürde, çeşitli yazarların KSS’den ziyade üniversite sosyal sorumluluğu kavramına atıfta buldukları görülmektedir (Mascarenhas vd., 2020). Yükseköğretim kurumlarında KSS’nin işlendiği çalışmalara bakıldığında bunlarının çoğunun harici çıkar gruplarına yönelik sosyal ve çevresel faktörlerin sürdürülebilirliği ile ilgili olduğu görülecektir (Rahman vd., 2019; Wright ve Wilton, 2012; Yeung, 2018). KSS tanımı gereğince organizasyonun yalnızca dışsal sorumlulukları için değil, içsel düzeyde de örgütün her seviyesinde stratejik ve operasyonel entegre uygulamaları barındırmaktadır. Yükseköğretim kurumlarının içsel düzeyde başarısı, özellikle öğrenciler ve çalışanlarla ilgili temel faaliyetleri aracılığıyla, paydaşların beklentilerini ne kadar etkili bir şekilde karşıladıklarıyla değerlendirilmektedir (Mascarenhas vd., 2020).

Greenwood (2007) örgütün temel hedef ve amaçlarını gerçekleştirmek için çabalayan insan kaynağını, bir kurumun tam anlamıyla sorumluluk borçlu olduğu önemli paydaşları olduğunu kabul etmiştir. İşyerinde, evde ve toplumda çalışanların tutkularını sürdürme çabalarını desteklemek ve ödüllendirmek bir kurumun sürdürülebilir başarısı açısından önemlidir. Bu durum çalışanları organizasyonlar için hem değerli bir varlık hem de en önemli paydaş haline getirmektedir. Paydaş grubu olarak çalışanlar teorik bir perspektiften, KSS’nin ortaya çıkışını açıklayan ‘bağımsız bir değişken’ olarak, KSS’den etkilenen ‘bağımlı bir değişken’ olarak veya KSS’nin kurumsal performans üzerindeki etkisinin ‘aracı bir değişkeni’ olarak değerlendirilebilir (Gond vd., 2010). Bu ifade çalışanların kurumu etkileyebilecek önemli bir güce ve meşruiyete sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, çalışanların KSS faaliyetlerine ilişkin algılarını ve bunların kurumlar için sonuçlarının değerlendirilmesi gerektiği dile getirilmektedir (Musa ve Rahman, 2015).

Yapılan çalışmalara bakıldığında KSS'nin çalışanların işyerindeki tutumlarını ve davranışlarını geliştirdiği öne sürülmektedir (Ng vd., 2019; Turker, 2009). KSS'nin çalışanlar üzerinde etkilediği davranışsal etmenlere bakıldığında; çalışan performansı, potansiyel çalışanların çekiciliği, örgütsel vatandaşlık davranışı, çalışana tutma, organizasyonla özdeşleşme, yaratıcı katılım ve geliştirilmiş çalışan ilişkisi gibi konular ön plana çıkmaktadır (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). KSS aynı zamanda çalışanların organizasyona ilişkin gurur duygularını (Ellemers vd., 2011) etkileyerek özgüvenlerini arttırabilmektedir. Diğer taraftan KSS örgütsel bağlılık ve iş tatmini gibi örgüt içi davranışlar üzerinde de etkiye sahiptir (Brammer vd., 2007).

Çalışanların iş ile ilgili algılarında üç eğilim geliştirdikleri görülmektedir. *Birincisi*, maddi faydaların önemli olduğu iş yönelimi (job orientation); *İkincisi*, ilerleme ve başarının (ör. ücret, prestij, statü) işin ana odak noktası olduğu kariyer yönetimi (career orientation); *Üçüncüsü* ise dünyayı daha iyi bir yer haline getirerek doyumun sağlandığı çağrı yönelimidir (calling orientation) (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). Bu nedenle kurumların KSS eylemlerinin çalışanların iş ve işyeri ile ilgili tutum ve davranışlarını yalnızca bu paydaş grubunun onları algıladığı ve değerlendirdiği ölçüde etkilediği belirtilmiştir (Gond vd., 2010). Buna göre çalışanların KSS algıları kurumun KSS uygulamalarının çalışanlar üzerindeki etkisine aracılık eden temel değişken olarak karşımıza çıkar (Rupp vd., 2006).

Ng vd. (2019) çalışanların kuruma yönelik olumlu hisleri ile ilgili değerlendirmelerde KSS algılarını formüle ederek hareket ettiklerini iddia etmektedir. Algılanan KSS güçlü olduğunda, çalışanlar kurumun ahlak ve özverisine ilişkin güçlü kanıtlar görme eğilimindedir (Ng vd., 2019). Sosyal etki ve sosyal değer algısı, bir çalışanın kendine karşı geliştirdiği önem duygusunu ve amacını etkiler (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). Çalışanların sosyal bir etki yarattığına inandığı bir kurum için çalıştığı algısı onun işteki anlamlılık duygusunu da etkileyebilmektedir (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). Bu durum, çalışanın daha büyük bir amaca katkıda bulunduğu algısından ileri gelmektedir. Çalışanların organizasyonlarının, hangi konuda olursa olsun daha iyiye katkıda bulunduğuna inandıklarında, çalıştıkları işte daha fazla anlamlılık duyacakları iddia edilmektedir (Rosso vd., 2010)

KSS ile ilgili bireysel seviyedeki çalışmalar KSS'nin kuruluş genelinde ne derece yerleşik olduğunu daha doğru bir biçimde açıklayabilir (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). Aguinis ve Glavas (2012)'in 588 dergi makalesi ve 102 kitabın değerlendirmesini yaptıkları çalışmalarında KSS ile ilgili bireysel seviyede yapılmış çalışmalara ihtiyaç duyulduğu iddia edilmiştir (Aguinis ve Glavas, 2012). Bireysel seviyede çalışanların KSS algıları kurum içi davranışlarını çok yönlü etkileyerek duygusal, tutumsal ve davranışsal tepkilerini tetikleyebilmektedir (Lee vd., 2013). Kurumun KSS faaliyetlerinin çalışanların KSS algılarını ne kadar güçlü bir biçimde etkilediğini belirleyen üç öncül bulunmaktadır. Bunlar; (1) KSS hakkında çalışanların farkındalığı, (2) çalışanların KSS veya KSS yönelimi konusundaki bireysel inançları, (3) organizasyon ile çalışanların değerleri arasındaki uyumdur (Gond vd., 2010).

Çalışan algılarını anlamak önemlidir çünkü bunlar işyeri tutumlarını, davranışlarını ve performansını önemli ölçüde etkileyebilirler (Glavas ve Kelley, 2014). Gond vd. (2010) yaptığı çalışmada, çalışanların KSS algılarının, onların örgütsel, sosyal ve çevresel performanslarını etkileyen işyeri tutum ve davranışlarını harekete geçirdiğini iddia etmektedir. Diğer taraftan kurumları ile özdeşleşen ve kurumları tarafından önemsenen çalışanların yüksek düzeyde azim ve gayret gösterdikleri belirtilmektedir (Mascarenhas vd., 2020). Sonuç olarak yükseköğretim kurumu çalışanlarının yürütülen KSS faaliyetleri ile algılarının, bir anlamda kurumsal destek algılarını tetikleyerek, sahip oldukları değerleri ve refah düzeylerini etkileyen bir faaliyet olduğuna dair bir anlayış geliştirdikleri ortaya çıkmaktadır.

2.2. Çalışanların KSS Faaliyetlerine Yönelik Algılarının Sonuçları: Örgütsel Adalet ve Örgütsel Bağlılık

Bir kurumun eylemlerinin yansıttığı adalet derecesi, çalışanların tutum ve davranışlarını büyük ölçüde etkiler. Çalışanlar yönetimin güvenilir ve taraflı olup olmadığına karar verirken genellikle kendi adalet algılarına güvenirlir ve bu algıları yönetime yönelik davranışlarına dahil ederler (Lee vd., 2013). Örgütsel adalet, bireylerin örgüt içerisinde kendilerine yönelik yönetim tarafından oluşturulan davranışların ve tutumların adil olup olmadığına ilişkin adalet algılarının bir yansımasıdır (Schmiesing vd., 2003). Örgütsel adalet genelde “dağıtımsal”, “süreç” ve “etkileşim” şeklinde üç boyutla açıklanmıştır (Allen ve Meyer, 1990; Niehoff ve Moorman, 1993). Dağıtımsal adalet kazanımların örgüt genelinde dağıtımına ilişkin bireylerin algıladıkları adillik hissidir (Folger ve Konovsky, 1989; Dailey ve Kirk, 1992). Süreç adaleti; yönetici tarafından verilen kararların alınmasında kontrollü bir süreç varlığına dayalı olarak kararların adil olarak algılanması durumu olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Thibaut ve Walker, 1975). Etkileşim adaleti ise örgüt içerisinde yöneticilerin çalışanlara, tam ve doğru bilgi verdiğinde ve kararların verilmesinin haklı gerekçelerini sunduklarında; çalışanların yapılan işlemi ya da verilen kararı adil olarak algılayacağı şeklinde açıklanmaktadır (Beugr, 2002: 1095).

Çalışan merkezli yaklaşımdan bakıldığında organizasyonun KSS faaliyetlerine yönelik çalışan algısı dışsal odaklı üçüncü taraf adalet yargılaması şeklinde değerlendirilmelidir (Rupp, 2011). Çalışanların KSS algıları paydaşlara ne kadar adil davrandığına bağlı olarak, çalışanların kurum tarafından adil muamele görme olasılığını arttırarak, kurumsal adalet için bir vekil olarak kabul edilmektedir (Rupp, 2011).

Örgütsel Bağlılık kavramı, Sosyoloji, Psikoloji, Sosyal Psikoloji, Örgüt Bilimi, Yönetim Bilimi vb. alanlarındaki araştırmacılar taraflarından kendi uzmanlık alanlarına göre farklı şekillerde tanımlanmıştır. Ancak tüm bu tanımlamaların merkezinde örgütsel bağlılığın, çalışanlar ile örgüt arasında gerçekleşen ilişki neticesinde ortaya çıktığı vurgusu hakimdir (İnce ve Gül, 2005). Örgütsel bağlılık kavramı hem tutum hem de davranış ile karakterize olacak şekilde; çalışanların, örgütte kalma, örgütün menfaatleri için çaba gösterme arzusu, örgütün değer ve hedeflerini benimsemesi şeklinde tanımlanabilir (Morrow, 1983, 1993). Diğer bir tanımla örgütsel bağlılık, çalışanın örgüte karşı psikolojik yaklaşımını ifade eden, çalışan ile örgüt arasındaki ilişkiyi yansıtan ve çalışanın örgüt üyeliğini devam ettirmesine neden olan psikolojik bir durumu ifade eder (Meyer ve Allen, 1984).

Allen ve Meyer (1990), örgütsel bağlılığın, “gönüllülük” (want to), “zorunluluk” (ought to) ve “ihtiyaç” (need to) olmak üzere üç temel bileşeni olduğunu öne sürmüşlerdir. Allen ve Meyer’in örgütsel bağlılığa ilişkin yaklaşımı, örgütsel bağlılık alanında yapılan çalışmalar için bir kilometre taşı olarak kabul edilmektedir. Çünkü Allen ve Meyer tarafından hazırlanan üç bileşenli bu model ve bu modele bağlı olarak geliştirdikleri ölçek, bugüne kadar çok tartışmalı ve kapsamlı, ampirik ve teorik değerlendirmelerden geçmiş ve çok fazla kabul gören bir yaklaşım halini almıştır.

Örgütsel bağlılığın “duygusal”, “devam” ve “normatif” şeklinde üç alt boyutu bulunmaktadır. Duygusal bağlılık, bireyin örgütü ile özdeşleşmesi, bütünleşmesi ve duygusal olarak kendisini örgüt ile ilişkilendirmesi, devam bağlılığı, bireyin örgütten ayrılmasının maliyetinin yüksek olduğunu düşünmesi sebebiyle, örgüt üyeliğini sürdürmesi, normatif bağlılık ise bireyin kendisini örgüte karşı sorumlu hissederek örgütüne karşı bağlılık duymasındır (Allen ve Meyer, 1990; Meyer vd., 1990; Bergman, 2006). Sonuç olarak örgütsel bağlılık kavramı çalışanın tutumunu karakterize edecek şekilde çalışanların; örgütte kalma, örgütün menfaatleri için çaba gösterme arzusu, örgütün değer ve hedeflerini benimsemesidir (Morrow, 1983, 1993).

KSS algısına dayalı olarak çalışanın örgütsel bağlılığı değerlendirildiğinde üç faktör ön plana çıkmaktadır. Birincisi, kuruluşun hedeflerine ve değerlerine yönelik güçlü bir inanış; ikincisi, organizasyon adına hatırı sayılır çaba sarf etme isteği; sonuncusu ise çalışanın kuruluşa ait olma isteğidir (Musa ve Rahman, 2015). KSS uygulamalarının neden çalışanların örgütsel bağlılığı üzerinde olumlu bir etkiye sahip olabileceğini açıklamak için sosyal kimlik kuramı ile örgütsel adalet kuramı önerilmektedir (Hofman ve Newman, 2014). Sosyal kimlik kuramı, bireylerin öz duygularının ait oldukları sosyal gruplardan kaynaklandığı varsayımıyla (Tajfel ve Turner, 1985) pozitif benlik kavramı üzerinde durur. Pozitif benlik, bireylerin belirli bir organizasyonun üyesi olduklarını hissettikleri bir özelliktir (Tajfel ve Turner, 1985). Bu özellik bireylerin, çalıştıkları kurumlar da dahil olmak üzere, tüm sosyal grup üyeliklerinde öz benlik duygularını ve başkalarıyla nasıl ilişki kurduklarını etkiler. Bununla birlikte kuramın genel teorik esasları; insanların pozitif bir sosyal kimliğe ulaşmak ve bunu sürdürmek için çalıştığı; pozitif sosyal kimliğin bireyin ait olduğu gruplar ile olmadığı gruplar arasında yapılan karşılaştırmaya dayandığı; sosyal kimliğin tatmin edici olmadığı durumda bireylerin hâlihazırdaki gruplarından ayrılmak için çaba harcadığı şeklinde sıralanmaktadır (Miles, 2016). Sosyal kimlik kuramı perspektifinden değerlendirildiğinde KSS faaliyetlerinin ve bunlara bağlı olarak gelişen kurum paydaşlığı ile ilgili olumlu algıların, daha yüksek seviyelerde duygusal bağlılığa (duygusal bağlılık) ve kurumsal yükümlülük duygularına (normatif bağlılık) yol açtığı iddia edilmektedir (Hofman ve Newman, 2014).

Diğer taraftan sosyal kimlik kuramı bireylerin kendi kimliklerini destekleyen örgütleri desteklemeye eğilimli olduğunu ileri sürmektedir (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Buna göre KSS, çalışanlar açısından yönetimle iş birliği içerisinde hareket etme fırsatı vererek, etik ve sosyal değerlerin paylaşımına imkân sağlayarak, ilişkisel bir işlev görür ve onların psikolojik aidiyet ihtiyaçlarını karşılar (Rupp, 2011). KSS, işletmelerin insan kaynaklarını motive etmelerine ve ellerinde tutmalarına olumlu bir biçimde katkı sağladığından (Kucukusta vd., 2016) destekleyici insan kaynakları uygulamaları açısından önemli bir gösterge haline gelmiştir. Yapılan çalışmalara bakıldığında insan kaynakları yönetiminde verimli KSS uygulamalarının güçlü ve kararlı bir örgüt kültürü oluşturarak çalışanların örgütsel bağlılıklarını arttırdığı da tespit edilmiştir (Brammer vd., 2007; Turker, 2009). Bu açıklamalar ışığında aşağıdaki hipotez bu çalışma için önerilmektedir;

Hipotez 1: *Kurumsal Sosyal Sorumluluk; (H1a) duygusal bağlılık, (H1b) devam bağlılığı ve (H1c) normatif bağlılık üzerinde pozitif ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahiptir*

KSS'nin örgütsel bağlılık üzerindeki etkisini açıklayan ikinci kuram olan örgütsel adalet kuramı ise iç paydaşların KSS uygulamalarına ilişkin algılarının çalışma davranışlarını neden etkileyebileceğini açıklamak için de kullanılmaktadır (Rupp vd., 2006). Örgütsel adaletle ilişkin olarak çalışanların geliştirdikleri algıların onların örgüte olan psikolojik bağlılıklarını etkilediği belirtilmektedir (Rupp vd., 2006). Örgütsel adalet, çalışanların iş ilişkilerindeki adalet algılarını incelerken; örgütsel bağlılık çalışanların iş yerindeki pozitif tutumunu yansıtmaktadır. Çalışanlar kurumun güvenilirliğine ilişkin algılar geliştirirken; örgütün faaliyetleri ile bütünlük sosyal ilgiyi (prosedürel KSS), bu faaliyetlerin sonuçlarını (dağıtımsal KSS) ve bu faaliyetlerin sonuçlarına ilişkin bireylerin nasıl davrandığını (etkileşimsel KSS) yargılar (Hofman ve Newman, 2014). Dolayısıyla çalışanların örgütsel adaletle ilişkin algıları olumlu olduğunda örgütsel bağlılığa ilişkin duygularda gelişecektir. Örgütsel adalet ve örgütsel bağlılık ilişkisini araştırmaların çalışmaların genelinde adaletin bağlılık üzerinde pozitif bir etkisinin olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır. Ancak bağlılığın alt boyutları itibariyle yapılan çalışmalarda devam bağlılığı dışındaki diğer örgütsel bağlılık alt boyutlarının örgütsel adalet ve alt boyutlarından etkilendiği sonu-

cuna ulaşılmıştır (Wasti, 2001; Işık, Uğurluoğlu ve Akbolat, 2012; Büyükyılmaz ve Tunçbiz, 2016; Tanrıverdi, Koçaslan ve Eğriboz, 2019). Teorik çıkarımlar ve literatürdeki değerlendirmelerden yola çıkarak böyle bir sonucun bu çalışma kapsamında da elde edilebileceği göz önüne alınmaktadır. Ancak örgütsel bağlılığı alt boyutlarından birini ayrı tutarak analiz etmek yerine, sonuç olumsuz olsa dahi nedenlerine görmek için analizler yapılmıştır. Nitekim Karl Popper'ın düşüncesinden hareketle bilim doğrularak değil, yanlışlayarak ilerlemektedir. Bu durumda aşağıdaki hipotez bu çalışma için önerilmektedir;

Hipotez 2: *Örgütsel Adalet; (H2a) duygusal bağlılık, (H2b) devam bağlılığı ve (H2c) normatif bağlılık üzerinde pozitif ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahiptir.*

2.3. Kamu Hizmetleri Motivasyonunun Aracı Etkisi

Önceki bölümlerde çalışanların KSS algılarının yanı sıra örgütsel adalet ve örgütsel bağlılıkla olan ilişkileri kapsamlı teorik bir çerçeve altında özetlendi. Çalışmanın bu bölümünde KSS ve örgütsel adaletin, örgütsel bağlılık üzerine etkisini açıklamak için KHM'nin neden bir aracı faktör olarak hareket edebileceğini açıklamak için sosyal değişim teorisinden faydalanılmaktadır. En az iki kişi arasındaki bir ilişkide taraflardan herhangi biri üzerinde yükümlülükler oluşturabilecek bir dizi etkileşimi içeren sosyal mübadeleler (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005), ekonomik ve sosyal bir faaliyet alışverişi olarak görülmektedir (Blau, 1964). Bir örgütte, çalışan-işveren ilişkisinin bir mübadele ilişkisi olduğu kabul edildiğinde bu ilişkiyi sürdürmek isteyen tarafların bu şekilde davranmalarının ödüllendirileceği beklentisi sosyal mübadele kuramının ana düşüncesi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Blau, 1964; Gouldner, 1960). Sosyal mübadele teorisine göre, çalışanlar kurumlarının kendilerini önemsediklerini algıladıklarında (örneğin, iyi yönetim, iletişim, insanlara saygı duyan ve organizasyonun misyonunu gerçekleştirmek için çok çalışan bir kurum) büyük olasılıkla karşılık vereceklerdir.

KHM ile ilgili çalışmalara bakıldığında tanımların toplum yanlısı motivasyon kuramına dayalı olarak açıklandığı görülmektedir. Kuramın özü diğer insanlara fayda sağlama çabasına yönelik isteklilikle ilgilidir (Grant ve Sumanth, 2009). Bilindik anlamıyla motivasyon, işle ilgili davranışları başlatan ve bu davranışların biçimini, yönünü, yoğunluğunu ve süresini belirleyen içsel ve dışsal güçlerdir (Perry ve Hondeghem, 2008: 2). Ancak toplum yanlısı motivasyon bireylerin davranışlarının başkalarının refahını nasıl etkileyebileceği konusundaki endişelerini vurgulayarak işin sosyal yönünü ön plana çıkarmaktadır (Grant, 2007). Toplum yanlısı motivasyon kuramının yaygın bir türü olan kamu hizmeti motivasyonu (KHM) ise kamu kurumlarının kendine özgü motiflerine karşı bireylerin yakınlığı/meyilli olması şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır (Perry ve Wise, 1990: 368). Konuyla ilgili literatürdeki genel kabule göre, kamu hizmeti motivasyonu, örgütsel bağlılığın ve performansın artmasına yol açan bir tür iş motivasyonudur. Yapılan bir çalışmaya bakıldığında kamu çalışanlarının özel sektör çalışanlarından farklı motivasyon kaynaklarına sahip olduğu iddia etmektedir (Clerkin vd., 2009). KHM; bireylerin, kişisel ve örgütsel çıkarlarının ötesinde daha geniş toplumsal kesimlerin çıkarlarını ilgilendiren inanç, değer ve tutumlara sahip olmasını ifade etmekte ve bireylerin bu inanç ve değerlere uygun davranması için motive edilmesi olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Vandenabeele, 2007).

KHM yaklaşımına göre kamu kurumlarında çalışan bireylerin davranışları ve tutumları üzerinde üç farklı motifin varlığı öne sürülmüştür. Bunlar; rasyonel, norm temelli ve duygusal motiflerdir (Perry ve Wise, 1990). Rasyonel motif, bireysel faydayı maksimize etmeyi sağlayan eylemleri; norm temelli motif, normlara uyum sağlama çabalarına yönelik eylemleri; duygusal

temelli motif ise çeşitli sosyal bağlamlara yönelik duygusal tepkileri içeren davranışların oluşmasını sağlayan davranışları içermektedir (Perry ve Wise, 1990: 368). KHM literatüründeki açıklamalarda çoğunlukla kamu hizmetlerine özgü motiflerin çoğunun fedakârlık temelli olduğu ifade edilmektedir (Perry ve Wise, 1990). Rasyonel motif, üç farklı şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır. İlk olarak, bireyleri çalışma niyetiyle kamu kurumlarına iten sebebin bireylerin topluma faydası olabilecek kamu politikaları, düzenlemeleri ve uygulamaları oluşturmayı istemesidir (Perry ve Wise, 1990). İkinci olarak, bireylerin kamu hizmetlerine karşı sahip oldukları bağlılıkları ve motivasyonları, bu bireylerin kendilerini yapmış oldukları işle tanımlıyor olması ve bu işle özdeşleşmiş olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır (Perry ve Wise, 1990). Rasyonel motifin son şeklinde ise bireylerin kamu kurumunda görev almasının ve görevlerine devam etmesinin nedeni olarak kişisel çıkarların varlığından söz edilmektedir (Perry ve Wise, 1990).

KHM'nin ikinci motifi olan norm temelli motife göre bireyleri kamu kurumlarında çalışmaya iten sebepler, özel sektörden farklı olarak "kamu yararına hizmet etme" (Perry ve Wise, 1990), "göreve ve devlete bütünüyle bağlılık" (Buchanan, 1975), "sosyal eşitlik ve hakkaniyeti sağlama arzusu" şeklinde sıralanmaktadır (Perry ve Wise, 1990).

KHM'nin üçüncü motifi olan duygusal motife göre, bazı bireylerin kendilerini belli bir kamu hizmeti ile tanımlamaları ve bu kamu hizmetine karşı bağlılık hissetmeleri, çalışanların motive olmalarını sağlamaktadır (Perry ve Wise, 1990). Ancak Perry ve Wise bu motifleri birbirinden tamamen bağımsız olmadığını vurgulamışlardır. Ayrıca kamu çalışanlarının hayatları boyunca KHM'nin yalnızca bir motifinden etkilenmedikleri ve kariyerleri boyunca bu motiflerin farklı düzeylerde karışımlarına sahip oldukları öne sürülmüştür Perry ve Wise, 1990).

KHM'ye etki eden; kişisel özellikler, rol durumları (belirsizlik, çatışma), çalışanların örgüte ilişkin algıları, çalışan yönetici ilişkileri ve işin niteliği gibi çok sayıda faktör bulunmaktadır (Camilleri, 2007). Diğer taraftan literatürde işte devam etme isteği (Perry ve Wise, 1990), örgütsel bağlılık (Wright ve Pandey, 2008), iş tatmini (Bright, 2008) ve kişi-örgüt uyumu (Christensen ve Wright, 2011) gibi KHM'nin etki ettiği çok sayıda davranışsal ve tutumsal faktör olduğu görülmektedir. Örneğin; KHM ile örgütsel bağlılık ilişkisinin değerlendirildiği bir çalışmada; örgütsel bağlılık ile KHM arasında tutarlı ve pozitif yönlü bir ilişki olduğu tespit edilmiştir (Pandey ve Stazyk, 2008: 110). İlave olarak, Camilleri (2007) KHM ve örgütsel bağlılığın alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiyi değerlendirdiği çalışmasında duygusal bağlılığın, KHM üzerinde normatif bağlılığa göre daha fazla etkili olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır.

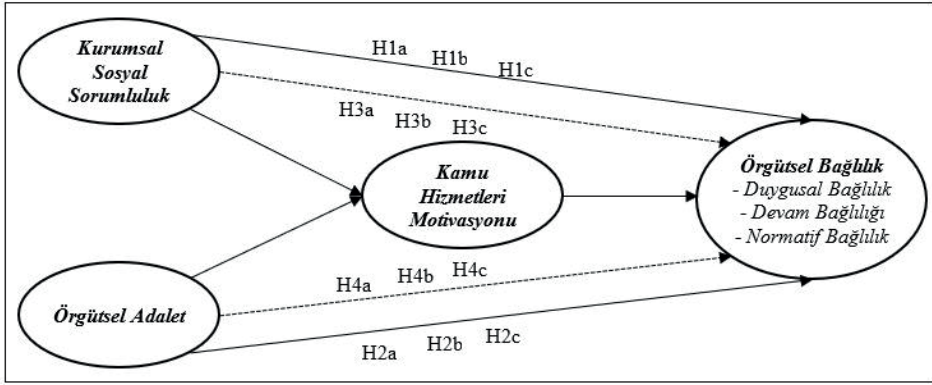
KHM'nin aracılık etkisinin incelendiği çalışmalara bakıldığında ise; insan kaynakları uygulamaları ve çalışan sonuçları arasındaki ilişkide KHM'nin aracılık rolü olduğu tespit edilmiştir (Gould-Williams vd., 2014). Diğer taraftan yüksek performanslı insan kaynakları uygulamaları, çalışanların duygusal bağlılığı ve örgütsel vatandaşlık ilişkisinde KHM'nin aracılık etkisi bulunmuştur (Mostafa vd., 2015). Son olarak KSS ve örgütsel vatandaşlık davranışı arasındaki ilişkide KHM'nin etkisi olduğu değerlendirilmiştir (Abdelmotaleb ve Saha, 2019). Bu sonuçlara dayanarak, KHM'nin çalışanların örgütsel uygulamalara yönelik algıları ile çalışan davranışları arasındaki ilişkinin potansiyel arabulucularından biri olduğu sonucuna varılabilir (Abdelmotaleb ve Saha, 2019). Diğer taraftan kurumsal politikaların ve uygulamaların KHM'nin gelişimi üzerindeki etkilerinin tam olarak anlaşılması için daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç olduğu öne sürülmektedir (Abdelmotaleb ve Saha, 2019). Literatürde örgütsel adalet ve örgütsel bağlılık ilişkisi (Wasti, 2001; Işık, Uğurluoğlu ve Akbolat, 2012; Büyükyılmaz ve Tunçbiz, 2016; Tanrıverdi, Koçaslan ve Eğriboz, 2019), KHM ve örgütsel bağlılık ilişkisi (Ritz, Brewer ve Neumann, 2016; Abdelmotaleb ve Saha, 2019), KSS ve örgütsel bağlılık (Mutlu, Çeviker ve Murat, 2009) ilişkilerinin araştırıldı-

ğı çalışmalara rastlamak mümkündür. Ancak KHM'nin aracılık etkisine yönelik olarak yapılmış çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Bu boşluğu doldurmaya yönelik olarak, önceki açıklamalarda bahsedilen teorik gerekçeler ve mevcut kanıtlar ışığında aşağıdaki hipotez önerilmektedir;

Hipotez 3: Örgütsel adalet ile (H3a) duygusal bağlılık, (H3b) devam bağlılığı ve (H3c) normatif bağlılık arasındaki ilişkide KHM'nin aracılık etkisi bulunmaktadır.

Hipotez 4: KSS ile (H4a) duygusal bağlılık, (H4b) devam bağlılığı ve (H4c) normatif bağlılık arasındaki ilişkide KHM'nin aracılık etkisi bulunmaktadır.

Araştırmanın teorik çerçevesine bağlı olarak oluşturulan hipotezlerin yer aldığı araştırmanın modeli Şekil 1'de gösterilmektedir.



Şekil 1: Araştırmanın Modeli

3. Araştırmanın Tasarımı ve Yöntemi

3.1. Örneklem

Araştırmanın evrenini Atatürk Üniversitesi öğretim elemanları oluşturmaktadır. Yükseköğretim Kurulu (YÖK) 2019 yılı üniversite izleme ve değerlendirme raporuna göre Atatürk Üniversitesi topluma hizmet ve sosyal sorumluluk kategorisinde “üniversite sosyal sorumluluk projeleri sayısı” alanında 475 proje ile birinci sırada yer almıştır (YÖK, 2019). Yükseköğretim kurumlarının yerel ve sosyal toplulukların odağında kuruluşlar olmaları onları sürdürülebilir kalkınmaya ulaşma sürecinin önemli bir aktörü haline getirmektedir. Araştırmanın yürütüldüğü Atatürk Üniversitesi çeşitli görünürlük kampanyaları yardımıyla KSS’yi aktif olarak destekleyen bir kurum kültürüne sahiptir. Üniversitenin sağlık ve sosyal destek alanlarında yürüttüğü çok sayıda gönüllülük projesi bulunduğu gerçeğinden hareketle bu tür girişimlerin, çalışanların kuruluşa yönelik psikolojik tepkileri üzerinde etkisi olması varsayımı Atatürk Üniversitesi’ni KSS başlığında araştırma evreni olarak seçilmesinin gerekçesini oluşturmaktadır.

Atatürk Üniversitesi evreni kapsamında %95 güvenilirlik seviyesi sınırları içerisinde %5 oranında hata payı öngörülerek örneklem büyüklüğü 326 olarak hesaplanmıştır (Sample Size Calculator, 2017). Belirlenen örneklem sayısı üzerinden, seçilen örneklemin evreni temsil gücünün yüksek olmasını sağlamak amacıyla çok aşamalı örnekleme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çok aşamalı örnekleme yönteminde ilk olarak her bir fakültenin evrende temsil edilebilmesi için sahip olduğu

personelinden tüm evrendeki akademik personelin örneklem sayısı oranınca seçilmiştir. Yani her bir birimdeki personelin yaklaşık %15,5'i çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Bunun devamında tüm akademik unvanların da sayısal oranı belirlenerek aynı şekilde her birin bazında hangi unvandaki kaç akademik personel ile anket çalışması yapılacağı tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca her birimden her unvandan en az bir kişiyle anket çalışması yapılmıştır. Örneğin bir fakültede sadece 4 profesörden bile 1 tanesi çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Bundan dolayı örneklem sayısı bir miktar artmıştır. Unvan ve birim bazında yapılan örnekleme sonucunda optimum örneklem sayısından bile fazla olacak şekilde 341 katılımcıdan anket verisi elde edilmiştir. Bu araştırma için etik onay, üniversitenin sosyal ve beşerî bilimler etik kurulundan alınmıştır. Buna göre katılımcılardan veriler toplanırken etik prosedürlerin işlerliğinin sağlanması adına gerekli teknik gereklilikler yerine getirilmiştir. Ayrıca üniversite yönetiminden araştırmanın yapılabilmesi için uygulama izni de alınmıştır. Katılımcılar araştırmanın amacı ve katılımın gönüllü ve gizli doğası hakkında önceden bilgilendirilmiştir. Herhangi bir tanımlama riskini en aza indirmek için anketler araştırmacılar tarafından kapalı zarf kullanılarak toplanmıştır. Araştırmaya katılan 341 (üniversitenin tüm akademik personel sayısının %16'sı) çalışan; %43,4'ü kadın, %56,6'ı erkek; %50,7'si 1-10 yıl deneyim, %49,3'ünün 10 yıldan fazla deneyimi bulunmaktadır. Katılımcıların yaş aralığının ise 25 ile 65 yaş arasında olduğu görülmüştür (yaş_ort:38,52).

3.2. Araştırmada Kullanılan Ölçekler

Bu çalışmada veri toplama aracı olarak belirlenen anket ifadeleri hazırlanırken, yüksek güvenilirliğe ve geçerliliğe sahip olduğu daha önceki çalışmalarda belirtilen ve literatürde oldukça kabul görmüş ölçeklerden faydalanılmıştır. Ölçeklerin oluşturulması için, örgütsel adalet, örgütsel bağlılık, kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk ve kamu hizmetleri motivasyonuna ilişkin yerli ve yabancı akademik yayınlardan kuramsal ve uygulamaya dönük olan akademik eserler üzerinde geniş bir inceleme yapılmıştır. Kullanılan ölçekler Türkçe'ye uyarlanırken, Brislin vd. (1973) tarafından önerilen beş aşamalı teknik kullanılmıştır. Bunlar; "ilk çeviri", "ilk çeviriyi değerlendirme", "tersine çeviri", "tersine çeviriyi değerlendirme" ve "uzman görüşü alınması" aşamalarıdır. Tüm ölçeklerde maddeler, 1 (kesinlikle katılmıyorum) ve 5 (kesinlikle katılıyorum) şeklinde sabitlenmiş 5 puanlık Likert ölçeğinde tasarlanmıştır. Her bir boyut için ölçek güvenilirliği (Cronbach's alpha) 0.815 veya üzeridir ve yeterli ölçek tutarlılığını gösterir (Nunnally, 1978). Ayrıca tüm ölçüm maddeleri literatürden uyarlandığı için araştırmada kullanılan üç ölçeğin boyutsallığı yeniden değerlendirilememiş. Bunun yerine, bu ölçeklerin ölçüm özelliklerini incelemek için doğrulayıcı faktör analizi kullanılmıştır.

Örgütsel adalet ölçeği soruları hazırlanırken; ilk olarak Niehoff ve Moorman (1993) tarafından geliştiren örgütsel adalet ölçeğinin "dağıtım adaleti" boyutuna ilişkin bir sorudan ve "etkileşim adaleti" boyutuna ilişkin beş sorudan faydalanılmıştır. Niehoff ve Moorman'ın ölçeğini Türkçe'ye çeviren ve ölçeğin geçerliliğini ve güvenilirliğini sağlayan Yıldırım (2002)'ın eserinden de yararlanılarak ifadelerin anlam kaybına uğramasının önüne geçilmiştir. Ayrıca Örgütsel Adalet ölçeğinin "dağıtım adaleti" ve "süreç adaleti" boyutlarına ilişkin sorular hazırlanırken, literatürde oldukça yüksek düzeyde kabul gören Colquitt (2001)'in Örgütsel Adalet Ölçeğinin "süreç adaletine" ilişkin beş sorusundan ve "dağıtım adaletine" ilişkin üç sorusundan faydalanılmıştır. Ayrıca bu ölçeği Türkçe çalışmalarına uyarlayan Cihangiroğlu (2009) ve Dağlı (2016)'nın eserlerinden yararlanılarak, ölçeklerdeki ifadelerin anlamlarını korumaları sağlanmıştır. Sonuç olarak örgütsel adalet ölçeği; dağıtım adaleti, süreç adaleti ve etkileşim adaleti alt boyutlarında oluşacak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Açıklayıcı faktör analizi sonucunda KMO değeri 0,926 ve Bart-

lett Anlamlılık düzeyi (sig.) 0,000 bulunmuştur. Ayrıca bu ölçeğe ait üç alt boyutun, Örgütsel Adalet ölçeğinin %79,45'ini açıkladığı görülmüştür. Ölçekte yer alan tüm ifadelerin faktör yüklerinin 0,7'den büyüktür. Her bir alt boyut için Cronbach's Alpha katsayıları 0.903 ve üzeridir. Ayrıca üç boyutlu yapının geçerliliğine ilişkin yapılan olarak doğrulayıcı faktör analizine göre ($\chi^2/df=1,649$; RMR = 0,030; GFI=0,954; AGFI = 0,932; NFI=0,973; IFI=0,989; TLI=0,986; CFI=0,989; RMSEA=0,044; faktör yükleri $\geq 0,748$ (t (C.R.) $\geq 10,070$, $p \leq 0,001$) uyum ve iç tutarlılık güvenilirliği istatistik değerleri iyi uyum göstermektedir.

Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk ölçeğine ilişkin sorular hazırlanırken, Maignan ve Ferrell (2001) tarafından geliştirilen ölçekten faydalanılmıştır. Bu ölçeğin de Türkçeye uyarlanmasında, güvenilirlik ve geçerlilik sağlanmasında, ulusal literatürde oldukça kabul gören Özdemir'in (2007) ve Çalışkan'ın (2010) çalışmalarında ölçeğin kullanım şekline bakılarak, KSS boyutuna ilişkin sorular yeniden düzenlenmiş ve revize edilmiştir. Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk ölçeği; ekonomik sosyal sorumluluk, yasal sosyal sorumluluk, etik sosyal sorumluluk ve gönüllü/hayırseverlik sosyal sorumluluk alt boyutlarından oluşmaktadır. Her bir alt boyut için Cronbach's Alpha katsayıları 0.878 ve üzeridir. Açımlayıcı faktör analizi sonucunda KMO değeri 0,912 ve Bartlett Anlamlılık düzeyi (sig.) 0,000 bulunmuştur. Ayrıca bu ölçeğe ait dört alt boyutun, Kurumsal Sosyal Sorumluluk ölçeğinin %73,817'sini açıkladığı görülmüştür. Ölçekte yer alan tüm ifadelerin faktör yüklerinin 0,7'den büyüktür. Ayrıca dört boyutlu yapının geçerliliğine ilişkin olarak yapılan doğrulayıcı faktör analizine göre ($\chi^2/df=2,078$; RMR = 0,042; GFI=0,906; AGFI = 0,878; NFI=0,937; IFI=0,966; TLI=0,960; CFI=0,966; RMSEA=0,056; faktör yükleri $\geq 0,606$ (t (C.R.) $\geq 6,459$, $p \leq 0,001$) uyum ve iç tutarlılık güvenilirliği istatistik değerleri iyi uyum göstermektedir.

Örgütsel bağlılık ölçeğine ilişkin sorular hazırlanırken; Allen ve Meyer (1990)'in örgütsel bağlılık ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Bu ölçek, literatürde oldukça fazla kabul gören ve kullanılan bir ölçek olması sebebiyle seçilmiştir. Ayrıca bu ölçeği Türkçeye uyarlayan ve akademik personel üzerinde uygulayan Boylu ve diğerlerinin (2007) eserlerinden faydalanılarak, soruların bütünlükleri korunmaya çalışılmıştır. Yapılan araştırmalarda bu örgütsel adalet ölçeği, orijinal haliyle ve Türkçeye uyarlanmış haliyle, yüksek düzeyde güvenilirlik ve geçerlilik elde ettiği için tercih edilmiştir. Örgütsel bağlılık ölçeği; duygusal bağlılık, devam bağlılığı ve normatif bağlılık alt boyutlarından oluşmaktadır. Açımlayıcı faktör analizi sonucunda; KMO değeri 0,865 ve Bartlett Anlamlılık Düzeyi (sig.) 0,000 bulunmuştur. Ayrıca bu ölçeğe ait üç alt boyut, Örgütsel Bağlılık ölçeğinin %79,14'ünü açıkladığı görülmüştür. Ölçekte yer alan tüm ifadelerin faktör yüklerinin 0,7'den büyüktür. Her bir alt boyut için Cronbach's Alpha katsayıları 0.882 ve üzeridir. Ayrıca üç boyutlu yapının geçerliliğine ilişkin olarak yapılan doğrulayıcı faktör analizine göre ($\chi^2/df=3,274$; RMR = 0,037; GFI=0,928; AGFI = 0,890; NFI=0,947; IFI=0,963; TLI=0,951; CFI=0,962; RMSEA=0,080; faktör yükleri $\geq 0,744$ (t (C.R.) $\geq 14,373$, $p \leq 0,001$) uyum ve iç tutarlılık güvenilirliği istatistik değerleri iyi uyum göstermektedir.

Kamu hizmeti motivasyonu ölçeği hazırlanırken, bu konudaki ilk ölçeği geliştiren Perry'nin (1996) çalışmasından faydalanılmıştır. KHM, kültürel farklılıklardan, ülkedeki dominant dinden, ülkenin gelişmişlik düzeyinden doğrudan etkilenen bir yapısının olması (Norris, 2003; Vandenebeele ve Van de Walle, 2008) sebebiyle; bu çalışmadaki anket sorularında, ülkeye özgü değerleri içeren ifadelere yer verilmeye çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca KHM ölçeğini uluslararası platformda kullanılabilecek şekilde yeniden düzenleyen Kim ve diğerlerinin (2010) çalışmasından faydalanılmıştır. Son olarak, KHM'nin kültürel farklılıklardan kaynaklı olarak farklı motiflerinin olabileceğini öne süren ve bundan dolayı ölçeğin alt boyutlarını genişleten Vandenebeele'nin (2008) çalışmasından faydalanılmıştır. Perry'nin (1996) geliştirdiği ölçek temel alınarak hazırlanan öl-

çek formunda diğer iki ölçekte yer alan ve Türkiye'nin toplumsal ve kültürel yapısına uygun olan ifadeler seçilmeye özen gösterilmiştir. Nihayetinde KHM'nin dört alt boyutuna ilişkin olarak oluşturulan ve on altı ifadeden oluşan ölçek formu; alanında uzman kişilerle ve araştırmanın yapılacağı kesim olan akademik personel ile tartışılarak son haline getirilmiştir. Kamu hizmetleri motivasyonu ölçeği; kamu politikalarına ilgi, kamu yararına bağlılık, merhamet ve fedakârlık alt boyutlarından oluşmaktadır. Her bir alt boyut için Cronbach's Alpha katsayıları 0.815 ve üzeridir. Açıklayıcı faktör analizi sonucunda KMO değeri 0,843 ve Bartlett Anlamlılık düzeyi (sig.) 0,000 bulunmuştur. Ölçekte yer alan dört alt boyutun Kamu Hizmetleri Motivasyonu ölçeğinin %73,683'ünü açıklayabildiği tespit edilmiştir. Ölçekte yer alan tüm ifadelerin faktör yüklerinin 0,7'den büyüktür. Ayrıca dört boyutlu yapının geçerliliğine ilişkin olarak yapılan doğrulayıcı faktör analizine göre ($\chi^2/df=2,039$; RMR = 0,035; GFI=0,932; AGFI = 0,905; NFI=0,940; IFI=0,969; TLI=0,961; CFI=0,968; RMSEA=0,055; faktör yükleri $\geq 0,529$ (t (C.R.) $\geq 9,874$, $p \leq 0,001$) uyum ve iç tutarlılık güvenilirliği istatistik değerleri iyi uyum göstermektedir.

Tablo 1: Tanımlayıcı İstatistikler, Korelasyonlar ve Ölçek Güvenilirlikleri

| Ölçek | Ortalama | Std. Sapma | Soru Sayısı | Cronbach's Alpha | Ö. Adalet | KSS | KHM | Du. Bağ | Dev. Bağ | N. Bağ |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|----------|--------|
| <i>Örgütsel Adalet</i> | 3,13 | 0,76 | 14 | 0,94 | 1 | | | | | |
| <i>KSS</i> | 3,47 | 0,59 | 21 | 0,930 | ,70** | 1 | | | | |
| <i>KHM</i> | 3,89 | 0,47 | 16 | 0,854 | ,15** | ,19** | 1 | | | |
| <i>Örgütsel Bağlılık</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>D. Bağ</i> | 3,62 | 0,95 | 4 | 0,930 | ,72** | ,60** | ,20** | 1 | | |
| <i>Dev. Bağ</i> | 3,44 | 0,89 | 4 | 0,882 | -,09** | -,11** | ,03** | -,12** | 1 | |
| <i>N. Bağ</i> | 3,21 | 0,98 | 4 | 0,917 | ,57** | ,53** | ,15** | ,64** | -,078** | 1 |

** : Korelasyonlar $p < 0.001$ düzeyinde anlamlıdır

Tablo 1, ilgili yapıların tanımlayıcı istatistiklerini, korelasyonlarını ve ölçek güvenilirliklerini göstermektedir. Örgütsel adalet, KSS ve örgütsel bağlılık arasındaki yüksek korelasyon çalışanların kurumsal algılarının davranışları üzerindeki etkisini doğrulamaktadır. Önceden de izah edildiği gibi, sosyal kimlik kuramı ve örgütsel adalet kuramına dayalı olarak kurumların çalışanlara yönelik yürüttükleri KSS faaliyetleri ve örgütsel adalet uygulamaları onların örgüte olan örgütsel bağlılık eğilimlerini etkilemektedir. Literatürde kabul gören görüşe göre de çalışanların kurumun KSS faaliyetlerine ilişkin algıları pozitif olduğunda örgütsel adaletle ilişkin algıları da pozitif olacak ve sonuç olarak örgütsel bağlılığa ilişkin duygularda olumlu bir şekilde gelişecektir (Hofman & Newman, 2014). Sonuç olarak bu faktörlerin korelasyonları yüksektir.

4. Yapısal Model Testi

Hipotezleri test etmek ve kamu hizmet motivasyonunun aracılık etkisini incelemek için AMOS programı yardımıyla yapısal eşitlik modellemesi (YEM) kullanılmıştır (Byrne, 2001). AMOS programında tahmin yöntemi olarak "maximum likelihood" (en yüksek olasılık) yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Direkt ve dolaylı etkiler ile aracılık etkisinin değerlendirilmesine yönelik dört modelle çalışılmıştır. Birinci (D1) ve ikinci modelde (D2) çalışanların örgütsel adalet algısı ve KSS algılarının, üç örgütsel bağlılık türü üzerindeki direkt etkisi incelenmiştir. M1 modelinde KHM'nin tam aracılık etkisi M2 modelinde ise KHM'nin kısmi aracılık etkisi incelenmiştir. Oluşturulan modellerin tamamında örgütsel bağlılık türlerinden olan devam bağlılığı üzerine kurulan ilişkilerin hiçbirisi anlamlı çıkmamıştır. Bu nedenle H1b, H2b, H3b ve H4b reddedilerek, yapısal model ilişkilerinde devam bağlılığı değerlendirme dışı bırakılmış, duygusal bağlılık ve

normatif bağlılık ile çalışılmıştır (Tablo 2).

Tablo 2: Yapısal Eşitlik Modeli (YEM) Analiz Sonuçları (N:341)

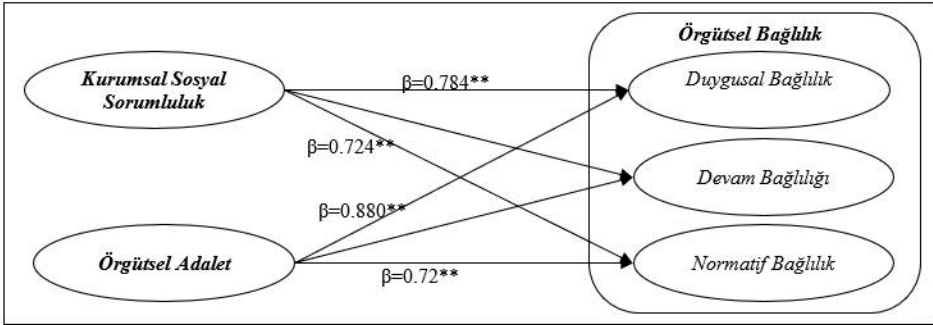
| | df | χ^2 | χ^2/df | RMSEA | RMR | AGFI | CFI |
|---|-----|----------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| D1 model- ÖA ve ÖB faktörleri | 87 | 213.635 | 2.456 | 0.065 | 0.039 | 0.898 | 0.965 |
| D2 model- KSS ve ÖB faktörleri | 101 | 269.223 | 2.666 | 0.070 | 0.058 | 0.881 | 0.953 |
| M1 model-KHM'nin tam aracı etkisi | 221 | 605.248 | 2.739 | 0.072 | 0.024 | 0.942 | 0.981 |
| M2 model- KHM'nin kısmi aracı etkisi | 215 | 594.255 | 2.764 | 0.072 | 0.024 | 0.941 | 0.979 |

Direkt Model Testi: Model D1 (YEM), çalışanların örgütsel adalet algılarının örgütsel bağlılık türleri üzerindeki direkt etkisine odaklanmıştır. Tablo 2'de yer alan sonuçlar değerlendirildiğinde örgütsel adalet algısının duygusal bağlılığı ($\beta=0.88$, $p<0.001$) ve normatif bağlılığı ($\beta=0.728$, $p<0.001$) pozitif ve anlamlı bir biçimde yordadığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Model D2 (YEM) ise çalışanların KSS algılarının örgütsel bağlılık türleri üzerindeki direkt etkisini ele almaktadır. Tablo 2'de yer alan model D2 (YEM) sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde ise KSS algısının duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.784$, $p<0.001$) ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.724$, $p<0.001$) üzerinde pozitif ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahip olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu sonuçlar H1a, H1c ile H2a, H2c hipotezlerini desteklemektedir. Değişkenler arasındaki doğrudan etkinin araştırıldığı D1 ve D2 modelleri Şekil 2'de verilmektedir.

Tam Aracılık Model Testi: Tam aracılık etkisinin varlığını test etmek için kurulan Tablo 2'de yer alan model M1 (YEM) sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde; çalışanların KHM algılarının duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.91$, $p<0.001$) ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.72$, $p<0.001$) üzerindeki etkisi pozitif ve anlamlı çıkmıştır. Örgütsel adalet algısının KHM'yi ($\beta=0.80$, $p<0.001$) pozitif ve anlamlı bir biçimde yordadığı, KSS algısının da aynı biçimde KHM ($\beta=0.27$, $p<0.001$) üzerinde pozitif ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahip olduğu görülmüştür.

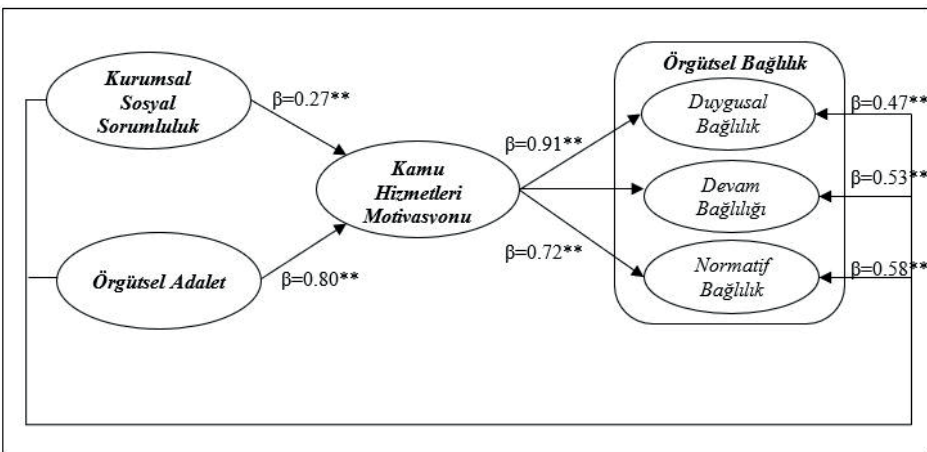
Kısmi Aracılık Model Testi: Kısmi aracılık etkisinin varlığını test etmek için model M2 (YEM) oluşturulmuştur. Tablo 2'de yer alan model M2 (YEM) analizi sonuçlarına göre çalışanların KSS algıları ile duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.47$, $p<0.01$) ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.58$, $p<0.01$) arasında kurulan yol pozitif ve anlamlıdır. Tam aracılık modelinde olduğu gibi örgütsel adalet algısı KHM'yi ($\beta=0.48$, $p<0.01$) olumlu yönde öngörmektedir. Bununla birlikte KSS algısının da KHM'yi ($\beta=0.31$, $p<0.10$) pozitif ve anlamlı bir biçimde öngördüğü ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu modelde Örgütsel Adalet'in ve KSS'nin Örgütsel Bağlılık türleri üzerindeki direkt etkisine bakmak da mümkündür. Direkt etki sonuçları analiz edildiğinde Örgütsel Adaletin duygusal bağlılığı ($\beta=0.53$, $p<0.001$) pozitif ve anlamlı bir biçimde yordamasına rağmen normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.22$, NS) üzerinde anlamlı etkisini kaybettiği görülmüştür. KSS algısının da duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.06$, NS) ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.14$, NS) üzerinde anlamlı bir etkisinin bulunmadığı görülmüştür. Sonuç olarak KHM'nin tam aracılık etkisinin analiz edildiği modelin (M1), kısmi aracılık etki analiz modelinden (M1) daha anlamlı sonuçlar verdiği ortaya çıkmıştır.



Şekil 2: Doğrudan Etki Modeli

**: $p < 0,001$

Dolaylı Etki Testi: Çalışmanın temel odak konusu, örgütsel adalet ve KSS algılarının duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerindeki etkisinin değerlendirilmesinde KHM'nin merkezi rolüdür. Aracılık etkisi için oluşturulan H3 ve H4 hipotezlerini test etmek ve dolaylı etkileri izlemek için AMOS'da 5000 bootstrap örneği ile bootstrap analizinden faydalanılmıştır (Hayes, 2017). Yukarıdaki açıklamalar ışığında Tablo 2'de yer alan YEM analizi sonuçları, M2'ye kıyasla M1'in istatistiksel olarak verilere daha iyi uyduğunu; $\Delta\chi^2 (M2-M1) = 10.99$ ve $\Delta df = 6$ sonuçlarının da bunu desteklediğini gösterdiği için son (YEM) model olarak tam aracı etkinin değerlendirildiği M1 modeli kabul edilmiştir. Sonuçlar örgütsel adaletin duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.73$), ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.58$) üzerinde KHM %99 CI= [0.612, 0.820; 0.487, 0.672] yoluyla anlamlı dolaylı bir etkiye sahip olduğunu ve dolaylı etki değer aralıklarında sıfır değerinin bulunmadığını göstermiştir. Bu bulgular, örgütsel adaletin duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerindeki etkisinde aracı olarak KHM için destek sağlamış ve böylece H3a ile H3c hipotezleri desteklenmiştir. Bu durumda KHM'nin örgütsel adaletin duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerindeki etkisine tam olarak aracılık ettiği söylenebilir.



Şekil 3: Aracı Etki Modeli

**: $p < 0,001$

Benzer şekilde model M1 sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde KSS'nin duygusal bağlılık ($\beta=0.25$), ve normatif bağlılık ($\beta=0.20$) üzerinde KHM %99 CI= [0.106, 0.366;0.088,0.308] yoluyla anlamlı dolaylı bir etkiye sahip olduğu ve dolaylı etki değer aralıklarında sıfır değerinin olmadığı görülmüştür. Buna göre de H4a ve H4c hipotezleri desteklenmiştir. Böylece KSS'nin duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerine etkisinde KHM'nin tam aracılık etkisinin olduğu sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Aracılık etkilerinin analiz edildiği model, Şekil 3'de gösterilmektedir. Ayrıca çalışma kapsamında oluşturulan hipotezlerin sonuçlarını Tablo 3'de özetlenmektedir.

Tablo 3: Hipotez Testi Sonuçları

| Hipotezler | Önerilen İlişkiler | Sonuçlar |
|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| H1a | KSS → DUB | Desteklendi |
| H1b | KSS → DEB | Reddedildi |
| H1c | KSS → NB | Desteklendi |
| H2a | ÖA → DUB | Desteklendi |
| H2b | ÖA → DEB | Reddedildi |
| H2c | ÖA → NB | Desteklendi |
| H3a | KSS → KHM → DUB | Desteklendi |
| H3b | KSS → KHM → DEB | Reddedildi |
| H3c | KSS → KHM → NB | Desteklendi |
| H4a | ÖA → KHM → DUB | Desteklendi |
| H4b | ÖA → KHM → DEB | Reddedildi |
| H4c | ÖA → KHM → NB | Desteklendi |

KSS= Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk, ÖA = Örgütsel Adalet, KHM = Kamu Hizmet Motivasyonu, DUB = Duygusal Bağlılık, DEB = Devam Bağlılığı, NB = Normatif Bağlılık

5. Tartışma ve Sonuçlar

Bu araştırma çalışanların örgütsel adalet ve KSS algılarının örgütsel bağlılık türleri arasındaki ilişkide KHM'nin aracılık etkisini ortaya koyarak, örgütsel bağlılık üzerindeki örgütsel adalet ve KSS mekanizmalarının anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunması amaçlanmaktadır. Destekleyen hipotezlerden görüleceği üzere örgütsel adalet, KSS ve örgütsel bağlılık arasında bir ilişki bulunmuştur. Ancak bulgularımız örgütsel bağlılık türlerinden devam bağlılığı üzerinde herhangi anlamlı ilişki olmadığını göstermiştir. Bulgularımız KHM'nin aracılık etkisinin örgütsel adalet ve KSS ile devam bağlılığı ve normatif bağlılık arasındaki ilişkide anlamlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Direkt ve dolaylı etkilerin ele alındığı bu kısımda sonuçların teori ve pratiğe etkileri tartışılmaktadır.

5.1. Teorik Çıkarımlar

Yapılan bu çalışmada, sosyal kimlik kuramı, sosyal mübadele kuramı ve örgütsel adalet kuramına dayanarak çalışanların örgüt içi uygulamalarla ilgili deneyimleri sonucu oluşan algılarının örgüt içi çalışma çıktılarına doğrudan ve dolaylı etkileri olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Bu çalışmayı ön plana çıkaran en önemli özelliği, kamu kurumlarının kamusal sorumluluk perspektifinde kamu yararı üretmeye yönelik hizmet üretiminde, örgüt içi uygulamaların çalışan algılarının şekillenmesinde çalışanların motivasyon düzeylerinin etkilerinin daha önce fark edilenden daha derin olabileceğini ortaya koymasındadır. Çalışanların kamu politikalarına ilgisini, kamu yararına bağlılığını, merhamet ve fedakârlık düzeylerini tanımlayan kamu hizmet motivasyonu önemli bir davranışsal etken olarak çalışan deneyimlerinin anlamlandırılmasında ve algılanmasındaki etkisi bu çalışma sonuçları ile ortaya konulmuştur.

Birlikte ele alındığında bu çalışma; çalışanların örgütsel adalet ve KSS algılarının duygusal ve normatif bağlılık üzerindeki hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı etkilerini vurgulamaktadır. Buna ek olarak KHM'nin anlamlı aracılık etkileri göz önüne alındığında, bu sonuçların mikro insan kaynakları yönetimi ve yükseköğretim kurumları literatürlerine önemli teorik katkılar sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Elde edilen sonuçlara dayalı olarak bu çalışma, KHM'nin örgütsel adalet ve KSS çabalarının duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerindeki rolünü netleştirerek literatüre üç boyutta katkı sunmaktadır.

Birincisi, Rupp vd. (2006) çalışanların örgütsel adalete ilişkin olarak geliştirdikleri algıların, örgüte olan psikolojik bağlılıklarını etkilediğini iddia etmektedir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları örgütsel adalet algısının, bireyin örgütü ile özdeşleşmesi, bütünleşmesi ve duygusal olarak kendisini örgütü ile ilişkilendirmesi anlamına gelen duygusal bağlılık ve bireyin kendisini örgüte karşı içsel bir sorumluluk veya zorunluluk hissetmesi anlamına gelen normatif bağlılık üzerinde direkt ve anlamlı bir etkisi olduğunu ortaya koyarak Rupp vd. (2006)'in iddiası ile örtüşmektedir.

İkincisi, bulgular çalışanların KSS algılarının duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılık üzerinde direkt ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Sosyal kimlik kuramı KSS'nin mikro temellerini anlamak için yararlı bir çerçeve sunarken (Farooq vd., 2014) bu tarz kurumsal girişimlerin iş tutumlarını ve davranışlarını olumlu yönde etkilediğini açıklamaktadır (Ashforth ve Mael, 1989). Bunun yanında çalışanların KSS girişimlerine nasıl cevap verdiğini açıklayan sosyal mübadele teorisi de kurumların çalışanlarla ilgilendiklerini gösteren KSS tabanlı sosyal değişimlerin sosyal değişim ilişkileri geliştirerek örgütsel bağlılık gibi olumlu çalışma sonuçlarının ortaya çıktığını açıklamaktadır (Cropanzano ve Mitchell, 2005; De Roeck ve Maon, 2018). Dolayısıyla çalışmamız (Turker, 2009)'un KSS'nin örgütsel bağlılık üzerindeki doğrudan etkisini anlamak için yaptığı çalışma ile örtüşmektedir. Bu bulgular doğrultusunda çalışma, KSS girişimlerinin çalışanlar açısından olumlu bir sosyal kimlik geliştirme eğilimlerini ve sosyal değişim ilişkilerini destekleyerek kurumsal bağlılıklarını güçlendirmeleri konusunda sosyal kimlik ve sosyal mübadele teorilerine kavrayış sağlamaktadır.

Üçüncüsü, kamu kurumlarında yapılan mikro düzeyli çalışmalarda KHM'nin aracılık etkisinin önemsendiği düşünülmektedir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları örgütsel adalet ve KSS'yi örgütsel bağlılığın önemli öncül değişkeni olarak kabul eden literatürün daha önce fark edilmeyen bir sonuç olarak; kurum ile çalışanlar arasındaki olumlu sosyal değişimlerin, çalışanların arzu edilen sonuçlarıyla ilişkisinde KHM'nin güçlü bir aracı değişken olduğunu ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bulgular KHM'nin örgütsel bağlılık için önemli bir öncül değişken olduğunu da teyit etmektedir. Bu nedenle bulgularımız, çalışan perspektifinden KHM'nin duygusal bağlılık ve normatif bağlılığı açıklarken nasıl bir rol oynadığına dair daha iyi bir anlayış sunar. Diğer taraftan örgütsel adalet ve KSS girişimlerinin birlikte sadık çalışanlar geliştirmede önemli etkilere sahip olduğu gerçeği de teyit edilmiştir.

Diğer taraftan elde edilen sonuçlar itibariyle KSS ve örgütsel adaletin, örgütsel bağlılığın bir alt boyutu olan devam bağlılığı üzerinde etkisinin olduğu sonucuna ulaşılamamıştır. Literatürdeki çalışmaların sonuçlarıyla bu durum örtüşmektedir (Büyükyılmaz ve Tunçbiz, 2016: 104-105). Nitekim akademik personel üzerinde yapılan diğer çalışmalarda olduğu gibi örgütsel adalet gibi değişkenlerin örgütsel bağlılığın duygusal ve normatif bağlılık boyutları üzerinde pozitif etkisi olduğu sonucuna ulaşırlarken devam bağlılığı üzerinde etkisinin olmadığı (Wasti, 2001) ya da önemsiz düzeyde etkilerin olduğu sonuçlarına ulaşılmıştır (Işık, Uğurluoğlu ve Akbolat, 2012: 260). Devam bağlılığı, bireyin örgütten ayrılmasının maliyetinin yüksek olduğunu düşünmesi sebebiyle, örgüt üyeliğini sürdürmesi anlamına gelmektedir (Meyer ve Allen, 1991; Bergman,

2006). Diğer bir ifadesiyle bireyin, örgütten ayrıldığında karşılaşacağı durumu göze alması ve bu durumun sonuçlarını kabul etmesidir (Chang, 1999; Mellor ve diğ., 2001). Bu özelliği itibariyle devam bağlılığının, değiş-tokuşa dayalı ve faydacı bir anlayışı olduğu (Mellor ve diğ., 2001); başka bir ifadesiyle kar-zarar hesabına dayalı bir anlayışta olduğu söylenebilir. Yani bireyin örgütte kalmasının, örgütten ayrılmasından daha faydalı bir durum içerdiğinde, örgüt üyeliğini sürdürmeye devam etmesidir. Yukarıda sayılan tüm bu özellikleri itibariyle devam bağlılığı, diğer bağlılık türlerine (duygusal, normatif) nazaran en fazla dışsal zorunluluk hissi barındıran boyuttur (McGee ve Ford, 1987; Jaros ve diğ., 1993; Suliman ve Iles, 2000). Nitekim bu bağlılık türüne göre bireyin gönül rızası neredeyse hiç önemli değildir. Daha açık ifadeyle devam bağlılığına göre, bireyin örgütteki kıdem, kariyer ve ek gelirleri yüksek tutuluyorsa; birey örgütten ayrılmayı istese bile elde ettiği imkânları kaybetmemek için bağlılığını sürdürmektedir. Bundan dolayı çalışanların rasyonel biçimde davrandığı ve adalet algısı, KSS ve KHM'nin çalışanların sahip oldukları imkanları elinden tutma isteğinden daha önemli olmadığı göstermektedir.

5.2. Pratik Çıkarımlar

Çalışmanın tek bir yükseköğretim kurumu bağlamı genelleştirilebilirliği sınırlasa da sonuçların önemli yönetsel sonuçları bulunmaktadır. Örgütsel adalet ve KSS'nin örgütsel bağlılık üzerindeki etkisinde KHM'nin aracılık etkisini inceleyen herhangi bir çalışma bulunmadığı göz önüne alındığında bu çalışma yükseköğretim kurumunda çalışan akademisyenler arasında örgütsel bağlılığı yönlendiren mekanizmaların anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Pratikte, mevcut araştırmanın bulguları, akademik çalışanların kurumlarına duygusal ve normatif bağlılıklarında adil ilkelere dayalı uygulamaların ve kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk faaliyetlerinin önemini desteklemektedir. Yükseköğretim bağlamında kurumlar sadece eğitim programlarında değil yönetim faaliyetlerindeki stratejilerinde de sorumlu bir yaklaşım izleyerek KSS faaliyetlerine odaklanmalıdır (Mascarenhas vd., 2020). Diğer taraftan bu çalışma yükseköğretim kurumu yöneticilerinin daha fazla örgütsel bağlılık sağlayan çalışan motivasyonunu beslemede etkinliklerini en üst düzeye çıkarmak için örgütsel adalet ve KSS'den nasıl yararlanabileceklerini gösteren kanıtlar da sunmaktadır.

Birinci olarak, bulgularımız kuruluşların örgütsel adalet ve KSS girişimleri yoluyla çalışanlarda arzu edilen kamu hizmet motivasyonu oluşturabildiğini göstermektedir. Perry ve Wise (1990) a göre bireyleri kamu kurumlarında çalışmaya devam etmeye iten en önemli normatif sebeplerden birisi “kamu yararına hizmet etme” arzusudur. Buna yönelik olarak KHM'nin merkezi rolü; yöneticilerin KSS eylemlerinin etkinliğini ve faaliyetlerdeki adalet ilkelerinin sonuçlarını değerlendirmek için rutin olarak çalışanlar üzerinde nasıl bir motivasyon oluşturduğunu ölçmesi gerektiğini göstermektedir.

İkincisi çalışanların duygusal ve normatif bağlılıkları kamu hizmet motivasyonlarının güçlendirilmesi yoluyla artırılabilir. Kamu personel yönetimi literatürü bürokratik yapılanmalar nedeniyle çalışanlarda güçlü bir motivasyon oluşturmada büyük zorluklarla karşı karşıya olduğunu yaygın olarak kabul etmektedir. Bu araştırmanın bulguları örgütsel adalet uygulamalarının yanında paydaşlara yönelik olan KSS girişimlerinin özellikle çalışanların kamu hizmet motivasyonlarına odaklanarak daha güçlü bir örgütsel bağlılık oluşturmaya yardımcı olabileceğini göstermektedir.

Wong ve Gao (2014) paydaşlarına katkıda bulunmaya yönelik KSS girişimlerini önemseyen akademik kurumların, çalışanlarını kurumlarına daha fazla bağlı bulacaklarını iddia etmektedir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları da yöneticilerin çalışanlar üzerinde sorumluluklarını ve adalet ilkelerini

hatırlatan ve güçlendiren KSS programları tasarlayarak stratejik planlarına entegre etmeleri gerekliliğini desteklemektedir. Örneğin performans değerlendirmelerinde çalışan tatminini dahil etmek (ekonomik sorumluluk), ek ücret ödemelerinde ayrımcılıktan kaçınmak (yasal sorumluluk), etik kurallarını uygulamak (etik sorumluluk) ve iş/aile programları oluşturmak (gönüllü/hayırsever sorumluluk) gibi KSS'nin dört bileşenine yönelik somut faaliyetler yürütülebilir. Bu taktik, yönetimin rekabetçi pozisyonunu koruma adına çalışanlardan beklediği yüksek çalışma performansının uyandırdığı olumsuz algıların zararlı etkilerini de hafifletebilir. Özellikle değişim ve dönüşümün yaşandığı üniversitelerde değişim nedeniyle çalışanlar tarafından algılanan negatif kurumsal güdülerin önceden belirlendiği düşünülürse bu bulgu daha önemli hale gelir. Çalışanların negatif kanaatlerinin olumsuz etkileri yönetimin doğrudan kontrolünde olan KSS faaliyetleri yoluyla hafifletilebilir. Çünkü kamu kurumlarının KSS girişimleri çalışanların halka hizmet etme motivasyonlarını etkileyerek gönüllü davranışlarının artmasına neden olarak negatif algılarını dengelemektedir.

Yükseköğretim kurumlarının KSS faaliyetlerini uygulamaya çalışırken tüm paydaşlara fayda sağlayan sorumlu eylemler gerçekleştirebilmesi pek de kolay değildir. Diğer taraftan çalışanlara yönelik oluşturulan alakasız kurumsal ve performatif eylemlerin çalışanların tepkilerine neden olması da muhtemeldir. Araştırma modelimize göre çalışanların bir organizasyona bağlılık duygusunun öncüllerinden biri olan KHM'nin oluşmasında etkili KSS ve örgütsel adalet uygulamalarının geliştirilmesi konusunda yöneticilerin farkındalığının kazandırılması halinde bu sorunun aşılabileceğini düşünülmektedir.

Yükseköğretim kurumlarının uzun vadede daha iyi bir rekabet avantajı elde etmek için çalışan odaklı yatırımlar yaparak kurumsal stratejilerini güçlendirmeleri gerekir. Yöneticiler çalışanlarının bağlılığını arttırmak ve kaliteli çalışanlarını elde tutmaya yönelik çabalarını gerçekleştirme için bu çalışmanın bulgularını kullanabilirler. Sonuç olarak yöneticilerin adalet ilkelere duyarlı olduklarında çalışanlara yönelik KSS uygulamalarının doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak çalışanların bağlılığını arttırdığını, özellikle KHM'nin örgütsel çıktılardaki aracılık etkisinin ortaya çıkabileceğini kabul etmeleri gerekir.

6. Gelecekteki Araştırmalar İçin Öneriler

Bu çalışmada sosyal kimlik kuramı, sosyal mübadele kuramı ve örgütsel adalet kuramı perspektifinden yararlanılmıştır. Gelecekteki çalışmalar, bu çalışmadaki olguların yeterli bir şekilde anlaşılması için bu kuramların dışında alternatif mekanizmaları da araştırmalıdır.

Bununla birlikte çalışmanın bulguları üniversitelerde akademisyenlerin bağlılığını geliştirme yollarıyla ilgilenen akademik yöneticiler için yararlı sonuçlar barındırmanın yanında yükseköğretim kurumları bağlamında KHM'nin aracılık etkileri konusunda daha fazla araştırma yapmak için bir katalizör görevi göreceğini ümit edilmektedir. Örgütsel adalet ve KSS bir arada değerlendirildiğinde KSS'nin kurum içi nihai davranışsal ve algısal etkisini araştıran gelecekteki çalışmaların bu etkinin aynı zamanda örgütsel adalet yargılarından da kaynaklandığını dikkate almaları gerekir. Ek olarak farklı KSS, ÖA ve ÖB ilişkisinde diğer potansiyel araçların ve düzenleyicilerin araştırılması önerilmektedir. Son olarak çalışmamız yükseköğretim kurumuna odaklanmıştır ve sonuçlar bu kurum dinamikleri özelinde değerlendirilebilir. Diğer kamu kurumlarında ve farklı örgüt kültürlerinde bu çalışma tekrarlanabilir.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Türkiye’de Gangster ve Trap Hip Hop Müzik: Yeni Nesil Rap Müziğin “Mahalle”si

The Hip Hop Music Genres of Gangster Rap and Trap in Turkey: New Rap’s Ghetto Music

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öz

Türkiye’de Hip Hop müzik, 2010’ların ikinci yarısında yükselişe geçerek ilk kez pop müziği geride bırakıp zirveye ulaşmıştır. Trap olarak bilinen alt türünün çıkışıyla Hip Hop müzik gençler arasında daha popüler hale gelmiştir (Kadioğlu & Sözeri-Özdal, 2020: 7). Amerika’da Afro-Amerikan gettolarında gelişen bu müzik türü Türkiye’de yerleşerek varoş da denen kenar mahalle kültürünü odağına almaktadır. Türkiye’de gangster ve trap Hip Hop kültürü, alt sınıfın kenar mahallelerinde toplumsal eşitsizliğin ürünü olan sınıfsal sıkışmışlıkla boğuşan genç erkeklerin yaşayışından kaynağını almıştır. Bu genç erkeklerin şiddete ve yasadışı yollara başvurarak hayatta kalmaları, ardından para kazanmayı bu yolla başararak bağımsızlaşmaları bu müziğin ana anlatısını oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, kenar mahallelerde vücut bulan toplumsal eşitsizliğe bir karşılık olarak buradaki gençleri temsilen bu şarkılarda mahalle söyleminin nasıl kurulduğunu analiz etmektir. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’deki dört popüler yeni nesil rap şarkısı seçilerek bunların sözleri incelenecektir. Ezhel’in popülerleşmesine en fazla katkıda bulunan “Şehrimin Tadı” şarkısı, Gazapizm’in “Heyecanı Yok” adlı şarkısı, Khontkar’ın ise “İşler Legal”, “Kime Ne” ve “Hiçbir Şeyim Yok” şarkıları en çok dinlenen ve mahalle kavramını en iyi yansıttığı düşünülen şarkılar olduğundan çalışma için seçilmiştir. Seçilen şarkı sözlerinin açık kodlamaya dayalı söylem analizi yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hip Hop müzik, Gangster rap, Trap Hip Hop, Popüler kültür, Sınıfsal eşitsizlik

ABSTRACT

Hip hop music rose to prominence in Turkey in the second half of the 2010s, surpassing pop music. The emergence of the trap subgenre made hip hop music more popular among youth. This music genre developed in African-American ghettos and became localized to Turkey with the name varoş and a focus on ghetto culture. The trap hip hop culture in Turkey is rooted in the struggles of young men, which originates from social inequality in the slums where the lower classes reside. The main narrative of this music is about how these young men survive and become



financially independent by resorting to crime and violence. This study aims to analyze how the neighborhood discourse that represents the youth here is constructed in these songs as a response to the social inequality embodied in the slums. The study will examine lyrics from five popular next generation rap songs in Turkey. “*Şehrimin Tadı*” [taste of my city] that contributed the most to the Turkish rapper Ezhel’s popularity; “*Heyecanı Yok*” [no excitement] by Gazapizm; and the songs “*İşler Legal*” [jobs are legal], “*Kime Ne*” [Who Cares] and “*Hiçbir Şeyim Yok*” [I have nothing] by Khontkar have been selected due to being top hits and reflecting the concept of ghetto well. The study conducts a discourse analysis on the open coding of the selected songs’ lyrics.

Keywords: Hip hop music, Gangster rap, Trap hip hop, Popular culture, Class inequality

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Hip hop is one of the most popular genres in the world of music lately. Rose (1994) described hip hop music as a construct of narration using rhyme accompanied by an electronic beat. This genre emerged in the 1960s in African-American neighborhoods (i.e., ghettos) in the United States. It gained popularity as a musical genre that provides young African Americans with a means to express their experiences with racism, poverty, and violence (Sullivan, 2003). According to Shuster (2005, p. 1), hip hop consists of a dress code, life philosophy, style of walking and talking, political attitude, and philosophical stance that critically challenges established views and values. It is a revolt against the poor life of African Americans in ghettos and against the institutionalized racism and exclusionary attitude the state apparatus expresses toward these poor in the United States.

A division occurred between the East and West coast rap styles within hip hop music that created a general debate. East coast rap claims to be so-called true rap because the style of music had originated on the East coast. However, because the rap that started on the West coast is associated with gangs, it is known as the Wild West of rap, which reveals the gangster rap sub-genre (Morgan, 2016, p. 133). Trap hip hop also represents a subgenre of gangster rap in which a community expresses itself through its focus on drugs and crime in their lives.

Rap music has become universal, crossing beyond the borders of the USA and being performed by young people of different countries. One main feature of rap music is how it opens a space to criticize not just racism but all social and class inequalities, as well as allows the lower classes of society to express their stories, thus also giving rap a political function. Therefore, the lyrics from rap songs have gained importance. This study aims to perform a discourse analysis of popular rap songs in Turkey alongside the concept of ghettos and to present an artistic expression of class inequality.

Turkish rap first emerged in Germany among immigrant Turks, with rappers afterwards emerging in Turkey. The hip hop group Cartel emerged in Germany in 1995, after which a wider group of rap fans emerged in Turkey with the bands Sagopa Kajmer and Ceza. The rap music market began to diversify between 2005-2010 in particular. Trap and gangster hip hop became much more popular than the old-school hip hop music in Turkey, and for the first time there, hip hop achieved a popularity that was able to compete with pop music.

This study will analyze how these songs construct the concept of neighborhood as a response to the social inequality embodied in ghettos to represent the youth there. This study selected four popular *varoş* [ghetto] rap songs in Turkey for this purpose and analyzed their lyrics. This discourse analysis helped unmask the webs of intertextuality. The study analyzes Ezhel’s “*Şehrimin Tadı*” [taste of my city], Khontkar’s “*Hiçbir Şeyim Yok*” [I have nothing], “*İşler Legal*” [jobs are legal], “*Kime Ne*” [Who cares] and Gazapizm’s (the most popular artist of the gangster rap genre) and “*Heyecanı Yok*” [no excitement].

As a consequence, the ghetto, being the rapper's locale in new hip hop music, is seen to be the kind of social environment where the lower classes live and to describe itself as a place that does not allow people to improve their lives and climb the social ladder within the law. Therefore, getting involved in crime is distinguished as the most important way to maintain one's life. Being involved in crime and having alcohol and drugs as a part of one's life are the dominant features of the ghetto, one of the founding elements of the dominant discourse of the new generation of rap music as an area with intense poverty where violence and addiction are commonplace.

Consequently, the new generation of rap music in Turkey is rooted in ghetto life, the place where the system's inequality, both global and local, is best seen. As a result, varoş is rooted in the reality of the slums, just as hip hop was; however, varoş also gains a local and original quality by focusing on the realities and localities in its own country.

1. Giriş

Hip hop müzik, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde yaşayan Afrikalı Amerikalıların yaşadığı kenar mahallelerde ya da gettolarda 1960’larda ortaya çıkmış bir müzik türüdür. Afrikalı yerel müziklerden kaynağını alan hip hop müzik, genç Afrikalı Amerikalıların maruz kaldıkları ırkçılık, yoksulluk ve şiddeti dile getirmelerini sağlayan bir müzik türü olarak popülerlik kazanmıştır (Sullivan, 2003). Smitherman, bu müziğin doğduğu Amerikan gettolarının Afrikalı Amerikalılar için “bir güçsüzlük, mülksüzlük ve huzursuzluk yuvası” olduğunu belirtmektedir (1997:4). Amerika’nın Doğu yakası Hip Hop müziğin doğum yeri olarak “gerçek” Hip Hop müziğin kaynağı olma iddiasını korumaya çalışmaktadır. Batı yakasında doğan rap ise çetelerle anıldığından “Vahşi Batı” yakıştırması yapılır ve “söz ve deyimlerin bas ve funk akışlarına yerleştiği” gangster rap alt türü de burada doğmuştur (Morgan, 2016: 133). Eski okul-yeni okul ya da Doğu-Batı yakası arası rekabet ve Hip Hop içi tartışmalar ise dis atma (disrespect’in kısaltması) denilen şarkı içinde başka bir MC’ye (Hip hop icra edenler) laf atma ile kendini göstermektedir.

Rose (1994) Hip Hop müziği, “elektronik alt yapı tarafından eşlik edilen kafiyeli sözlerle hikaye anlatmanın bir biçimi” olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu müzik türü aslen Amerika’nın güneyindeki gettolardan kaynağını almaktadır. Richardson (2006) bu müziğin 1970’lerde siyahi gençliğin baskıcı yaşam koşulları karşısında hayatlarını iyileştirmeye çalışmalarını odağa alan bir kültüre dayandığını belirtmektedir. Ancak siyah kültürün Amerika’da popüler hale gelmesi ve ardından küreselleşmesi, Stout’a göre (2011) bu müzikte, bireyciliğin, eşitsizlikle derdi olmayan bir tavrın ve sınıf atlama arzusunun egemen hale gelmesine yol açmıştır. Hip Hop çalışmaları alanında çalışan Morgan ve Bennet (2011: 179) Hip Hop müziğin “küresel gençliğin ortak dili haline” geldiğine vurgu yapmaktadır.

Hip Hop müzik, duvarlara çizim ve boyama yapmaya dayalı bir sokak sanatı olan grafiti, break dans ile birlikte belli bir giyiniş tarzını (genellikle bol giysiler) içeren Hip hop kültürünün de en önemli parçasıdır. “Karayip vokal düzeni, Jamaika ses sistemleri, Afrika ritmi soul ve blues ezgileri ön planda olmuştur. Daha sonraki süreçte bu kültürel alışma Avrupa disco müziğinin öğeleri” de eşlik etmiştir (Kaya, 2000: 32). Shusterman’a göre (2005: 61) Hip Hop “bir hayat felsefesini, kılık kıyafeti, yürüme ve konuşma tarzını, politik bir tavrı, kurulu görüş ve değerlere eleştirel biçimde meydan okuyan felsefi bir duruşu” içerir. Afrikalı Amerikalıların gettodaki yoksulluğuna, maruz kaldıkları ırkçılığa ve devletin ayrımcılık içeren tavrına karşı bir başkaldırıdır. Bu haliyle Amerika’da siyahların kimliğinin ifadesinin önemli bir aracıdır.

Hip Hop dilinin ideolojisine göre rap sanatçılarının gençliğe müdahale eden bir toplum yapısında beyazların iktidarının ortaya çıkardığı koşullarla mücadele etmesi gerekir (Morgan, 2016: 135). Hip Hop çalışmaları alanının ilk önemli çalışmasını kaleme alan Rose (2004: 99) ise, rap müziğin “güçlü olanın örtülü eleştirisi”ni yaptığını belirtir.

Hip Hop, Afrikalı Amerikan azınlığın kültürüdür ancak diğer yandan “uluslararası bir dil” haline gelmiş ve siyahi gençliğin kendi kimliğini tanımlamasına aracı olmuştur (Bozza, 2003: 130). Diğer yandan, Pennycook ve Mitchel’e göre, (2009: 25-26) Hip Hop, “yerel kimliğin ifadesi için bir araç” haline gelmiştir. Farklı ülkelerin gençlerinin icra ettiği Hip Hop müzik farklı kültürel yerellikler içermektedir. Hip Hop ABD’den çıkarak evrensel bir müzik halini bu sayede almıştır. Morgan ve Bennet’in (2011: 178) belirttiği gibi, gençlerin ulusal direnişlerde başı çektiği Kuzey Afrika ve Ortadoğu’da Hip Hop müzik, “konuşma hürriyeti ve politik direnişin de müziği” olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bolivya’da rap müzik üzerine çalışan Librado’ya göre ise (2010: 66) rap müzik, marjinal grupların sesinin duyulmasını sağlamakta, sosyal ve ekonomik değişimi amaçlamaktadır.

Hip Hop müziğin küreselleşmesine yönelik bazı eleştiriler de söz konusu olmuştur. Örneğin kültürel ve dilsel emperyalizmin etkisi olarak farklı ülkelerde rap müzik türlerinin popülerleştiğini ileri süren Brown'ın Alman Hip Hop tartışmasında yaptığı gibi eleştiriler söz konusu olmuştur (2006: 138). Ancak bu müzik türünün farklı ülkelerde popülerleşmesini kültürel Amerikan emperyalizminin bir parçası olarak görerek, dilsel emperyalizmi bundan ötürü suçlamak (Phillipson, 1992) farklı ülkelerde Hip Hop müziğin nasıl yerleştirildiğini gözden kaçırmak anlamına gelmektedir. Bu görüş, Amerika dışında kalan diğerlerinin “kültürel özneliğinin reddi”ni de içermektedir. Kültürel öznellik ve yerel kimlik başka ülkelerdeki Hip Hop eserlerinde mevcuttur. Bu eleştiri, rap müziğin yerelleşmesinde yer alan gerek dilsel gerek toplumsal süreçleri yok saymaktadır (Pennycook & Mitchel, 2009: 28).

Kelley, bu iki farklı argümanın da hakkını teslim ederek, Amerika dışındaki Hip Hop müziği şöyle değerlendirmektedir:

... Ne küresel Hip Hop kültürünün yayılmasında ABD'nin merkezi etkisi görmezden gelinebilir, ne de yerel hip hop sanatçılarının yerel kültürel biçimleri, dili ve kendine özgü deneyimlerini anlatan öyküleri Hip Hop kültürüyle birleştirme biçimleri küçümsenebilir. Bu sanatçıların Afrikalı Amerikalı Hip Hop sanatçıları ile giyim, dans, vokal tarzları benzer olması aralarında ki farkları gizlemeye yarayabilmektedir (Kelley, 2006: xiv).

Robbins (2001) Hip Hop müziğin yerleştirilmesinin özellikle müziğin içeriği/sözleri ile ilgili olduğunu belirtmektedir. Küresel Hip Hop müzik bazen “translokal” yani yerel-aşırı olarak değerlendirilir, çünkü bunlar genellikle “çeşitli Hip Hop sanatsal biçimlerinin yerel yeniliklerle arasında örülen kültürel, sanatsal ve politik diyalogları temsil etmektedirler” (Morgan & Bennet, 2011: 180). Dolayısıyla rap müziğin içeriği toplumsal hayatın içindeki tüm tartışmalardan kaynaklanmakta, toplumla bir çeşit diyalog niteliği de taşımaktadır.

2. Hip Hop Müzikte Batı Yakası Ve Gangster Rap

Batı yakasında doğmuş olan Hip Hop türüne gangster adının takılması sokaklardaki çetelerden (gang) esinlenen, yasa dışı işleri geçim kaynağı edinmiş ya da bu kişilerle aynı gündelik yaşamı paylaşan, şiddetin sıradanlaştığı mahallelerdeki yaşamdan kaynağını almaktadır. 1980'lere doğru ortaya çıkmıştır. Yine gangster rap içinden doğan trap müzik, autone denen ses işleme tekniklerini ve dans amaçlı ortaya çıkan tekno müzik türünü harmanlayarak uyuşturucu satıcılarının ve kullanıcılarının yaşamlarını anlatan bir alt tür olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Elbette bu müzik türünün ortaya çıkışı gettoda ortaya çıkan ve şiddet kullanan birbiri ile rekabet halinde, polislerle başı belada genç erkek çetelerinin ortaya çıkmasından sonra popülerleşmiştir. Gangster rap sanatçıları, aslında 1970'lerin sonlarında sanayi sonrası kentte siyah işçi sınıfının durumunu anlatmaktadır (Kelley, 186). Bu türün neoliberal kentin Afrikalı Amerikalıların yaşadığı gettolardaki sosyoekonomik koşulların bir ürünü olduğunu belirten Kelley, neoliberalizmin etkisiyle sanayisizleşme ve bunun yarattığı işsizlikle boğuşan Los Angeles gettolarındaki siyah işçi sınıfının durumunun bu alt türde aktarıldığını somut politik gelişmeler ve sonuçlarıyla birlikte ileri sürmektedir. Bu dönemde, neoliberalleşen şehirde gençliğin kendini mesleki anlamda geliştirmesi ve iş bulması için kurulan programlara yavaşça son verilmektedir:

Los Angeles'ın tamamı için işsizlikte siyah gençliğin oranı yaklaşık yüzde 45'te kaldı, ancak yoksulluğun yoğun olduğu bölgelerde bu oran daha da yüksekti. Kompozisyon olarak Los Angeles'ın kentsel yoksullarının oranı giderek gençleşiyor, şehir içi gençlik için kurulan programlar endişe verici bir hızla yok ediliyordu. Hem Mahalle Gençlik Birliği hem de Kapsamlı İstih-

dam ve Eğitim Yasası (CETA) kaldırıldı ... Los Angeles Yaz İş Programı büyük ölçüde kesintiye uğradı (Kelley, 192).

Yine Kelley, Batı yakasında doğan gangster rap’in Los Angeles’ın siyah işçi sınıfı topluluklarının sokaklarıyla bağlantılı olarak ortaya çıktığı ve bu bağı korumaya devam ettiği belirtmektedir (Kelley, 191-192). İki katına çıkan suç oranları ve suç işleyen genç erkek çetelerine ek olarak, işlenen suçların niteliği de değişmekteydi:

... Taş kokainin kentsel alana gelişinin arifesinde, [1980’lerin ilk yarısında] Los Angeles’ta istihdam imkanlarının azalması ve siyah gençlerin giderek artan göçü, çocuklar ve genç yetişkinler tarafından işlenen mülkiyet suçlarında önemli bir artışa yol açmıştır. ... [1980’lerin ikinci yarısında ise] taş kokain ekonomisi şehir içindeki Afrikalı Amerikan topluluklarda varlığını hissettirmiş, çete üyeleri ve seyyar satıcılar arasında piyasayı kontrol altına alma amaçlı şiddet yoğunlaşmıştır. Taş kokain satıcılığı mali kırılganlığa ve şiddete rağmen siyah gençler için en uygun ekonomik seçenek olmuştur (Kelley, 192-193).

Gangster rap sanatçıları, bir çete üyesi, dolandırıcı ya da sıradan bir çalışan kişi -olarak “mahalle sakinleri”nin karakterini benimseyerek birinci tekil şahısta söz yazsalar da, hatırlanması gereken bunun savunuculuktan çok mahallede yer tutan karakterleri betimlemek için yapıldığıdır. Kelley’e göre, “nesnel ‘sokak gazeteciliği’ kisvesi altındaki bu betimleyici anlatılar, ayrımcı yasaların kaldırılmasını savunan on dokuzuncu yüzyıl köle anlatılarından daha az polemik (dolayısıyla politik) değildir” (Kelley, 190).

Los Angeles’ın gangster rap sanatçıları, işsizlik ve suçun doğrudan ilişkili olduğu fikrini sahiplenmektedir. Onlara göre eğer insana yakışır işleri olsaydı bu insanlar suç işlemeyeceklerdir. Gangster rap sanatçıları da geç-kapitalist dönemde gettodaki genç işsiz mahallede en iyi kazananın uyuşturucu satıcıları olduğunu görerek bu işe bulaştığından bahsetmektedir (Kelley, 193-95). Bu mahallelerin gençlerinin meşru çalışma yaşamına girmelerinin yolları, yaşadıkları yerden ötürü de engellenmekte, gençlerin yasa dışı işler yapmaları daha olası hale gelmektedir (Bourgeois, 1995).

Bauman (1999: 58), gettolar tehlikeli olduğu için dışarıdakilerin buraya giremediğini ancak gettodaki yoksulun da buradan kurtulma şansı olmadığını belirtmektedir. Bu özelliğinden ötürü gettolarda artan yasa dışı faaliyetler polislin buralarda bir baskı rejimi kurmasına yol açmıştır. Siyahların yaşadığı bazı gettolar, “1980’lerin ortalarından sonuna kadar savaş bölgelerine dönüşürülmüştür” (Kelley, 193).

Diğer yandan, suç ve şiddetle anılan sanayisizleşme sonrası gettolara Loic Wacquant “hipergetto” diyerek 1970’lerin gettosundan farkını aktarmıştır. Eski gettolar, gecekondu mahalleleri gibi yardımlaşma ve dayanışma duygularının gelişmiş olduğu yerlerdi (Keleş, 1993: 379). Artık karşılıklı birbirine yardım eden ve dayanışma içinde hayatta kalan getto halkı yoktur. Tersine birbiriyle rekabet içindeki grupların hayatını sürdürme mücadelesi verdiği bir çatışma mekanıdır (Wacquant, 2007). Artık dayanışma ile yoksullukla mücadele edilmeye çalışılan, kamu hizmetleri aracılığıyla sosyal destekten yararlanan getto halkı yerine kendi başının çaresine bakmak zorunda kalan yalnızlaşmış getto insanları vardır. Wacquant, neoliberalizmle dönüşen gettonun aslında onun bozulmuş hali olduğundan söz etmektedir (Wacquant, 2007). Bu grup sadece gelir düşüklüğü itibarıyla tek tip olarak değerlendirilemez, bu grup içinde “evsizleri, hizmet işçilerini, kaçak göçmenleri öğrencileri” de bulundurmaktadır (Wacquant, 2019: 130-31). Ayrıca “yeni” gettonun ahalisinin çıkarlarının da ortak olmayıp, heterojen ve birbiriyle çatışan çıkarlar olduğuna vurgu yapmaktadır:

Bu çekişme, şu aktörler arasında yaşanmaktadır: (i) dolaşımda olan yetersiz varlığa el koymak isteyen bağımsız ve organize sokak yağmacıları (torbacılar ve çeteler), (ii) mahallelerinin kullanım ve değişim değerini korumak için çabalayan çevre sakinleri ve onların taban organizasyonları (Şikago'nun batı bölgesindeki MAD, "Uyuşturucuya Karşı Anneler" grubu, veya varlığını halen sürdürebilen mahalle kulüpleri ve esnaf birlikleri gibi), (iii) şiddeti ve düzensizliği ırksal ayrımcılıkla belirlenmiş metropol merkezinin çeperinde tutmakla vazifelendirilmiş, devletin polis, mahkemeler, gözaltı ve şartlı tahliye makamları gibi gözetim ve toplumsal kontrol mekanizmaları, ve (iv) diğer [dışarıdan gelen] kurumsal yağmacılar, yani Siyah Kuşağın kenar kesimlerini şehre geri dönen orta ve üst sınıfların kullanımına açıp olağanüstü kâr elde edenler (özellikle emlak komisyoncuları) (Wacquant, 2007).

Rap sanatçıların "gettoyu savaş bölgesi, siyah gençliği suçlu olarak tektipleştirmelerinin" yanı sıra erkekliği ve cinselliği öne çıkaran tarzları da "bir karşı yaşam öyküsü yaratmaktadır" (Kelley, 185). Böylelikle suçlulukla işsizliği sebep-sonuç olarak görmesine zıt biçimde, Afrikalı Amerikalıların ve yaşadığı yerlerin tıpkı devletin gözünde olduğu gibi suçla özdeşleştirilmesini besleyen olumsuz etkileri de olmuştur. Polisin bu algıyla gettoda kurduğu baskıya karşı tepki, yine gangster rap'in ana hedefidir. Ancak polis şiddetini eleştirmenin yanı sıra şiddet genç erkeklerden oluşan çeteler arasında da hüküm sürmektedir. Anlatılarındaki suçluların çoğunlukla erkek olması ve kadına yönelik şiddetin sistematik şekilde görünmesi, gangster rap sanatçıların şiddeti topyekün kınamaktaki isteksizliğini açıklamaya yardımcı olur. (Kelley, 198) Burada mahallede hüküm süren şiddet ve çeteleşme ile erkeklik arasında tutarlı bir bağ olduğu görülmektedir. Şüphesiz şiddet ve suç ile ayakta kalanların dili de muhalif ve politik olmasına rağmen erildir.

Gangster rap müzikte aynı zamanda varoş/getto bazen de mahalle denen yer, eskinin yoksunluk ve mutsuzluğunun mekanı değil, suçun, uyuşturucunun illegal kazanç yollarının hüküm sürdüğü tehlikeli bir mekan olarak yeniden üretilmektedir. Aynı zamanda burası erkekliğin mekanıdır da. Ne kadar zorluğun ve tehlikenin içinden geçerek bağımsızlığını ve başarıyı kazanmışsa bu mekanda yaşayanların erkekliği o kadar pekişmiş olacaktır. Dolayısıyla müzik şiddete karşı şiddeti savunurken gettodaki Afrikalı Amerikalı genç erkeklerin hikayesini sunmaktadır. Popüler hale geldiği her ülkede de genelde baskın olarak gettonun hikayelerini anlatmaktadır.

Rap müzik sadece yerel ve kültürel olana değil, yerelin içinde gömülü olan toplumsal eşitsizliklere de atıflar içermektedir. Sidney Finkelstein, Müzik Neyi Anlatır (1996: 11) isimli kitabında "müziği anlamak için yeniden onu yaratan gerçek yaşam bağlamı içine oturtmak gerekir" demektedir. Dolayısıyla yeni okul rap müziği anlamak için mahalle, asıl yaşam alanı ve Hip Hop içinde merkezi önemde bir kavram olarak söylem analizinin de merkezine oturtulmuştur.

3. Türkiye'de Hip Hop Müzik

Türkçe Hip Hop, öncelikle müziğin ruhuna yaraşır biçimde Türkiye'de değil Almanya'daki göçmen Türk mahallelerinde 1990'larda ortaya çıkmıştır. Almanya'da yükselen yeni ırkçılığın ve göçmenlere yönelik saldırıların da bunda payı bulunmaktadır. Örneğin, Almanya'da Türkçe rap icra eden Killa Hakan lakaplı rap sanatçısı, bu göçmen mahallelerinin birinde yaşayan ve Almanya'daki ırkçılara karşı sokak grupları oluşturan Türklerden biridir (Söyleyeceklerim Var, 2011).

Ancak Türkiye'ye rap müziğin girişi 1995 yılında Cartel ile olmuştur. Cartel grubunda bir de Alman üye bulunmasına rağmen grup ırkçılığa karşı göçmen Türklerin sesini duyurmada etkili olmuştur. Daha sonra en bilinen Ceza ve Sagopa Kajmer, Fuat (Dr. Fuchs) gibi önemli rap sanatçıları Türkiye'de önemli sayıda dinleyiciye ulaşmış özellikle gençlerden oluşan Hip Hop kitlesi yaratılmasında etkili olmuşlardır. Bu en meşhur isimlerin yanı sıra Mode XL, Morfin gibi Hip

Hop grupları ise Türkiye’de gangster rap ekolüne dahil edilebilecek sokak çetelerinin ağzından yazılmış ve çete temalı video klipler ve sözlerle ortaya çıkmıştır. Islamic Force ise politik rap müziğe örnek olarak henüz 1990’larda çok sınırlı bir kesimin bildiği bir Hip Hop grubu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

2000’lere gelindiğinde Türkiye’de Hip Hop müziğinin çeşitlendiği görülmektedir. Sansar Salvo, Norm Ender, Patron, Pit10 gibi isimler ortaya çıkmış, Ceza ve Sagopa gibi, bu kişiler de günümüzde tıpkı ABD’de Hip Hop içinde yaşanan doğu-batı yakası rekabetinde olduğu gibi “gerçek” rap müziği temsil edenler eski okul (old school) rap olarak görülmüş ve rap müzik dinleyicileri tarafından savunulmuştur.

Ancak son on yılda ortaya çıkan yeni akımlar, özellikle gangster rap ve bundan doğan trap, mumble rap gibi alt türler yeni okul (new school) olarak adlandırılmıştır. Yurtdışında rap müziğinin gelişimine paralel olarak yeni nesil rap müziğinin ürünü olan trap rap, Türkiye’de de popüler hale gelmiştir. Youtube’da en çok izlenen videolar arasında bu yeni nesil Hip Hop eserlerinin yer alması ve milyonlarca dinlenme sayısına ulaşması da bu popülerleşmeyi göstermektedir.

Türkiye’de Hip Hop müziğinin genç ve sınırlı bir hayran kitlesine sahip olmaktan çıkıp ülke çapında popülerlik elde etmesi, müzik listelerinde en çok dinlenenler arasında yer alıp pop müzik eserlerinin önüne geçmesi yine bu yeni okul Türkçe Hip Hop müziğinin öne çıktığı dönemde olmuştur.

Küresel düzeyde görülen Hip Hop içindeki tartışmada, yeni nesil rap olan trap müzik, eski nesil Hip Hop dinleyicileri tarafından bu müziğinin yozlaşmış hali olarak eleştirilmektedir. Genellikle eserlerin temaları üzerinden Türkiye’deki Hip Hop dinleyicileri arasında ilerleyen tartışmalarda, eski okul rap dinleyicileri, Türkçe sözlü trap Hip Hop müziği, Amerika’daki yoksul gettolardaki çete yaşamını ve benzer temaları taklit etmekle ve özenti olmakla itham etmektedir.

Diğer yandan elektronik altyapılı bu yeni okul rap, önceden eski okul tarzında rap yapan bazı sanatçıları değiştirmiştir. Örneğin Jagged olarak bilinen Eskişehirli Hip Hop sanatçısı, yeni okul trap eserleri vermeye başlamış, birçok yeni dinleyicisi onu “Trapanasyon” adlı albümüyle ve Ceg ismi ile tanımıştır. Ankara’da Vodoo Contact adlı bir ekiple birlikte reggae rap tarzında eser veren Ais Ezhel de çıkardığı “Müptezhel” adlı albümü ile trap tarzına geçiş yapmış ve bu yolla şimdiki popülerliğini kazanmıştır.

Türkçe rap üzerine literatüre göz attığımızda öncelikle Almanya’da Türkçe rap ile ilgili çalışmalara rastlanmaktadır. Almanya’da Türkçe rap üzerine çalışan Solomon (2009) rap sanatçılarının ulus aşırı şarkılar yaptığını ve ulus aşırı alanın bir parçası olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu doğrultuda Lüküslü (2011: 209-214) de bu gençlerin göçmen olarak toplumdan saygı görme çabası içinde olduklarını ve rap müziği Türk kültürüyle harmanlayıp taklide kaçmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Kaya (2001: 203) bu göçmen genç rap sanatçılarının halk ozanlığı geleneğinden beslenip sanık Almanya’daki Türkiye diasporasının sözcülüğünü yaptığını ifade etmektedir.

Demet Lüküslü makalesinde “Türkiye’de hiphop kültürünün alt ve orta alt sınıf kentli gençlere hitap eden bir alt kültürden anaakım popüler kültürün bir parçasına evrildiğinin” söylenebileceği -henüz bu denli tutulmadan önce- belirtmektedir (2011:202). Mitchell’den (2001) aktaran Lüküslü’ye göre:

Hip hop kültürünün ABD’den çıkması ama diğer yandan (WASP White Anglosakson Protestan Beyaz) kültüründen değil de dışlanmışların kültüründen çıkmış olması bu kültürün göçünü basit bir Amerikanlaşma ya da ABD’den dünyaya empoze edilen bir küreselleşme hikayesi olarak okumayı da zorlaştırıyor (Lüküslü, 2011: 206).

“Varoşların Sözü Arabesk-Rap: Arabesk Bağlamla Rap Müzik” başlıklı tezde ise Faruk Dilben (2016), arabesk rap türünün nasıl gecekodu mahallelerinde ortaya çıktığını ve geliştiğini incelemekte, varoş mahallelerin geleneksel popüler müziği olan arabeski alt sınıf gençlerden bazılarının nasıl rap müzik ile sentezlediğini aktarmaktadır. Türkiye’de rap üzerine yapılan diğer çalışmalardan Umut Mişe’nin tezinde ise (2018) Sulukule ve Bağcılar rap müziğine bakılarak dışlanmış grupların yaşadığı yoksul mahallelerin rap müzik üretimiyle doğrudan ilgili olduğuna ve buraları anlatan rap müziğin politikliğine vurgu yapılmaktadır. Mişe’ye göre “yoksulluk, ayırıcılık ve dışlanma gibi sorunların yaygın olduğu İstanbul’da, ... daha fakir muhitlerdeki gençler rap müziği direnişi ve sosyoekonomik dışlanma karşısındaki bunalımı anlatmanın bir aracı olarak” kullanılmaktadırlar (2000: 27).

Türkiye’de özellikle etnik-kültürel olarak kent merkezindeki nüfustan farklılaşan bu yoksul muhitler, işsizliğin de yoğun olduğu, yasa dışı işlere başvuranlara sık rastlanılan yerlerdir. Kentin çeperindeki bu tarz mahallelerin toplumsal yapısını inceleyen önemli çalışmalar mevcuttur. (Işık, Pınarcıoğlu, 2015; Bektaş, Yücel, 2013; Kızılay, 2011) Yeni nesil hip hop müziğin mahallesi de Türkiye’nin gettosu olarak adlandırılabilir. Bunu yeni nesil rap sanatçıları da şarkı sözlerinde belirtmektedir. (“Adana Kiremithane harbi getto burası/Artistçe dolaşma iner adamın façası”- Fate Fat, Bizik, 2011).

Türkiye’de getto olarak adlandırılabilir klasik gecekodu mahallelerinden farklı olarak suç ve şiddet olaylarının yaygınlığı ile bilinen mahalleler İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir gibi büyük şehirlerde görülmektedir. Wacquant’ın “mekânsal damgalama” adını verdiği bu gettolaşma süreci “esasinda yoksulluğun zeminine aşağı görülen bir etnik köken ve somut sapma gibi damgaların eklenmesi ile ortaya çıkmaktadır” (Wacquant, 2007).

Ankara’da Altındağ’ın “Çin Çin” olarak bilinen muhiti buna örnektir. “1960’lı yıllarda Ankara’da Aktepe ve Çinçin bağları gecekonduları üzerinde toplumbilimsel araştırmalar yapmış olan Amerika’lı Granville Sewell, gecekodu halkı arasındaki bu dayanışmaya örneklerle dikkat çekmiştir” (Keleş, 1993: 379). Bu gecekodu mahallelerinde yaşayanlar, alt proleterya ya da lümpen proleterya ya da “sanayi işçisi durumuna gelememiş kitle” olarak adlandırılmaktadır (Keleş, 1993: 386-87).

1980 sonrasında adım adım liberalleşme girişimleri alt sınıfları ve gecekodu mahallelerini etkilemeye başlamıştır. Bu süreçte medya tarafından da pompalanan mekânsal damgalama sonucu “1980’ler ve 1990’lara geldiğinde ise gecekondulu varoşludur” (Aksoy & Güzey Kocataş, 2017: 276). “Varoş” diye etiketlenen bu tip mahallelerdeki yoksullar “kaderine razı olmak bir yana, kent içinde tutunmak ve yükselmek için bir dizi sıkıntıya katlanabilen, bir savaşıma girmeyi göze alan bir kesim. Bu uğurda yasal olan ile yasal olmayan, formel ile formel olmayan arasındaki” her türlü yolu denemektedirler (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2015: 39). Getto olarak kastedilen de suç, şiddet ve yasa dışılık ile anılan, kentin güvenliğini tehdit ettiği ileri sürülerek yoğun polis denetimine maruz kalan bu tip mahallelerdir (Erman, 2004; Şenyapılı, 2004). 2000’lerdeki kentsel dönüşüm projeleri bu suçla anılan mahalleleri yeniden inşa ederek burada barınan suç odaklarını dağıtmayı amaçlamaktadır (Aksoy & Güzey Kocataş, 2017). Ancak kentsel dönüşümle değişen binalar da mahalleyi değiştirememektedir:

Modern korunaklı, güvenlik kameralı ve güvenlik elemanlarıyla korunan sitelerde 2013 yılı itibarıyla özellikle narkotik suçlarda yeniden artış oldu. Bu sitelere yerleşen suç örgütleri güvenlik önlemlerini lehlerinde kullanmaya başladılar. Özellikle narkotik suçlar yeni konut alanları ile daha organize oldu. Site girişindeki kameralar ile polislin geldiğinden haberdar oluyorlar. Ayrıca güvenlik personeli de suçlular ile işbirliğinde, haber veriyor. (Aksoy & Güzey Kocataş, 2017:288).

Yine Wacquant’ın “ileri marjinalite” kavramından hareket eden Mercan (2019: 189), ortak aidiyetlerin, enformel birbirine destek olma mekanizmalarının neoliberal dönemde ortadan kalkmasının Çin Çin’in (ve başka bazı geçeköndü bölgelerinin) gettolaşmasında etkili olduğunu belirtmektedir.

Bu çalışma ise, popüler kültür açısından gettolaşan bu mahallelerin toplumsal yapısını, rap sanatçılarının sanatsal ifadelerini analiz ederek ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Getto denen “mahalle”yi, belli bir müzik alt türünün eserlerinde bulunan yerel/politik söylem ile ilişki içinde ele almaktadır.

4. Metinlerarasılık ve Hip Hop Müziğin Söylemi

Hip hop müziği incelerken diğer türlere oranla çok daha fazla metinlerarasılıktan bahsetmek gerekmektedir. Çünkü aslında Hip Hop eserleri bu tip müzikal ödünç alma ya da alıntı yapma pratikleri ile kurulmaktadır (Williams, 2014: 188). Butler’a göre (2012) rap müzikte var olan metinlerarasılık rap şarkılarının çoğunda bulunmaktadır. Murray Forman (2002) ise metinlerarasılığın, rap müzikte semt ve şehire yapılan vurgu kadar önemli bir yer tuttuğunu belirtmektedir. “Alıntılama ya da ödünç almanın kendisi hala rap yapma tekniğinin merkezindedir” (Shusterman, 1991: 614).

Metinlerarası atıflar, “sözlü yaratıcılığı dolaylı ancak çağrışımlar yaratır şekilde sergilemeye yardımcı oldukları sürece son derece değerli olabilir” (Diallo, 2015: 44). Bu yolla şarkının sözleri derinleşen bir anlam ifade etmektedir. Bunun en belirgin örneği gangster rap/trap alt türünden bir örnek olarak belli eşyaların adının, belli bir sosyal ve ekonomik durumu ve tarzı çağrıştırır biçimde kullanılmasıdır. Sembolik biçimde, gangster imajını pekiştirecek bazı zenginlik göstergesi olan nesnelere (altın zincir, araba, şampanya gibi) şarkılarda kullanılmaktadır (Diallo, 46). Bu semboller, örneğin Türkçe trap müzikte Khontkar tarafından da sıklıkla kullanılmakta olup evrensel trap Hip Hop türüne özgü, adeta gelenekselleşmiş atıflardan sayılmaktadır. Khontkar’ın şarkı sözlerinde elmas, altın zincir, Gucci, Forbes gibi lüks ve zengin yaşamı simgeleyen nesnelere sınıf atlamanın sembolü olarak yer almaktadır.

Karşılaştırma da bir tür metinlerarasılık içeren retorik araç olarak Hip Hop şarkı sözlerinde sıklıkla kullanılmaktadır. Açıkça rap sanatçılarının en yaygın kullandığı metinlerarası pratiktir ve “genellikle bir kültürel atfın ardından edatların yinelenen kullanımı aracılığıyla açıklama ve değerlendirme şekli olarak” kullanılmaktadır (Diallo, 45). Örneğin, Ezhel’in “gece son ses çalan Mode XL gibiyim, kral benim” ya da Gazapizm’in “burada panda yok, develer var” sözlerinde olduğu gibi karşılaştırma ve benzetme ile kendilerini ve durumu anlatma yolunu seçerek anlam yaratmaları söz konusu olmaktadır.

Bu atıf yapma geleneği, Hip Hop eserlerinin söylemini incelemek için onlardaki metinlerarası yapının da ortaya çıkarılmasını gerektirmektedir. Jannis Androutsopoulos (2008) Hip Hop müziğin dilini ve söylemini incelemede, John Fiske’nin Televizyon Kültürü (1987) eserinde kullandığı dikey metinlerarasılık kavramının oldukça yararlı olduğunu savunmaktadır. Yatay metinlerarasılık “açık biçimde bir metnin başka bir kültürel öğenin metnine atıf yapması iken, dikey metinlerarasılık daha geniş anlamda farklı kültürel varlıklar aracılığıyla özneler tarafından yorumlandığında, ortaya çıkan çoklu anlamları ifade etmektedir” (Fiske’den aktaran, Androutsopoulos, 2008: 45). Bu tür metinlerarasılık doğrudan bir esere atıf yapmaktan çok başka bir sosyo-kültürel bağlamı çağrışım yoluyla düşündürmeyi, böylelikle de mevcut anlamı derinleştirmeyi ya da çoğaltmayı sağlamaktadır.

Hip Hop müzikte, özellikle başka olay, kişi ve şarkılara bol miktarda isim geçirerek atıfta bulunulduğundan yatay metinlerarasılığa sıklıkla rastlanmaktadır. (Mikos, 2003; Androutsopou-

los, 2008: 45) Bu sebepten yapılan söylem analizi bir yanıyla bu şarkılardaki yatay metinlerarasılığa vurgu yapmaktadır. Ancak şarkı sözlerinde sosyal ve sınıfsal eşitsizliğe dair çağrışımlar yaratmak amacıyla mahalleye ve ona has bir üsluba başvurulması diğer çoklu anlamlara kapı aralamaktadır.

Dikey metinlerarasılık sadece kültürel bir esere atıfla değil, sosyal yaşamın herhangi bir anına ait çağrışım yaratma yoluyla anlam üretmeyi de içermektedir. Hip Hop müzikte açık atıflar dışında gömülü denebilecek metinden hayata uzanan anıştırmalarla anlam yaratma da önemli yer tutmakta olup, müzik eserinin söylemini anlamada oldukça önemlidir. Bu sebeple, makalede çağrışımlarla oluşan diğer anlamların ortaya çıkarılması amaçlandığından hem yatay hem dikey metinlerarasılık bağlamında örnek şarkıların söylemi analiz edilmiştir.

5. Çalışmanın Yöntemi

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de trap Hip Hop türünden eserlerin sözlerini analiz etmek tercih edilmiştir. Çünkü asıl yerel ile evrenselin kaynaştığı, benzer ama farklı sosyal ve sınıfsal eşitsizliklere işaret ettiği yer müziğe eşlik eden sözlerdir. Bu şarkılarda yer alan mekan olarak mahallenin, trap ve gangster rap müziğinin anlam dünyasını keşfetmede merkezi bir yerde durduğu öne sürülerek analiz mahalle kavramı etrafında şekillenmiştir.

Ezhel’in “Şehrimin Tadı” şarkısı ile Türkiye’de geniş kitleler, hem bir müzisyen olarak Ezhel ile hem trap Hip Hop ile tanışmıştır. (Sharpe, 2020) Gazapizm’in “Heyecanı Yok” adlı şarkısı da aynı şekilde Hip Hop dinleyicileri dışında da en çok dinlenen şarkılar arasına girmiştir. Khontkar ise Türkiye’deki ilk trap Hip Hop sanatçılarından biridir. “İşler Legal”, “Kime Ne” ve “Hiçbir Şeyim Yok” şarkılarıyla mahallesinin geçmişine açıkça gönderme yaptığı için onun da bu iki popüler şarkısı analize dahil edilmiştir.

Ezhel, Gazapizm ve Khontkar’ın analiz edilmek üzere seçilen şarkılarının youtube izlenme sayılarına bakıldığında trap ve gangster rap türü içinde zirvede oldukları görülmektedir. Ezhel’in “Şehrimin Tadı” adlı şarkısının videoklibi 86 milyon, Gazapizm’in “Heyecanı Yok” videoklibi 239 milyon, Khontkar “İşler Legal” videoklibi 8,9 milyon izlenmeyi yakalamıştır. Khontkar’ın silinen içerikleri ile birlikte düşünüldüğünde tür içinde en popüler isimler arasında yer verilmesi uygun görülmüştür.

5.1. Trap Hip Hop Müzik Popüler Oluyor: Ezhel-Şehrimin Tadı

Ezhel Ankara’da doğup büyümüş, müzik hayatına rap ve reggae rap türünde eserler vererek devam etmiştir. Kendisi gibi Ankaralı olan bazı rap sanatçılarıyla Voodoo Contact adını verdikleri bir grup kurmuş, grup olarak da müzik icra etmişlerdir. Ancak Ais Ezhel olarak reggae rap yaparken daha gönülünden geçeni yapmak istediğini söylemiş ve 2015’te çıkış yakaladığı Şehrimin Tadı video klibiyle Türkiye’de hem hip hop müziğinin hem de trap türünün pop müzikle başa baş gidecek kadar popülerlik yakalamasını sağlamıştır. (Webrazzi, 2020) Çalışmada Şehrimin Tadı hem rap müziğinin yeni okulu adına, hem de Ezhel adına önemli ve en çok dinlenen şarkılar arasında yer aldığından tercih edilmiştir.

Şarkı sözleri Ankara’nın genel özelliklerini yansıtanın yanı sıra, rap müziğinin klasiği olarak alt sınıf bir mahalleli gencin ağzından yazılmıştır.

Ankara ayazı ruhumu keser

Bir cebimde yok Kapital, bir cebimde kenevir tohumu

Ayranıcı, Cebeci, Kennedy Yokuşu, kaybettim gene şu yolumu

Kafam t***k gibi, karnımızda aç, ne yapsak şimdi

Süpermarketten çalsak bir şey, sosis ve salam

Yerim kafam düşer, tekrar ot ister canım, polisten kaç

Şarkının sözleri Ankara’nın havası ve yokuşlarıyla başlamaktadır. İlk olarak protest ve ezilenleri anlatan bir sanatçı olarak popüler olmuş Ahmet Kaya’nın, öldürülen TKP’Lİ Mustafa Suphi’yi anıştıracak şekilde Suphi adında bir karakteri anlattığı “Bir Acayip Adam” şarkısına referans vermektedir: “Bir cebinde Das Kapital, bir cebinde kenevir tohumu” (Hayaloğlu, Yusuf). Burada Suphi’nin solculuğuna ve acayıplığına karşılık, bu gencin cebinde Kapital yoktur. Ne partili, ne bir yolu/politikayı seçmiş biridir. Yolunu kaybetmesi de böyle okunabilir. Ancak Suphi’ye ve Ahmet Kaya’ya yapılan atıf ezilen kimliğine ve garipliğe vurgu yapma amaçlı kullanılmıştır.

Bu gencin parası azdır, o da kafa dağıtmak için uyuşturucuya verilmiştir, bu sebepten karnını doyurmak için ufak tefek hırsızlara başvurmak bir çözümdür. Bu hırsızlığın açtığı an aklına gelen çözüm oluşunun sıradanlığı, şarkıda fark edilmektedir. Polis ve devlet ise kaçılındır çünkü hem uyuşturucu taşımak hem de yaşayış şekli itibarıyla polis onun için bir tehdittir. Özellikle ufak hırsızlıkları sıradan gören bu genç erkeğin damgalanmış bir mahallede yaşadığı bellidir ve herhangi bir durumda polis tarafından durdurulacağı da açıktır. Durdurulması durumunda sistem açısından suçlu olduğundan cezalandırılacaktır:

Tüm şehir bir pavyon ve bizim paramız yok

Şükür ki karnımız tok, şansımız çok olur elimiz floş

Şehri pavyona benzetmesi boşa değildir. Pavyon kelimesini seçmesi manidardır. Çünkü buralar eğlence mekanı olmasına rağmen temelinde şiddet yatmaktadır. Her şey bedelinin çok üzerinde fiyatlandırılır, bu rengarenk ortamdan yararlanmanın bedeli ağırdır, bu bedel ödenmezse dayak yenilir. İçeride çalışan herkes de bir nevi esirdir üstelik. Onları da geçinme derdi oraya esir etmiştir. Ancak burada bir şey tüketmeye niyeti yoktur, karnı toktur. Buradaki, karın tokluğu fiziksel açlığı olmamaktan çok, şehrin zenginliklerine karşı hevesi olmamak şeklinde okunabilir. Ancak yaşam şekline rağmen sadece başına bela açmadığı ve polise yakalanmadığı için şansının yaver gittiğini belirtmektedir. Şarkının devamında da neden böyle yaşadığını ve diğer şehirdeki “esirler” gibi çalışmadığını açıklamakta ve düzeni suçlamaktadır:

İnceyi anla, İncek’i İncesu’dan ayıran sistemi s*k*m

Hep size, hep size lan, biz de isteriz bi’ şey

Gençlerim işsiz de patronlar sizken si**yim işi

Kendi patronum benim, takım elbisemse kapşonum, berem

Metropollerinde hapsolür gene

Gettolar evinse hep sonum betür

Ketum ol bebem duyarlar işine sokarlar çomak.

Bu sistemdir İncek’i İncesu’dan ayıran. Bu iki semt Ankara’nın iki ayrı ucudur. İncek şehir dışında villa ve gökdelenlerin yapıldığı yeni bir zengin semti, yatırımlık bir köy iken, İncesu ise dere etrafında gecekondu semtidir. Sistemin yarattığı sınıflar arası kutuplaşmayı bu Ankara semtlerini kıyaslayarak somutlaştırmaktadır.

Sözlerin devamında belirttiği gibi birilerinin hep her şeyi aldığı, birilerinin ise tek istediği şeyi alamadığı bir sistemdir bu. Burada hayatını sürdürecekt düzenli gelire ihtiyaç duymak kastediliyor olmalıdır bir yanıyla. Çünkü ardından mahallesindeki gençlerin işsizliğine vurgu yapar.

Diğer yandan da patronun adaletsizliği nedeniyle kendisi iş aramıyor olduğunu ima etmektedir. Yaşam şeklini değiştirmiş, şehir denen pavyonda esir gibi çalışmamak için yasa dışı olanı seçmiştir. Ardından gelen dizede “takım elbise” olarak kapşon ve bere iması bulunmaktadır. İşi icabı giyilen giysi kapşon ve beredir, bu kılık da genellikle mahallede oturan uyuşturucu satıcısı tiplmesi olarak bilinmektedir. Ancak bu yolu seçme sebebi gettoda yaşamasıdır ve böyle yaşamasının eninde sonunda başına iş açacağına da farkındadır.

Buraya kadar trap müzikte görülen uyuşturucu kullanmak/satmak ve diğer suçlardan beslenen getto genci temasının tüm özellikleri vardır. Ancak trap'in içinden çıktığı gangster rap türüne de sokak çetesi teması hariç yerleşmektedir. Bir yandan yerlidir de, Ankara'nın kenar mahallesinde geçmekte, yerel mekanlara ve popüler protest müziğe referanslar verilmektedir.

Karanlık çöktüğünde koktuğunda kömür sokak

Şhrimin tadı ağzımda yine

İs, pas, kir, kömür, plastik, çöplük, lastik, egzoz, esrar

Şarkının nakaratı ise iyi bir getto tasviridir. Mahallede hala sobadan çıkan kömür kokusu hakimdir, evler, sokaklar bakımsızdır. İs, pas ve kir buradan gelir. Son dizede sayılanların hepsi mahallenin yaygın kokularıdır. Ve Ezhel'in şehrim dediği aslında otomobil egzozu, is, esrar içen gençler ve yanan lastikten oluşmaktadır.

Suçu bir hayatta kalma ve isyan biçimi olarak ele alan yeni nesil rap sanatçıları, suç faaliyetlerini idealleştirme riskini de taşıyan sözler kaleme alırlar. Bununla birlikte, “şehir içi suçları ve şiddeti eleştirmek için aynı anlatı stratejilerini - birinci şahıs otobiyografik dilin kullanımı veya görünüşte daha objektif «sokak gazeteciliği” – kullanmaktadırlar” (Kelley, 197). Kelley'in belirttiği gibi Ezhel, burada mahallede gördüğünü anlatmak için gettoda yoksul bir gencin ağzından ve birinci tekil şahısla konuşmakta, Şhrimin Tadı'nda Ankara'nın gettolarının hikayesini anlatmaktadır.

5.2. Gazapizm- Gangster Rap ile Zirveye Oynayan Rap Müzik

Trap hip hop müziği, içinden çıktığı gangster rap müzikle birbirinden ayırmak zor olsa da, (ortak kökenleri nedeniyle) Gazapizm uyuşturucu satıcılığını doğrudan işlemeyen getto anlatısı ile gangster rap müziği popülerleştirmede payı olan diğer önemli isimdir. Milyonlarca izlenen “Heyecanı Yok” video klibi ile (günümüzde 226 milyona ulaşmıştır) Türkiye’de en çok dinlenen ve bilinen rap şarkılarından birini bestelemiştir.

İzmir Göztepe’li olan Anıl Acar 2014’te Yeraltı Edebiyatı albümüyle rap piyasasına çıkmış, 2017’deki Heyecanı Yok albümüyle tanınmıştır. “Gazapizm Sokaktır” şeklindeki duvar yazılmaları da onun gettoyu anlatmadaki başarısını ve popülerliğini göstermektedir. Getto ve gettoyu yaratan genel düzene çevirmektedir oklarını:

Hah! Kazan kazan yok/ Kaybedecek birimiz kaçarı yok

Çocuk çok, yatarım yok/ Oynayan aç ayı yok

Olmayan façası yok /Kurtaran paçayı yok

Gelecek için bi’ hedefin yok, yarımın yok

Bir taraf ancak kaybettiğinde bir tarafın kazanabildiği bir düzende kaybeden tarafı, gettodaki anlatmaktadır. Çünkü bu düzenden aslında kimsenin zarar görmeden kaçmasının imkanı olmadığını, böyle bir düzende de kimsenin iyi bir gelecek umudunun olmayacağını vurgulamaktadır. Düzenden kastı günümüzün kapitalist sosyoekonomik düzenidir. Bu düzen kaybeden-kaza-

nan ilişkisine bağlı olarak dengede durmaktadır: “Olacaklar hep elzem depresyon gettoya kismet/ Ve de kaygıya saplanmış herkes mi zorlayan üstelik /Yaşama sevincine el koyan denge”.

Şarkı zaten nakaratla “Montumun cebinde yok kuruş... Bu hayatın heyecanı meyecanı yok” diye başlamaktadır. Parasızlık dolayısıyla çıkış bulamayıp suça bulaşanın hayatı dışarıdan ya da dizilerden heyecanlı görünse de gerçek böyle değildir. Burada gangster rap müziğin ve çeteciliğin övünmeyle karışık anlatılmasına da içeriden bir tepki vardır. Suça bulaşanın sonu polise yakalanmak ve kendini yine kurtaramamak olacaktır bir noktada. Bunu da bir bölümde aktarmaktadır:

Kapımın önünde polisler var/ Elinde silahla komiser var

Üstümde, başımda kan izi var/Önümde kocaman valizler var

Bana tepeler, denizler dar/ Bi’ de sırtımda keneler var

Suçta bulaşanın da sırtına yapışan kene, ondan daha büyük ve yine zenginliğin önemli kısmını alacak olan daha büyük bir çetenin parçası olmak ve sömürülmektir. Ancak yakalanan gettoda suçu işleyenler olacak, polisin hedefindeki de o olacaktır. Pislige elini süren alt sınıf iken kazanan yine başkalarıdır:

Ah! Herkes delirmiş hiç etkinlikler etik değil

Hep biz pisliklere itildik/ Bizi bitirmiş çelişki

Ki bilemezdik ne işti

Kazananın kazanmaktan ve düzenden fazlasını almaktan vazgeçeceği de yoktur. İşte gettodağdaki gençlerin yasadışına kayması da düzenin bozulmayacağını görmelerinden ve umutsuzluktan kaynaklanmaktadır:

Artık gerçeğin farkında herkes /kimse doymuyo’ yerken

Hayat en psycho (sayko) mektep/ yanacak kafan gençken...

Ve umutların er geç ölür

Bi’ de bakarsın her şey sönük

Suçta en yakın eksen görür

Hızlı yaşayan erken ölür.

Genel sistem eleştirisine bolca atıf içeren şarkı, sol ideolojinin kurtuluşu her zaman işçi sınıfında görmesini anımsatan bir atıfla, mahalle ahalesinin sıkıntılarının tek çaresinin yine kendinde olduğunu vurgulamaktadır: “Biz yakarsak söndüremezler, geri döndüremezler!”

5.3. *Khontkar- İşler Legal (!)*

Khontkar mahlaslı Onur Dinç İzmir’de konservatuarı yarıda bırakmış bir müzisyendir. Trap müziği ilk yapan isimlerden olmakla birlikte, özellikle yabancı trap parçalarında yaygın tema olan yoksul bir mahallede satıcılığa başlayıp iyi para kazanma ve lükse harcamaya dair sözler yazmaktadır. Mahalle burada sıfır noktasıdır, oradan çıkmak ise suça karışan genç erkeğin başarı, bağımsızlığıdır:

Eskiden köşedeyken, araba çalarken

Eskiden rutubetten nefessiz kalırken

Eskiden para yokken, market soyarken

Şimdi çantam dolu huana, sözleşmeler tamam

Artık işler legal

Burada mahallede her türlü yasa dışı suçta girişirken son dizinin aksine uyuşturucu satıcılığına girerek “yolunu bulduğunu” ima etmektedir. Kime Ne adlı parçada da yine aynı yolla kendini kurtardığını iddia etmektedir. Mahalledeki yoksulluktan kurtulmanın ve iyi kazanmanın yolu satıcılıktır:

Kime ne len varsa üstümde 100 gram dalga
Sana ne len varsa altımda üç yüzlük araç
Geliyo'm len mahalleden sıfırdan bu valla
Ekibim sert bekliyor bak hepsi telefonda

Yine de bu duruma nereden geldiğine dair kimi şarkılarında mahalledeki yoksulluğu ve yasadışı alana nasıl kaydığını anlatmaktadır:

Kimin için yapıyom sanıyon bu yaptığımı?
Bütün ailem aç çabalıyo herkes ayrı
Denediğim yollar senin için hep bi' farklı
Esas fakir çocuk bendim ama anlamazsın
Sana söyleyecek hiç bi'seyim yok
Çünkü anlamazsın.

Eğer işler yolunda giderse yoksulluktan hatta mahalleden kurtulup sınıf atlama ümidi bile ortaya çıkmaktadır: “Önceden düşünürdüm mahalleden çıkışım var mı diye...”

6. Sonuç

Türkiye’de Hip Hop adeta trap ve gangster rap ile beraber altın çağını yaşamaktadır. Ezhel ile başlayan bu süreç rap müziğin ilk kez anaakım popüler müzik haline gelmesini sağlamıştır. Bu müzik tarzı, şehirde alt sınıfların bir parçası olarak, kapitalizmin sunduğu olanaklardan uzakta yaşamının ve en diptekilerin hayatını anlatmaya soyunmuştur. Suça ve uyuşturucuya, onlara başvuranların gözünden bakan yeni nesil rap bunları bir yandan da popüler kültürün de konusu haline getirerek geniş kitleler için sıradan bir gerçek haline getirmiştir.

Bu çalışmada trap ve gangster rap yapan sanatçıların örnek şarkı sözlerinde dikey ve yatay metinlerarası ağları ortaya çıkarmak suretiyle bir tür söylem analizi yapılmıştır. Bu söylem analizinden hareketle Türkçe yeni nesil rap müzikte mahalle kavramının merkezi önemine ve bu alt türe dair bazı sonuçlara varılmıştır.

Yeni nesil rap müziğin “mahalle”si gündelik yaşamda görünür olan toplumsal eşitsizliklerin de mekanıdır. Bu tarz rap müzikte de rap sanatçısının mekanı hep o en alt sınıfın yaşadığı türden mahallelerdir. İnsanların hayatını meşru yollarla iyileştirmesine ve sınıf atlamasına fazla imkan tanımayan her mekan illegal olana zemin hazırlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak bu mekanların suçlu gençler üretmesinin aslında toplumsal eşitsizlikten kaynaklandığını ima ederek, suç eylemine toplumun kolektif sorumluluğu bağlamında bakmaktadır. Bu bağlamda rap müziğin söylemi, bu türün ortaya çıktığı ABD’nin Batı yakasında, siyah gençliğin işsizliği ile orantılı biçimde artan suçlara mekan olan getto ile Türkiye’de suçun yaygın olduğu kentten çeperindeki mahalleyi yaratanın aynı ekonomik eşitsizliğe dayalı toplum düzeni olduğunu tasdik etmektedir. Dolayısıyla türün ana teması Amerika’da getto ise Türkiye’de “mahalle” olmuştur. Buradaki yaşam türün ilham kaynağı olmuş, buradaki yaşamın üreticisi ve sorumlusu olarak ekonomik sistem –kapitalizm- (doğrudan ya da alt metinsel olarak) gösterilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak suça karışmak hayatını idame ettirmenin en önemli yollarından biri olarak mahalle gençleri arasında tercih edilmektedir. Buna ek olarak alkol ile uyuşturucu mahalledeki yaşamın sıradan bir parçası haline almıştır. Toplumsal ve sınıfsal eşitsizliğin bir sonucu olarak rap müziğin “mahalle”si illegale kaymanın da sıradan sayıldığı bir yaşam tarzı yaratmaktadır. Bu yaşam tarzı, trap ve gangster Hip Hop popülerleşince daha geniş kitleler tarafından bilinir hale gelmiş ve tehlikeli mahallelere hapsolmaktan kurtulmuştur.

Bu “mahalle”, yoksulluğun yoğun olduğu, şiddet ve bağımlılığın sıradan hale geldiği bir mekan olarak yeni nesil rap müziğin hakim söyleminin kurucu öğelerindedir. Türkiye’deki yeni nesil rap müzik de gerek küresel, gerek yerel bu sistemin eşitsiz yüzünün en iyi görüldüğü kenar mahalle yaşamlarından beslenmektedir. Sonuç olarak yeni nesil rap de kaynağı itibariyle tıpkı doğum yerinde olduğu gibi kenar mahallelerin gerçekliğinden beslenmekte, ancak kendi ülkesinin toplumsal gerçeklerini konu edinmesiyle de yerel ve özgün bir nitelik kazanmaktadır.

Diğer yandan, bu türün gençliği uyuşturucu kullanımına özendirdiği ve bunu sıradanlaştırdığı eleştirisinin tam tersinin, yani gençler arasında uyuşturucu kullanımının artmasının türün doğuşu ve popülerleşmesini sağlamış olabileceği ihtimalinin üzerinde durulması gerekse de bu ancak başka bir araştırmaya konu olacak nitelikte bir tartışmadır.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

İktidara Karşı Sürmek: Türkiye’de Otomobil Kültüründeki Cinsiyetçilik ve Kadın Sürücüler*

Driving against the Power: Sexism in Automobile Culture and Female Drivers in Türkiye

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ÖZ

Bu makalede yazılı-görsel medyada yer alan haberlerden, ‘kadın sürücü hataları’ temalı sosyal medya içeriklerinden ve kadın olmanın acemi sürücülükle eşitlendiği gündelik erkek sohbetlerinden hareket edilerek kadın sürücülere yönelik cinsiyetçi yargıların arkasındaki toplumsal-tarihsel etkenlerin anlaşılması amaçlanmaktadır. Makale, kadın sürücü sayısının artışının sürücülük mesleğinin ve otomobil kültürünün kadınlaşmasının bir belirtisi olup olmadığı sorusuna cevap aramaktadır. Makale üçü erkek olmak üzere orta sınıftan (akademisyen, öğretmen, doktor, psikolog) on yedi sürücüyle yapılan görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Türkiye’de otomobil günümüzde de statü, güç, saygınlık, rekabetçilik gibi yan anlamları olan bir nesnedir ve otomobille ilişkili mesleklerde de tarihsel olarak erkekler egemendir. Öte yandan kadınların yanlarında bir erkek olmadan kentte dolaşmasının normalleşmesi, toplumun önemli bir kesimi için görece yeni bir gelişmedir. Yakın tarihte, muhafazakâr/dindar orta sınıfların genişlemesi olgusu ise sürücü kadın sayısının artışı destekler görünmektedir. Yanı sıra, otomobil üreticilerinin pazarı genişletme stratejileri ve her kullanıcı tipine göre yeni modelleri üretme gayretleri, sürücü kadın sayısındaki artış eğilimini desteklemektedir. Ancak tüketicilerin çeşitliliğini dikkate alarak talep çeşitliliğine yetiştirmeye çalışan üretim ve satış stratejileri de ‘kadın arabası’ gibi cinsiyetçi klişeleri yeniden üretmede etkilidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cinsiyetçilik, erizahat, kadınlaşma, kadın sürücüler, otomobil kültürü

ABSTRACT

This article’s aim is to understand the socio-historical factors behind sexist judgments against female drivers in Turkey, based on written and visual media, social media content with the theme of “female driver errors,” and everyday male conversations in which being a woman is equated with novice driving. The article seeks to answer whether the increase in the



number of female drivers is a symptom of a feminization of the driving profession and automobile culture. It is based on interviews with seventeen middle-class drivers (academic, teacher, doctor, psychologist), three of whom were men. In Turkey, the automobile is still an object with connotations of status, power, prestige, and competitiveness, and historically men have been dominant in automobile-related professions. Meanwhile, the normalization of women walking around the city without a man is a relatively new development for a significant part of society. The recent expansion of conservative and/or religious middle classes seems to support the increase in the number of female drivers. Automobile manufacturers’ market-expansion strategies and efforts to produce new models for each type of user also support this trend. However, production and sales strategies that try to catch up with the diversity of demand by considering the diversity of consumers are also effective in reproducing sexist stereotypes, such as some car models being labeled as “women’s cars”.

Keywords: Automobile culture, feminization, mansplaining, sexism, woman drivers

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper, based on data about the increase in the number of female drivers in Turkey in the 2000s and on implicit and explicit discriminatory statements about them in traditional and social media, seeks to answer whether we can talk about a feminization of driving and automobile culture, a profession and occupation dominated by men from the nineteenth century to the present. In Turkish society, where we can talk about an automobile culture shaped by androcentric language and patriarchal culture, there is not a long history of either a large increase of women going into public space alone with their cars or of the emergence of female drivers of public transportation vehicles. It is observed that the use of automobiles among women has tended to become widespread due to significant political-economic developments which have been decisive in Turkey’s recent history. These developments, in which technology has also played an important role, have helped women be both more present in the public sphere and more active in all areas of life, and many professions have ceased to be exclusively men’s. On the other hand, cultural resistance is observed in the driving profession and in its practices. One reason for this resistance may be that the production, distribution, and consumption processes of automobiles and all kinds of motor vehicles remained entirely under the control of men for many years. This situation makes resistant to change the illusion that the relationship between automobile and men is natural rather than historical. Indeed, the many references to the car and gender or the car and sexual relationships in Turkish slang and the many car stories in literature and cinema show that the car is both a complement of masculinity—a strong symbol of the power, status, and dignity of men—and a feminine image, taking the place of the horse that is ridden. Therefore, they show that automobile culture is surrounded by masculine discourses. This cultural background underpins both the reproduction and perpetuation of claims that men are naturally more successful at driving and that women are less skilled drivers as well as the mansplaining of men from all educational levels and social segments on traditional and social media platforms, including academic discourses. On the other hand, considered together with elements constituting the masculinity crisis—such as traditional boundaries between male and female becoming more obscure in late-modern societies, the normalization of the contingency of sexual identities, and the abandonment of the understanding that men are considered more respected and more valuable in the family and society because they are men—the conflict created by the participation of women in traffic may also be one aspect of cultural change. In the interviews, it clearly appears that, although the impact of technology (facilitating driving) and automobile market strategies which direct women to automobile consumption increase the number of female drivers in traffic, there is no strong indication about the feminization of automobile culture. In the interviews conducted with seventeen middle-class drivers, three men and fourteen women, we asked the interviewees about their attitudes and behaviors

in traffic, thoughts and reactions in driving practices, expectations from the car, and the meanings they attribute to it. In general, female drivers noted functions like “dropping a child off to school,” “shopping,” or “commuting to work,” and the comfort and freedom offered by it, a partial freedom to set the time for all these works. However, based on the interviews and comments on media, successful driving is still associated with qualities like courage, speed, power, prestige, wealth, which are identified mostly with men and masculinity in the dominant culture, and female drivers who claim and strive to be good drivers imitate the existing masculine style. We can say that women drivers are still trying to “exist” in today’s conditions, that cars and driving practices are not interpreted by them, that there is no language change, and that production and/or marketing strategies labeling women’s cars and appealing to female consumers also serve to maintain the dominant sexism in this context. However, when we consider that the masculine meanings and/or connotations attributed to driving and that masculine culture both play important roles in traffic problems, more general change is necessary for feminization to be possible in many areas of life, from urban planning to automobile design, from public transportation vehicles to automobile repair centers.

1. Giriş

Otomobil moderniteye özgü veya ona atfedilen birçok karakteristiğın cisimleştiğı, sayesinde modern çelişkilerin bir arada deneyimlendiğı bir nesnedir: hareketlilik ve sınırların alt üst edilmesi ile akılcı denetim ve kurallara güven; bireysellik ve özgürlük ile en yoğun ve kristalize toplumsallık; özel ve kamusalın birlikteliğı. Otomobil sürücülüğü de hem bir meslek hem modern gündelik yaşam deneyimi anlamında, sosyolojik araştırmalar açısından son derece verimli bir konudur. Çünkü sürücülük pratiğı, sınıfsal ayrımların, statünün çeşitli görünümünün, yaş, engellilik veya cinsiyet ayrımlarının, eğitim düzeyine ve kültüre bağı farklılıkların, özetle tüm sosyolojik bağlamın içinde yüzmek ve davranmak demektir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de hep gündemde olagelmış, bir ucuyla modernleşme/Batılılaşma ve kültürel değışim sorunuyla ilgili olmakla birlikte teknolojinin gelişimi, kentleşme ve elbette toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerinin inşası gibi karmaşık sorunlarla da ilişkili güncel bir meseleye, kadın sürücülere ve onların trafikteki deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır.

Türkiye’de kadın sürücü konusunda yazılmış bir kitabın yazarı olan Şule Yücebiyık (2005, s. 12) kitabını oluşturan yazıların ilkinde şöyle yazmaktadır: “[Çevremdeki erkeklerin] kadınların trafiğe çıkmasına tahammülleri yok. Bizlerin sürüş konusunda doğuştan yeteneksiz olduğunu, trafiğı katlettiğimizi düşünüyorlar.[kadın sürücülere] Kin kusanların bazılarının ehliyeti bile olmaması beni çok şaşırttı.” Yazar, elektronik posta kutusuna gelen bir yazıdan erkeklerin kadın sürücüler hakkındaki olumsuz (dönel kavşaktan dönmeyi bilemez, panikle kornaya basar, yokuşta durduktan sonra kalkamaz, yeşil ışık yanarken orta şeritte aynada kendisini inceler vs) yargılarına örnekler verir. Bunun gibi yargıları çevremizdeki hemen her sınıftan ve her eğitim düzeyindeki erkekten, hatta “maço olmadığını” özellikle belirten erkek sürücülerden de duyarız. *Youtube* gibi internet mecralarında “kadın sürücü” başlığı altında da, bir tür çağdaş erkek eğlencesi haline gelmiş videolarda acemilik örnekleri yayınlanır ve bunların altına kimileri hakarete varan cinsiyetçi yorumlar yazılır. Bazıları ulusal haber kanallarında yayınlanan bu videolardan bir kaçının başlıkları şöyledir: “İki kadın şoförün otopark ile savaşı”, “10 dakikadır park edemeyen kadın şoför”, “aracını bir türlü park edemeyen kadın sürücü kriz geçirtti”, “kadınların komik park etme çabaları”, “mini arabasını park edemeyen kadın sürücü” “aracını park edemeyen kadın”. Bunlardan bazılarının on binlerce kez izlendiğini ve yüzlerce yorum yapıldığını da dikkate alarak, bu mecralardaki tepkilerin daha büyük ve karmaşık bir toplumsal sorunun gündelik hayata yansıyan uçları olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Sürücülük, trafikte hareket halinde olmak, yoğun bir toplumsallıkla birlikte birçok çelişkiyi deneyimlemektir. Teknolojinin, otomobilin vadettiğı hız ve özgürlük, ötekilerle (yayalar, çocuklar, yaşlılar, kuralları umursamayan veya acelesi olan birileri, başka otomobil sürücüleri) ve hukukla sınırlandırılmıştır. Otomobilin potansiyel hız ve konfor vaatleri ile gerçeklerin engebeli doğası ve yine otomobilin iyi yaşam, rahatlık ve özgürlük sunmasıyla ölüme kadar varabilecek tehlikeler yaratma potansiyeli, trafik denilen kamusal alanın gerilimlerle dolu olmasının nedenleridir. Sürücülerin günah keçileri yaratması bu gerilimli deneyim içinde işten bile değildir. Ne var ki, bu muhtemel günah keçileri arasından -örneğin hız tutkunu gençlerin veya alkollü araç kullananların değil de- kadınların bu kadar öne çıkarılması, bunca vurgulanması hem kültür kavramının ima ettiği köklü değerlere, alışkanlıklara ve paradigmaya bakmayı hem de geleneksel ataerkinin ve erkek kimliğinin yeniden inşa edildiğı modern tarihin siyasi-toplumsal bağlamını incelemeyi gerektirir. Bu bağlamda anahtar bir kavram olan *toplumsal cinsiyeti* temel alan inşacı kuramlar, biyolojiye indirgenemezliğini varsaydıkları cinsiyetin esas olarak üç boyutunu vurgular: sosyalleşme (kültürel bağlam), cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü ve iktidar. Bu boyutların tümünün

otomobilin üretim, dağıtım ve tüketiminde, otomobil sürücülerine dair önyargılar ve ayrımcılık gibi davranışlarda işler halde olduğunu söyleyebiliriz: Erkek çocukların daha çok otomobil vb oyuncaklarla oynaması, genç erkek ergenlere otomobil kullanmayı öğretme çabaları, meslek olarak sürücülüğün erkeklere uygun bir meslek olagelmesi ve tarihsel olarak otomobile ilgili hemen her alandaki (tamirci, tasarımcı, mühendis vb) erkek egemenliği.

Yukarıda bazı örneklerini sunduğumuz kadın sürücülere karşı küçümseyici tavırlar ve erizahat¹ biçimleri veya saldırgan bir alaycılığın da erkeklik kimliğinin günümüzdeki krizi ve yeniden inşası bağlamında anlaşılabilir tepkiler olduğu varsayılabilir. Bu varsayımla birlikte bu makalenin dayandığı diğer bir varsayım, Türkiye’de geleneksel ya da sözlü kültür olarak adlandırılan, her eğitim düzeyinde, meslekte ve sınıfta günümüzde de egemen normlar ve değerlerin dayandığı çerçevenin büyük ölçüde ataerkil ve erkekmerkezci olduğudur. Bu makalenin esas sorusu da son yıllarda kadın sürücü sayısının istatistiklere yansıyan artışının otomobil kültürünün ve sürücülük etrafında oluşmuş anlamlar, değerler ve söylemler kümelenmesinin eril niteliğinde bir değişime yol açıp açmadığıdır. Makale, toplam 17 sürücüyle yapılan görüşmelerden elde edilen verilere dayanmaktadır. Görüşülenlerden üçü erkek, geriye kalanlar kadındır ve bazı görüşülenlerle yüz yüze, bazılarıyla telefonla ve bazılarıyla da internet üzerinden görüntülü iletişim kurularak görüşme yapılmış, beş kadına da görüşme kâğıdı gönderilmiş ve cevaplar yazılı olarak alınmıştır.² Yüz yüze yapılan görüşmelerin hepsi Bartın ilinde, diğerleri çeşitli illerde yaşayan kişilerle yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın Bartın Üniversitesi’nden alınmış etik kurul onayı vardır.

Otomobilin ve Sürücülüğün Cinsiyeti

Otomobili ve sürücülüğü tarihsel-toplumsal çerçevede araştıran ve çok gönderme yapılan belli başlı çalışmalarda sürücülük mesleğinin erilliğine veya otomobilin dişil tasavvuruna değinilir. Günümüzde de otomobil reklamlarında erkeklik ve sürücülük, otomobil ile kadınlık veya otomobil sürmek ile erkeğin cinsel performansı arasında bağ kurma, böylece esas olarak erkeğin (çünkü günümüzde de dünya genelinde sürücülerin çoğu erkektir) en ilkel güdülerine seslenerek aklını çelme stratejisinin kullanıldığını görmekteyiz. Görüşmelerde de bu konuya birçok kez değinilmiştir. Bir kadın görüşülen de erkek kardeşinin arabasına aşırı özen gösterdiğini, başka hiçbir konuda sahip olmadığı titizliği arabasının temizliği, bakımı konularında gösterdiğini anlatmakta ve şöyle demektedir: “*Hani derler ya, kadınların evi temizdir erkeklerin arabası diye...*” (G3). Bu meselenin ele alındığı makalelerden birinin yazarı olan Köse (2014) otomobilin “muğlak heteronormativitesi” konusunda düşünürken şunları yazar: “Otomobiller[...], yaydıkları semiyotik göndermelerle cinsiyetlenmenin sembolik evrenine katkıda bulunur ve böylece toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerinin yeniden oluşmasında etkili olurlar. Teknoloji ve ürünleri salt işlevsel araçlar değil, insanın bedenselleşme deneyimi yaşadığı icatlarıdır. Bu bedenselleşme süreci aynı zamanda kullanılan teknoloji aygıtlarının –bir beden gibi- cinsiyetlenmesi sonucunu getirmektedir” (Köse, 2014, s. 35). Yazar, Türkçe romanlardan bazı sahneleri örnek vererek, erkeğin arabasını

1 *Erizahat* kavramı, İngilizcedeki *mansplaining* karşılığı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Kavram, Oxford Sözlüğü’nde şöyle tanımlanmaktadır: “the practice of a man explaining something to a woman in a way that shows he thinks he knows and understands more than she does” (bir erkeğin bir kadına, muhatabı olan kadından daha çok şey bildiğini sandığını gösterecek şekilde bir şeyi açıklama eylemi). <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/mansplaining>, erişim: 18 Ağustos.2021. *Erizahat* kavramında, kadının bilgisi, uzmanlığı hakkında düşünmeye, soru sormaya bile gerek duymayacak denli, sırf kadın olduğu için bilgisiz, tecrübesiz olacağı varsayımı ima edilmektedir. Bu ve benzeri birçok varsayım, elbette kadınların kamusal hayattan, kamusal hizmetlerden ve yüksek teknik bilgi-beceri gerektiren mesleklerden uzak bırakıldığı bir tarihin, bu anlamdaki cinsiyetler arası farkın doğal sanılmasına yol açacak denli uzun olmasının sonucudur.

2 Görüşülenlere ait cinsiyet, yaş ve mesleklerini içeren bilgiler için bkz: Ek 1

penis gibi düşünebileceği, sollamanın bir başka otomobile karşı kazanılmış bir cinsel zafer olabileceği yorumlarını önerir. Birçok erkek sürücünden işittiğimiz (görüşülenler arasında olmayan) ve erkek sürücülerin arkalarından gelen otomobilin sağdan geçmesine izin verip-vermemeyi bir tür namus davası olarak kavradığını gösteren “sağından geçmek, [öndeki aracın] anasına küfretmek-tir” veya “arabanın iç lambasını yakmak, ‘ben eşcinselim’ demektir” gibi simgeleştirmeler veya Türkçe argodaki otomobille ilişkili birçok söz, otomobilin bir biçimde cinsiyetlendirildiğini, özellikle erkek kimliğini oluşturan anlamlarla kuşatıldığını gösterir. Görüşülenlerden birinin yorumu da trafikteki eylemlerin semantiğinin nasıl ataerkil ideolojiyle şekillendiğini gösteren bir başka örnektir: “*Dikkat et, korna küfüdür. Ani durumlarda bir refleks olarak basarsan o ayrı. Ama duran bir araca, mesela yanından geçerken basarsan, kavgaya çıkar*”(G5).³

Erkekler ve otomobilleri hakkında yukarıdaki satırlara benzer çok şey yazılmıştır elbette. Ancak dünya ve otomobiller hızla değişirken, erkeklik ve kadınlık halleri değişirken otomobil kültürünün ve sürücülüğün erilliği nasıl oluyor da bu değişime direnebiliyor? Ya da soruyu belki de şöyle sormalıyız: Erkekler her şeyin hızla değişmesine karşı -bilinçli veya bilinçaltı bir tepki olarak- otomobillerine daha sıkı mı sarılıyor? Aslında tanıdığımız erkeklerin çoğunun ve bu araştırma sırasında görüştüğümüz erkeklerin kadınların otomobil kullanmalarına karşı çıkmadıklarını söyleyebiliriz. Ancak birçok görüşülen, otomobilin erkekler için çok daha fazla şey ifade ettiğini belirtmiştir. Bir erkek görüşülenin şu cümleleri, muhtemelen çok sayıda erkek tarafından paylaşılmaktadır:

“Bazen eşime veriyorum arabayı. Sonra yan koltukta oturup onun kötü kullanmasını izliyorum ve bana arabanın sesi değişmiş, arabanın canı yanmış, arabaya zarar verilmiş gibi geliyor [gülüyor]. Yani pişman oluyor ve kaygı duyuyorum. Aslında ben de aynı hataları yapıyor olabilirim. Ama bu arabayı aşırı sahiplenmekle, arabayla özdeşleşmekle ilgili galiba.” (G2)

Yukarıda anılan makalesinde Köse de (2014) erkeğin otomobiline yoğun ilgisine dair psikolojik çözümlemelere dayanan yorumları aktardıktan sonra şu soruyu sorar: “Kendi bedenleriyle güzellik uğruna uğraşmayı feminen bulan erkekler bu biçimlenmeyi kendilerinin bir parçası olarak gördükleri otomobiller üzerinden gerçekleştiriyor olabilirler mi?” (s. 37). Konu hakkındaki diğer birkaç makalede de sorun, geniş bir toplumsal-tarihsel bağlam içinde ele alınmaktansa bu türden psikolojik spekülasyonlarla analiz edilme yoluna gidilmiştir. Bizse cinsiyete özgü “psikolojiler”e dayalı açıklamaların, sorunu doğallaştırmaya⁴ hizmet edebileceğini, psikolojiden de yararlanılmakla birlikte yapılması gerekenin bir yandan da “daima tarihselleştir” düsturunu işletmek ve sorunu daha geniş toplumsal ilişkiler bağlamına yerleştirmek olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Otomobil-insan, özellikle otomobil-erkek ilişkisinde bir irrasyonel yön vardır ve bu ilişki, tarihsel mirasın ve güncel toplumsal yapılaşmaların bir ürünüdür. Bu bağlamda yararlanılabilecek önemli çalışmalardan bazılarının yazarı olan Virginia Scharff, otomobilin tasarım ve üretim süreçlerinin sınıfsal ve cinsiyetçi yargıların yürürlükte olduğu bir dünyada meydana geldiğine dikkat çeker. Örneğin otomatik marş düğmesinin, erkeklerin kadınsı aksesuarlardan hoşlanmayabilecekleri, bunun yerine daha erkeksi olduğunu düşündükleri elle çalıştırılan düğmeleri tercih

3 Argoda otomobille ilişkili deyim ve sözcükler için ayrıca bkz: Ünsal (2000, s.177).

4 Robert J. Brym, doğallaştırmanın (naturalization) toplumsal kurumların, birer “kültürel icat” olarak alınmayıp, doğal gereksinimlerin sonucunda ortaya çıktıkları inancıyla haklılaştırıldığı ve sorgulanmaksızın kabullerinin sağlandığı bir süreç olduğunu söyler. Buna göre, toplumsal yaşamın tüm alanları içerisinde doğallaştırmadan en çok nasibini alan cinsiyet ve cinsellik olmuştur. “Cinsiyetin her daim ve her yerde aynı olduğuna inanılır, çünkü o, “kültürel” olmaktan ziyade “doğal”dır. Oysaki cinsiyet ve cinsellik için fizyolojik ve biyolojik bir temel olmakla birlikte, bizim bunları isimlendirme, tanımlama, teşvik etme, bastırma ve biçimleme sürecimiz bütünüyle kültürelidir” (Brym 1998’den akt: Atay 2012, s. 17).

edebilecekleri gibi genel bir kanı yüzünden uzun bir süre ertelendiğini belirtir (Scharff, 1991, s. 65). Scharff Amerika'da yirminci yüzyılın başlarında elektrikli otomobiller üretildiği bilgisini vermekte ve 1912 yılında elektrikli otomobillerin kadınlar için, gazlı otomobillerin erkekler için olduğu görüşlerini aktarmaktadır (Scharff, 1991, s. 37). Özetle, teknolojik ürünlerin tasarımcılarından da uzun yıllar boyu erkeklerdi ve cinsiyetçilik bizatihi üretim süreçlerine içkin ola gelmiştir.

Yakın zamanlarda yapılan bazı araştırmalar da bu tezi desteklemektedir. Örneğin endüstriyel tasarım öğrencileri arasında yapılan ve otomotiv endüstrisinde -tasarımcı-mühendis ilişkisinin toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında incelendiği bir araştırmada (Kaygan, 2018), mühendislik mesleğinin ve otomotiv alanındaki 'bilgilerin' henüz eril bir alan olmaya devam ettiği ortaya konulmaktadır. Sözü edilen araştırmada, görüşme yapılan kadınların hemen hepsi, otomotivle ilgili bilgiler bakımından erkeklerle göre dezavantajlı olduklarını beyan etmişlerdir. Özellikle sürücü ehliyeti olmayan ve otomotivle ilgili terimlere yabancı öğrenciler, çalışmaya öncelikle ilgili terimleri ve araç parçalarının isimlerini öğrenerek başladıklarını anlattılar. Kadın öğrencilerin büyük bir kısmı, bu projede önceki stüdyo projelerine göre ilk kez kendilerini bazı erkek meslektaşlarından daha az bilgili ve dezavantajlı hissettiklerini belirttiler (Kaygan, 2018, s. 9). Tabii burada bilgi/ilgi ayrımının biyolojik veya bilişsel ayrımlarla eşitlenemeyeceği, aksine binlerce yıllık erkek egemen tarih içinde oluşmuş kamusal alan-ev içi ayrımına ve işin/bilginin cinsiyetlendirilmesinin modern bir devamı olduğu da vurgulanmalıdır.

İktidar adını verdiğimiz ilişkileri antropolojik gözlemlere, özellikle yazısız/devletsiz toplumlardan elde edilen verilere dayanarak inceleyen Akal'a göre (2014), mitosların verdiği en anlamlı derslerden biri de erkeklerin tekelinde bulunması gereken bilginin, ne olursa olsun, kadınların eline geçmemesi gerektiğini öğreten derstir. Bilgiye sahip olmak hâkim olmaktır. Kadınlar bilgidenden ya da güçten uzak tutulmalı, bilgilenen kadınlarsa yok edilmelidir (Akal, 2014, s.229). Akal, çeşitli toplumların mitlerinden yasak bilgiyi öğrenen kadınların öldürülmesine dair örnekler verdikten sonra Badinter (1992) aracılığıyla Françoise Heritier'den şu önemli yorumları aktarır: "Erkekler, erkeklerle kapalı üreme alanının simetriği olan ve öğrenilmesi gerçek ya da öyle gösterilen bir incelik isteyen, ama fiziksel olarak kadının da içinde bulunmasında hiçbir engel olmadığı halde, ona kapalı tutulan bir özel alan yaratırlar; bu alan teknik bilgi ve beceri alanıdır" (Badinter 1992'den akt. Akal, 2014, s.229-30). Akal, birçok toplumda –özellikle kadının adet olmasına dayandırılan kirlilik gerekçesiyle- ibadet yerlerine sokulmaması (kutsallık karşıtı olarak konumlandırılması) veya gizli bilginin kadınlara verilmemesi gibi yasaklarda örneklerini gördüğümüz, mitoslarla, dini söylemlerle veya günümüzde daha simgesel, dolaylı, inceltilmiş yöntemler ve propaganda araçlarıyla sürdürülen bu eril stratejiyi "kadının tabiata geri gönderilmesi" olarak tanımlar ve devamında şu çıkarımı yapar:

Ne var ki, kadın tabiatının düzen karşıtı özelliğinden kaynaklanmış gibi sunulan erkek korkusu siyasi ve kültürel kökenlidir. Her türlü inisiyasyon ya da eğitim sürecinde, kadını kadın, erkeği de erkek yapmak için harcanan çabalar, kadınlı erkeği birbirinden uzaklaştırmak için başvuru teknikler, hâkimiyetin kadına karşı kurulmasından kaynaklanır. Kadın farklılaştırılır, dışlanır ve ona yakıştırılan sözde tabiatıyla korkutucu kılınır; kadına karşı kurulan erkek hâkimiyeti ancak bu yoldan sürdürülebileceği için... mitoslar kadına kadınlık dersi verir ve kadın korkusunu yansıtırırken, aslında, erkek toplumunun, varlık nedenini bu değiş-tokuş edilebilir metalarda bulduğunu gösterirler. Kadın, bir erkek hakimiyeti uğruna, insanlık dışına itilir ve orada tutulur (Akal, 2014, s. 230).

Bu önemli tespitlere ek olarak, erkeklerin otomobille kadınlara göre daha fazla özdeşleştiğine veya kadınlara göre otomobille daha fazla zaman geçirdiklerine dair gözlem ve iddialar, atın ye-

rini otomobilin alışı biçimindeki tarihsel/arketipal süreklilik (çünkü her ikisi de dişil imgelerdir) bağlamında düşünülebileceği gibi, mekânın kamusal alan (erkek) ve ev içi (kadın) olarak cinsiyetlendirilişleriyle ilişkilendirilebilir. Özbay ve Baliç (2004, s. 99), Steven M. Gelber’in (1997) Amerikan erkeğinin evde kendisine özel bir alan –garaj- yaratmasıyla ve burada tamirat vb hobilerle zaman geçirmesiyle sonuçlanan dönüşümü Amerikan kentlerinin banliyöleşmesiyle, bahçeli evlerde oturan erkeklerin sayısının artışıyla açıklamasını aktarır. Yazarlar, Türkiye’den de orta sınıflara ait müstakil ev sahibi erkeklerden benzer cinsiyetçi iş bölümü (garaj, tamirat işleri erkeklerle aittir vb) örnekleri gösterirler. Ancak aynı kaynakta da belirtildiği gibi, Türkiye’de bu tür müstakil bahçeli evlerde oturan kentli orta sınıf erkek nüfus oranı düşüktür. Dolayısıyla Türkiye’de evde kalmak istemeyen, kahvehane gibi alt sınıflarla ilişkili mekânlara da devam etmeyen orta/alt-orta sınıflardan erkekler için otomobil, belki de Amerikan banliyölerinin garajının yerini tutmaktadır. Bu bağlamda otomobilin sağladığı özgürlük kentten kaçışa olduğu kadar evden (dolayısıyla kadını görülme/bilinme tehlikesinden) kaçış anlamına da gelebilir. Bu durumda, otomobil erkekler arası iletişim açısından, erkeği kamusal alana bağlayan, erkekliğin ispatı ve sürdürülebilmesine yarayan stratejik bir nesne, hareketli bir mekândır.

Öte yandan otomobil, aynı zamanda kadının kamusal alana çıkma konusundaki dini/geleneksel kısıtlılıklarının aşılması için de bir imkân sunar. Özellikle 1970’lerden itibaren giderek büyüyen bir dindar-Müslüman orta sınıf kesimde kadınların otomobil kullanmasının teşvik edilişi de kadın sürücü sayısının artışında önemli bir toplumsal etken olmalıdır. Otomobil, ev dışında mahremiyetin sürdürülmesini sağlayan bir tür örtü işlevi de görebilir çünkü. Türkçe roman geleneğinde otomobil/araba temasını inceleyen Jale Parla (2003, s. 162) bu romanların Türk romanında bir alt tür oluşturduğunu iddia eder ve “neden böyle bir alt tür oluşmuştur? Nedir arabalarda, değişik dönemlerde, birbirinden çok farklı yazarları böylesine cezbeden şey?” sorularını sorar. Cevabında otomobilin, bütün çelişkileriyle birlikte, mekân olma özelliğine dikkat çekerken şunları yazar:

Çünkü gerçekten de otomobil hayatımıza fabrikadan önce girmiştir. Ama bunun ötesinde bir neden aramak istersek şunu da söyleyebiliriz sanırım. Otomobiller bu süreçte, yani modernleşme ve sanayileşme sürecinde, Türk yaşamında önemli bir mekân oluşturmuşlardır. Kamusal alana çıkmakta ve o alanın gereklerini göğüslemekte zorlanan bir kültür için, otomobilin içi yarı kamusal, yarı özel bir alandır. Arabaların bu mekânsal özelliği, örneğin Ömer Seyfettin’in *Nezle*, Tarık Buğra’nın *Mavi Doç* adlı öykülerinde kısa ve net bir biçimde ortaya çıkar. Orada hem dışarıda hem de içerdesinizdir. En mahrem düşünce, arzu ve özlemlerinize evinizden çıkabildiğiniz bir zırhıtr otomobil. Kamusal alanın dayattığı maskelerin bir takılıp bir çıkarılabileceği elverişli alan (Parla, 2003, s. 162).

Erkeklik kimliği konusunda yazarların altını çizdikleri gibi erkeklik tamamlanmamış, hep ispat edilmesi gereken, hep tehdit altında (eşcinsellikle veya erkek gibi erkek olmamakla suçlanma tehlikeleri) bir kimlik, “imkansız iktidar”dır. (Sancar Üşür, 2009; Selek, 2018; Ögüt, 2009). Çünkü kadında doğal olarak var olan üreticilik (çocuk doğurma ve besleme), hayat verme gücü ve yeteneğinden, bilgisinden yoksundur erkek. Dolayısıyla erkeklik, bedende değil ‘dışarıda’ toplumsal/siyasal olarak kurulur (mitlerle, dinle, sanatla, mesleki becerilerle, teknolojiyle vs). Sürücülüğün erkek işi olduğuna ve erkeklerin kadınlardan daha iyi otomobil kullandıklarına dair doğalcı görüşler –bilim “adamları” tarafından yayınlanmış olanlar da dahil olmak üzere- otomobil tüketiminin erken yıllarından günümüze kadar dile getirilmiştir. Örneğin Amerikalı filozof ve yazar Walter Pitkin (1878-1953), doğal yapıları ve motor becerileri nedeniyle erkeklerin araç kullanmaya daha uygun ve yatkın olduklarını, kadınlarınsa dikkatsiz olmalarından dolayı daha zayıf sürücüler olduklarını ve bu nedenle araç kullanırken erkeklerden daha fazla kazaya sebebiyet verdiklerini öne sürmüştür. (Wachs, 1996’dan akt. Dağdelen, 2017, s. 47).

Bu görüşlerin, yazıldıkları çağın hâkim paradigması içinde normal oldukları düşünülebilir. Ne var ki, otomobil sürücülüğü bağlamında aynı görüşlerin günümüz akademik yayınlarında da görülmesi, erkek merkeziliğin akademik alanda da oldukça diri olduğunu, cinsiyetçi söylemlerin dayanıklılığını göstermesi açısından dikkate değerdir. Örneğin Erzurum İl Emniyet Müdürlüğü'nde görevli olduğu anlaşılan Delice (2012), Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü verilerini kullandığı ve Türkiye kentlerindeki kadın sürücü sayısı ile kaza oranlarını ilişkilendirdiği bir makalede, kadın sürücü sayısı arttıkça kaza sayısında “değişiklik” olduğunu öne sürer. Bu çalışmada ‘değişiklik’le ifade edilen kazalarda meydana gelen niceliksel artıştır. Yazar söz konusu iddiasına temel oluşturmak üzere, Lutz’un (1984) otuz dört yıl önce eleştirdiği ve günümüzde artık modası geçmiş sayılan doğallaştırma yaklaşımına (ve aklı/mantığı erkeğe ve duygusallığı, tepkiselliği ve irrasyonaleiteyi kadın cinsine yakıştıran toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisi) başvurur. Lutz, anılan makalesinde İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında toplumsal cinsiyet alanındaki yayınlarda en çok atfı alan kimi kuramcı sosyologların da cinsiyetçi ve erkek merkezci ideoloji tarafından sakatlanmış, bu haliyle bilimin yanlılığının mükemmel örnekleri olan tezlerine değinir (Lutz 1984, s. 300). Delice de (2012) bu çarpıtmanın çağdaş örneğini verdiği makalesinde şöyle demektedir:

Kadın ve erkek birbirinden farklıdır. Kadın ve erkek farklı metabolizmalara, farklı görüşlere, farklı karakterlere, farklı duygulara ve farklı davranışlara sahiptir. [...] Farklılıkların biyolojik, sosyal ve kültürel etkenlerle oluştuğu konusunda yaygın bir inanış vardır. [...] Hofstede genel olarak erkeklerin kendini ispat etmek istediğini ve başarımçı olduğunu, kadınların ise daha çok yetiştirme ve besleme karakterinde olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bir başka çalışmada ise Doyle (1985) erkeklerin saldırgan, bağımsızlığına düşkün ve akılcı özellikte olduklarını, kadınların ise nazik, hassas ve duygusal özellikte olduklarını vurgulamıştır (Delice, 2012, s. 67).

Bu doğallaştırma stratejisini ya da tarihsel olanı doğal bir şeymiş gibi sunma yanıltmacasını sürdüren yazar, Türkiye kentlerindeki kadın sürücü oranlarıyla bu illerdeki kaza oranları arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırır ve şu sonuca ulaşır: Bu araştırmanın bulguları, illerde kadın sürücü sayıları arttıkça o illerde kaza sayılarının da arttığını göstermektedir. (Delice 2012, s. 80). Her ne kadar yazar, bir yerde kısaca “bu sonucun, trafik kazalarına kadın sürücülerin neden olduğu anlamına gelmediğini” belirtse de, genel yaklaşımı ve istatistikleri zorlayarak çıkardığı sonuç, kadınların erkeklerden daha kötü araç kullandığı gibi bir cinsiyetçi önyargıyla kendisinin hareket ettiğini düşündürmektedir. Yazar istatistiklerin ortaya koyduğu erkek ve kadın sürücülerin kazaya karışma oranları arasındaki farkı kabul etmeyip ‘aslında’ diye söze başlamakta ve nasıl işlediği okura anlatılmayan gizemli bir mantık yürütme sonunda kadınlar aleyhine şu çıkarımı yapmaktadır:

Türkiye’de kadın sürücülerin kazaya karışma oranlarını % 5 (Toyotaculpu, 2012) ve %25 (Erjem, 2012) olarak rapor eden çalışmalar vardır. Burada belirtilen kadın sürücülerin trafik kazalarına karışma oranları kadın sürücülerin diğer sürücülere oranlarıyla (%20) benzerlik göstermektedir. Bir diğer ifade ile sadece bu bulgulara göre erkek ve kadın sürücülerin aynı oranda kazaya karıştıkları söylenebilir. Ayrıca, literatürde kadın sürücülerin trafikte daha az süre ve daha az kilometre ile araç kullandıkları ifade edilmektedir (Erjem, 2012). Bu faktör dikkate alındığında aslında kadınların daha fazla kazaya karıştıkları söylenebilir (Delice, 2012, s. 81).

Özetle yazar, “daha çok kadın sürücü olsa ve daha sık otomobil kullansaydılar daha çok kazaya karışacaklardı” demektedir. Yahut bu mantık yürütmenin diğer yüzünü okuyacak olursak, “erkekler daha çok kazaya karışmışlardır çünkü trafikte çok fazla erkek sürücü var.” Bu makaleyi bilimsellik görünümü verilmiş bir propaganda örneği sayıp görmezden gelebilirdik elbette. Ancak kadın sürücülerini aşağılayan, cinsiyetçi sosyal medya yorumlarında bile bazı yorumcuların, kadınların kötü sürücüler olduklarını Delice’nin makalesinde de kullanılan ‘bilimsel’ refe-

ranslara dayandırdıkları görülmektedir. Başka bir bağlamda, pandemi sürecindeki yanlış önerilerin veya aşırı karşıtlığının yaygınlaşması örneklerinde de gördüğümüz gibi, yalanlar ve yanlışlar bilimsellik görüntüsü/iddiasından güç alarak hızla popülerleşebilir. Delice’nin ve benzerlerinin yayınları da cinsiyetçilik (veya bir başka zaman ve bağlamda belki de ırkçılık) gibi, kitleler içinde her zaman alıcısı bulunabilecek yüzeysel kanaatlerin yeniden üretilmesine, beslenmesine ve yaygınlaşmasına katkı yapabilir.

Bilme-bilmeme sorununun başka ve pek dikkat çekilmeyen bir boyutu da otomobilin erken yaşlardan itibaren erkek sosyalleşmesinin, erkek sözlü iletişiminin başlıca konularından biri olmasıdır. Erkek sürücüler uzmanlarla (tamir ve bakım servisi verenler) daha sık görüşür ve Türkiye’de otomobil tamir alanları günümüzde de kadınlara büyük ölçüde kapalıdır ve kadın sürücüler de görüşmelerde otomobilin tamir ve bakım işi için bir erkek akrabalarından veya arkadaşlarından yardım aldıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca görüşme yaptığımız kadınlardan çok azı otomobil konusunda kadın arkadaşlarıyla konuştuğunu beyan etmiştir. Bu konuda yine erkeklerle danışılmaktadır çünkü bu konudaki -Bourdieu’nün kavramıyla söylesek- kültürel sermaye, günümüzde de erkeklerden erkeklerle devredilmektedir. Bu bağlamda kültürel sürecinde de açık bir cinsiyetçilik dile getirilmiştir. Kadın görüşmecilerden bazıları otomobil kullanma konusunda önce babaları tarafından eğitilmek istediklerini ancak, babalarının sabırsız ve öfkeli tutumları nedeniyle öğrenemediklerini belirttiler (G7, G16). Bir kadın görüşülen “*babasından öğrenmeye çalışan kadınlar öğrenemezler, ben iyi kullanıyorum çünkü annemden öğrendim*” (G6) demiştir. Kocadan öğrenme konusunda ise neredeyse tüm kadın görüşülenler hem fikir: “kocadan hoca olmaz!”. Bu söz, yan koltukta oturup kendilerini azarlayarak onların daha fazla panik olmalarına neden olan veya alaylı ifadelerle onların özgüvenlerini sarsan kocalara gönderme yapar. Görüşme yaptığımız kadınlar, sürücülüğü ya bir ehliyet kursunda veya erkek özel hocalardan ders alarak öğrendiklerini beyan ettiler. Öte yandan otomobil sahipliği konusunda hırs, tutku ve otomobille aşırı özdeşleşme durumlarının kadın görüşülenlerde, özellikle evli ve çocuklu kadınlarda hiç dile getirilmediğini de belirtmeliyiz. Kadın sürücüler otomobili daha çok işlevleri (çocukları okula bırakmak ve almak, işe gidip gelmek, alışverişe gitmek vb) için önemiyor görünmektedirler. Ancak hız tutkusu veya kuralları ihlal ederek riskli otomobil kullanma eğilimlerini beyan eden kadınlar da oldu ki, tümü bekâr ve/veya çocuksuzlardı.⁵

Özetle erkekliğin inşa edildiği bilgi alanı yalnızca otomobil kullanma bilgisini içeren somut göstergelerden ibaret değildir; bu bilgi otomobilin tasarımından bakım ve onarımına, reklam ve satışına kadar uzun yıllardır erkeklerce inşa edilerek cinsiyetlendirilmiştir. Kadınların hataları, sakarlıkları veya korkuları da bu kuşatılmışlık içindeki yabancılaşma, eğretileme durumunun ifadeleri olarak okunabilir. Birkaçı dışında bütün kadın görüşülenler, trafikte erkeklerin küçümseyici

5 Burada hız tutkunu kadın sürücülerinin Türkiye’nin otomobil tarihinde yeni olmadığını, otomobil yarışçılığı tarihinde kadınların erkeklerle bir arada olduğunu belirtmek gerekiyor. Çetintaş, Türkiye’nin ilk kadın otomobil yarışçısının ilk defa 1930’da yarışan ve 1932’de karma kategoride erkeklerin arasından sıyrılarak birinciliğe yerleşen Samiye Cahid Hanım olduğunu yazmaktadır. (Çetintaş, 2009, s. 64). “İki senede bir otomobilini yenileyen, Buick, Ford, Cadillac, Fiat, Nash gibi dönemin iyi otomobillerini süren ve gerçek bir sürat tutkunu olan Samiye Cahid Hanım’a 1922’den itibaren araba kullanmak yetmemiş olacak ki üyesi olduğu Turing Kulüp’ün her sene düzenlediği geleneksel otomobil yarışlarına o da katılmaya başladı.” (Çetintaş, 2009, s. 65). Söz konusu yazıda, ayrıca 1932’de İstinye köprüsü ile Zincirli kuyu arasındaki 0.5 kilometrelik parkurda düzenlenen rallide birinci olan Samiye Cahid’in birinciliğini kabullenemeyen yarışma ikincisi Vehbi Bey’in sonuca itiraz ettiği ve yarışın iptalini istediği bilgisi verilmektedir. Gerçekçe ise birincinin bir kadın olmasıydı. “İş mahkemeye aksetti ise de Sultanahmet Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi, ‘bir kadın da otomobil yarışlarına katılabilir ve birinci gelebilir’ kararını verince Samiye Cahid Hanım’ın birinciliği resmîyet kazandı.” (Çetintaş, 2009, s. 65).

bakışlarına ve imalarına (işte bak yapamayacak, kesin kadın sürücüdür, bakalım park edebilecek mi?) maruz kaldıklarını, onu sürekli hissettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Hemen hepsinin bu konuda erkekleri şaşırtan başarı öyküleri, küçük kahramanlık anıları vardır. Tümüyle başka bir bağlamda bir kadın tarafından söylenmiş şu sözler belki durumu daha net olarak ifade edebilir: “Sevilmediğim yerde çok sakar oluyorum. Adeta o sevgisizliği haklı çıkarmak için elimden geleni yapıyorum”. (Edibe Şahin, 30 Aralık 2020 tarihli tweet).

2. Otomobil ve Erkekliğin Sınırları: Marka, Güç ve Hız

Günümüzde bu cinsiyetçi kalıp yargılar bir taraftan gelenekçiler tarafından yeniden üretilip yaygınlaştırılırken kapitalizmin tüketici reflekslerini, kültürel bilinçaltını arkaik öğeleri kullanmaktan çekinmeyen aktörleri de bu konuda –belki gelenekçi söylem üreticilerinden bile daha etkili olarak– önemli roller üstlenir. En ünlü otomobil markalarının reklamlarında günümüzde de kadınla otomobili ve sürücüyü erkeği özdeşleştiren, erkeği sürücü koltuğuna, kadını otomobilin kaportasının üstüne (bir promosyon ürün, otomobille birlikte sahip olunabilecek vaat gibi) oturtan reklam stratejileri kullanılmaya devam etmektedir. Bu noktada, yani araçların trafiğe çıktığı yerde iktidarın cinsiyetçi ve sınıfsal boyutları somutlaşır ve/veya sürücü ve sürülen araç ilişkisinin de sınıf, statü, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiler düğümünün.

Otomobille ilgili yazanların hep vurguladıkları gibi, sürücülük, otomobilin vaat ettiği hız, özgürlük, konfor ile trafik sıkışıklığı, hız sınırı veya ulaşım sisteminin yetersizliği gibi birçok çelişkiyi tecrübe etmek demektir. Trafikte sürücülerini bu kadar öfkeliendiren de temelde bu çelişkilerin sürücülere her gün yaşattığı hayal kırıklıklarıdır. Örneğin Bartın’da şehir merkezi ile üniversite arasındaki yolda hız sınırının 70 km /s olmasına isyan eden bir erkek sürücü, otomobilindeki hız göstergesinin saatte 300 km olduğuna işaret edip “*şimdi bu arabaya sen yetmişle (70 km hızla) gideceksin’ denilir mi?*” diye soruyor (bu arada sürücülerin genellikle bu 70 km sınırına uymadıklarını da not etmek gerekir). Başka bir otomobil konulu ayaküstü erkek sohbetinde, bir erkek sürücü diğerine, şehirlerarası yolculukta kaç km hızla gittiğini soruyor ve “*en çok yüz kilometre*” cevabını alınca gülüyor, “*yüzle yol çekilir mi yahu!*”. Gündelik yaşamın bu önemsiz cümleleri, erkeklik kimliğinin inşa edildiği mikro öğrenme veya eril sosyalleşme anlarıdır ve bunlar birbirine ulandığında otomobili hızlı, riskli veya diğerlerini tehdit edici bir şekilde kullanmak da Türkiye’de erkeklik kimliğinin parçası haline gelmektedir. Kadınlar da bu bağlamda kurallara titizlikle uymakla “suçlanırlar”: “*Trafikte diyelim ki öndeki bir araç tin tin gidiyorsa, trafiği tukiyorsa, aşırı temkinli oluşu nedeniyle sorun çıkarıyorsa “bak, bu kesin kadın sürücüdür” diyorum. Sonra bakıyorum, gerçekten de kadın.*” (G2). Görüşme yapılan kadın sürücülerden bazıları ise trafikte aşırı temkinli veya gergin oluşları hakkındaki önyargıların (çünkü sürücü olan kocaları da aynı görüşleri aynı sözcüklerle dile getirir: “*bak bu sürücü kesin kadındır!*”) farkındadırlar ve fakat trafikteki gerginlik veya heyecanla kadınlık ilişkisinin toplumsallığına dikkat çekerler:

“Evet, gerginiz ve daha dikkatliyiz. Mesela benim arabamda hep çocuklarım oldu; arkada iki çocuk var tabii ki çok dikkatli olacağım. Sonra kendimi ispat etmek, hata yapmamak zorundayım. Bir hata yaparsam, “işte gördün mü, kadın başına araba kullanırsa... vs”. Ama erkeğin öyle bir derdi yok ki, erkek rahat. Kimseye bir şey ispat etmek zorunda değil. İstedığı kadar hata yapabilir. Bir de sıkıştırılıyor, üstüne geliniyor trafikte. Çünkü orası erkeğin alanı.” (G1)

Bir erkek görüşülen ise, on yıllardır erkek sürücüler tarafından yanlış ve hatalı sürücülüğün, kurallara uymamanın (biraz da delikanlılığın, cesaretin birer göstergesi olduğu için olsa gerek) norm haline geldiğini iddia eden şu sözleri dile getirmiştir:

“Bana kalırsa Türkiye’de kurallara uymamak -bu sadece trafikle ilgili değil, mesela yere çöp

atmamak kuralı da böyle- bir norm haline geldiği için bunlara [kurallara] uyanlar ve uymayanları uyaranlar tepki çekiyor. Kadın sürücüler yavaşlaması gereken yerde yavaşlıyor veya kırmızı ışık yeşile dönerken veya bir döner kavşaktan dönerken acele etmeden yavaş yavaş hareket ediyor... Bu erkeklerce acemilik olarak görülüyor. Çünkü yaygın olan davranış bu değil” (G4).

Araştırma boyunca “bak bu şoför kesin kadındır” şeklindeki erkek tepkisini, eğitilmiş-eğitimsiz, zengin yoksul birçok erkekten işittik. Yaygın kanaat şudur: Kadın sürücü trafikte sorun çıkarır. Kurallara, örneğin hız sınırına uymakta erkeklere göre aşırı dikkatlidir (bu kadınısı bulunur!) veya daha yavaş ve dikkatli olduğu için diğer sürücüleri bekletir. Hız yapmak, trafikte tehlikeli olarak kabul edilen makas atmak (şeritler arasında zikzak yaparak sollamak) gibi hareketler ise erkeksidir. Yücebıyık (2005) gibi sürücülerse, kadınlardan yana tavır almaktansa (yavaş kullanmak, dikkatli kullanmak, risk almamak, hız yapmamak) kadınların da erkekler gibi kırmızı ışıkta geçmekten zevk alabileceğini, otomatik vitesli değil manuel vitesli otomobilleri tercih edebileceğini, depoda benzin çok azalmışken risk alıp yola devam edebileceklerini, hız yapabileceklerini ve küfür edebileceklerini ispat etmeye, böylece kadınların da erkekler kadar/gibi sürücü olabildiklerini göstermeye çalışır. Bir kadın görüşülen de annesinin ne kadar iyi bir sürücü olduğunu anlatırken şöyle demekten kendini alamadı: “Annem erkek gibidir, küfreder, kavga eder, mesela gerekirse arabadan iner, adamın üstüne yürür filan [gülüyor].” (G6). Ancak görüşmelerde buna benzer ‘erkek gibi’ sürücülerin bekâr ve genç kadınlar olduğunu gözlemledik.

Otomobil, bireysel olduğu kadar toplumsal/siyasal arzuların da temsilcisi olabilir. Otomobil, Batı (ki popüler retorikte büyük oranda bilimsel-teknolojik gelişmişliğe indirgenmiştir) karşısında yenilmiş ve geri kalmış olmak gibi toplumsal-psikolojik çatlakların üstünde oynanan siyaset oyununda sık sık sahneye çıkarılır. Örneğin geçmişte 1960 askeri darbesi sonrasında Türk mühendislere yaptırılan ve *Devrim* adı verilen otomobil, günümüzde yerli ve milli otomobil söylemiyle TOGG tarafından üretilen otomobiller böyledir. Türkiye’de cep telefonu tüketiminin toplumsal-tarihsel bir çerçevede anlamaya çalışan bir makalesinde Burçe Çelik, Norbert Elias’ın tarihin bir döneminde üstün bir konuma sahip olmuş ve sonra bu üstünlüğü kaybetmiş bir devletin vatandaşlarının yeni durumla barışmakta güçlük çekmelerini ve yenilgi duygusunun öz-saygılarını örselediği iddiasını hatırlatır (Çelik, 2010, s. 62). Devamında yazar, Osmanlı geçmişinin yitirilmesinin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin yurttaşları ve kimlik arayışları üzerindeki etkilerine dair yapılan çözümlemelere de yer verir. Erken Cumhuriyet’ten günümüze hep tekrar edile gelen, *bir kayıp geçmiş ve bunun yerine konulan idealleri* [vurgu bize ait sayı/bko] ifade eden bu söylem hemen her T. C. yurttaşının ezberlediği şu tespitleri içerir:

Osmanlı geri kalmıştır, çağı yakalayamamıştır, statik bir zamana hapsolmüştür, oysa modern zaman teknolojinin hızıyla, modernin yönetsellik tekniğiyle ilerlemektedir. Teknoloji hem sahip olunmak istenen, bir imparatorluk düşünüyü gerçek kılacak ya da geri döndürebilecek güç ve otoritedir, hem de Osmanlı’da yokluğuyla Osmanlı’nın ‘suçuna’ içseldir. Osmanlı’nın kaybının yerine konuşlanan, bu kaybı unutma hevesinde ve başarısızlığındaki yeni oluşum (TC) teknik ve teknolojiyi bir güç ve otorite olarak benimserken, Osmanlı’nın suçundan da kurtulmak ister (Çelik, 2010, s. 62).

Bu bağlamda Türkiye’de toplumun öz-saygı sorunu son derece önemli bir toplumsal-psikolojik meseledir ve Osmanlı’nın Batı karşısındaki yenilgisinden çok daha eski tarihlere uzanan toplumun yüz yıllar boyunca “adam yerine konulmaması”, yani halkın otoriteler, makam ve mevki sahibi kişiler veya ulema nezdinde veya daha genelleştirilmiş bir saygısızlık ilişkisi olarak [kadın ve çocukların] yetişkin erkekler karşısında saygıya değer bulunmamasıyla birlikte düşünülmelidir. Bu saygı açlığı, dönem dönem ulusal histeri düzeyine varacak şekilde, teknolojiye sahip olma

arzusunda özellikle su yüzüne çıkıyor görünmektedir. (Bu konuda yakın tarihten mükemmel bir örnek olarak, “erke dönergeci” ‘hayali’-projesi hakkındaki medya arşivlerine bakılabilir). Türkiye’nin kültür tarihine yakın zamanlarda dahil olmuş bir anonim söz olan “eller Ay’a biz yaya!” deyimini üreten toplum da öz-imgesindeki geri kalmışlık-muasır medeniyet seviyesine yetişme arzusu gerilimini *yaya kalma- Ay’a çıkma* (yükselme, uçma) zıt metaforlarıyla en özlü şekilde formüle etmiştir.

Öte yandan Çelik’in de (2010) yukarıdaki satırların devamında hatırlattığı gibi, teknoloji adını verdiğimiz nesnelere farklı kültürlerle, sınıflara mensup kişileri, var olan ayrımlara rağmen buluşturabilen, parası olan herkese (ya da hemen hemen herkese) açık tüketim nesnelere oldukları da gerçektir. Burada ele aldığımız otomobil sahipliği ve sürücülüğü örneğinde, farklı sınıf, statü, eğitim düzeyi ve kimliklere sahip bireyleri buluşturan yalnızca otomobile sahip olabilmek imkânı değil, ayrıca otomobillerin kullanıldığı sokak, cadde ve yolların kamusal alanlar olarak herkese açık olmasıdır. Bu durum otomobile sahip olma ve kullanma pratiklerinin gerçekleştiği birçok çelişkidir birini, otomobilin statüsü, güç ve sınıfsal ayrımları vurgulama işleviyle kamusal alanda eşit koşullarda var olma zorunluluğunu ortaya çıkarır. Türk öykü ve romanlarında otomobil konusunu inceleyen makalesinde Jale Parla da şöyle yazar:

Araba ve insan Türk romanında hemen her zaman bir uyumsuzluğu, bir ayarsızlığı ve bir parçalanmayı öne çıkaracak şekilde bir araya gelir. Bu birlikteliğe hep uzlaşmaz bir eksiklik ve fazlalık duygusu eşlik eder; bu duygulara araba fetişleşir. Eksiklik ve fazlalık duygusunun içindeyse korkuyla saldırganlık, güvensizlikle gösterişçilik, geleneksellikte arsız bir Batılılaşma, yoksullukla zenginlik, ezilmeyle güç, bireycilikle cemaatçilik barınır. Araba sevdası böyle zıtları, uyumsuzları, ölçüsüzlükleri barındıran bir sevdadır (Parla, 2003, s. 163).

Çelik ve Parla’nın işaret ettiği ulusal/toplumsal düzeyde bir karmaşa bağlamında teknolojiye, özel olarak otomobile sahip olma durumudur. Daha yakına geldiğimizde, kent ve mahalle ölçeğinde bütün bu “eksikliği teknolojiye sahip olarak telafi etme” tutumu kişiler arası bir düzlemde de yürürlüğe konulur. Burada sınıf ve cinsiyet kimlikleri örtüşebilir ya da lüks bir otomobil kültürel sermaye yokluğunun telafisi için önem kazanabilir.⁶ Raewyn Connell’in, *hegemonik erkeklik* kavramı bu noktada işimize yarayabilir. Connell’a göre bütün dünyada geçerli erkek egemen yapıdan söz edilebilirken yine de “bu küresel yapı içindeki her toplum kendi özel tarihsel koşullarıyla şekillenen, ancak gene erkeklerin kadınlardan üstünlüğünü muhakkak öngören [...] cinsiyet düzenleri geliştiriyor” (Connell, 1998’ den akt. Özbay, 2013, s. 186). Hegemonik erkeklik, Connell’in hegemonik olmayan dört özgül erkeklik olarak tanımladığı (*suç ortağı, tabii kılınan, marjinalleştirilmiş ve muhalif* erkeklikler) erkeklikler karşısında inşa edilir (Connell, 1987, akt. Messerschmidt, 2019 s. 61). Özetle hegemonik erkekliği besleyen küresel yapı ve ataerkil kültürün güçlü olduğu toplumlar varsa da, kadın olmamak erkeklik kimliği için yetmemekte, erkekler içinde de ideal bir erkek (en erkek) kurgusuna göre bazılarının *daha çok*, bazılarının *daha az erkek* olduğu hiyerarşik bir çoğulluktan söz edilebilir. Bu zımnı bağlam simgesel öğelerin, örneğin

6 Ulaşım imkânları kısıtlı bir köyde öğretmenlik yaptığım sıralarda sık sık otostop yaparak işe gidip geliyordum. Çalıştığım küçük kentin en zenginlerinden biri olduğumu otomobiline binince öğrendiğim kişi, kadın öğretmenlerin kendisinin durup onları evlerine bırakma davetini reddetmesine gücendiğini anlatırken soruyordu: “hocam kaç lira maaş alıyorsunuz?” Genç işadamızın bununla da yetinmeyip lüks otomobiliyle kentte hangi benzin istasyonlarına, şirketlere, mekânlara sahip olduklarını gezdirerek gösterme gereği duymuştu. Onun bütün bu eylemleri, paranın sağladığı gücün de sınırları olduğunu öğrenmenin genç iş adamını öfkeli olduğunu göstermekteydi. Bu türden çelişkiler, Türkiye’de devlet eliyle hızla bir sermaye sınıfı yaratma çabasının, dolayısıyla kısa yoldan zengin olma imkânlarının ahlaki, siyasi ve hukuki anlamda olağanlaştığı bir tarihin birçok çarpık “çıkışından” biridir ve herhalde nadirattan değildir. (S. Yetkin Işık)

sahip olunan otomobil markalarının gücünü ve önemini arttırmaktayken otomobil kültürünü kuşatan bariz erkek dili ve söylemiyle de tutarlılık arz etmektedir.

Modern mekânların cinsiyetçi düzenlemelerini ancak İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasındaki gelişmelerin sonucunda değişmeye başladığı bilinmektedir. 1950’lerden, yani kısa aralıklarla iki büyük dünya savaşında erkek nüfusun önemli bir oranda kaybindan sonra, kadın istihdamının ve kadınların kamusal alanlarda görünmelerin, giderek kadınların eşitlik taleplerinin arttığı bilinmektedir. 1970’lerdeki feminist mücadelenin de etkisiyle, ama daha çok iktisadi ve teknolojik gelişmelerin iş yaşamını, çalışma koşullarını değişmeye zorlamasıyla –bilgisayarlaşma, kas gücüyle yapılan işlerin önemini yitirmesi, esnek üretim modelinin ve hizmet sektörünün genişlemesi gibi-, “kamusal çalışma uzamının feminizasyonu bu alandaki patriyarkanın egemenliğini ortadan kaldırmadıysa da bir ölçüde gerilettiler.” (Çabuklu, 2005, s.46).

Modern kapitalist toplum kamusal/özel, iç/dış vb uzamsal karşıtıllıklara dayanıyordu. Eril özne sınırlar çizerek kendine egemenlik bölgeleri kuruyor, ötekini, kadını bu bölgelerden dışlıyordu. Kendi sınırlarını, bölgelerini ötekine karşı ne pahasına olursa olsun korumak eril öznenin uzamsal imgeleminin içinde barındırdığı şiddetin nedenlerinden biriydi. Öte yandan kadın kendi sınırlarını kurup koruyamayan, “tekinsiz” psikolojisiyle, “kirlili” salgılarıyla ilişkili “düşkünlüğüyle” hem “geçirgen” hem de “bulaşıcı bir özelliğe sahip olan, araçsal eril aklın çizdiği sınırlar içine bir türlü sığdırılmayan ihlaleci bir belirsizlik kaynağı olarak görülüyordu. [...] Erkek kimliği mesafe ve ayırma dolayımıyla kurulmaktaydı (Çabuklu, 2005, s.47).

Ne var ki, Freund ve Martin’in (1993) hem ABD hem Almanya gibi endüstrileşmiş ülkelerden aktardığı verilere dayalı olarak yazdıkları gibi, ulaşım bilimlerinde söz sahibi olanların daha çok erkek olmaları, daha genel çerçevede otomobil ve kara ulaşımının merkezde olduğu, kent planlama paradigmasının eril bir anlayış ve erkek merkezci kültürle biçimlendirildiğini göstermektedir.

Yirminci yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren birçok düşünür ve sosyal bilimci, ulaşım ve iletişim teknolojilerinin yol açtığı toplumsal, kültürel ve psikolojik değişime değinmek gerektiğini duymuştur: Zaman ve mekân sıkışması, küresel köy, acele ettirilmiş çocukluk gibi kavramlar bu değişimi anlatmak üzere üretilmiştir. Mesafelerin hızlıca kat edildiği, gelecek konusundaki sabırsız planların doğallaştığı aceleci bir çağda, arabalarının hız göstergelerinde 300 km yazan erkek sürücülerin, trafik sıkışıklığı veya yasal hız sınırları karşısında bir tatminsizlik ve hayal kırıklığı yaşadığı söylenebilir. Bu hayaller ve gerçekler çelişkinin, trafikte yol alan sürücülerin öfkeli ve şiddet eğilimini, en azından bir kısmını açıkladığını söyleyebiliriz. Kadın sürücülere duyulan öfke ve alayın en önemli gerekçelerinden biri de “kadınların erkek sürücülere göre kurallara uyma konusunda daha hassas olmaları ve yavaşlıkları”dır. Gerçekte bu bile bir kalıp yargıdır; çünkü elbette hız yapmayı seven, kuralları ihlal eden, alkollü araç kullanan, risk alan ve araçtan inip başka sürücülerin üstüne yürüyecek kadar erkeklerle eşit olan kadın sürücüler de vardır.

Özbay (2013) Connell’in *hegemonik erkeklik* kavramının Türkiye toplumundaki karşılığını ararken hegemonik erkekliği Türkiye’de biçimlendiren “tek değil ama en etkili kurum” olarak askerlik, yaş (toyluk ve çok yaşlılık hegemonik erkeklikten uzaklaşmak anlamına gelir), siyaset ve din kurumuna ve spor alanına bakar. Yazar bu bağlamda mekânın ayrışmasına da dikkat çeker: Türkiye’yi de içine alan iktisadi-toplumsal değişim, kentlerde kadın ve erkeklerin ortak kullandığı, bir arada bulunduğu giderek daha fazla mekân üretmiştir: Alışveriş merkezleri, spor salonları gibi... Ancak evin de giderek daha çok erkeğin ilgi/faaliyet alanı haline geldiğini belirten Özbay’ın dikkat çektiği değişim eğilimine rağmen bin yıllar boyunca dayanıklı bir bilinç/bellek katmanı oluşturacak denli uzun bir tarihe sahip evin (yani hareketsizliğin, edilginliğin) dişiliği ve kamusal alanın (avcılık, askerlik, ticaret vb dolayımıyla hareketin) erilliği anlayışının büyük ölçüde sürdürüldüğü

(Türkiye’de ve görüntüye göre dünyanın başka birçok ülkesinde de) söylenebilir.

Öte yandan mekân, sınıf ve kimlik bağlamında hegemonik erkeklığe yakınlık için otomobil sahipliği, özellikle pahalı ve güçlü bir motora sahip (motor sesinin de erkeklik imajı açısından tamamlayıcı bir imge oluşturmaya dikkat çekmeye gerek var mı?) dolayısıyla hızlı bir otomobil sadece kadınlar/kadınlık karşısında değil hegemonik erkeklik skalasının daha zayıf erkekleri/erkeklikleri açısından da son derece belirleyicidir. Görüşmelerimiz sırasında erkek görüşülenlerin tamamı, otomobil sahipliği ve sürücülüğünü, trafikteki davranışları ve sessiz iletişimi güçle, statüyle, itibarla ilişkilendiren açıklamalar yaptılar. Örneğin bir erkek görüşülen şöyle dedi:

“Hız yapmak, ya da trafikte artistik hareketler yapmak aslında güçle, imkânla ilgili bence. Bazı araçlara hız yapmak, makas atmak yakışıyor sanki. Mesela lüks bir BMW, yani sürücü zengin, basıp geçiyor. Araca yakışıyor. Ama mesela Tempura ile ya da Tofaş arabayla çeşitli riskli hareketler yapınca kızıyorum: ‘Ne yapmaya çalışıyorsunuz!’ diyorum. Tabii onlar da belki bir şey ispat etmek istiyor... Ama komik oluyorlar! [...] Orada bir güç gösterisi var. Lüks araç sahibi ben umursamam diyor. ‘Takla atsam da bana bir şey olmaz, üç yüz de basarım... Ama sen kendini düşün’ ... [lüks araç sahipleri] Aracına güven duyduğu için sakince yanından geçip gidiyor, araba sarsılmıyor bile!” (G2)

Burada otomobilin kendisinin (markası, gücü, hızı ve diğer nitelikleri), sürücülük bilgisinin (yani ustalığın) önüne geçtiğini görüyoruz. Bu tür otomobillere sahipseniz, daha çok risk alabiliyor ve günümüzde gösterişçi tüketim yoluyla saygınlık kazanılabilen bir toplum ve kültür olan Türkiye’de yollar sizin için açılabilir. Acemi ve hatta kadın sürücü olsanız bile marka, motorun devir sayısı, aracın fiyatı, bu kusuru önemsizleştirilebilir. Kent ve ulaşım alanlarında araştırmalar yapmış İlhan Tekeli trafiğin nasıl bir kamu alanı olduğuna şu sözlerle değinmektedir:

“Burada ancak görüntü aracılığıyla ilişki kurabiliyorsunuz. Diğer kamu alanlarındaki gibi sözle ilişki kuramıyorsunuz. Mesela, Avrupa’da adamın Land-Rover kullanması için pek bir sebep yok. Tıpkı Türkiye’deki gibi. Demek ki bu, günümüzde bireysel bir ihtiyaç. Biraz da moda etkisiyle oluşan bir şey ama sonuçta duygusal bir ihtiyaca cevap veriyor. Hem zenginliğinizi sergiliyorsunuz hem de diğerlerine göre yolda şöyle bir elli santim üstten gidiyorsunuz, küçük araçları da korkutuyorsunuz” (Tekeli ve Kuyaş, 2000, s. 105).

Otomobilin tarihini yazarken İstanbul’da ilk motorlu arabanın 1902’de bir at cambazı kumpanyası tarafından getirildiği bilgisini veren Emiroğlu (2013), Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde marşlara da girmiş olan demir yollarıyla yurdun dört bir yanını birbirine bağlama politikasının, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında, kara yollarının lehine değiştiğini ima ederek şöyle yazar: “Kırk yıl içinde Türkiye Avrupa’nın en büyük tır filosuna sahip olacak, elli yılda şehirler trafik sıkışıklığı içinde kalırken, yalnızca geçiş üstünlüğü konusunda her şey aynı kalacaktır: Güçlü olan geçer” (Emiroğlu, 2013, s. 485). Yukarıda anlatılan Batı’da otomobil sürücülüğünün erken dönemlerinde kadınların dışlanmasına gerekçe olarak tozlu yollar, motorla uğraşmanın kirliliği ve otomobil sürücülüğünün kas gücü gerektirmesi gibi gerekçelerin geçerli olmadığı günümüz koşullarında ve Türkiye’de, kadınların fiilen dışlandığı (örneğin görüştüğümüz kadınların çoğu tek başına şehirler arası yolculuğa çıkmaktan korktuğunu belirtmiştir), yakıştırılmadığı ya da yalnızca bir sorun veya bir çeşni olarak yer alabildiği düzen belki de, sürücülük uğraşının da ötesinde güçlü olanın haklı da olduğu eril kamusal alan/trafik düzenidir.

Trafikte sürücüleri tehlikeli bir şekilde kararsız davranmaya itebilecek, tehlikeli ve yasak bir hareket olan ve Türkiye’de ‘makas atmak’ olarak adlandırılan otomobillerin sağından ve solundan geçerek ilerlemek söz konusu olduğunda da benzer cevaplar alıyoruz: Otomobilin markasına göre bu tehlikeli ve gösterişli eylem bile hoşgörülebilir. Bir kadın görüşmeciyi bu tür görüşleri

aktardığımızda şu cevabı alıyoruz: “*Orada şöyle bir şey var: Aslında bazı otomobillere, mesela spor arabalara yakıştırıyorsun. Mesela bir Porsche... Bu tür hareketleri yaptığında sana normal geliyor.*” (G3).

Otomobillerin sahipleriyle kurulan doğrudan veya dolaylı iletişimin otomobilin markası (dolayısıyla fiyatı ve sürücünün sınıfsal konumu) tarafından belirlenmesi son derece saf, trafik dışında bu kadar bariz bir şekilde dile getirilmesi neredeyse müstehcen sayılabilecek bir toplumsal iletişim biçimidir.⁷ Öte yandan otomobillere insani özellikler atfetmek, dahası otomobiline göre sürücüye kimlik/kişilik özellikleri/ideoloji atfetmek de sürücüler arasında sık görülen bir tutumdur. Yücel (2000, s.155), nesnelere insan biçimleri veya insani özellikler atfetmek (antropomorfizm/insanbiçimcilik) konusunu otomobil örneğinde incelediği yazısında, medyadan, özellikle reklam metinlerinden çeşitli örnekler verdikten sonra (“Chevrolet gerçek bir maço!” veya “saldırgan görümlü Corvette Sting Ray”, “agresif ve kendine özgü yeni Alfa Romeo”), “bunun bir adım ötesiyse, başkaları otomobili bizim için insanbiçimselleştirdikten sonra, bizim de bir anlamda otomobilbiçimselleşmemiz, daha açık bir deyişle, belirli bir otomobille özdeşleşmemiz, insan yaratımı olan bu nesnenin kimliğini üstlenmemizdir” diye yazar.

Mesçi ise (2000), otomobil markalarının Türkiye’de ne türden tarihsel-toplumsal imgelerle yüklü olduğunu ya da kimi durumlarda temsil gücü kazandığını (simgeleştiğini) şöyle ifade eder: “Jeep’e, Renault’ya askerler binerken, hükümet erkânı, başvekil Cadillac’a biniyor. Sonra da Mercedes’e” (Mesçi ve ark., 2000, s. 169). Araştırma sürecinde otomobil markalarının sınıfsal konumdan daha fazlasını temsil edebileceğini, daha doğrusu sınıf ve kültürün otomobilin markasında ve sürücülük pratiğinde keşşebileceğini öğrendik. Örneğin bazı görüşülenler yarı şaka-yarı ciddi, “Passat sahipleri genellikle trafikte çok sokulur, taciz ederler” yorumunu yaparken, bazı görüşülenler ise otomobil markalarının sınıfsal ve kültürel konuma dair temsil işlevi konusunda, siyasal bir tavır alışı da içerecek şu yorumları yapmışlardır: “*Trafikte bir gerginlik, sorun yaşadığım Doblo sahibiyle tartışmaya girmem mesela, çünkü o beni anlamaz, onunla ancak kavga ederim. Muhatap olmam.*” (G4). Bu bağlamda modellerin de cinsiyetle ilişkilendirildiği görülür: kadınlara yakıştırılan daha çok otomatik vites, A veya B segmentinde sınıflandırılan *hatchback* karoserli küçük otomobillerdir. Galerilerde otomobil satın almak için bulunmuş bütün kadın görüşülenler, galeri sahiplerinin kendilerine bu tür otomobilleri tavsiye ettiğini belirtmişlerdir. Oysa korkak, her an hata yapabilecek kadın sürücü klişesi çoktan değişmeye başlamıştır. Yukarıda da değinildiği gibi, bazı görüşülenler hızlı ve güçlü otomobiller kullandıklarını, gerekirse trafikte kavga da etmekten çekinmediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan alt sınıftan bir erkek sürücü, ataerkil değerlerle de yoğrulmuş bir bilince de sahipse, statüsü yüksek bir aracı yöneten kadın karşısında iki kez ‘yenilmiş’ ya da sürücülük jargonuyla ‘sollanmış’ olacaktır. Bir kadın görüşülen, bu durumdaki bir erkek sürücünün tepkisini şöyle aktarmaktadır: “*Ama o pahalı ve yüksek araçtaki kadınsa, erkekler daha saldırgan oluyor. Bir erkek sürücü yedi yüz bin liralık araca binen kadın sürücü arkadaşşıma, camını indirip bağırtıyor: “aracın hakkını ver abla!”.*”

7 Burada meselenin psikolojik yönlerine pek değinmedik. Ama psikolog Yavuz Erten’in Türkiye toplumu örneğinde yaptığı şu tespitlerinin üzerinde düşünmek gerekir: “Birçok açıdan arabaya epey bir yük bindirdiğimizi düşünüyorum, şu anki toplumsal ifade araçlarımıza baktığımız zaman elimizde fazla bir şey yok. Belki çok dar bir kesimin sanatsal yaratısı var, ama toplumun büyük bir kesiminin kendini dışavuruma ihtiyacı doyumsuz kalıyor. Araba dışında bilinçdışıyla bilinçli alan arasındaki bu boşalmayı sağlayacak başka herhangi bir araç da yok. Belki bazı insanlar sanatsal uğraşlarını, işlerini falan böyle bir arayüz olarak kullanıyorlardı ama bir sürü insan için eldeki tek araç araba gibi gözüküyor. Ve o arabayla da kırk tane gösteriye kalkışıyor: Kendini gerçekleştirme, bilinçdışıyla bilinç arasındaki uzlaşma, çatışmayı sona erdirmeye gibi amaçlarını gerçekleştirebilecek tek araç olarak ortada araba kalıyor. (Aktunç ve ark., 2000, s. 171).

Zoruna gidiyor, hem güçlü araba hem kadın. Eziliyor orada.” (G1). Ancak buradaki ‘arabanın hakkını vermek’ deyiminin, yukarıda aktarılan “bazı hareketler bazı markalara yaklaşıyor” görüşleriyle birlikte düşünüldüğünde, markaların güçlü bir şekilde statüleri temsil ettiği ve statüsü yüksek olan sürücülerden beklenenin kuralları ihlal etmek de dahil statüsünün ‘gereğini’ yerine getirmesi beklentisini de ifade ettiğini belirtmek gerekir.

3. Sonuç Yerine: Sürücü Kamusal Alanının (Trafik) ve Sürücülük Mesleğinin Kadınlaşmasından Söz Edebilir Miyiz?

Aydın Engin, Türkiye’de otomobilin tarihini dönemleştirirken (1935-1950, 1960-1980 ve 1980 sonrası olarak üç dönem) “Özalizm dönemiyle birlikte [otomobil] herkesin edinebileceği bir araç haline geldi” diye yazmaktadır. “Aynı şekilde trafik düzeni, otomobiller ve insanların otomobille ilişkileri, bir araçla kurulan ilişkiden çok daha farklı bir konumda artık” (Aktunç ve ark., 2000, s. 169). Ancak yazar, küresel kapitalizm döneminin politik stratejilerine uygun olarak tüketimin artışı ve pazarın büyümesine uygun olarak, özetle tüketim kültürüne uygun olarak otomobil tüketiminin artışından söz ederken, değişimin cinsiyet boyutuna değinmez. Türkiye’de 2005 yılı istatistiklerinde toplam 16.958.895 sürücünün %84’ü erkek ve %16’sı kadinken bu sayılar 2014 yılında toplam 25.972.519 sürücü içinde %77,2 erkek sürücü (20.055.210) ve %22,8 kadın sürücü (5.917.309) olarak verilmektedir (www.trafik.gov.tr, akt: Dağdelen 2017, s. 48).⁸ Ayrıca 2017 yılındaki verilere göre “sürücü belgesi sahiplerinin 21 milyon 814 bin 260’ını erkek, 6 milyon 989 bin 996’sını kadın sürücüler oluşturuyor.” Böylece 2000’lerden itibaren dikkat çekici hale gelen trafik kadınlaşmasını da Türkiye otomobil tarihine başka bir dönem olarak eklemek gerektiği ileri sürülebilir. Günümüzde yaşanan ve erkek söyleminde sık karşılaştığımız ‘kadın sürücü’ aşığılamalarının da bu değişime verilen cinsiyetçi bir tepki olduğu söylenebilir.

Otomobil adının da içerdiği hareketlilik, dolayısıyla özgürlük⁹ otomobil ideolojisinin bir parçasıdır. Yaptığımız görüşmelerde de kadınlar için otomobilin ne anlama geldiği sorusuna cevap olarak en sık tekrarlanan sözcüklerden biri özgürlüktü. Çoğu zaman da özgürlük ve güvenliğin birlikte kullanıldığını da gördük. Burada kadının evle özdeşleştirilmesi ve kamusal alana çıkışının, özellikle tek başına çıkabilmesinin önünde çok güçlü kültürel engeller olduğunu dikkate alırsak, otomobilin mahremiyeti ve güvenliği özgürlükle bir arada deneyimlemek için alternatifsiz bir teknoloji olduğu ortaya çıkar. Ancak Freund ve Martin’in dikkat çektiği gibi otomobil birçok açıdan özgürleştirici bir teknoloji olarak yarar sağlayabileceken, kadınları cinsiyetçi bir işbölümünün elinden bile kurtaramamıştır; sonuçta sadece ev sahasının sınırlarının genişlemesine yol açmıştır, o kadar (Freund ve Martin, 1993, s. 79). Geç kapitalizmin yaklaşık olarak 1970’lerden sonra daha çok tüketimin yayılması ve artırılmasına dayalı bir büyüme stratejisi izlemesi, büyük alışveriş merkezlerinin yaygınlaşmasını ve kentsel mekânın kullanılma alışkanlıklarını değiştirmiş, dolayısıyla boş zamanı tüketme tarzları da değişmiştir. Aynı gelişmeler otomobilin, en azından kentli orta sınıf aileler için bir lüks olmaktan çıkıp bir ihtiyaç olarak görülmeye başlanmasında da etkilidir. Ev içi-kamusal alan dikotomisini yeniden üretip güçlendirecek şekilde, ev ihtiyaçlarının daha çok kadınlar tarafından takip edilmesi ve alışverişin yaygın olarak kadın tarafından yapılması (özellikle kadının “ev kadını” olduğu hanelerde), kadınların otomobil kullanmasının yaygınlaşmasında ve normalleşmesinde güçlü bir belirleyici etken olabilir. Gerçekten de Türkiye’de evli kadının tek başına evden

⁸ Söz edilen verilere kaynak gösterilen internet sayfasından ulaşamadım.

⁹ Öte yandan kadın ve erkek sürücülerin sözünü ettikleri özgürlük vaadini ‘kaçış’ olarak yorumlayan eleştirel yazarlar da vardır. “Dışarı çık ve eğer küçük hayatından ve çevrenden hoşlanmıyorsan arabana atla ve oradan sıvış” (Clarke 2007’den akt. Köse 2014, s.33).

çıkışını desteklemeyen Müslüman muhafazakâr kesimde bile otomobil sürücülüğünün teşvik edildiğini gözlemlemekteyiz. Böyle bir ailede büyümüş, yakın zamanlara kadar başörtülü olan bir kadının sürücü bu konuda şu bilgileri vermektedir:

“Babam, normalde annemin tek başına markete bile gitmesine izin vermezdi. Ama ehliyet almasını teşvik etti, otomobille annem tek başına kentte her yere gidebiliyor. Sadece yakıt alınacaksa yine babam kendisi alıyor ve tabii tamir bakım işlerinde yine otomobili babam kullanıyor.” (G3).

Türkiye’de son yıllarda kadın sürücü sayısının artmış olmasında, başka gelişmelerin yanı sıra (örneğin her ile bir üniversite politikası kentlerdeki kadın akademisyen sayısının artışında, dolayısıyla orta sınıf mensubu, genç kadın sürücülerin artışında etkili olmuş olabilir), 1970lerden itibaren giderek büyüyen Müslüman/muhafazakâr orta sınıfın yakın geçmişte hem sermaye birikimi hem de nüfus anlamında daha da büyümüş olması da önemli bir etkidir. Dindar-muhafazakâr orta sınıfın büyümesi, kadın sürücü sayısını arttırmış ve kadınların yakın zamana kadar erkeklere ait olduğu kabul edilen sürücü kamusal alanında daha sık görünmesine yol açmış olmalıdır.¹⁰

Güç, hız, yarış, statü, saygınlık vaat eden büyümlü bir nesne olarak otomobil, arkaik ataerkil öğelerin de yeniden üretilerek sürekliliğini sağlamaya imkân vermekle birlikte modern erkek kimliğinin göz ardı edilemeyecek bir dışsal unsurudur. Günümüzde bir erkek uzmanlığı, erkek sohbetleri konusu veya erkek oyuncağı olarak otomobil kültürü eril bir kültürdür. Öte yandan otomobil sektöründe pazarı genişletme gayretleri, büyük kentlerdeki orta sınıfların merkezden uzak bölgelere yerleşme eğilimleri ve genel kültürel değişim kadın sürücülerin sayısında artışa neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak Türkiye’de “kadın sürücü” tamlamasının kendisi, sürücü kadınlardan daha tuhaf, yadırgatıcıdır. Ne var ki, hem erkeklik hem kadınlık değişirken erkekler otomobil sürücülüğü (yanı sıra dolmuş şoförü, uzun yol şoförü, taksi şoförlüğü- bunların da alt kültürler olarak ayrıca incelenmesi gerekmektedir) çevresinde eril kültürü yeniden oluşturabilmektedirler. Bunların yanı sıra, otomobil ve sürücülük pratikleri etrafında oluşturulmuş dilin de henüz eril bir dil olduğu, otomobil sürücülüğü deneyimleriyle ilgili kadın bakışı, duygu ve düşüncelerini yansıtacak kayda değer bir simge dağarcığı oluşmadığı söylenebilir. Ancak kadın sürücü sayısının artma eğiliminde olması bu yönde bir beklenti oluşturmaktadır; bu gelecek yılların araştırma konusu olabilir.

Şimdilik kadın sürücü sayısı artmaya devam etse de, sürücülüğün ve otomobil kültürünün kadınlaşmasına dair bir işaret yoktur. Bu durum için bugünkü durumda iki şey söylenebilir: Birincisi niceliğin nitel bir dönüşüme yol açabilecek düzeye ulaşmamış olması ve ikincisi, Scharf’ın (1991, s. 50) uyardığı gibi, teknolojinin cinsiyetçi kültür ve ideoloji üzerindeki zaferini ilan etmekte ihtiyatlı olmak gerektiğidir. Çünkü kültürün teknoloji üzerindeki nüfuzu sürmektedir.

10 Müslüman/muhafazakar orta sınıflaşma ile ilgili olarak bkz: Kıvanç, Ü. (1997). “İslâmcılar & Para-Pul: Bir Dönüşüm Hikâyesi”, *Birikim*, 99, 39-58.

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Research Article

Studies in Turkiye within the context of Gender: An Overview of Postgraduate Dissertations

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ABSTRACT

The gender issue is a relatively new topic in migration studies. However, with increasing awareness, it has gained growing popularity among research topics dealing with human mobility. As a research interest, it also naturally stands out in Turkiye, a destination country for large-scale immigration movements. Considering all this, one can see the importance and necessity of examining studies that address gender and migration in tandem. Such an academic endeavor could bring about key results in terms of identifying more and less focused themes by gender and migration studies, thus helping formulate functional recommendations for further research. The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the postgraduate dissertations directly focusing on gender in the context of migration in Turkiye. To this end, 57 postgraduate dissertations were examined by the years they were completed, the universities in which they were made, the gender of authors, the methods of the dissertations in general, and the sample or study groups. The findings evaluated were based on the relevant literature. The findings show that there is a growing interest in the migration issue as part of the academic studies in Turkiye. However, the studies in the context of gender and migration are still limited. There is very little research on this subject at the doctoral level. The findings highlight the need for the diversification and enrichment of gender and migration studies in certain aspects.

Keywords: Gender, Migration, Dissertations, Turkiye



Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon with a global impact and significant consequences. According to the current data of the United Nations (IOM, 2020), the number of international migrants worldwide has reached 272 million and migrants make up 3.5% of the world's population. While the refugee population is 25.9 million, the number of people internally displaced due to violence and conflict is 41.3 million. While the migration movements, which are a numerically growing phenomenon on a global scale, have vital consequences for receiving countries of destination, sending countries of origin and the migrants themselves, many problems arise concerning migrants.

It requires the cooperation of actors such as states, NGOs and international organizations to solve many problems such as adaptation problems in the receiving country of destination, interaction with local people, changes in the economic structure, especially the security of immigrants in case of forced migration and meeting their basic needs at their destination. It is important to develop policies in such multidimensional areas as the psychological, social, economic and political difficulties experienced by migrants, asylum seekers or refugees, and also access to services like health and education and to implement practices in line with these policies. This situation primarily requires scientific research and collection of robust data regarding all these processes. Within this context, the scientific studies that deal with migration, which is a multidimensional and complex phenomenon, with its different aspects, are increasingly on the agenda. While the migration trends and dynamics are constantly changing, migration research is expanding rapidly (Carling, 2015; Van Walsum, 2012). Thus, as indicated by Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz (2019), migration not only transforms the sending, transit and receiving countries but also the social scientific studies. Significant demographic transformations experienced with an increase in human mobility have ultimately led to substantial theoretical and empirical attention to the phenomenon of migration. The indicators on migration and mobility point out that migration is largely related to the broader global economic, social, political and technological transformations that affect a wide range of high-priority policy issues (IOM, 2020). While global migration movements are shaped in interaction with current political, economic and social processes in the world, scientific research on migration has also reflected the mentioned interaction. Migration patterns have changed considerably since the 1970s when the development of migration studies intensified in most of the major migration countries. Factors such as the existence of restrictive entry policies in European Union countries since the mid-1970s and the globalization of international migration flows have led to a reorientation of the research agenda (Audebert and Dorai, 2011). While researches on the economic aspects of migrations come to the fore in certain periods, the issue of adaptation has gained importance in some periods. The gender issue has also taken its place in migration studies as a relatively new topic in this context. With increasing awareness of gender, it has gradually become important in migration research.

As for Türkiye, the concept of migration indicates a wide range of areas covering emigration, migration into the country, return migration, transit migration, as well as asylum seekers and refugees. This has led to an increased interest in migration issues in Türkiye (Sirkeci and Yüceşahin, 2014). Although research into the migration experience of Türkiye as a country of migration has gradually intensified, the involvement of gender in migration research is quite new for Türkiye. While the number of studies in this context is increasing gradually, it can be said that they are yet to be at a sufficient level (Biehl & Daniş, 2020). Nevertheless, analyses of the general characteristics of research that examine gender and migration are also important in revealing the general characteristics of research and in terms of the direction of future research. However, it could be said that there is a limited number of researches which are in the form of a bibliography and which

aim to offer an overview and determine the direction of issues studied with regards to the issue of migration in Türkiye and also the work and studies concerning migration and in the context of the relation between gender and migration (Yerli 2018; Alkar and Atasoy, 2019). Thus, the aspects focused on and the themes less focused on by the gender and migration research can be identified and functional recommendations can be developed for future research. Accordingly, this study has aimed to make a general assessment based on the analysis of postgraduate dissertations directly focusing on gender within the context of migration in Türkiye.

Migration and Gender: Theoretical Background

While sex is primarily a biological categorization based on reproductive potential, gender emerges by making biological sex meaningful (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013). Gender is one of the main factors that organize social life (Mahler and Pessar, 2006). Gender is so deeply embedded in our institutions, actions, beliefs and desires that it seems completely natural to us (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013). What makes gender meaningful and significant culturally in social life is all of the characteristics attributed by society to men or women. These characteristics, defined in the context of gender, point to the social construction of being a woman or a man (Bayhan, 2013). Gender is a social and cultural structure that expresses the roles and responsibilities of men and women by making a distinction between the characteristics of men and women, girls or boys. Therefore, gender differs from culture to culture (UNICEF, 2017; Giuliano, 2017). Accordingly, “gender is not something we are born with and not something we have, but something we do” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2013 as cited in West & Zimmerman 1987).

In the process of migration, men and women go through different experiences in the context of their socially and culturally constructed gender. Nevertheless, men have been the main actors in the focus of migration studies for many years (Biehl and Daniş, 2020). However, women increasingly migrate on their own, and the rate of female migration is growing faster than that of male migrants in many countries with high levels of immigration. This is often referred to as the feminization of migration. While women make up half of the global migrant population, it is estimated that this rate reaches 70-80% in some countries (Fleury, 2016). Both men and women migrate for common reasons (Buz, 2007). However, conflicts, disasters and migrations affect men and women differently because the migration process is gender-sensitive (El Bushra, 2000; Şeker and Uçan, 2016; Choi, 2018). Although Ravenstein, who conducted the first systematic analysis of migration as early as 1884 pointed out that women were more migrant than men (Reeder, 2017; Buz, 2007) and despite the apparent presence of women in migration flows, quite ironically, women’s role in migration has been totally neglected until recently (Pedraza, 1991; Göktuna Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019). As a result, despite their central position in migration processes, both women and gender remained invisible for a long time (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz Gökmen, 2020). While migration studies with a rich history focus on the nation-state as the primary category of analysis, the gender phenomenon of those crossing the borders has often been ignored (Oxford, 2013). While the positions of women in the migration process are not specifically or directly addressed in migration studies, women are mostly considered as dependent persons in the position of a spouse, a mother and a young girl (Buz, 2007). During the labor migration towards Europe after World War II, the higher number of single men caused migration to be regarded as a masculine phenomenon by researchers and policymakers (Biehl and Daniş, 2020). At the same time, ignoring the women in the analysis of migration processes can be read as the general reflection of the invisible and secondary nature of women in every aspect of life (Buz, 2007).

As indicated by Şeker and Uçan (2016), women were considered as passive figurants of migration, which is considered as an act of men, in migration studies until the 1970s. In the initial studies applying a gender-specific perspective to social research, there was an attempt to correct the “male bias” characteristic of most classical disciplines in sociology and anthropology, and thus the main category of research was “women” instead of “gender” in the early stages of theorization and experimental research (Schulz, 2016). Developments in gender studies and feminist theories have roughly manifested in some important paradigm shifts since the 1960s (Schulz, 2016). As discovered by Glazer (1981), with the women’s movement that emerged around the world in the mid-1960s, especially feminist academics began to bring up women’s invisibility, distorted representation, and their marginal position in the field of economy. There is a long and complex historical relationship between feminism and gender studies (Silke and Dashper, 2016). Feminist theorists have attempted to analyze this construction process, claiming that gender is a cultural interpretation of sex or that it is culturally constructed (Butler, 2014). Throughout the 1970s, sociologists, historians, and anthropologists investigated how women – mothers, wives, and workers – migrated and analyzed women’s contributions in shaping ethnic identities or communities (Reeder, 2017). From the early 1970s, academics shifted the focus from women to gender, drawing attention to how they were integrated into gender relations and patriarchal power systems and settled in the founding structures (Schulz, 2016).

In the mid-1980s, which was a new stage in terms of gender-related research, there was a shift away from a scientific preoccupation to explain the “nationality of women” towards exploring culturally specific “gender” structures (Schulz, 2016). In the 1980s and 1990s, the theoretical landscape changed with the influence of globalization theories, postcolonial theory, gender studies and post-structuralist thinkers (Sontag, 2018). In the 1980s, new topics such as the social role and position of women and gender were gradually mentioned with the effect of the new forms being adopted by the world, and the new debates were brought to the agenda (Bulut, 2015). Feminism ensured the critical analysis of policies concerning women’s status, their visibility in the political and public sphere, and gender discrimination (Yanık, 2006). For example, the relations between class and gender started to be further emphasized with the influence of the social, economic and political context of the 1980s in Britain (Silke and Dashper, 2016). Another development in terms of gender-related research in the 1990s was that the problematization of the assumption that “woman” is the uniform category of actors that share certain basic characteristics (Schulz, 2016). Within the scope of sexuality research, which is a relatively new field of research, the ideas about sex and gender have been applied to migration since the 1990s. This transformation in academic studies on migration can be partly explained by two important changes: the growth of sexuality studies as a lens for understanding social phenomena, and the increasing legitimacy of queer issues (Oxford, 2013). Issues such as the similar experiences of migrant women or their functions in the labor market of target countries have come to the fore in the literature since the 1980s. As of the 1990s, the position of women as the actor in which they are seen as the perpetrator of change has become evident, rather than their passive position in which they are considered as the victim of the migration process, (Şeker and Uçan, 2016). While sociologists touched upon relatively micro issues in Türkiye in the 1980s, the studies dealing with issues such as women, family, and gender role attitudes along with some other issues accelerated (Çelebi, 2015). The studies on women’s problems and gender in countries like Türkiye, Iran and Egypt have also developed as an element of the modernization process (Schulz, 2016). The women’s movement, which has become an independent political movement in Türkiye since the 1980s, has been accompanied by the development of academic literature that focuses on women’s

place and role within the modernization process (Gençoğlu Corporal, 2013). As in the case of Poland, while gender and women's studies were characterized by a strong pro-Western orientation, rather enthusiastic acceptance of the Western feminist traditions could cause the cultural context to be neglected (Filipowicz, 2014). The feminist approach ensured that the social and political debates were developed and women's problems were addressed in their social and political context on a theoretical ground especially by female academics in Türkiye as well (Yanık, 2006). Concerning migration, the framework introduced by feminist theory has been accepted as a highly functional ground. Feminist theory has contributed to the understanding of the social context behind these effects by examining the impacts of gender differences on migration (Buz, 2007). Despite these developments, there are aspects that are ignored even in terms of women in the studies developed especially with the influence of feminism. . As indicated by Glazer (1981), feminist academics in the women's movement were largely concerned with the situation of women like themselves, and issues related to different women were neglected. Therefore, it can be also said that ignoring the migrant or refugee women in studies is related to general tendencies of the women's movement and studies, as well as to an understanding of migration as a male phenomenon.

Feminization, making its impact felt in all areas, has also caused women to take a central place in migration research. Thus, there was a transformation from research and policies that ignored women to studies focusing on women as an analysis unit, and then to gender-based research (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz Gökmen, 2020). The notion that a person's sex and gender shape every stage of the migration experience has gained higher general acceptance (IOM, 2019).

Method

This study was designed as a qualitative research in order to make a general evaluation on the dissertations focused on migration and gender. Dissertations were analyzed through purposeful sampling and postgraduate dissertations directly focusing on gender within the context of migration in Türkiye were identified. Accordingly, the Higher Education Council's YÖKTEZ database was searched for the keywords "migration, refugee, asylum seeker, Syrian and gender, women, men" as of July 31, 2020, and the dissertations that were considered to consist of such keywords especially in dissertation titles and indexes, and directly focus on gender and migration were taken into the scope of analysis. The dissertations that constitute the study group were grouped and examined by the years they were completed, universities in which they were made, the gender of authors, methods of the dissertations in general, sample or study groups, the extent to which gender and concept of migration were studied or themes examined, and the findings obtained were discussed based on the literature. After briefly touching on the interaction between gender and migration in line with this general framework, the findings on the dissertations examined and other researches in the literature were discussed comparatively to construct a general picture of postgraduate dissertations focusing on issues of migration and gender in Türkiye.

Migration and Gender: Findings on Postgraduate Dissertations and Discussion

In this section, the findings revealed by an analysis of the general characteristics of 57 postgraduate dissertations, identified through purposeful sampling, to make a general assessment of postgraduate dissertations directly focusing on gender within the context of migration in Türkiye were addressed based on the literature. In this context, the prominent features were indicated and compared with findings from different studies, and interpreted in terms of key trends in the migration and gender literature.

Postgraduate Dissertations on Migration; Increasing Attention

Before considering the general features of the postgraduate dissertations focusing on migration and gender, it will be useful to look at the numbers regarding the migration-related dissertations and gender-related studies in general. According to the findings of Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz (2019), scientific interest in migration studies has increased unprecedentedly in the last 16 years, in terms of the number of journals and articles in the field. The number of studies on migration has been increasing in recent years (Yerli, 2018). Turkiye is an important part of the worldwide migration geography and the migration system. As a result, migration research has become one of the focuses of interest for the general public recently in academia in Turkiye (Sirkeci and Yüceşahin, 2014). According to the findings of this study, the number of postgraduate dissertations with the keyword “migration” in their title is 833, and 137 of them are doctoral dissertations. It is seen that the number of these dissertations have increased significantly since 2010. According to the findings of Altunkaynak Vodina (2020), when a search is made using the term ‘migration,’ 1,619 dissertations were accessed as of September 2019 and most of them were written after 2011. According to data in a research conducted by Alkar and Atasoy (2019), doctoral dissertations with more than 300 headings consisting of the words such as migration, migrant and nomadism were found from 1967 to 2019, and the number of dissertations has increased significantly in the last decade. Again, according to the findings of Yerli (2018), who drew attention to the increase in the number of dissertations after 2010, almost all of the postgraduate dissertations investigating migration focus on the concept of migration, whereas a few of them focus on the concepts of politics, family, education, health, women and children. There is an increasing interest in the migration issue in the context of postgraduate knowledge generation in Turkiye. While Turkiye’s external migration process has had impacts on the research for a long time, especially the flow of Syrian refugees has led to a significant increase in the number of migration researches in Turkiye since 2011.

Dissertations on Gender: A Current and New Interest

Studies on women emerged and developed in the period after the 1970s (Arat, 1996). In the 1980s, the changes occurring in the world had impacts on the social and political structure in Turkiye, and thus new social movements such as environmentalism and feminism and such issues as postmodernism and popular culture were raised particularly in dissertations in the field of sociology (Yanık, 2006). In the 1990s, topics such as gender, woman and family came to the fore in sociology researches (Kaçmazoğlu, 2015). It can be said that this situation means a fairly late reflection in terms of the inclusion of the concept of gender in postgraduate dissertations. In the context of postgraduate dissertation studies, gender is a relatively new and increasingly popular topic. While a significant increase was observed in the number of dissertation studies on women between 1987 and 2009, dissertation studies reached their highest level in 2006 (Şahin et al., 2011). According to the findings of the present research, the number of postgraduate dissertations with the concept of “gender” in its heading is 717. Of them, 107 are doctoral dissertations. While there were a few studies in this context before 2000, the number of dissertations started to increase in the 2000s. More studies have been carried out since 2018. About half of the mentioned dissertations were conducted in or after 2018.

Dissertations Focusing on Migration and Gender: Quantitative Development

According to the findings of this study, the number of dissertations focusing on migration and gender and forming the study group is 57. Considering their distribution by the years they were

completed, almost half of the dissertations (23 dissertations) were conducted between 2019 and 2020. About 60% of them were conducted in or after 2018. In the period from 2005 to 2017, 1 to 3 dissertations were completed almost every year. The women's studies units started to be encouraged in the academy in 1995 in line with the Beijing Declaration and supported in Türkiye in the 2000s (Savaş, Ertan and Yol, 2018). It can be said that one of the reasons why the volume of dissertations has become more intense in recent years is related to this development. According to the findings of Coşkun, Sarılioğlu and Dinçer (2020), there were only eight dissertations consisting of the word gender in the heading and summary of 388 doctoral dissertations on migration and refugees after 2011. A similar situation exists in terms of studies in Europe. One-tenth of the articles of two important international journals in the field of migration focused on the gender category in the course of studying the migrants (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz, 2019).

The feminization of migration has become a long-term used concept (Castles & Miller, 2008). Since the 1980s, while the institutionalization of women's research has increased in many Western societies and international institutions, academic interest in migrant women has also increased (Lutz, 2010). Furthermore, as the ratio of women in international migrants increases, the expectation that gender will become a leading category in migration studies has become stronger (Lee et al. 2014 as cited in Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz, 2019). Nevertheless, it is quite new to see gender-focused studies in the field of migration in terms of subject, as well as analysis and perspective (Biehl & Danış, 2020). The fact that gender is a new element in the context of migration still maintains its validity to a large extent concerning postgraduate dissertations included in the study group of this study. Gender is a new and less studied issue in the context of migration. When the findings regarding the depiction of gender in the dissertations in different contexts are examined, it is seen that the situation is similar. For example, according to the findings of Efiltili Atay (2018), the number of postgraduate dissertations in the field of media and women in the decade covering the years from 2007 to 2017 is 95 and the increase in recent years is remarkable. Similarly, there is an increase in the number of dissertations covering the themes of gender and religion in Türkiye in recent years (Kenevir and Koçak Kurt, 2016).

Types of Postgraduate Dissertations: Insufficient Work at the Doctoral Level

In the study group of this research, only 4, in other words, 7% of 57 dissertations focusing on migration and gender are doctoral dissertations, while 53 are postgraduate dissertations. According to the findings from a similar study, approximately 14% of dissertations conducted in the field of media and women in the 2007-2017 period (Efiltili Atay, 2018), and 18% of dissertations with the themes of gender and religion are doctoral dissertations (Kenevir and Koçak Kurt, 2016). Essentially, most of the postgraduate dissertations investigating migration are postgraduate dissertations (Yerli, 2018).

There are various reasons for this situation, which are mentioned by Şahin et al. (2011) in the context of their findings regarding a large number of postgraduate dissertations in women's studies. Accordingly, it can be said that there are a higher number of postgraduate dissertations due to the high number of students at the postgraduate level, the need for a longer and more intensive study of doctoral studies and the preference of more technical subjects specific to the fields. At the same time, the lower number of doctoral dissertations can be considered as a natural result of the availability of doctoral programs in a lower number of universities. Nevertheless, it is quite striking that the number of doctoral dissertations in MA postgraduate dissertations focusing on gender and migration is relatively low compared to other fields. According to statistics in the

YÖKTEZ database, considering all postgraduate dissertations in Türkiye, about 17% of 623,581 postgraduate dissertations are the doctoral dissertations. A total of 11,348 postgraduate dissertations, including 9,205 master's and 2,128 doctoral dissertations, were produced in the field of sociology, which is more closely related to migration and gender. Accordingly, approximately 19% of the dissertations are doctoral dissertations. Therefore, the proportion of doctoral dissertations focusing on gender and migration is far from reflecting the general situation. Despite the expectation that the number of postgraduate and doctoral studies on women will increase with a rise in the number of universities, the number of academics dealing with the field and an increase in postgraduate programs (Şahin et al., 2011), it can be said that the mentioned expectation is not realized at a sufficient level, and there is significant deficiency in terms of producing scientific knowledge, especially at the doctoral level.

Method in Postgraduate Dissertations; In-depth Analysis of Women's Migration Experiences

Despite the development of counter-qualitative paradigms such as social interactionism and the feminist approach particularly in social sciences, positivism is a strong approach that is widely used in almost all scientific fields (Barkçin, 2019). Although positivism maintains its existence as the perspective of the history of sociology in Türkiye, the interpretivist approach is becoming more efficient (Kaçmazoğlu, 2015). Therefore, despite the ongoing effect of the positivist approach, it can be said that this is not a limiting framework in terms of method. Considering the methods of dissertations within the scope of the study group, it is seen that 46 studies were carried out with qualitative research methods, and 5 were based on quantitative research methods. Besides, while 2 dissertations are mixed research, 4 dissertations are theoretical studies. In general, when compared with the findings regarding the existence of structural problems such as the lack of information about the method in most of the postgraduate dissertations (Karagöl, 2018; Eser Ülker, 2012; Coşkun, Sarıaloğlu, and Dinçer, 2020), it can be said that there are such deficiencies in terms of the methods of dissertations focusing on migration and gender.

In the context of researches in Türkiye, particularly in the field of social sciences, the majority of research conducted on migration is qualitative research (Altunkaynak Vodina, 2020). It is striking that the qualitative researches dominate the dissertations in the study group of this research. As found out by Mahler and Pessar (2006), researchers from different disciplines used various qualitative methods to explore and explain gender. This situation can be considered to be a field-specific feature. For example, the findings that there is a higher number of quantitative studies in different fields such as education (Kara Aydemir, 2017). The relationship between the field and subject and the qualitative paradigm is decisive at this point. As underlined by King (2019), while some elements of the context such as demographic and socioeconomic variables, citizenship rights and legal status in migration studies could be measured quantitatively, the complex nature and interaction of potential factors that motivate migration will be able to be evaluated only with a more qualitative approach caused by socioeconomic, political, cultural and spatial formations.

In dissertations, the interview method is used especially for an in-depth analysis of women's migration experiences. As found out by Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz (2019), who underline that interviews are the basic instruments of qualitative research, the qualitative interview technique was used in three of the four articles in two international journals on migration in Europe. There is a similar situation in the methods of the dissertations conducted in the field of media and women in 2007-2017, and the qualitative research approach has been adopted in almost all of the disserta-

tions. Discourse analysis and content analysis have been used extensively in dissertations that prefer the qualitative research method (Efilti Atay, 2018). Although the mixed-method studies using more than one method have the potential to overcome the limitations of the qualitative and quantitative divide, they have been preferred in very few European migration studies (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz, 2019). The mixed-method was rarely used in the dissertations in the study group of this research.

Another remarkable element in terms of methodology in dissertations is the influence created by the feminist approach. The feminist approach has been influential in gender studies, as it focuses on the production of knowledge on women and the effort to understand other women (Altunkaynak Vodina, 2020). The feminist methodology has contributed to making the experiences of migrants and especially women visible, and has also paved the way for questioning the hierarchy between the researcher and the researched (Coşkun, Sarıalioğlu, and Dinçer, 2020). The establishment of a relationship based on mutual trust and empathy between the researcher and the researched reveals the reason why one of the dissertations examined within this framework prefers the feminist approach (Erol Tamur, 2010). In another dissertation, besides the involvement of women as the main subject of the study, the contribution made by the feminist approach to understanding the different dilemmas in the field and the integration of new concepts and perspectives with the thesis study was emphasized (Atatimur, 2008).

Gender and Migration; Field of Women Researchers

King, Money, and Murawska (2011 as cited in Carling, 2015) found that most of the authors of articles in an international journal on migration are women. Considering the researchers of postgraduate dissertations studying migration in general in Türkiye by gender, it is seen that a large proportion of them are women (Yerli, 2018). These findings also apply to dissertations focusing on gender and migration. The authors of only four of the dissertations within the scope of the study group are male, and 53 dissertations were conducted by female researchers. This situation reflects the general trend in dissertations on women. According to the findings of Şahin et al. (2011), 85% of dissertations on women were prepared by female researchers in Türkiye. Approximately 77% of the authors of dissertations in the field of media and women conducted in 2007-2017 are female (Efilti Atay, 2018). As defined by Carling (2015), a significant process of feminization occurred in terms of the authors dealing with migration in parallel with the feminization process of migration. At the same time, it can be said that as the feminist approach became evident in migration studies, female researchers became more visible in field studies (Altunkaynak Vodina, 2020).

Gender and Migration; A Sociological Issue

Migration research requires interdisciplinary knowledge, as it is inevitably associated with a wide range of factors such as citizenship, diversity, mobility, and gender (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz, 2019). While researchers from anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines have been at the forefront of efforts to provide migration with a prominent place in academic studies (Mahler and Pessar, 2006), the popularity of interdisciplinary migration studies programs and an increase in the number of journals on migration studies also encouraged partnerships across disciplines (Carling, 2015). In Türkiye, postgraduate dissertations have been conducted on migration and refugees in various disciplines and departments as well. This is important, as it shows that the issue of migration and refugees is a field that requires multidisciplinary research (Yerli, 2018). Migration studies are also intrinsically multidisciplinary (Pedraza, 1991). As a result of the mul-

tidimensional nature of migration and its consequences that concern all segments of social life, it is within the scope of many disciplines. As the migration issue was further brought forward in Turkiye, it can be said that the fields of academics which have contributed both to the issue and the relevant literature in the last 10 years further diversified (Sirkeci and Yüceşahin, 2014). In line with the multidisciplinary nature of gender studies (Glazer, 1981), women studies have also been multidisciplinary from the very beginning, and gender sociologists have benefited from a high number of disciplines, including anthropology, history, and philosophy, to develop an understanding of the social structure of gender (Silke and Dashper, 2016). Considering the fields of dissertations in the study group of this research, it is seen that the highest number of dissertations conducted are in the field of sociology (23 dissertations). Sociology is followed by political sciences with six dissertations and anthropology and language and literature with 4 dissertations each. Three dissertations were conducted in the fields of social work, public health and psychology. Two dissertations were conducted in the fields of radio, television, newspaper and economy. One dissertation was prepared in the fields of international relations, fine arts, religion, urbanism and regional planning, law, agriculture and labor economics and industrial relations. These findings are also in line with the findings of Yerli (2018) regarding migration studies. While 25% of the postgraduate dissertations on immigration were conducted in the sociology department, 12% were conducted in the international relations department, and 8% in the public administration and political sciences departments. A similar situation also applies to gender and religion-themed dissertations in Turkiye. These dissertations were mostly conducted in the fields of sociology, sociology of religion, philosophy and religious sciences (Kenevir and Koçak Kurt, 2016).

Universities in which Gender and Migration are Studied

When the dissertations in the study group were examined, it was seen that the dissertations were conducted in 32 different universities. Eight of these universities are foundation universities and 24 are state universities. Nineteen universities, where the dissertations were conducted, are located in three metropolitans. The highest number of dissertations were conducted at Istanbul Bilgi University (5 dissertations). This university is followed by Istanbul University and Hacettepe University with 4 dissertations each. Three dissertations were conducted at Marmara University, Ankara University, Dokuz Eylül University and Middle East Technical University. Nearly half of the dissertations were prepared in these 7 universities.

The well-known universities in Europe make migration research visible through their publication series, postgraduate programs, research groups, centers and institutes (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz, 2019). The findings indicate that certain universities stand out in terms of the dissertations focusing on migration and gender in Turkiye. This situation overlaps with the findings from different studies. The findings of Yerli (2018) also point to the fact that certain universities further focused on certain issues in terms of the postgraduate academic activities carried out concerning migration and refugees in Turkiye. According to the findings of Alkar and Atasoy (2019), the highest number of doctoral dissertations on migration were conducted in large and well-established universities such as Istanbul University, Marmara University, Middle East Technical University, Ankara University, Hacettepe University and Gazi University. A similar situation also applies to the dissertations on Syrians; a higher number of dissertations have been prepared at universities in Istanbul than at universities in provinces in the region (Tatlıcıoğlu and Apak, 2018). The fact that certain universities stand out in terms of the dissertations is also valid for the dissertations on gender. Ankara, Istanbul and Hacettepe Universities are the ones with the highest number of dissertations on women (Şahin

et al., 2011). Nearly half of the gender and religion-themed dissertations in Türkiye were conducted at Istanbul, Marmara, Selcuk and the Middle East Technical Universities (Kenevir and Kurt Kocak, 2016). The dissertations dealing with the newspaper articles in Türkiye are mostly located in Ankara, Gazi, Marmara, Ege, Anadolu and Istanbul Universities (Pehlivan, 2018).

Which Migrations are Depicted within the context of Gender?

When the dissertations focusing on gender and migration are analyzed in terms of the types of migration they depict (33 dissertations), it was found that more than half of the dissertations are related to migrations towards Türkiye. In the context of migration towards Türkiye, 20 dissertations deal mostly with the Syrian women. While most of the other dissertations deal with refugees from countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, Syria, Iraq or irregular immigrants, 2 dissertations touch upon the migrants from Balkan countries and Russia through marriage. Concerning the sampling or study group (clarified, focus), 8 dissertations deal with external migration from Türkiye to abroad. While 4 of these dissertations deal with German Turks, one dissertation focuses on Dutch Turks, Japan and Britain. 7 dissertations are related to internal migration. It can be said that the external migration from Türkiye to Europe has lost its status as a frequently studied subject in the context of gender. The prominence of Germany in these studies is naturally related to the highest number of Turkish migrants living in that country. Considering the gender-focused dissertations related to internal migration, Diyarbakir, which is the subject of 4 dissertations, draws attention. In other dissertations related to internal migration, gender and migration were analyzed in the examples of Adana, Denizli, Trabzon, Izmir, Fatsa and Kilis. In Türkiye, where the ratio of the urban population to rural population changed in favor of the urban population, in other words, where the rate of urban population rapidly increased due to intensive migration in the 1980s, new social problems occurred (Bulut, 2015). Research has focused on problems related to internal migration. Besides, the issues related to internal migrations caused by terrorism and security, especially in the 1990s, started to come to the fore more. The migrations towards Europe from Türkiye, which have prevailed in the history of migration in Türkiye for a long time, seem to have lost their dominance in terms of gender and migration-oriented dissertations. In this regard, migrations from Syria, which are currently experienced by Türkiye, have come forward.

According to a research conducted by the Association for Migration Research (GAR 2017) covering 2016 and 2017, nearly half of over 130 postgraduate and doctoral dissertations from various disciplines focused on the migration to Türkiye from abroad, and the other half is directly related to Syrians (Coşkun, Sarıalioğlu and Dinçer, 2020). As found out by Yerli (2018), the fields focused on by the postgraduate dissertations regarding migration and refugees in Türkiye vary by year. Thus, the higher number of researches regarding the external migration process of Türkiye in the period before 2010, the prominence of studies regarding internal migration during certain periods, and especially the increase in the number of studies regarding Syrians in the last 10-year period could be considered in this context. According to the findings of Coşkun, Sarıalioğlu and Dinçer (2020), the topics of doctoral dissertations in the period of 2012-2019 focused on the experiences and integration of Syrians and their social and economic effects, but the international migration policies such as border security and human trafficking, problems of different migrant groups, migrant labor, migration management, relations with the EU and legal legislation have also come to the fore as other research topics. On the other hand, although the general tendency is reflected in terms of the migration type depicted in the migration studies in the dissertations within the study group of this study, the limitation regarding the migration types examined is also observed.

While the researches on migration have usually tended to increase in Türkiye (Yerli, 2018), the studies published on Syrians are also increasing steadily. An increase in the number of academic studies could be clarified with the extension of the duration of Syrians' stay in Türkiye due to the ongoing conflicts in Syria (Tatlıcioğlu and Apak, 2018). The migration flow caused by the Syrian Civil War is a very complex set of processes, and it is critical to examine the problems that arise in terms of gender in all stages of migration as one of the important layers of this concept that requires benefiting from different disciplines and perspectives (Özdemir and Özdemir, 2018). Syrian women are exposed to sexual and gender-based violence during the forced migration process (Özdemir and Özdemir, 2018). Ignoring gender when analyzing conflict and post-conflict environments or migration processes causes Syrian women's lives to remain invisible. In this context, emphasizing the different effects of forced migration or displacement on women and girls is a priority issue to reveal gender-based power relations (Canefe, 2018). Within this framework, the higher number of dissertations on Syrian women can be explained by the consequences of Syrian migration flows. In fact, the number of studies focusing especially on the problems encountered by Syrian women (Barın, 2015) have started to increase in recent years. Some of the studies were carried out to draw a general framework of the living conditions, needs analysis and social problems of Syrian women living inside and outside the camps (Özüdoğru, 2018).

Gender in Dissertations; Women and Others

Almost all of the dissertations focusing on migration and gender (55 dissertations) depict women, whereas one of them deals with male refugees and the other one directly touches upon the LGBT migrants. The concept of gender was understood as being mostly related to women in terms of the dissertations focusing on migration and gender, and the aspects of gender associated with masculinity or different sexual orientations remain invisible. Categories such as gender, class, and ethnicity constantly intersect, but not all classifications are equally important in every context or all of the time (Schrover and Moloney, 2013). For a long time, studies on the disadvantageous position of women with historical and cultural roots have been at the forefront. Considering the inequality, violence and discrimination suffered by women, this situation should be considered quite natural. However, the relationship between migration and masculinities started to further come to the fore as the field of critical studies on men and masculinities has also included migrant men in recent years (Bozok, 2019).

As women are more vulnerable to abuse during migration processes (Grabska, 2011 as cited in Göktuna Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019), the problems of women were mainly the subject of migration studies. Migrant women's labor, human trafficking, race and ethnicity differences, discrimination against migrant women, women's expectations and adaptation processes, and the relationships between different (local and migrant) women groups, which have been ignored for a long time due to male prejudices and gender blindness in migration studies, were the prominent topics (Bozok, 2019). For example, it also applies to the research in which forced migration is associated with gender. Since they are exposed to more problems, the studies mostly focused on women (Göktuna Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019). However, the field that has developed by focusing on the experiences of female migrants also started to include issues such as changing masculinity roles and the experiences of LGBTI+ in recent years (Biehl and Daniş, 2020). This trend seems to have no reflection on postgraduate dissertations focusing on migration and gender in Türkiye. However, as underlined by Schrover and Moloney (2013), it is important to look at men and women at the same time, both femininity and masculinity. Although not yet covered by the postgraduate disser-

tations in Türkiye, the research on gender and masculinity has been on the agenda since the late 1990s. With the increase in studies on masculinities as a new field in gender studies, the studies on the experiences of migrant men and masculinities have been conducted since the late 1990s (Bozok, 2019). The development of the focus from women to gender in gender studies has contributed to the fact that masculinity studies have come to the fore more (Lutz, 2010).

Although they are in the dominant position of patriarchal relations, men and masculinities may experience crises that can shake their positions (Bozok, 2019). Studies indicate that men, like women, are also subjected to violence and discrimination in different forms or levels during the migration process (Göktuna Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019). The migration process also causes changes in masculinity as a gender category (Choi, 2018). Migration is one of the dynamics that lead to masculinity crises. In this context, the studies on migration and masculinities have started to address the tensions that migrant men experience in different cultures in recent years (Bozok, 2019).

There are more academic studies based on the assumption that every migrant is heterosexual with the influence of the hetero-normative approach dominating the field of migration (Koçak, 2020). It could be considered that the women-oriented gender understandings and feminist approaches affected this situation. The feminist approaches are likely to create exclusionary gender norms and often lead to homophobic results (Butler, 2014). However, in addition to a small number of studies on masculinity, research has begun on migrants with different sexual orientations. The mentioned gender categories consist of people with non-normative sexual identities, gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, trans and intersex people (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013). The low number of studies on migrants with different sexual orientations can be regarded to be related to social and political conditions. According to a report by ILGA World on homophobia, 178 countries around the world still accuse people of their sexual orientation, and five of them apply the death penalty in such cases (Erdoğan and Köten, 2014). Moreover, there is no adequate official statistics on the number of asylum claims based on sexual orientation or sexual identity (FRA, 2017). The experiences of migrants with different sexual orientations are similar to the problems faced by women. Gay migrants such as lesbians, bisexual women and men, and transgender men, suffer problems in the face of normative ideas of masculinity (Oxford, 2013). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) asylum seekers are likely to face multiple forms of discrimination and the asylum authorities and procedures are often not equipped to deal with their particular situation (FRA, 2017).

Subjects about Migration and Gender in Postgraduate Dissertations

Gender affects the causes of migration, the location and method of migration, the networks used, opportunities and resources in the destination country and relations with the country of origin. Risks, vulnerabilities and needs are also largely shaped depending on the gender of the person, and they often vary greatly in different groups (IOM, 2019). Gender plays a central role in all stages of the migration process, and the experience of migration also deeply affects their public and private lives within the context of gender in terms of such aspects as women's labor force participation, occupational concentration, issues regarding religious life, marital roles, autonomy and self-esteem (Pedraza, 1991). This situation points to the multidimensional structure of examining migration in the context of gender. While the postgraduate dissertations conducted on migration in Türkiye mainly examine issues such as social policy, health and education, a great many studies have been conducted in different disciplines/departments such as social work, sociology, psychology, medicine, economics, law, public administration, educational sciences, geography,

language, literature, radio, television and cinema (Yerli, 2018). When the main subject or themes dealt within the context of migration and gender in the dissertations that constitute the study group of this research are examined, the existence of a wide range of different and various aspects draws attention. However, it is seen that two themes stand out. Accordingly, the most discussed topics and themes can be mentioned under the heading of *migration and women*. Fourteen dissertations focused on the concept of migration and women and the migration experience of women, and one dissertation examined the migration experience of men. As pointed out by Pedraza (1991), women's role in migration has been completely neglected until recently, despite their significant presence in migration flows. Although this outdated finding is still relatively valid regarding Türkiye, it is seen that the studies focusing on migration and gender are largely related to women. The second theme, which has been covered the most, could be mentioned in the heading of *migration and women's labor*. In this context, women migrants are discussed in the context of the economy, working life and women's labor in 8 dissertations. As for the most frequently depicted themes, the dissertations to be mentioned in the heading of *migration and women's representation* take the third place. In 7 dissertations that can be considered under this heading, the representation of migrant or refugee women in media organizations and cinema were depicted. Likewise, health services and social services were covered in 7 dissertations within the scope of the theme, which can be described as *health and social services*. The 5 dissertations that examine the themes of family, marriage, fertility and motherhood can be described under the heading of *family and marriage*. In 2 dissertations, the issue of ethnicity and identity, as part of internal migration, have been examined in the context of gender. The adaptation of female immigrants was examined in 3 dissertations. Exclusion was discussed in 2 dissertations, legal problems and protection in 2 dissertations, social interaction and participation in social activities in 3 dissertations. Other themes covered by dissertations can be listed as follows: citizenship, the female body, the liberation process, the feminization of migration, migration policies, urbanization, women in migration theories, marginalization, crime, male violence, religious life, equality. Considering the categories regarding the main subject or theme discussed within the context of migration and gender in the study group of dissertations, it is seen that the themes of migration and women's experience, women's labor, representation of women, health and social services and family and marriage designate the main framework of dissertations focusing on gender and migration.

The high number of dissertations considered under the category of migration and women in the dissertations evaluated under the heading of migration and women's labor is in line with the general trends in the literature. The migration and working life issues are the fields that are mostly studied in the academic literature (Kesici, 2015). As underlined by Biehl and Daniş (2020), the studies focusing on the experiences of women migrants initially emerged in migration studies in Türkiye in terms of gender in compliance with the international literature. The main factor of this situation is that the gender group affected by the negative consequences of migration is women (Uçan Çubukçu, 2013). Women are becoming more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse in the international migration process, and women are the main victims of increased human trafficking; while they are forced to work, they are also enslaved by the entertainment and sex industry (Şeker and Uçan, 2016). However, the roles, expectations, relationships and power dynamics associated with being a man, woman, boy or girl significantly affect all aspects of the migration process and they may be affected by migration in different ways (IOM, 2019). Therefore, it is important to conduct a higher number of and more varied academic research in terms of different gender contexts.

In the dissertations evaluated under the heading of migration and women's labor, the migration experiences of women were discussed in terms of the economic aspects and working life. The analyses based on economic aspects have a long history in migration studies. These studies examine gender in terms of workers' mottos, the welfare of migrants' families and communities, and other economic aspects of women's migration experiences (Fleury, 2016). The feminization of international labor migration is a global trend. The percentage of women in the migrant population (both permanent and temporary migrants) has been increasing in the post-war period, and women now make up the majority of international migrants (Oishi, 2002). Women no longer only follow their fathers or husbands but migrate themselves as workers. However, as the number of migrant women increases, so does economic abuse and exploitation. The majority of migrant women are highly vulnerable as they work at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (Oishi, 2002).

As the media often intervenes in individual and corporate communication processes, it provides frameworks for the production and consumption of representations of these categories. These representations should be analyzed in different aspects without being accepted as pre-existing socio-political realities (Georgiou, 2012). In this context, the dissertations that examine the themes in the category of migration and representation of women in the study group of the research aim to analyze the representation of women in the media in the context of their gender understanding. The mediated representations of gender, ethnicity, and migration play an increasingly important role in the way these categories are understood in the public and private sphere (Georgiou, 2012).

Stating that the applied research cannot be conducted in real terms under the influence of a misunderstanding of the applied research in the field of sociology in Türkiye, Çelebi (2015) indicates that this is why sociologists have kept away from carrying out policy-oriented research for a solution of macro, mezzo or micro-scaled problems (Çelebi, 2015). When the general characteristics of dissertations focusing on gender and migration are analyzed in terms of the problems examined, methodology, etc., it can be said based on the afore-mentioned finding that there is still need for research aimed at solving the problems that are encountered in association with gender in the context of migration.

Conclusion

In this study, which aimed at making an overall assessment based on an analysis of the post-graduate dissertations directly focusing on gender in the context of migration in Türkiye, 57 post-graduate dissertations focusing on migration and gender were examined in terms of specific criteria and evaluated based on the literature.

Firstly, there is a growing interest in the migration issue as part of the academic studies in Türkiye. Türkiye's position as a typical country of migration, a receiving country, a sending country and a transit country with many refugees and migrants are the source of such interest. Besides, the intense migration flows of Syrians and their quality as a relatively permanent element of Türkiye's population have had a substantial impact on migration research. The issue of gender is also becoming evident as a current and new area of interest. Türkiye's modernization process made a critical analysis of inequality between women and men a current issue, and the social, political and economic transformations that occurred especially in and after the 1980s caused an increase in the awareness of gender.

The most prominent feature regarding the postgraduate dissertations conducted with a focus on migration and gender in Türkiye could be considered as the ongoing insufficient interest in the

gender issue within the context of migration, despite the quantitative development in recent years. Migration and gender are the subjects of postgraduate dissertations. There is very little research on this subject at the doctoral level. The most distinctive feature of the dissertations in terms of the method is that they are qualitative research. The qualitative research methods are used especially in studies on in-depth analysis of women's migration experiences. However, there is a need to enrich diversity in terms of data collection and analysis techniques within the scope of qualitative research. The dissertations were generally conducted in the field of sociology. Although the concept of migration and gender are among the important topics of sociology, preparing dissertations in different fields also in line with the multidisciplinary nature of the issues related to these concepts can contribute to a better understanding of the multidimensional nature of migration and gender. The dissertations focusing on migration and gender have been written largely by women researchers, and again they depict women to a great extent. More research should be done on men and LGBT individuals in the context of gender.

Considering the migration types, the majority of dissertations is related to the migration towards Turkiye. In terms of the themes examined, dissertations focus more on women's migration experiences, while women's labor, the representation of women, health and social services, and family and marriage are the sub-headings that are examined relatively more. It is a remarkable limitation that there is a limited number of researches conducted in different themes and a wide variety of aspects. Diversity in research issues should be enriched to better understand migration in the context of gender and to develop solutions to problems.

The findings suggest that the gender-related aspects of Turkiye's specific experience of migration should be studied in more detail with the research in which they are used. At the same time, studies to be carried out with theoretical approaches are needed. The studies that theoretically analyze the migration and gender that are specific to Turkiye's experience of migration has the potential to create a fertile ground for further research.

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Research Article

The Roma in Turkiye: Segregation in The Labour Market and Income Differentiations

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ABSTRACT

In labour market research, rather than demographic and human capital endowments, ethnicity is considered a major explanatory of segregation in job occupations. This article examines the role of job occupations in income differentials within the Roma in Turkiye. The sample covers 1568 respondents and represents 6445 Roma. The conventional determinants for job occupation do not work differently for the income groups. For both the poorest and richest Roma, being a worker in a regular fulltime job provides much more of an increasing effect on income than the jobs in a trade. Discrimination in the labour market is a significant explanatory for all the income groups, except the richest Roma, but it has the highest impact on the poorest Roma. Traditional job occupations do not have an impact on income differentiation within Roma, but segregation for the Roma in the labour market is clear in defining income differentiation. This article asserts that even though the job occupations of the Roma partly present a kind of continuity of the traditional professions, the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners and working for someone else rather than being self-employed. While sociocultural determinants are significant in the middle-income groups, the voting behaviour in the municipal election has decremental impacts on all the income groups of the Roma.

Keywords: Segregation, discrimination, labour market, Roma



Introduction

The Roma society is one of the largest ethnic minorities in Europe. Today, there are 10–12 million Roma in the member states of the European Union. In addition to their limited access to fundamental social rights such as education, health, employment and acceptable living conditions, they are exposed to discrimination, social exclusion, and segregation. Due to these reasons, a significant part of them is in extreme marginalization in both the rural and urban labour markets. By covering all these problems, the E.U. framework for the National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 was announced in April 2011. For the first time, the Roma issue in Turkiye found a notable response at the governmental level. The problems of the Roma in employment, housing, and discrimination, had come to the agenda of politics with the Roma Initiative in March 2010. However, the Strategy Stage for the Roma Citizens could not be realised until 2016.

Nevertheless, relevant research has been nonstandard small-scaled field examinations mostly focusing on political frameworks. Existing socio-economic studies are generally descriptive and based on reports presenting statistical data (EUAFR 2014; Hugh Frazer and Eric Marlier 2011). Besides, significant numbers of academic research analysing the Roma in the labour market of Turkiye belonging to anthropology and sociology literature rather than economics (Marsh and Strand, 2006; Marsh 2007, 2010; Marsh and Eren 2008; Aras 2009, Özateşler 2014; Akkan et al., 2011). Although most of them have focused on the issue of discrimination against the Roma, due to the lack of quality data, these analyses might miss reasoning relations between discrimination and labour market conditions. Unlike the studies in this field, by considering job occupations, income channels and income inequalities within the Roma, this article seeks to evaluate the current situation of the Roma in the Turkish labour market.

The literature on the job occupations of the Roma mainly refers to the traditional professions of the society. The rest of the research underlines the niche market referring to self-employment. On the contrary, an argument asserts that by urbanisation, Roma and gypsy communities had to become labourers. The groups having social adaptation difficulties due to cultural norms tried to find new strategies in the labour market. Still, the area, they found to survive in, is shaped by informal labour market characteristics and low-income earnings. By following this argument, this article asserts that even though the job occupations of the Roma partly present a kind of continuity of the traditional professions, the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners and working for someone else rather than being self-employed.

Unlike the studies in this field, this research uses comprehensive data covering 1568 respondents and representing 6445 Roma households. The research was conducted through face-to-face interviews in 12 provinces in Turkiye¹. By using Quantile Regression (QR) analysis, the article is specifically looking forward (1) to decompose the household income levels of the Roma in Turkiye, and (2) to find out the salient factors differentiating the income levels within the Roma. Additional to the component of income, the analysis is much more related to discrimination and the socio-cultural interaction of the Roma in Turkiye. Therefore, other targets of the research are (3) to answer whether occupational segregation defines income groups within the Roma, and (4) whether the conventional variables have the same impacts on the quantile income groups of the Roma. Lastly, the article seeks to answer (5) whether discrimination, socio-cultural interactions and political behaviour play a more influential role than the job occupations in income differentiation within the Roma.

1 According to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS), Turkey has 12 regions in NUTS-1 and 26 sub-regions in NUTS-2. The survey is carried out in 12 provinces, each of them are representative of the NUTS-2 sub-regions of the NUTS-1 regions, where the highest number of Roma live.

Literature Review

Measuring the impact of the identity of the Roma on economic outcomes requires consideration of historical, social, and anthropological backgrounds. The ethnographic research on the Roma and the communities pursuing a Roma like life examines economic practices embedded in the modern economic system. These economic practices are not in the market economy, but they survive on the walls and in the cracks of it.

In the anthropological research on the economic practices of the Roma and Gypsy communities, Okely (1983) and Rao (1987) defined them as nomadic or peripatetic service providers and entertainers. Though the transformation in the relations of capitalist production, the economic activity areas of peripatetic communities narrowed. Therefore, the majority of the peripatetic groups had to move to settled life and lost their ethnic identities through rationalised labour market relations in urban life. Those who could protect their identity are the Roma who work in the informal markets of the modern economy². Because the Roma groups could survive by looking forward to the areas which are not covered by the dominant identity, they could generate new jobs in niche areas to develop their autonomous fields in the labour market. The employment strategy defines gypsy communities in the area remaining from the dominant identity. Besides, the generic argument that the Gypsy and Roma communities refuse to work in regular jobs might support the same. To not disrupt their identity–building process, the Roma abstain from the actions dominated by the rest of the society, because working in regular jobs leads to integration into the labour market, as well as meaning a kind of threat of adaptation to the dominant social culture and assimilation of identity for the Roma (Brazzabeni, Cunha and Fotta 2015).

On the other hand, Gmelch and Gmelch (1977) observed that respectability within the Roma comes with the profession, and it is seen as a provider of adaptation and social acceptance by the non–Roma. The economic strategies of the Roma, though capturing certain areas of the labour market, provide success at being involved in the majority society. These contradictory arguments show that the Roma are trapped between the in–group and out–group norms. The concept of a *niche* economic field contains the economic strategies that the Roma might reproduce in different societies. It refers to the mutable goods and services demanded by the other social groups in the same society. Whereas also, these jobs might be defined as undesirable by the other groups (Berland, Rao, 2004; Brazzabeni et al., 2015).

Even though the challenges of transformed economic strategies within urban life shape the root of the Roma studies in social science literature, especially after the discussion on the policies of the social inclusion of the Roma in the 2000s, researchers put much more attention on employment policies. Their central axis of integration refers to active labour market policies. In the last two decades, the research mainly discusses the situation of the Roma in the labour market in five manners, these are (1) underemployment and the informal job market, (2) high unemployment levels, (3) low education and skills, (4) discrimination, and (5) inadequate social policies. The literature discussed in the article does not cover social policies for the inclusion of the Roma but tries to concisely examine the empirical research on the Roma in the labour market.

Empirical research on the labour market conditions of the Roma points to the fact that their access to full–time jobs is scarce, jobs generally have short–term and seasonal characteristics,

2 By referring to Gmelch (1986) and Salo (1986), Yilgur proposes to use the concept of late-peripatetic for the Roma communities in Turkey. He put forward the rationale of his proposal that while the emphasis of the concept of peripatetic is mobility and migration, the communities who integrated into urban life and found creative economic strategies needs to be defined with the concept of *late-peripatetic*.

forcing the Roma to work in the irregular and informal job market. These conditions deprive them of regular income channels, social security, and social interaction practices in the labour market. In addition to the informal labour market conditions, unequal wages due to discrimination and its relation to education level (and, as a consequence, high unemployment levels) are the primary emphasis of the empirical research.

In O'Higgins (2009), the unequal income–earning and differentiated wage levels for the Roma were explored with a survey on the Roma and the non–Roma in South–Eastern Europe. The main comparative determinants were education and wages. O'Higgins (2009) underlined the lower return of education for the Roma compared with the non–Roma. The mechanism behind the lower return of education is related to the low education level in the Roma, and in–group behaviour towards education. The low level of participation in education and the constant low level of income for the educated Roma in the labour market makes the Roma lose the meaning of education to have jobs and earn more income.

Szalai and Zentai (2014) explored the multi–dimensional aspects of the institutional relationship of the Roma at the national level, such as access to the labour market, basic local social services, and socio–political participation. They propounded a sensitive survey for the national census covering the ethnic concentration of employment in different sectors of the economy. According to the local concentration of the ethnicities, inter–ethnic relations, and the segregated composition of the settlements in micro–regions, Szalai and Zentai (2014) examined the local practices of marginalization of the Roma in Hungary, Romania, and Serbia. The article revealed that the disparities between the micro–regions interplay with the socioeconomic conditions, such as educational and employment opportunities.

The literature points to extensive prejudice, discrimination, unstable and inadequate employment for the Roma society. Dinca and Luches (2018) proposed an occupational integration program for the successful social integration of the Roma. The research opened the mechanism behind the discrimination the Roma face and the impact of support by the social institutions and addressed the importance of in–group social practices, customs, and norms for the capability of the Roma to enter the job market. They found that uneducated and low skilled Roma avoid getting involved in labour market relations at the institutional level and need an intermediary person to get in touch with the labour market practices.

In the manner of more complex and institutionalised labour market relations, O'Higgins and Ivanov (2006) explored the transition to the market economy in the countries of Central and South–Eastern Europe for the Roma communities. By comparing the major characteristics of regimes before 1990 and the collapse of socialist industry and agriculture, the main influences of the market economy on the Roma employment are low–quality jobs and lower social benefits. To compensate for the income disadvantages, the Roma tried to develop self–employment opportunities.

Casa–Nova (2007) discussed the meaning of working in the lifestyle of the Roma communities in Northern Portugal and argued that the impact of capitalist market relations on the Roma communities pushed them to prefer self–employed jobs. Due to the prejudices and the deep discrimination attitudes of employers, intra–ethnic solidarity provided security and understanding. Self–employment allowed independence for time management for caring for children and older people in the family. Therefore, the job market relation of the Roma, structures on ethnic belonging rather than education, age, and skills.

Marsh dominates the literature with his research on the economic life and job market relation

of the Roma in Türkiye (Marsh, Strand 2006; Marsh 2007, 2010; Marsh, Eren 2008). He mostly refers to the traditional job occupations and professions of the Roma in the Ottoman Empire, such as the supply of shipbuilding materials, shipbuilding, bridge construction, fortress repair, and mining and army transport (Mischek 2002). Since the early modern urbanisation of Türkiye, the Roma do such jobs as blacksmithing and musicianship. They produce tinning, farrier, jewellery, sword, stove, slippers, shoes, wide-headed nails; leather craftsmanship, tailoring, painting, butchery, and horticulture (Unaldı 2012).

Through the rise of urbanisation and mass production, the Roma were not only exposed to spatial segregation but also discrimination in the labour market. Therefore, recent literature focuses on poverty and social exclusion in a sociological manner. According to Marsh (2008), the job occupations of the Roma communities in the 2000s were mostly in the service sector in Türkiye. The job occupations in his research are listed as follows; shoe shiners, porters, old object collectors, basket sellers, flower sellers, peddlers, garbage collectors, recyclable material collectors, fortune tellers in tourist centres, traders, and coachmen. The Roma in Türkiye are mostly musicians, instrumentalists, and dancers in the entertainment industry. Moreover, they have traditional craft jobs, such as knitting, knife making, metalworking, and blacksmithing. As niche job occupations, they work as traditional dentists, and they do tin smithing, wire broom making, mining, blacksmithing, tinning, and foundry work. Industrial and hand manufacturing jobs include foundry work, textiles, and agriculture.

The studies on job occupations of the Roma are mainly based on micro-scale field studies. Marsh and Eren (2008) conducted their research specifically on the basket makers and musicians in the Roma living in Izmir and Diyarbakir. They claimed that the traditional economic practices of the Roma had guaranteed their identity. At the same time, the changing conditions in socio-economic life destructed the traditional professions through the dissolution of traditional job market practices of the Roma, leading them to be exposed to marginalisation.

Aras (2009) conducted field research in the neighbourhoods of Cankurtaran in Istanbul and Menzili Ahir in Edirne. He focused on the concentration of the Roma communities in informal jobs. Aras (2009) sought to examine the forms of participation in the informal labour market, the factors affecting participation and the roles of neighbourhoods. The article proves a link between the cultural characteristics of the Roma and the jobs in informal labour markets that require flexible labour practices, such as flexible working hours and working in a team. The article emphasised the social interactions within the Roma as the shapers of the job expectations of young people. For instance, socialisation in cafés has a decisive role rather than education.

In the recent research focusing on the job occupations of the Roma in Türkiye predominantly follows the same arguments with the previous analyses. In Gen et al. (2015), the Roma was able to continue their traditional job occupations by working in flexible and temporary jobs. The article claimed that the endogamic occupational preferences result from motivation to protect their identity. However, the number of Roma who carry out traditional occupations is quite low. Traditional job occupations are not the preference for the Roma. In contrast, Ozdemir (2014) pointed out that the decrease in demand for some professions such as basket making, tin and sieving have caused the loss of these professions.

Ozatesler (2014) focused on working conditions, socioeconomic dynamics, and the social exclusion of street flower sellers in two central districts of Istanbul: Şişli and Taksim. The article also presented the role of political relations and the perception of being a gypsy in economic practices. Aşkın (2017) investigated the socioeconomic transformations of the conditions in the

sectors of musicians, seasonal agricultural workers, shoemakers, peddlers, street vendors and recyclers in İzmir. He expressly underlined the reasoning mechanism of poverty and deprivation phenomena in the context of the economic transformation of the labour market. He classified the current job occupations of the Roma in İzmir, such as entertainers, scrap makers, waste collectors, seasonal agricultural labourers, selling cloth and women's garments, and shoe manufacturing.

A comprehensive study was conducted in Istanbul, İzmir, Konya, Samsun, Erzurum, and the Hatay provinces by Akkan et al. (2011). The study drew attention to the relation of social exclusion to spatial segregation. The uncertainty of income and insufficient informal networks were associated with the spatial dimension of the labour market. Moreover, they argued that rather than being in lower-income groups, the strategies for subsistence push the unqualified labour of the Roma into the urban poor.

Geographically, the most comprehensive research on the Roma in the Turkish labour market was conducted by Aydın (2019). The survey covers 12 cities in Türkiye and 1,568 respondents representing 6,445 Roma people. Furthermore, the research not only provides statistical data but also puts forward comparisons of income inequality within the Roma and between the Roma and the non-Roma.

According to the results in Aydın (2019),

“The ratio of the Roma who find employment opportunities in the informal job market to the whole Roma who are in employment is 63.1%. While 18.5 % of this rate consists of the female Roma, 44.69 % consists of the male Roma. As for those Roma in informal the economy, 70.8 % is male, and 29.2 % is female” (Aydın 2019: 102).

Besides this, Aydın (2019) calculated the Gini coefficient of the Roma in Türkiye, 0.43, which is higher than the average value of Türkiye, 0.40. Aydın (2019) found that although in the big cities such as Ankara and İzmir, the inequalities among the Roma people are relatively higher than the other cities in Türkiye, there is no clear inequality pattern between the Roma and the non-Roma³.

Moreover, the inequalities between the Roma and the non-Roma populations in the cities of İzmir, Eskisehir, Antalya, and Samsun are very close to each other. For instance, the inequality within the non-Roma is higher than the Roma in Diyarbakir, where the highest inequality among the non-Roma. Although Çanakkale is one of the least unequal cities for the non-Roma, it is the most unequal city for the Roma.

The most recent study using two comprehensive surveys; the SILC data of Türkiye and a survey of Roma people in 2016⁴, estimated the degree of monetary and multidimensional poverty for the Roma and non-Roma in Türkiye. They argue that there is a huge poverty gap between the Roma and the non-Roma. Although the impact of endowment is more dominant, also discrimination generates a significant effect on the poverty gap between the Roma and non-Roma (Yılmaz and Kılıç, 2021).

3 In this research, the non-Roma represents the households in the Survey conducted by Turkish Statistical Institute.

4 This article has the same data set with Yılmaz and Kılıç (2021).

Materials and Research Design

Data

The European Commission's Enlargement Strategy highlighted the precarious situation of many Roma in the Western Balkans and in Türkiye. Their number is estimated at 3.8 million by the Council of Europe.⁵ The Roma living in Türkiye is divided into three general groups: Rom, Dom, and Lom⁶. Roms are the most dominant group in terms of population and culture, generally living in the Marmara, Aegean, Central Anatolia, Black Sea, and Mediterranean regions. Doms live mainly in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia but also reside in some cities in the Mediterranean region such as Adana, Mersin, and Hatay. Loms are the smallest group among the Roma and live in some Black Sea provinces, mainly in Artvin and Sinop. The survey determined the number of the questionnaires based on the number of the Roma populations in the provinces with the aim of fully covering the Roma groups, Roms, Doms.

In contrast, due to the difficulties of the field research conditions, the survey is not representative of the Loms⁷ Within this scope, the research aims to collect essential information about the Roma from governmental and non-governmental organizations. The head of households responded to the questions on working conditions, education levels and social interaction within the Roma and with the non-Roma. Through the random sampling method, a questionnaire survey through face-to-face interviews was conducted with 1,550 heads of households⁸ representing 6445 households.

Although there is no clarity about the population of the Roma in the province level, there are some estimates based on civil society reports and field research conducted by academics. By considering the regional distribution and the specific distinctions among the Roma, the field research was conducted in twelve provinces, covering thirty-one districts, in Türkiye. The field research has been structured around 300 households from Istanbul with a population of over 100 thousand, 150 households from the provinces with 50–100 thousand and 100 households from the provinces which have less than a 50 thousand population. Hitherto research shows that—the Roma reside mainly in 16 provinces in Türkiye. Whereas, considering the regional distribution, the data have been collected in 12 of these provinces, such as Ankara, Antalya, Çanakkale, Diyarbakır, Edirne, Eskişehir, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, Muğla, Samsun. Data collection was accomplished between June 2017– August 2018.

5 An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, p.18.

6 "Roma" is a general identification term ignores authentic culture of these three groups. The term has been deemed appropriate to define wide cultural range. By referring to income sources and job occupations, there are many different local naming called Abarabacı (carter), Elekçi (sifter) and Mitrip (musician). Roma is a group. However, using "Roma" in reports is more functional to address major socioeconomic problems which are common for all the subgroups (<http://www.middleeastgypsies.com/turkey: 18.01.2021>)

7 In Yilgur (2016), ethnic identity is defined as a clustering tool existing by the interaction with the other peripatetic groups. Same as with this perspective, the sample partly covers the communities living like the Roma, such as Tebers in Ankara. However, the communities live like the Roma, but do not recognize themselves as the Roma, even though they are identified by their neighbourhood so, were not included into the sample. For instance, Abdals living in Antalya and Muğla, Sheyhbizins living in Erzurum, Kara Tatarlar in Alpu, Eskişehir are some of these groups.

8 In defining the head of households, in many neighbourhoods, women are as economically active as men and work in diversified jobs. However, the family-related decisions, especially income, expenditure and saving were generally made by men in the Roma families as it is in dominant society in Turkey. In this respect, in households with men, the head of the household is male and in the absence of men, the head of household is female.

Table 1: The Regions, Provinces, and Districts of the Sample

| Regions of Türkiye | Provinces | District | Number of Head of Households |
|--------------------|------------|---|------------------------------|
| Central | | | |
| Anatolia | Ankara | Polatlı, Sincan, Altındağ | 97 |
| Mediterranean | Antalya | Alanya, Manavgat, | 101 |
| Marmara | Çanakkale | Biga, Gelibolu | 97 |
| East Anatolia | Diyarbakır | Bismil, Çınar | 116 |
| Marmara | Edirne | Keşan, Uzunköprü | 155 |
| Central | | | |
| Anatolia | Eskişehir | Tepebaşı | 97 |
| East Anatolia | Hatay | İskenderun, Kırıkhan | 102 |
| Marmara | | Ataşehir, Beylikdüzü, Esenyurt, Fatih, Sarıyer, Silivri, Şişli, | |
| | İstanbul | Üsküdar | 294 |
| Aegean | İzmir | Bergama, Menemen | 164 |
| Marmara | Kocaeli | Gebze, Körfez | 146 |
| Aegean | Muğla | Fethiye, Milas, Köyceğiz | 85 |
| Black Sea | Samsun | Çarşamba, Bafra | 114 |
| Total | | | 1568 |

The unit of analysis is the individual in the context of households. To obtain the total income information, the heads of households is a single expenditure unit, and all revenues are added to the observations on the head of the household at an individual level. The income definition includes all components of monetary income (wages, self-employment, entrepreneurial income, pensions, and cash transfers) and non-cash income/ aid in kinds, such as white appliances, coal for heating and food aid packages.

Equalized Household Income= Total Income/ (Number of Adults + 0.6*Number of Children)
0.9

In this study, to compare the disposable income of heterogeneous households, 2002 Household Budget National Equivalence Scale is used,

$$\alpha = 0.6 \text{ and } \theta = 0.9$$

$$E = (A + Ac)\theta, 0 \leq \theta \leq 1, 0 \leq \alpha \leq 1$$

{A: number of adults, C: number of children, θ : number of children /number of adults}

This part briefly presents the main characteristics of the Roma heads of the households. Table 2 provides a summary of the descriptive statistics⁹ of the random sample. Although the rate of female heads of households is only 8% in the sample, the sample size of females provides a comparison of income between the families having female and male heads of households. The average age of the sample is 44.6, and the participants' ages were divided into four groups (16-25, 26-45, 46-65, and 66 and older). The distribution of age intensifies between the ages of 26 and 45, accounting for 49.2%. Marriage at an early age, a common social issue within the Roma justifies this age distribution. For instance, in the sample, the first age of marriage is 20 for males and 17 for the female head of the household.

While the average length of education is 6.3 years for the Roma, 72.9% of them have less than 5 years of education. This rate was 43.5% for adults in Türkiye (older than 15 years old) in 2018 (TUIK, 04.02.2020). While 24.2% of the Roma do not go to school at all, only 6.6% of them are

⁹ We have set the margin of error, ϵ is 0,05 and maximum population (N) is 5.000.000. Confidence interval (CI) is %95. More than 384 Roma may cover the minimum representative sample size for Turkey, however we have considered the regional distribution of Roma in Turkey, as well.

literate. While 19% of the Roma have a primary school degree, only 1.78% of them have a university degree. For the female head of households, the rate of illiteracy is 57%, while the rate in Türkiye is 12.8%. The rate of females in Türkiye who are literate without a diploma is 6.8%, in contrast, the rate for the Roma is 33%. Approximately 8% of the female Roma head of households graduated from secondary school, while only 5.7% of them graduated from high and vocational high school. Although the rate of male Roma with a university degree and higher educational institutions is 1.8%, only 1 of the female Roma in the sample have a university degree.

As for the geographical distribution, most of the Roma reside in the west side of Türkiye. While 41.3% of the sample live in the Marmara Region (Istanbul, Kocaeli, Canakkale, Edirne) and 14.9% of the Roma in Aegean (Izmir, Mugla); 13.2 % of them reside in East Anatolia (Diyarbakir), and 13.5% live in Central Anatolia (Ankara, Eskisehir). Only 9.9% of the Roma live in the Mediterranean (Antalya), and 7.8% of them reside in the Black Sea (Samsun). It is essential to underline that the representative respondents of Doms in the sample are only 13.2% of the total Roma head of households living in Diyarbakir. Therefore, the sample is predominantly representative of the Rom population of the Roma in Türkiye.

While the unemployment rate of the head of households in the Roma is 21.9%, the women's unemployment rate is 51.3%. On the other hand, at the individual level, 51.3 % of the Roma are unemployed. While the unemployment rate for the Roma women is 75.1%, it is 27.8 % for men. Diyarbakir is the province with the highest unemployment rate, with 89.7 % for women and 46.5 % for men. The lowest unemployment rate is in Canakkale with 43%.

The annual average total income, excluding social transfer payments, is 32.041 TL, which approximately equals to 2.670 TL monthly income. Based on empirical results and field observations, the important part of income comes from the conditional social transfer payments, such as for the number of children, health, education, old age/disability benefits, and employment assistance. In order not to lose the conditional social transfers, most of the Roma do not participate in the labour force and prefer unregistered self-employed jobs. The average amount of yearly social assistance is 2.396 TL. According to the market prices of the products, all the aid in kind is converted into the monetary amount.

Table 3 shows the share of 5 primary job occupations of the Roma in the labour market. The first acceptance belongs to the professions obtained with a university degree and being an artist e.g., a musician. The second job occupations group need qualifications and skills, these are jobs such as motor mechanics, repairers, carpenters, plumbers, tailors, and cooks, which are blue-collar job occupations (11.57%). The job occupations in trade activities such as shopkeepers, traders and street vendors are in the third category with 15.9 % of the Roma. Nineteen of the Roma are unskilled workers with a regular wage, such as factory labourers, municipal officers, security officers, salespeople, construction workers, garment and leather manufacturers, security guards, municipality officers, waiters and waitresses, and technical service personnel.

Descriptive Statistics of the Sample

Table 2: Distribution of Roma Households

| Demographic Variables | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| 16–25 years old | 94 | 5.99 |
| 26–45 years old | 772 | 49.23 |
| 46–65 years old | 600 | 38.27 |
| 66– older | 102 | 6.51 |
| No School | 284 | 18.11 |
| Literate without formal education | 95 | 6.06 |
| Primary School | 764 | 48.72 |
| Secondary School | 298 | 12.44 |
| High School | 99 | 6.31 |
| University Degree | 28 | 1.78 |
| Female | 121 | 7.72 |
| Male | 1447 | 92.28 |
| Marmara | 2662 | 41.30 |
| Aegean | 921 | 14.29 |
| Central Anatolia | 869 | 13.48 |
| Mediterranean | 637 | 9.88 |
| East Anatolia | 851 | 13.20 |
| Black Sea | 505 | 7.84 |

While the rate of the unemployed Roma is 21.9%, the rate of the Roma working in irregular jobs (low-paid jobs) is 20%. These jobs are portering, recycling workers on the street, scrap traders, shoe painters on the street, toilet cleaners, as well as agricultural jobs; seasonal agricultural workers, fruit pickers, shepherders; and traditional jobs¹⁰ such as tinmen, basket makers, coachmen, blacksmiths, packer, leather craftsman. The researchers in this field have defined the Roma people as peripatetic, nomadic, and they do not put an emphasis on agriculture. Nevertheless, the number of Roma working in traditional jobs (1.73%) is less than the number of Roma working in agriculture (2.04%). The Roma working in agriculture are seasonal workers who reside in the Marmara and East Anatolia regions.

For the evaluation of regional differences in income level, it is necessary to consider the median income of the Roma and the non-Roma in Turkiye. As seen in Figure 1¹¹, there are significant regional income disparities within the cities in Turkiye. The income levels in the western regions are higher than the eastern regions. In big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, the median income of the Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

Furthermore, the median income level in Turkiye, in general, is higher than the median income of the Roma. Only in Antalya, the median income of the Roma is higher than the non-Roma because the Roma living in Antalya majorly earns their income from touristic activities. In contrast, both the Roma and the non-Roma have the lowest median income in Diyarbakir, which is in Turkiye's south-east. Aydın (2019) emphasizes that the median income of the non-Roma people living in Diyarbakir is lower than the median income of the Roma throughout the country. It is important to highlight in the analysis that while the median income of the Roma is higher than the average in seven cities, it is lower in the remaining five cities.

¹⁰ The number of the Roma who are working in the traditional jobs is only 27 in the sample.

¹¹ The data in this research is the same with Aydın (2019). The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author, Sinem Bağcı, upon reasonable request.

Table 3: Distribution of the Job Occupations

| Job Occupations | Freq. | Per cent |
|-------------------------|-------|----------|
| Unemployed | 343 | 21.92 |
| Art–Music and Graduates | 179 | 11.44 |
| Qualified Blue–Collar | 181 | 11.57 |
| Commerce and Trader | 249 | 15.91 |
| Workers | 299 | 19.11 |
| Low Paid Jobs | 314 | 20.06 |

The yearly average income level of the unemployed head of households is 23.076 TL, which is approximately 32% lower than the average total income. For the unemployed Roma head of households, 47.8% of their income comes from wage and salary. The salary corresponds to regular paid workers, but for the Roma society, it is mostly minimum wage jobs. By taking into consideration the average working months, 6.7 months, the total annual income from the channels is only 11.042 TL. The second primary income channel is social assistance for the unemployed head of households. The rate of social assistance in their yearly average income is 19.5% that is the highest proportion comparing with the other job occupations. Trade and private job earnings, mainly including daily earnings–related to skills or professions such as music playing and repair, are also higher than 10% of the unemployed Roma’s annual average income.

The primary income channel for the musicians is private job earnings with the highest rate to yearly average income, 55.4%. Although musicians, artists and other qualified jobs are considered valuable in the society, their annual average income level is the second highest one after shopkeeper, commerce, trader, and street vender. The Roma who are shopkeepers, and tradesmen earn a high level of income. Their primary income channel is trade with a rate of 59.8%. They are the second group least benefiting from social payments after the musicians, artists, and other qualified jobs.

As it is seen in blue–collar jobs, while the primary income channel is private job earnings, the secondary one is salary and wages. The proportion of social assistance to the annual average income level of blue–collar jobs is only 4.4%. The social assistance income is mostly taken by the Roma who have traditional jobs, such as in agriculture and recycling and the other low paid jobs with a rate of more than 10% of their annual income.

The primary income channel of the workers is salary and wage, 64.4%, and additional work to compensate the living expenses is private job earnings, 21.16%. The Roma mainly work in the informal job market. While the rate of the regular wage earners with insurance is 77.8%, the rate of workers with insurance is 35.4%. For instance, 62.8% of the Roma working in the cleaning sector have working insurance and earn more than 70% of their total income from salary and wages. Cleaning is the first job occupation that dominantly matches with income channels. As it is the same for the Roma workers, the additional income comes from private jobs.

For agricultural workers, the primary income channel is the trade and private job earnings rather than agriculture. Moreover, social assistance has more than 10% of the total income composition. It mainly means that only a small amount of income is earned by the head of households, and it is compensated for by the other family members working in trade and private jobs. In low paid jobs, the primary income channel is private job earnings with a rate of 64.4%. The other income channels compositions are relatively equal within the trade, salary and social assistance which is around 10%.

Methodology

Ethnic differences are essential variables in explaining wage and income inequalities (Zorlu 2003; Mason 2004., Ramos et al., 2005). The existence of a common ancestor based on shared individual characteristics and shared socio-cultural experiences plays a decisive role for the people who come from the same ethnic background (Constant, et al. 2006). In this part, rather than a comparison between different ethnicities, the analysis focuses on the diversity of the income levels by the job occupations of the Roma in Turkiye. The decomposition of income in (i) demographic characteristics (ii) labour market variables, such as job occupation, and yearly working hours (iii) the social interaction of the Roma, and (iv) voting behaviour/political preferences are estimated with a quantile regression of equalised household income.

As seen in Table 5, the results show that compared to being male, being the female head of households means a lower income by 29.2%. In contrast to being married, the widow Roma heads of households have more income. Being widowed has an increasing effect on income by 40.8% for the fourth income group (62%–80%) but being single and divorced is not even significant at all.

Another critical parameter for the demographic features of the Roma is the region they reside in. The field research has been conducted in six regions of Turkiye out of seven regions at total, and there is no observation from East Anatolia in the sample. However, it is essential to highlight that having the Roma identity is salient in the west side of Turkiye. The Roma society is mostly living in the Marmara Region, 41.3%. Therefore, Marmara is the reference point for observing the impact of regions on income. The head of the household residing in Aegean earns 12.3% less than the Roma living in Marmara. In comparison, the rate of the Roma in Central Anatolia is 32.4%, in Southeast Anatolia 24% and in the Black Sea 33.1%. The Roma who live in the Black Sea area have the lowest income.

For the evaluation of regional differences in income level, it is necessary to consider the median income of the Roma and the non-Roma in Turkiye. As seen in Figure 1¹², there are significant regional income disparities between the cities in Turkiye. The income levels in the western regions are higher than the eastern regions. In big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, the median income of the Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

In comparison to being unemployed, the income-earning hierarchy might be defined as follows: (1) job occupations in art, music, and university degree – 29.8%, (2) commerce and traders – 27.1%, (3) workers – 20.7%, (4) qualified blue-collar – 15.5%, and (5) low paid jobs that are not even significant for the explanation of income.

For instance, if the head of the household is a shopkeeper, a trader, or a vender or has a job in trade, the income increases by 27.1%, while if he/she is working as a qualified blue-collar worker, then the incremental impact is quite lower on income, 15.5%. Whereas all the job occupations have positive effects on income level, being the head of the household who is working in low-paid jobs causes a decremental impact on income, but not to a significant degree, such as agriculture and farming, portering and recycling. In contrast, being a worker in a fulltime job has the third most impactful job position ranking after the jobs related to trade.

Discrimination in the labour market covers unequal economic behaviours that cause unequal economic output from a specific group, compared to the dominant social groups. Discrimination is not a random phenomenon, but a systematic tendency towards a group or the tendency of employers' and stable and continuous employment attitudes. Discrimination in the labour market has

12 The data in this research is the same with Aydın (2019).

an average value of the responses to the questions, such as in which the level of discrimination in (1) the private and (2) the public job market the Roma faces. The responses are valued between 0–4 with range by 1, one-degree increase in discrimination causes a decrease in income by 5.7%. For instance, an incremental movement from 0 to 4 leads to a reducing impact on income by 28%, which shows that discrimination matters in income level. In contrast, Milcher and Fischer (2011) indicated that while discrimination against the Roma in the labour market occurs in Albania and Kosovo, discrimination is not a significant parameter in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Serbia.

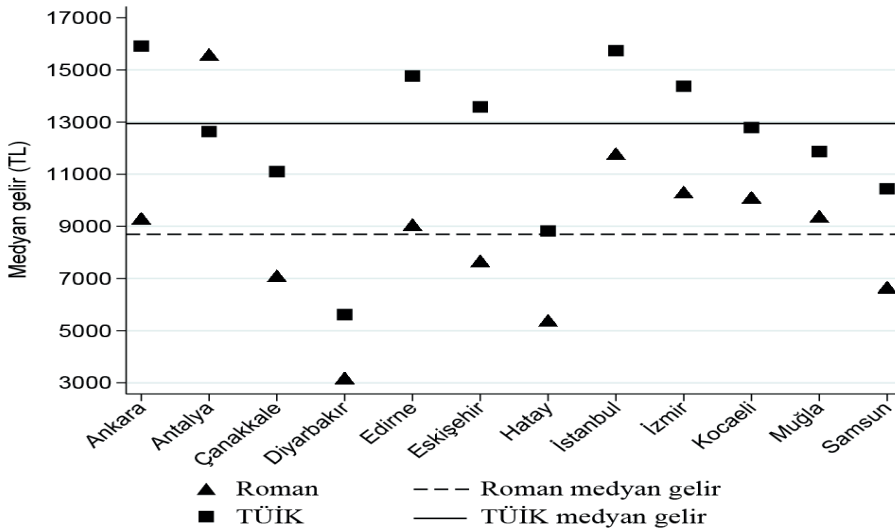


Figure 1: The Median Income of the Roma and the Non-Roma in Türkiye by Cities

▲ Roma — The Median Income of the Roma
 ■ Non-Roma — The Median Income of the Non-Roma

Source: Aydın K. Türkiye’de Romanlar: Bir Kimlik Ekonomisi, 116R050, Mart 2019: 63.

For the methodology to analyse the impact of job occupation within the Roma on household income, Quantile Regression (QR) is used. Compared to Ordinary Least Square (OLS), the quantile regression gives a more comprehensive results about the independent variables on the dependent variable. While OLS regression estimates the average effects of independent variables, QR presents different effects along with the quantiles of the dependent variable. The OLS model assumes that the regression coefficients effects are constant across the population. On the other hand, to estimate the effects of demographic and labour market parameters on household income, it is more important to show the different effects between the low- and high-income households. In differentiation the household income levels of the Roma in Türkiye require heterogeneous comparison.

Koenker and Bassett (1978) developed QR that quantifies the heterogeneous effects of covariates through conditional quantiles of the outcome variable. By minimizing asymmetrically weighted absolute residuals QR estimates conditional median and a full range of other quantile

functions. Therefore, QR is convenient when the asymmetries and intense tails exist for the distribution of the dependent variable. QR provides robust results for outliers, because the distribution of the outcome does not require strict parametric assumptions (Huang et al., 2017).

In the QR model, generally, let y_i and x_i denote the outcome of interest and the corresponding covariate vector for subject i ($i=1, \dots, n$), where y_i is independent observations of a continuous random variable with a common cumulative distribution function (cdf) $F_{y_i}(\cdot)$.

The QR model with τ^{th} quantile for the response y_i given x_i takes the form of

$$Q_{y_i}(\tau | x_i) = g(x_i, \beta) \tag{1}$$

where $Q_{y_i}(\tau | x_i) = g(x_i, \beta)$ is the inverse of (cdf) of y_i given x_i evaluated at τ with $0 < \tau < 1$, $g(\cdot)$ is a known function. Regression coefficient vector β is estimated by minimizing

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \rho_{\tau}(y_i - g(x_i, \beta)) \tag{2}$$

Where $\rho_{\tau}(\cdot)$ is the check function defined by $\rho_{\tau}(u) = u(\tau - I(u < 0))$ and $I(\cdot)$ denotes the indicator function.

The median income for the 3rd, 4th and 5th quantile income groups are between 9,000 – 10,000 TL. The groups with high standard deviation are the lowest and highest quantile income groups. However, the groups have a normal distribution due to being sorted by ordering from the smallest to the largest. Therefore, there is not a high rate of differentiation between them. On the other hand, for the maximum income, the difference between the highest and lowest quantile income group is around 53%.

The top 20% income group earns approximately half of the total income (49.6%). The lowest 20% income group receives only 4.6% of the total income. In comparison, the lower–middle–income group gets 9.8%, and respectively the middle–income group gets 14.6%, and the upper–middle–income group gets 21.3 %.

Table 4: Explanatory Variables of Income

| Explanatory Variables of Income | Description of The Explanatory Variables |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Age (level) | Year of the age of the Head of Household (HHH). |
| Education Level (level) | Education years comprising six education degrees that needs the acquisition of diploma. (1) uneducated– illiterate, (2) literacy without formal education, (3) primary school degree, (4) secondary school degree, (5) high school degree, (6) university degree. |
| Gender (dummy variable) | The reference group is male. |
| Number of Children (level) | Number of dependent children that the HHHs are responsible for caring. |
| Marital Status (dummy variable) | There are four marital statuses such as (1) married, which is the reference group, (2) single, (3) divorced, and (4) widow. |
| Region (dummy variable) | In the sample, there are six regions the Roma living in; Marmara, Aegean, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, East Anatolia, and the Black Sea. |

| | |
|--|---|
| Job Occupations (dummy variable) | Job occupations are classified into five significant occupations rather than (0) unemployment, such as (1) musician and college degree jobs (teacher, engineer, designer, etc.); (2) skilled blue-collar (furniture worker, electrical technician, mason, tiler, hairdresser, digger operator, etc.); (3) the jobs included in commercial activities (tradesman, peddler, vender, jobbers, etc.) and traders (estate agents, car sellers, etc.); (4) worker (waiter, security guard, factory workers, textile workers in ateliers, public servants, municipal officers, salesman, waitresses, construction workers, miners, transportation worker, cleaning workers, etc.); (5) low paid jobs who generally earn daily income and their salaries and socioeconomic positions are lower than the workers, they do not have social security rights (4), such as portage, recycling workers on the street, scrap traders, shoe painters on the street, toilet cleaner, as well as agricultural jobs, such as seasonal agricultural worker, fruit picking shepherding; traditional jobs, such as tinmen, basket man, coachmen, blacksmith, packer, leather craftsmen. |
| Yearly Working Hours (level) | Yearly Working Hours are grouped into four: (1) 0–300 Hours, (2) 301–500 Hours, (2) 501–800 Hours, (3) More than 800 hours. |
| Discrimination in Labour Market (level) | The parameter, discrimination in the labour market is an average value of the responses to the question that “Do they think that they are exposed to discrimination? If yes, in which level do they face discrimination in (1) the private and (2) the public job market?” The responses are between 0–4 with range by 1; 0– is not at all, 1– rare, 2–sometimes, 3– frequently, 4–generally. The value of the parameter is the average of the responses to five questions as follows; (1) Is it essential for them to live close to a Roma neighbourhood? (2) Do they want to live in a neighbourhood where the Roma do not live? (3) Do they have difficulties when they look for an apartment? (4) What is the rate of the Roma population in their neighbourhood? (5) Do they have non-Roma relatives in their family? The parameter is between 0 to 1 and range by 0.25. |
| Sociocultural (level) | |
| Voting Behaviour (dummy variable) | If the head of the household voted for the party currently in power in the last municipal elections in March 2019, then the parameter voting behaviour takes 0, which is the reference group. The second group is the people who did not vote for the party in power. The third option is the response of those who did not want to declare the name of the political party they voted for. |

Empirical Result

To decompose the explanatory variables within the Roma in Turkiye, regression on the quantiles of the total income is run. The explanation of the variables is on Table 4. It is apparent from Table 5 that the insignificant explanatory variables of the regressions of income point out a critical divergence between the top income group and the bottom income group. For instance, a 1-degree increase in education level causes a 7.5% increase in income for the 1st 20% income group, while for the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th income groups, the increase is over 9%. On the contrary, it causes a rise of 7.4% for the top 20% income group.

While age is not a significant variable for the first four quantiles, only for the top income quantile, it is a significant explanatory that being one-year older causes a 13% higher income. On the other hand, even though the education level is a significant parameter for all quantiles, for the middle-income groups (3rd and 4th) having one higher degree in education provides more annual income. For instance, graduating from secondary school, rather than primary school, causes higher annual income by 9–10%. While compared to males, being a female head of households decreases yearly income by 20% for the poorest income group, and the impact is much higher for the 4th quantile (25%). For the 2nd and 3rd quantile, being the female head of the household is also significant. For the richest quantile, there is no significant decrease caused by being female. The number of children decreases income, but for the richest quantile, there is no significant increase. One more child for a family means a decrease in income by more than 11–13% for all the quantiles.

Another important observation from the field research is the high rate of early divorces which is also related to early age marriage. The average age of women in a first marriage is 17, while for men it is 20. Therefore, especially for women, being married has an incremental impact on income. As it is in the equalised household income formula, single adults in a family have relatively lower income levels. Although in comparison to being married, being single does not have a significant impact on income, being a widow causes an increase in income by 34.2% for the 1st and 2nd quantiles, by 30.5%, for the 3rd quantile.

In contrast, the 4th income group has a much higher impact on income, by 41%. Compared to being married, being divorced, or widowed has an effect mostly on the 3rd and 4th quantiles. In contrast to that being a widow is not a significant parameter for the top quantile, being divorced in the top quantile has the highest decremental impact on income, by 70.9%.

The effects of differentiated regions on income have a broad spectrum, between 12% to 139%. Compared to residents in the Marmara region, all the regions have an impact on income for the 1st quantile. The Roma who live in the Black Sea have the highest income rising effect. Notably, the highest income group is in the Aegean and Central Anatolia regions, and for the 1st and 5th income groups who reside in the Black Sea have a decremental impact on income, approximately more than by 50%. For the 1st and 2nd quantiles Roma in East Anatolia have a more decreasing effect on income by more than 30%.

As it is in Table 5, to have a trading job causes an increase in income by 27.1%. Whereas, Table 6 demonstrates that the first four quantiles are under the average rate of 27.1%. While it raises income by 28.3% for the richest quantile, for the rest of the quantiles, it has less incremental impacts, by 25.5%. Lastly, the rising effect of a job in trade for the poorest Roma is less than being a worker. For the 1st income group, being a worker has a higher impact on income than commerce and qualified blue-collar workers (by 34.8%).

On the other hand, being a worker also has a powerful incremental effect on income for the top income group by 49%. The number of yearly working hours is a significant parameter for all the quantiles. Only for the highest annual working hours level, more than 800 hours in a year, has the highest impact for the top income group, increasing by 120%.

While the jobs in art and music that need university degrees have profoundly positive effects on income for the first four quantiles, it is insignificant for the income of the highest quantile. The low paid jobs are insignificant explanatory for the 1st, 2nd, and the top quantiles. However, for the middle and upper-middle-income groups, it has a decremental effect on income, respectively 16.8% and 20.5%.

Discrimination in the labour market is a combined variable that reflects the declaration of discrimination in the public and private sector. The variable is significant for the first four quantile income groups, except the richest income group. A one-degree increase in discrimination level decreases the income level by 5–9%. The highest impact belongs to the most inferior income group by 8.7%, while the decreasing effect is around 5% in multiple regression (Table 5).

While the parameter socio-culture has a positive impact on income, the highest impact belongs to the 4th quantile income group by 42% in income. By following it, for the 4th quantile, increasing one degree in the socio-culture index, which means also increasing in social adaptation, brings a higher income by 43.8%. In voting behaviour, the quantile regression displays a clear overview that while the income of the poorest Roma is the most affected income group due to not voting for the dominant party with a rate of 26.1%, for the richest Roma, the parameter is not even significant.

Table 5: Quantile Regression Results of the Income Groups

| Log (Income) | (0–20%) | (21%– 40%) | (41%–60%) | (62%–80%) | (81%–100%) |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Age | -0.005 (0.011) | -0.005 (0.010) | -0.007 (0.008) | 0.001 (0.010) | 0.130*** (0.033) |
| Education Level | 0.075*** (0.015) | 0.092*** (0.013) | 0.096*** (0.010) | 0.091*** (0.013) | 0.074* (0.043) |
| Gender | | | | | |
| Female | -0.199* (0.117) | -0.202** (0.102) | -0.225*** (0.082) | -0.250** (0.101) | -0.440 (0.337) |
| Number of Children | -0.119*** (0.020) | -0.107*** (0.017) | -0.123*** (0.014) | -0.133*** (0.017) | -0.028 (0.058) |
| Marital Status | | | | | |
| Single | -0.043 (0.124) | -0.094 (0.107) | -0.067 (0.087) | -0.033 (0.106) | 0.356 (0.356) |
| Widow | 0.342*** (0.122) | 0.342*** (0.106) | 0.305*** (0.086) | 0.410*** (0.104) | 0.422 (0.350) |
| Divorced | -0.100 (0.114) | 0.071 (0.099) | 0.107 (0.080) | 0.268*** (0.097) | -0.709** (0.327) |
| Region | | | | | |
| Aegean | -0.183** (0.075) | -0.192*** (0.065) | -0.144*** (0.052) | -0.104 (0.064) | -0.568*** (0.215) |
| Central Anatolia | -0.390*** (0.094) | -0.299*** (0.082) | -0.258*** (0.066) | -0.202** (0.081) | -1.393*** (0.271) |
| Mediterranean | -0.161** (0.079) | -0.092 (0.068) | -0.085 (0.055) | 0.014 (0.068) | -0.367 (0.227) |
| East Anatolia | -0.312*** (0.077) | -0.267*** (0.066) | -0.229*** (0.054) | -0.121* (0.066) | -0.161 (0.220) |
| Black Sea | -0.510*** (0.083) | -0.372*** (0.072) | -0.330*** (0.058) | -0.173** (0.071) | -0.625*** (0.238) |
| Job Occupation | | | | | |
| Art–Music and Graduate | 0.357*** (0.094) | 0.242*** (0.081) | 0.249*** (0.066) | 0.280*** (0.081) | 0.311 (0.270) |
| Qualified Blue Collar | 0.241** (0.096) | 0.150* (0.083) | 0.075 (0.067) | 0.081 (0.082) | 0.211 (0.274) |
| Commerce and Traders | 0.283*** (0.089) | 0.253*** (0.077) | 0.206*** (0.062) | 0.251*** (0.076) | -0.162 (0.254) |
| Worker | 0.348*** (0.085) | 0.198*** (0.073) | 0.088 (0.059) | 0.044 (0.073) | 0.490** (0.243) |
| Low paid jobs | -0.033 (0.082) | -0.135* (0.071) | -0.168*** (0.057) | -0.205*** (0.070) | -0.264 (0.234) |
| Yearly Working Hours | | | | | |
| Yearly Working Hours (301 – 500 Hours) | 0.464*** (0.074) | 0.335*** (0.064) | 0.366*** (0.052) | 0.375*** (0.064) | 0.844*** (0.213) |
| Yearly Working Hours (501–800 Hours) | 0.517*** (0.066) | 0.478*** (0.057) | 0.423*** (0.046) | 0.351*** (0.056) | 0.908*** (0.189) |
| Yearly Working Hours (More than 800 Hours) | 0.683*** (0.097) | 0.712*** (0.084) | 0.656*** (0.068) | 0.678*** (0.083) | 1.209*** (0.277) |
| Discrimination in Labour Market | -0.087*** (0.017) | -0.061*** (0.015) | -0.052*** (0.012) | -0.043*** (0.014) | -0.021 (0.048) |
| Sociocultural Parameter | | | | | |
| Socio–cultural | 0.287* (0.166) | 0.203 (0.144) | 0.420*** (0.117) | 0.438*** (0.142) | 0.150 (0.478) |

Does the Roma vote for the same political party of the municipality?

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|--|--|--|
| Not the same party | -0.220*** (0.074) | -0.227*** (0.064) | -0.154*** (0.052) | -0.081 (0.063) | -0.366* (0.212) |
| Did not declared | 0.007 (0.053) | 0.009 (0.046) | 0.032 (0.037) | 0.028 (0.046) | -0.034 (0.153) |
| Constant | 8.239*** (0.287) | 8.641*** (0.249) | 8.846*** (0.201) | 8.956*** (0.246) | 4.132*** (0.825) |
| Number of Observations | 312 | 312 | 312 | 312 | 312 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0.2422 | 0.2251 | 0.2232 | 0.2189 | 0.3693 |
| | F (19, 1536) = 185.74 Prob > F = 0.0000 | F (19, 1536) = 243.85 Prob > F = 0.0000 | F (19, 1536) = 211.52 Prob>F= 0.0000 | F (19,1536) = 141.80 Prob>F= 0.0000 | F (19,1536) = 152.34 Prob>F= 0.0000 |
| | .20 Pseudo R2 = 0.2422 | .40 Pseudo R2=0.2251 | .60 Pseudo R2= 0.2232 | .80 Pseudo R2= 0.2189 | 1 Pseudo R2 = 0.3693 |

Standard errors are in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Aydın (2019) said that the income shares of the Roma and non-Roma are quite similar to each other in the low, middle, and high-income groups. The percentage of the low-income Roma and the non-Roma is stable (4.65% for the Roma and 3.64% for the non-Roma). The income shares of the middle-income group are close to each other; while it is 37.79 % for the Roma, it is 40.78% for the non-Roma.

“For the low-income class, it is 19.58% of the total population of the Roma, while it is 13.67%. For non-Roma. The middle-income group is 53.04% for the Roma population; it is higher for the non-Roma, 59.63%. In contrast, the high-income class is 27.38% for the Roma and 26.70% for the non-Roma” (Aydın, 2019, 70).

Conclusion

The article has a considerable disagreement regarding the classification of the job occupations of the Roma in the literature that presents the Roma as working in self-employment and the traditional professions rather than the urbanised workers. This perspective could not go beyond the arguments in the 1980s’ literature that defined the Roma and gypsy communities as outsiders of the society or people who refused to proletarianise.

The economic activities of the Roma have mostly been defined in the informal economy or partly the rural economic strategies in the cities defined the Roma and gypsy communities as the outsiders of society or people who refused to proletarianise.

In abstraction, the Roma is part of the same phenomena as the rest of the minor societies which could not adapt to the market. They are predominantly urban poor ethnic minorities in Turkiye. The Roma society is the most visible ethnicity that suffers from high competitiveness in the market. The traditional professions of the Roma have faced extinction in recent decades. Therefore, rather than a preference, the Roma needed to find new niche areas where the gaps between the economic areas belong to the dominant society.

In society, the Roma are ostensibly considered to do such jobs as shoe shiners, porters, old item collectors, basket sellers, flower sellers, peddlers, garbage collectors and collectors of recyclable materials. Whereas the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners in the informal market, who work as day labourers, rather than in self-employment. In contrast to the arguments

in the literature, losing traditional jobs might not be a disadvantage for the Roma, as it encourages them to get involved in the job market as a labourer at the same time, While the Roma living in developed cities are labourers, the Roma living in small cities and rural areas work in low paid areas of work, such as carriage and carting, recycling, and cleaning.

Occupational segregation plays an important role in explaining income differentials rather than demographic variables, such as gender, age, region, and education. The differences are significant even after labour market variables; job occupations, working hours, and discrimination in the labour market are accounted for.

Although for the Roma society, musician, artists, and other qualified jobs are highly valuable; their annual average income level is the second highest one after those working in Shopkeeping, Commerce, and Trading. Except for the highest income group, having a job in commercial activities provides higher income for all the quantiles. In job occupations, only being a worker brings a higher income to the richest Roma.

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Research Article

Factors Affecting the Quality of Life of the Elderly in Iraq and Turkiye and Differences Between the Two Cultures

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T.B.D. 0000-0002-4231-0782**Corresponding author:**Tahsin Barış DEĞER,
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The aim of this study was to determine the quality of life (QOL) of the elderly living in Iraq and Turkiye and the effect of sociodemographic, health, economic, lifestyle and spiritual factors on the QOL in the elderly cross-culturally. The study was conducted with a total of 200 participants aged ≥ 65 years in Iraq and Turkiye with face-to-face interviews. The WHOQOL-OLD scale was used. Comparison tests for univariate group rank values were used to compare total scale scores. The mean total score for QOL was 77.70 ± 11.40 in Turkiye, and 65.47 ± 7.20 in Iraq. In Iraq, factors affecting low QOL were age 85 years and older, female gender, being single, low educational level, not having a regular salary, insufficient income, chronic disease, drug use and disability. Factors effective on high QOL were eating healthily, walking or exercising regularly, praying five times a day, and reading the Qur'an in Iraq. Factors affecting high QOL in Turkiye were having another income outside of a salary, not having chronic diseases, having a healthy diet, walking or exercising and thanking God. QOL was higher in older participants in Turkiye than those in Iraq.

Keywords: Aged, quality of life, cross-cultural comparison

1. Introduction

With the demographic change experienced in recent years, the world population is ageing and the numbers and proportion of elderly people in the population are increasing in all countries in the world (Katta, Krishna, Anegawa and Munuswamy, 2017, s.2). This means that people spend more years in old age, which is the last term of life. This life period may be difficult due to the increase in chronic diseases in old age, the loss of status and decreases in participation in society. For this reason, quality of life in old age has become an increasingly significant concept in recent years (Değer, 2020, s. 313).

Quality of life (QOL) is defined as a person's perception of their place in life in a cultural, social and environmental context. People's functionality levels, health conditions, psychological status and personal beliefs affect their quality of life. A person's life targets, expectations, norms and worries determine the limits of their QOL (Barakovic et al., 2020, s.3). Because every person has different expectations from life, the meaning of quality of life is different for every individual (Van Hoof, Beneken Genaamd Kolmer, de Vlugt, and de Vries, 2019, s.1).

A good QOL for the elderly is defined as living independently without requiring anyone, carrying out basic daily life activities properly and feeling good (De Oliveira, Souza, Rodrigues, Fett and Piva, 2019, s.37). Determining the QOL for the elderly is important in determining the policies to be implemented in relation to the elderly in society and evaluating the results of these policies (Değer, 2020, s.326). It is also used in the health field to reveal the costs and benefits of medical interventions applied to the elderly (Edisan and Kadioğlu, 2011, s.8). It is useful in determining the quality of the medical method during patient care, follow-up and treatment processes. QOL is one of the most important indicators for geriatrics, gerontology and gerontology nursing. Maximum QOL is a significant goal for elderly care and is a measure of nursing quality to some extent (Sováriová Soósová, 2016, s. 484). QOL is useful for evaluating the physical functions and well-being of elderly people and is used as an index in assessing community health (Kim, Hong and Noh, 2018, s. 483).

In the current century, it is more important to live happily and with a higher quality of life rather than to live longer. As the QOL is the perceptions of people about life in their own culture (Barakovic et al., 2020, s.3); for this reason, it is very valuable to reveal the factors affecting the QOL of the elderly living in different cultures. Thus, recommendations, policies and practices that will make elderly people happy within their own cultures, increase their QOL and postpone their need for care can be proposed.

The aim of this study was to determine the quality of life of the elderly living in Iraq and Turkiye, the effect of sociodemographic, health, economic, lifestyle and spiritual data of the elderly on the quality of life, and to reveal the factors affecting the quality of life in the elderly cross-culturally.

2. Method

2.1. Subjects

The study was descriptive and cross-sectional. The study was conducted in community-dwelling older adult individuals aged ≥ 65 years in Iraq and Turkiye. A power analysis had been done before the study started, and it had been arranged with 100 subjects in each group, determined with 76.324% power. A total of 200 older adult individuals, with 100 older individuals living in the city of Babylon in Iraq and 100 older individuals living in the city of Çankırı in Turkiye, were selected as a sample. A sample selection method was not used in the study, and the elderly who could be reached and abided by the inclusion criteria were accepted into the study. The 65-84-year

age group was classified as a first group, and the ≥ 85 -year age group was the second group. The elderly people were selected so that their age groups were similar in both countries. Inclusion criteria were being age 65 years and above, voluntary participation in the study, not being bedridden, and not having a mental health diagnosis. The study was made face-to-face, and informed consent was taken from all participants.

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of Çankırı Karatekin University (Meeting Decision Number: 15, Date: June 8, 2020) and by the Training and Human Development Center Research Unit, Babel Health Directorate, Governorate of Babel, Republic of Iraq (No: 174, Date: February 10, 2020). The study was directed in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.

2.2. Evaluation Parameters

Aged Information Form: This form registered information about the participants, including their age, gender, marital status, education level, economic level (salary, enough income, other income), existence of diseases, disability condition, number of medications used, healthy eating opinions, walking or exercise habits, praying, wishing or thanking God, and reading the Quran. This form was composed by the researchers.

Module of World Health Organization Quality of Life for the elderly (WHOQOL-OLD): This scale was developed to measure the quality of life in elderly individuals by WHO. Studies in the intercultural field of this scale were conducted with elderly individuals in 22 countries, and Türkiye was included among these countries. These countries were located in the Middle East, Asia, Europa, South and North America (Power, Quinn, Schmidt and WHOQOL-OLD Group 2005, s. 2199). In addition, the validity and reliability study of the WHOQOL-OLD Scale was conducted in Türkiye. Researchers of this study declared it was a general-purpose improved quality of life scale for the elderly not only in Türkiye, but for a geographical area covering the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East for the first time (Eser, Saatli, Eser, Baydur and Fidaner, 2010, s. 38-39).

The scale consists of 6 domains and 24 items. These 6 domains are “sensory abilities, autonomy, past, present, future activities, social participation, death and dying and intimacy”. Every scale item rating and scoring is made on a 5-point Likert scale with 1 point for ‘not at all’, 2 points for ‘a little’, 3 points for ‘moderately’, 4 points for ‘much’, and 5 points for ‘extremely’. The maximum total score for the scale is 120, the minimum score is 24. A high score means a good quality of life (WHO, 2006, s. 54).

Reliability was made for the WHOQOL-OLD scale in the present study. Cronbach’s alpha (α) coefficient was used for a reliability analysis. In the questionnaire, there is no item with a total correlation value of less than 0.20. For this reason, no item was removed due to the high reliability value of all 24 items. As a result of the application as a result of the item analysis, the result of 24 items was found in our favor. Then, the reliability coefficient of the questionnaire was examined. The ways to calculate the reliability coefficient differ according to the type of variables, source, and number of applications. The difference in the way of calculation also changes the interpretive meaning of the reliability coefficient. The reliability coefficient is the degree of purity from random errors and gives information about the amount of error involved in the measurement results. Reliability is required to take values ranging from 0 to +1, but the values must be close to +1. It is a desired result that the reliability coefficient is more than 0.70. Since each item of the measurement tool is scaled between 1 and 5 Likert-type, there is a reliability meaning in terms of cronbach’s alpha (α) reliability and internal consistency. The cronbach’s alpha (α) coefficient of the questionnaire used in the present study is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient of the WHOQOL-OLD scale in the present study

| Sub-dimensions of WHOQOL-OLD | Cronbach alpha (α) | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|-------|
| | IRAQ | TURKIYE | TOTAL |
| Sensory ability | 0,865 | 0,644 | 0,755 |
| Autonomy | 0,67 | 0,65 | 0,66 |
| Past, present and future activities | 0,766 | 0,784 | 0,775 |
| Social participation | 0,821 | 0,803 | 0,812 |
| Death and dying | 0,629 | 0,89 | 0,610 |
| Intimacy | 0,757 | 0,787 | 0,772 |
| Total of quality of life scale | 0,72 | 0,776 | 0,748 |

Cronbach alpha was calculated for the 24 items used in the application. Reliability coefficient of 0.72 in Iraq, 0.776 in Turkiye, and was found 0.748 for the full scale. Since this coefficient was above 0.70, the scale was accepted as appropriate (Table 1).

2.3. Statistics

The data obtained in this study were analyzed using the SPSS 25 package program. Normality tests for the data were done with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. Due to the data not having normal distribution, the Mann-Whitney U test was used for comparisons with two groups and the Kruskal-Wallis H test was used for comparisons with three or more groups. A value of 0.05 was used as the level of significance, and it was stated that there was a significant difference when $p < 0.05$.

3. Results

The WHOQOL-OLD scale was applied to elderly participants in the two countries. The mean total score for QOL was found to be 77.70 ± 11.40 among elderly participants in Turkiye, and it was found to be 65.47 ± 7.20 among elderly participants in Iraq. The mean score for QOL was significantly higher in older participants in Turkiye than those in Iraq ($p < 0.05$). When the mean scores for the quality-of-life sub-domains are examined; the mean scores for the sub-domains of sensory ability, autonomy, past, present, future activities, social participation and intimacy were significantly higher for older people in Turkiye than those in Iraq ($p < 0.05$). There was no significant difference between countries in terms of death and dying scores (Table 2).

When the factors affecting the QOL in the older adults living in Iraq are examined; being 85 years and older, female gender, being single, and low educational level were factors affecting low QOL ($p < 0.05$). The QOL was lower in the elderly who did not have a regular salary and those whose income was not sufficient for their needs ($p < 0.05$). The QOL was low in those with chronic disease, drug use and walking impairment ($p < 0.05$). The QOL was high in those who think they eat healthily and those who walk or exercise regularly ($p < 0.05$). The QOL was high in those who prayed five times a day and read the Qur'an ($p < 0.05$) (Table 3).

In older adults living in Turkiye, the QOL was high for the elderly whose income was sufficient to meet their needs and who had an additional income other than their salary ($p < 0.05$). The QOL was high in the elderly without chronic diseases, those who thought they had a healthy diet, and who walked or exercised regularly ($p < 0.05$). QOL was high in the elderly who frequently invoked or thanked God ($p < 0.05$) (Table 3).

Table 2: Examination of quality of life with six sub-dimensions in the elderly participants and comparison between the two countries

| n | | | | | | | | Mann-Whitney U test | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------|--------|----------------|
| | | Mean | Median | Min | Max | Sd | Mr | U | P | |
| Sensory ability | Iraq | 100 | 7.88 | 8.00 | 4.00 | 18.00 | 2.93 | 73.4 | 2293 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 10.97 | 10.00 | 5.00 | 18.00 | 3.12 | 127.6 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 9.43 | 9.00 | 4.00 | 18.00 | 3.39 | | | |
| Autonomy | Iraq | 100 | 13.06 | 14.00 | 6.00 | 20.00 | 2.90 | 86.0 | 3546 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 14.54 | 15.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 3.25 | 115.0 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 13.80 | 14.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 3.16 | | | |
| Past, present future activities | Iraq | 100 | 11.45 | 11.00 | 6.00 | 17.00 | 2.35 | 80.7 | 3021 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 13.74 | 14.00 | 6.00 | 20.00 | 3.69 | 120.3 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 12.60 | 12.00 | 6.00 | 20.00 | 3.30 | | | |
| Social participation | Iraq | 100 | 9.08 | 9.00 | 4.00 | 15.00 | 2.67 | 76.5 | 2596.5 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 12.08 | 12.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 3.58 | 124.5 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 10.58 | 10.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 3.49 | | | |
| Death and dying | Iraq | 100 | 12.12 | 12.00 | 4.00 | 17.00 | 1.87 | 102.3 | 4819 | 0.656 |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 11.60 | 12.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 5.23 | 98.7 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 11.86 | 12.00 | 4.00 | 20.00 | 3.93 | | | |
| Intimacy | Iraq | 100 | 11.88 | 11.00 | 6.00 | 18.00 | 2.30 | 74.5 | 2395.5 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 14.77 | 15.00 | 7.00 | 20.00 | 3.30 | 126.5 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 13.33 | 13.00 | 6.00 | 20.00 | 3.18 | | | |
| Quality of Life | Iraq | 100 | 65.47 | 66.00 | 49.00 | 83.00 | 7.20 | 69.3 | 1879.5 | 0.0001* |
| | Turkiye | 100 | 77.70 | 78.50 | 54.00 | 98.00 | 11.40 | 131.7 | | |
| | Total | 200 | 71.59 | 70.00 | 49.00 | 98.00 | 11.31 | | | |

Sd: Standard deviation, Mr: Mean rank, *Statistically significant $p < 0.05$

4. Discussion

When studies about the quality of life of the elderly in various societies around the world are examined, a study was conducted with 400 elderly individuals over the age of 60 in Iran. The validity and reliability of the WHOQOL-OLD scale in Persian speaking Iranian and elderly people with different cultures was investigated. The total quality of life overall score was 77.72 ± 10.41 (Rezaeipandari, Morowatisharifabad, Mohammadpoorasl and Shaghaghi, 2020, s.3). The results of this study are consistent with the results from Turkiye in the present study (77.70 ± 11.40).

In semi-urban areas of Thailand in Southeast Asia, the total QOL score of was 83.4 ± 10.32 for elderly people (Wattanasoei, Binson, Kumar, Somrongthong and Kanchanakhan, 2017, s.22). In a study conducted in Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil, the total WHOQOL-OLD score was 57.6. The sample of this study consisted of frail elderly individuals and it is thought this may be the reason for the low score (Varela, Ciconelli, Campolina and Soarez, 2015, s. 426). In a study conducted to compare the QOL of the elderly living in an elderly nursing home and living in the community in Brazil, the QOL median score was found to be 71 for the elderly living in the elderly institution, and 67 for those living in community (Ferraz Teston and Silva Marcon, 2015, s. 58). This result is consistent with the present study.

When studies reporting the effect of sociodemographic data on QOL are examined, it was reported that quality of life is higher in elderly males than the females (Özyurt et al., 2007, s.121; Yu et al., 2019, s. 1628). Quality of life decreased with increased age and quality of life increased with increased education level (Özyurt et al., 2007, s.119; Aydın and Karaoğlu, 2012, s. 430). One study reported that age, gender and marital status influenced QOL in older people, but education level did not (Gobbens and Remmen, 2019, s.235). In another study, there was no influence of age

Table 3: Examination of some factors affecting quality of life in older participants

| Variant | Groups | IRAQ | | | TURKIYE | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | | N | Mean ± sd | P | N | Mean ± sd | P |
| Age | 65-84 | 77 | 66.48±6.82 | 0.012* [€] | 80 | 77.48±11.43 | 0.476 |
| | 85+ | 23 | 62.09±7.53 | | 20 | 79.70±11.51 | |
| Gender | Female | 40 | 60.03±5.86 | 0.0001* [€] | 58 | 77.69±11.67 | 0.799 |
| | Male | 60 | 69.10±5.54 | | 42 | 77.71±11.14 | |
| Marital status | Married | 55 | 68.64±5.92 | 0.0001* [€] | 68 | 77.47±11.55 | 0.701 |
| | Single | 45 | 61.60±6.75 | | 32 | 78.19±11.23 | |
| Education | ≤Primary | 60 | 62.42±6.71 | 0.0001* [€] | 79 | 77.89±11.66 | 0.912 |
| | ≥Secondary | 40 | 70.05±5.25 | | 21 | 77.00±10.60 | |
| Income | No/Older salary | 15 | 57.20±6.38 ^a | 0.0001* [¥] | 24 | 79.50±10.90 | 0.581 |
| | Retired salary | 46 | 69.28±5.64 ^b | | 54 | 77.22±11.55 | |
| | Other/Spouse | 39 | 64.15±5.99 ^b | | 22 | 76.91±11.86 | |
| Is your income enough? | Yes | 74 | 66.70±6.74 ^a | 0.009* [¥] | 67 | 80.22±10.35 ^a | 0.015* [¥] |
| | Sometimes | 19 | 63.47±7.37 ^a | | 24 | 73.25±12.74 ^b | |
| | No | 7 | 57.86±6.31 ^b | | 9 | 70.78±9.55 ^b | |
| Is there other income? | No | 31 | 63.26±6.73 | 0.054 | 57 | 75.09±11.90 | 0.014* [€] |
| | Yes | 69 | 66.46±7.22 | | 43 | 81.16±9.79 | |
| Chronic disease | Yes | 92 | 64.85±6.93 | 0.009* [€] | 76 | 75.20±11.57 | 0.041* [€] |
| | No | 8 | 72.63±6.61 | | 24 | 82.13±9.79 | |
| | No | 45 | 67.24±5.57 ^a | | 76 | 77.96±11.04 | |
| Disability | Blind | 21 | 65.95±6.01 ^a | 0.034* [¥] | 7 | 79.14±11.23 | 0.539 |
| | Hearing impaired | 12 | 65.50±8.46 ^a | | 9 | 73.44±8.78 | |
| | Walking impaired | 20 | 61.50±9.08 ^b | | 8 | 78.75±17.51 | |
| | No | 7 | 71.14±5.52 ^a | | 15 | 83.40±13.14 | |
| Medication | 1-3 medication | 77 | 65.57±6.99 ^b | 0.029* [¥] | 53 | 77.09±10.56 | 0.111 |
| | ≥4 medication | 16 | 62.50±7.57 ^b | | 32 | 76.03±11.43 | |
| Do you think you eat healthily? | Yes | 12 | 72.42±5.99 ^a | 0.0001* [¥] | 66 | 79.94±11.36 ^a | 0.007* [¥] |
| | Middle | 72 | 65.69±6.51 ^b | | 26 | 75.04±10.44 ^b | |
| | No | 16 | 59.25±5.90 ^b | | 8 | 67.88±8.06 ^b | |
| Do you exercise or walk regularly? | No | 37 | 60.89±7.17 ^a | 0.0001* [¥] | 19 | 70.00±11.79 ^a | 0.0001* [¥] |
| | Walking | 58 | 67.88±5.59 ^b | | 48 | 77.10±11.18 ^b | |
| Do you pray five times a day? | Exercise regularly | 5 | 71.40±7.13 ^b | 0.005* [€] | 33 | 83.00±8.67 ^b | 0.429 |
| | Yes | 95 | 65.99±6.89 | | 77 | 78.17±10.66 | |
| | No | 5 | 55.60±6.11 | | 23 | 76.13±13.73 | |
| How often do you wish or thank God? | Sometimes | 13 | 62.31±8.23 | 0.241 | 4 | 67.25±6.13 ^a | 0.035* [¥] |
| | Usually | 15 | 67.40±7.30 | | 22 | 81.55±11.08 ^b | |
| | Every time | 72 | 65.64±6.90 | | 74 | 77.12±11.33 ^b | |
| Do you read the Quran? | Yes | 38 | 69.63±5.25 | 0.0001* [€] | 41 | 78.32±11.42 | 0.905 |
| | No | 62 | 62.92±7.06 | | 59 | 77.27±11.45 | |

^{a,b} There was no significant difference between the same letters, [€] Mann Whitney-U Test, [¥] Kruskal Wallis Test; *Statistically significant p < 0.05

and gender on QOL (Khaje-Bishak, Payahoo, Pourghasem and Asghari Jafarabadi, 2014, s. 259). In the present study, these sociodemographic data did affect the QOL of the elderly in Iraq, but not in Turkiye.

The effect of income status on QOL in older adults was reported (Gobbens and Remmen, 2019, s. 236). In a study conducted in rural areas in China, the QOL of the elderly with poor economic status was found to be worse than the elderly who were rich (Rong et al., 2020, s.4). In a study of older women at low, middle and high economic levels in Korea, the elderly with low economic status had the lowest QOL (Kwon, Kim and So, 2020, s.4). In a study examining the importance of pension in old age, elderly people with low economic levels (poor wealth) were

included in the study. In these older adults, QOL of the elderly with a regular national pension was found to be significantly higher than those without this pension. This study is important as it emphasized the necessity of guaranteed income in old age (Ju et al., 2017, s. 1209). Compatible with the literature, a better economic situation improved the quality of life in Türkiye and Iraq in the present study.

In a study conducted in the Macau region, China, the effect of chronic diseases on the quality of life was reported in community-dwelling older adults. Arthritis, chronic bronchitis, visual disorders and fractures reduced quality of life in older people (Hu, Lei, Chao, Hall and Chung, 2016, s. 369). In another study, increasing chronic disease decreased quality of life; this decrease was more evident in the diseases which affected mobility (Öztürk, Simşek, Yümin, Sertel and Yümin, 2011, s. 281). In the present study, quality of life was low in older people with walking impairment in Iraq. In addition, quality of life in elderly with chronic disease was lower than those without disease.

In a study conducted in Nordic countries, total WHOQOL-OLD score was 90.41 ± 14.61 . Older adults who physically exercised regularly were included in this study. Of participants, 65% of the elderly exercised regularly for 1-5 years, only 3% exercised for 3-11 months, and others exercised for more than 5 years. The high score was thought to be due to physical exercise over a long duration (Almeida et al., 2020, s. 434). Physical activity alone improved quality of life, even in a study involving older women with different economic levels. This consisted of women who walked every day regularly (Kwon et al., 2020, s.6). Regular exercise increased functional capacity and QOL (Öztürk et al., 2011, s. 282). In a study, walking, physical exercise and dance increased the QOL in older adults (dos Santos Gomes et al., 2020, s. 583). A study conducted in rural China and a study conducted in Türkiye reported the assertive influences of bodily action on the quality of life in elderly individuals (Yuan et al., 2020, s. 465; Sarıkaya, Polat, Seydel and Eryılmaz, 2018, s. 85). In the present study, the quality of life in the elderly with regular physical activity in Iraq and Türkiye was higher, and this is consistent with other literature.

When examining the effect of spirituality and religion on QOL, fifteen studies were examined between 2002 and 2017 in the literature. There were effects of spirituality, religious observance and frequency of church attendance on QOL in older adults in ten studies, but there was no effect in five studies (Abu et al., 2018, s. 2780). Attendance at religious activity and inner piety increased psychological well-being and quality of life in older adults (Tsaousis, Karademas and Kalatzis, 2013, s. 146). Religious belief and worship participation increased the quality of life in hemodialysis patients with chronic renal failure (Rusa et al., 2014, s. 916). In hemodialysis cases in Saudi Arabia, the effect of intrinsic religious beliefs and religious coping usage on quality of life was positive (Cruz et al., 2017, s.128). A similar study was conducted in Tehran, Iran and spiritual/religious factors were found to be associated with quality of life in hemodialysis patients with diabetes or other comorbid diseases (Saffari et al., 2013, s. 272). The effect of religious loyalty on QOL in patients who have diabetes was reported in another study (Ali Alzahrani and Sehlo, 2013, s. 844). These studies focused on patients, but studies of elderly people living in the community were insufficient. There is a need for studies that will reveal the effect of spirituality on the quality of life in the elderly living in the community. It is thought that the present study will contribute to the literature in this field.

When the total score and sub-dimensions for the quality of life are examined between the two cultures, except for the death and dying subscale score, scores for all the other dimensions in the elderly in Türkiye were found to be higher than the elderly in Iraq. The reasons for this are thought to be directly related to the health conditions and lifestyles of the elderly. The total number of

older adults with chronic disease and disability was higher in Iraq than in Turkiye. In addition, the number of elderly people who regularly walk and exercise was higher in Turkiye. Moreover, the number of elderly people with a regular pension was higher in Turkiye and elderly who did not have a salary received the 'older salary' from the government. In Iraq, on the other hand, the number of elderly people on salaries was less and there were more people living on other income. All of this are thought to cause the higher quality of life in Turkiye.

From the researchers' general point of view, life in Iraq is difficult because it lacks the necessities of life that every person needs. The large financial deficit experienced by the state, which led to a decrease in the monthly income of a large number of citizens, the weakness of the elderly care program in the Iraqi Ministry of Health, and the lack of recreational facilities, negatively affect the psyche of the elderly and thus increases complications of their chronic diseases and there is an absence of social care and health that the elderly need. Therefore, the quality of life in Iraq is very low compared to other countries.

4.1. Limitations

There are some limitations to the study. The major limitation is that the study coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic. Curfews were declared in Turkiye for the elderly. Data could not be collected at that time. Data could be collected in August and September when the curfew was lifted, but restrictions were placed on the elderly again. The face-to-face survey was very difficult to implement, because the elderly were afraid of getting sick and social distancing was required. There were no restrictions in Iraq, but similar difficulties were encountered with data collection. This situation prevented the sample size from being larger. The second limitation is that the samples were collected from only one city in both countries. This study can be called an intercultural study of different cities. Therefore, the study results cannot be generalized to all of the two countries.

4.2. Strengths

The strongest aspect of the study is that it has not been seen any comparison study of quality of life of the elderly between the two countries in the literature before. Additionally, all data were collected by the researchers and the results are reliable.

5. Conclusion and Implications

The most striking outcomes of the study were the effects of economic status, chronic diseases, regular walking and exercise, and religious attendance on quality of life. These results were common results affecting the quality of life in both countries. Economic conditions, diseases and exercise-related results are supported by other literature in the discussion section. Religious activities were also supported by the literature. However, it was observed that the literature on this subject was scarce, was limited to people with some diseases, and there is a need for studies including a large number of elderly people in society.

The present study revealed the factors affecting the quality of life of the elderly in general. Each of these factors should be studied in more detail. It is thought that the present study will provide a basis for detailed studies to be carried out in the future and will set an example for studies that will reveal the agents affecting the quality of life of the older adults living in different cultures.

It is thought that the results of the present study and social policies to be planned according to the results of this study will be important to ensure sustainable community improvement in a further world where the average age is anticipated to be high, and especially in developing countries.

Ethics Committee Approval: The study was approved by the Ethics Committee of Çankırı Karatekin University (Meeting Decision Number: 15, Date: June 8, 2020) and by the Training and Human Development Center Research Unit, Babel Health Directorate, Governorate of Babel, Republic of Iraq (No: 174, Date: February 10, 2020).

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Research Article

Investigation of Attitudes and Behaviors Towards Recycling with Theory Planned Behavior

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ABSTRACT

Recycling is defined as the re-inclusion of wastes that can be reused in the production process by undergoing various processes. At the same time, recycling is seen as the most important environmental behavior that reduces the amount of solid waste and conserves resources. Considering the importance of recycling for a sustainable future, it is of great importance to determine the factors affecting the recycling behavior of individuals. Due to the rapid increase in environmental problems and their extremely negative impact on life, it is necessary to determine the environmental and recycling behaviors of individuals and produce solutions. In this study, attitudes and behaviors towards recycling were investigated with the help of a model proposed within the scope of Theory Planned Behavior (TPB). The analysis of the data was made using the Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) Smart-PLS software, which can be used successfully in small-volume samples and does not require the assumption of multivariate normality. It was determined because of PLS-SEM fit criteria that TPB is suitable for explaining recycling attitudes and behaviors. As a result of the analysis, it was revealed that attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control positively and significantly affect recycling intentions.

Keywords: Recycling, attitude, behavior, Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM)



1. Introduction

Rapid urbanization and population growth, in parallel with industrialization and technological developments, are rapidly increasing the pressure of human activities on the environment in our country as well as all over the world (Kaçtıoğlu & Şengül, 2010). For the continuation of a sustainable life, it is very important for individuals to exhibit environmental attitudes and behaviors in terms of protecting natural resources. Besides providing environmental benefits, environmental awareness and behavior should also be seen as an attitude to save resources economically and create new resources (Yılmaz & Doğan, 2017).

The importance of recycling and environmental behaviors in the process of preventing the emergence of environmental problems is increasing day by day. One of the ways to solve the environmental problems that arise is to raise the awareness of the society about the environment. The way for people to increase sensitivity, interest and awareness about the environment can only be with the help of environmental education (Çimen & Yılmaz, 2012, 2015).

“3R” is mentioned so that individuals can consciously support a sustainable life. It is explained as reducing (Reducing), reusing (Reusing) and recycling (Recycling). It is thought that this classification, which is accepted by most of countries, can reduce the negative effects on the environment by preventing wrong environmental attitudes and behaviors. King and Lessidrenska (2010) describe these processes as: Reducing; it is to reduce the consumption of energy and water as much as possible in order to produce as little waste as possible and to save energy. Reuse; they are efforts to reuse a product or energy after a one-time use, if possible. Recycling; it is only applied to materials and products that are not likely to be reused (Gelibolu & Madran, 2012).

Recycling is considered an effective economic investment in the long run. Economic problems arise due to the rapid depletion of natural resources, the decrease in the supply of raw materials used in the production sector and the increase in raw material prices. It is of great importance in terms of economic sustainability that some of the raw material needs in all sectors are met from wastes that can be recycled and have economic value. An efficient recycling system will contribute to sustainable economic growth by reducing the dependence of sectors on imports of raw materials and intermediate goods (Altınışık, 2014; Ak & Genç, 2018).

Lifestyle changes in urban areas have started to cause serious waste problems in Turkey. Changes in the lifestyles of individuals have affected their consumption habits, and this situation has affected the environment and revealed the problems of “environmental protection and recycling”. Although recycling has been a way of life in developed countries for many years, it is still not common enough in our country. Considering the importance of recycling for a world where sustainable life can exist, it is of great importance to determine the factors affecting attitudes and behaviors towards recycling.

It should not be forgotten that the best thing that can be done for all living things in nature is to protect the environment and nature. Considering the importance of recycling for a sustainable future, it is of great importance to determine the factors that affect the recycling behavior of individuals. Due to the rapid increase in environmental problems and the extremely negative impact on life, it is necessary to determine the environmental and recycling behaviors of individuals and produce solutions. In this study, a questionnaire was utilized to measure the recycling attitudes and behaviors of individuals. In the study, the relationship between the attitude dimension, social norms, perceived behavioral control and recycling behavior, which consists of environmental knowledge and awareness that leads consumers to recycling intention, has been tried to be examined with the help of a structural equation model (SEM) proposed within the scope of the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB).

Considering the importance of recycling for a sustainable future, it is of great importance to determine the factors that affect the recycling behavior of individuals. For this reason, due to the rapid increase in environmental problems and their extremely negative impact on life, it is necessary to determine the environmental and recycling behaviors of individuals and produce solutions. When the literature is examined, the factors affecting the recycling behavior have been researched for a long time, and research on this subject still continues (Sorkun, 2018, Wan et al., 2017; Yılmaz and Doğan, 2017, Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Botetzagias, 2015; Park and Ha, 2014).

The main purpose of this study is to investigate attitudes and behaviors towards recycling within the scope of the TPB. The structural relationships in the proposed model were tested with partial least squares structural equation modeling (PLS-SEM). Theoretically, while this study provides a more detailed examination of the variables in the TPB and their effect on recycling behavior, in the field of application, understanding how these variables affect recycling behavior will enable policy makers and managers to better design recycling programs.

After this section, the concept of recycling, the state of recycling in Turkey, research model-hypotheses design, and analysis with PLS YEM are given.

2. Recycling

The concept of recycling is the process of collecting and processing materials that are discarded as garbage and transform this waste into new products. The purposes of recycling are to prevent excessive consumption of resources, to save energy, to minimize the damage to nature and to contribute to the country's economy. It is commonly done with iron, steel, copper, lead, paper, plastic, composite, glass, electronic waste, etc. The recycling and reuse of materials will prevent the depletion of natural resources. Recycling is one of the ways to reduce environmental impact and resource consumption. Therefore, recycling can reduce the use of energy and materials per unit output, thus providing enhanced eco-efficiency (Birsen, 2020).

Metal, plastic and glass wastes used in food and beverage packaging, as well as paper and cardboard, constitute a significant part of the recyclable materials in waste. The recycling process goes through certain stages. These stages are: collection, separation, evaluation and bringing the new product into the economy (Şengül, 2010).

1. Collection: The recycling process of waste begins the moment the products are consumed. Waste must be collected in a certain and economical way in a regular place. Collection includes a complex process that requires detailed planning (Birsen, 2020). Two basic collection methods are used; the first is the consumer's bringing it, and the other is the consumer's reaching out and receiving it. Milk Run is a collection system that has recently been developed especially for the collection of packaging waste. In this system, the vehicles through which the products are distributed collect the packaging and other usable materials from the same point after leaving the product at a point (retailer). In this way, the company can ensure the transformation of most of the packaging material used in production.
2. Separation (Classification): Separation of wastes is associated with the recovery of waste. The methods used in the recovery of wastes as energy are separation (classification) methods (Birsen, 2020). In addition, unwanted substances mixed in the collected material are eliminated at this stage. Separation types; Primitive separation, Separation at source; it is carried out in four ways: separation during collection and separation at the separation facility.

3. Evaluation: It is the economic recycling process of separated, cleaned and reprocessed materials. In this process, the material undergoes chemical and physical changes and returns to the economy as a new material.

4. Bringing the New Product Back to the Economy: Bringing the new product back into the economy is the reuse of the recycled product (Birsen, 2020).

Not every product can be recycled. The “♻️” logo should be used on products suitable for recycling. The recycling process takes place in the form of collecting the waste, separating it in the recycling center, granulating the separated products to create raw materials, and making new products from this raw material and reaching the consumer.

Thanks to recycling, great gains are made in energy saving. Paper, glass, iron, aluminum, copper, stick yellow, red yellow, zinc, bronze, lead, tin, nickel are some of the most preferred products in recycling. Copper, aluminum and magnesium are 100% recyclable without any problems. The collection and recovery of recyclable wastes is economically very important. The preferred recycling products can be listed as iron, copper, aluminum, zinc, paper, composite waste, glass and oils (Ilgar, 2020).

Significant progress has been made in the recovery and recycling of solid wastes in Turkey since the 1990s. Metin, Eröztürk and Neyim (2003) estimated that the recycling figures for Turkey in 2000 were around 30%. However, most of this activity is in the hands of private entrepreneurs and street waste collectors (Bayraktar & Çobanoğlu, 2016).

More than half of the wastes produced in Turkey are recyclable. Waste, which is an environmental problem, requires financial resources for disposal and is an important input for production; the advantages it will provide in areas such as employment creation, effective use of natural resources, economic benefits and environmental improvement are very important in increasing national welfare. In this context, in addition to the various advantages provided by recycling, considering the wastes that exist in this field and cannot be fully evaluated in our country, the need to prepare a national strategy specific to this issue has arisen. Within the scope of the strategy preparation, the problems related to the recycling system in our country have been identified and the “National Recycling Strategy Document and Action Plan” has been created in order to ensure that the sector has a sustainable and effective structure by searching for solutions. The existing “National Recycling Strategy and Action Plan” reveals the current situation of our country in recycling and draws a road map for the works to be done in the coming period (Altınışık, 2014).

Recycling in Turkey; it is regulated by the Environmental Law and the regulations issued pursuant to this law. These regulations are (Şengül, 2010);

- Regulation on Control of Waste Batteries and Accumulators
- Packaging Waste Control Regulation
- Regulation on Control of Polychlorinated Biphenyls and Polychlorinated Terphenyls
- Waste Oil Control Regulation
- Regulation on Control of Waste Vegetable Oils
- Regulation on Control of End-of-Life Tires
- Regulation on General Principles of Waste Management
- Hazardous Waste Control Regulation

According to the regulations, packaging waste collection-separation facilities and recycling facilities must obtain licenses from the Ministry. Licensing was started for the first time in 2003. The distribution of licensed facilities by years is given in Figure 1 (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2022).

The “Packaging Information System” was created by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in order to create an inventory of packaging and packaging wastes within the scope of the Packaging Waste Control (PWC) Regulation. System users; Ministry, Environment and Urbanization Provincial Directorates, packaging manufacturers, suppliers, businesses that put their products on the market as packaged, packaging waste collection, sorting, recycling and recovery facilities, authorized organizations and municipalities. According to 2020 packaging information system data, approximately 3.7 million tons of packaging was put on the market throughout Turkey and 2.3 million tons of packaging waste was recovered (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2022).

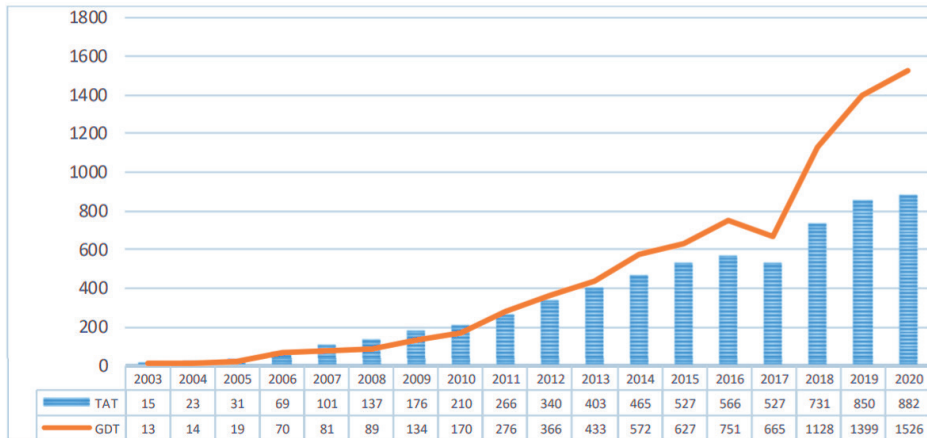


Figure 1: Number of packaging waste processing facilities with temporary activity certificates/licenses (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2022)

TAT: Collection Separation Plant, GDT: Recycling Plant

2.1. Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB)

TPB is one of the most influential and widespread psychological theories used to explain pro-environmental behavior (Botetzagias, 2015). TPB, which includes attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control and intention factors, is a widely used theory to determine a wide variety of intentions and behaviors (Armitage and Conner, 2001). TPB states that an individual’s intention to perform a behavior is explained by a positive evaluation of the behavior (attitude), the social pressure that encourages the behavior (subjective norm), the perceived ease of performing such behavior, or the individual’s perceived ability to perform the behavior (perceived behavioral control) (Ajzen, 1991).

There are many studies in the literature investigating recycling within the framework of TPB (Tonglet et al., 2004; Ramayah et al., 2012; Park and Ha, 2014, Chan and Bishop, 2013; Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Yılmaz and Doğan, 2017; Wan et al., 2017). Chan and Bishop (2013), in their study investigating recycling behavior by adding the moral norm variable to the TPB model, stated that the moral norm can replace the attitude to predict recycling intention. Park and Ha (2014) investigated recycling behaviors with a comprehensive model by combining TPB and NAM (Norm Activation Model) models. Botetzagias (2015) investigated recycling behavior by adding moral norms and demographic variables to the TPB model, and found that moral norms had more of an impact on recycling behavior than attitude. Arı and Yılmaz (2016) investigated the recycling behavior of housewives within the scope of the TPB model. Similarly, Yılmaz and Doğan (2017)

investigated students' behaviors towards recycling within the scope of TPB. Wan et al (2017) investigated the effect of attitude and subjective norm on recycling behavior. Sorkun (2018) investigated how social norms affect recycling behavior in societies.

In this study, on the basis of TPB, which is one of the strongest psychological behavior theories, moral norm, environmental knowledge, and environmental anxiety variables were added to the model and the relationships between the factors were investigated in detail in order to understand the recycling behavior.

3. Development of research model and hypotheses

3.1. Attitude

Attitude is one of the 3 important predictors of intention in TPB. Attitude towards behavior expresses the degree to which a person evaluates the behavior in question as positive or negative (Ajzen, 1991; Klockner, 2011). In studies on recycling, Attitude has been evaluated from a utilitarian perspective with questions such as "recycling can save energy", "recycling benefits the environment" (Öztürk and Erten, 2020; Chen and Tung, 2010; Tonglet et al., 2004). In some studies, it has been addressed as awareness of consequences that refer to the consequences and cost-benefits of recycling behaviors (Bratt, 1991; Davies et al., 2002; Do Valle et al., 2005). Wan et al (2017) handled the attitude factor from both perspectives in the recycling study and revealed its positive effect on intention.

When the literature is examined, it has been revealed that the attitude factor is among the most important determinants of behavioral intentions in studies on recycling (eg, Botetzagias et al., 2015; Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Yılmaz and Doğan, 2017). Arı and Yılmaz (2016), in their study investigating housewives' intentions towards recycling with TPB, stated that attitude has a positive and significant effect on intention.

In the light of the studies revealed, the following hypothesis has been proposed to investigate the relationship between attitude and intention towards recycling:

H1: The recycling attitudes of the participants positively and significantly affect their recycling intentions.

3.2. Subjective norm

In TPB, social influence is represented by the concept of subjective norm. (White et al., 2009). It has been defined as social pressure from significant others that has an impact on individuals' behavioral intentions (Ajzen, 1991). The main source of social influence is the individual's immediate environment, such as family members, friends and neighbors. As the individual considers the social pressure from other people, the subjective norm either encourages or inhibits how the individual behaves (López-Mosquera et al., 2014). People act in response to social norms because they seek the approval of the immediate environment and avoid blaming others (Wan et al., 2017). When the literature is examined, the positive effect of the subjective norm on recycling intention has been revealed in various studies (Cheung et al., 1999; Knussen et al., 2004; Ramayah et al., 2012; Botetzagias, 2015; Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Wan et al. , 2017). For example, Cheung et al. (1999) revealed that the subjective norm positively affects the intention to recycle waste paper. Shaw (2008) has shown that an individual's intention to recycle is significantly influenced by social norms that he or she believes are adopted by other people or social groups whose opinions are important to them. The results show that when the individual perceives a strong social impact towards recycling, the intention to perform the recycling behavior becomes stronger. In the light of the information obtained, the following hypothesis was proposed between subjective norm and intention.

H2: Recycling subjective norms of the participants positively and significantly affect their recycling intentions.

3.3. Perceived behavioral control

Perceived behavioral control (PBC) is defined as an individual's perceived ease or difficulty in performing a certain behavior (Ajzen, 1991). In some studies, it has been determined that the long distance to the recycling bins reduces the level of recycling behavior. (Sidique et al., 2010; Tadesse, 2009). When the literature is reviewed, in recycling studies, PBC has been investigated and confirmed as an important determinant of behavioral intention (Botetzagias et al., 2015; Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Wan et al., 2017; Yılmaz and Doğan, 2017). Similarly, since it is thought that perceived behavioral control may affect intention and behavior towards recycling, the following hypotheses have been proposed:

H3: Recycling perceived behavioral controls of the participants positively and significantly affect their recycling intentions.

H4: Recycling perceived behavior controls of the participants positively and significantly affect their recycling behavior.

3.4. Intention

Ajzen (1991) defines intention as an individual's level of desire to perform a behavior and the intensity of the effort he plans to put forth. When the literature is examined, it is seen that intention is important before the behavior occurs in recycling studies (Arı and Yılmaz, 2016; Yılmaz and Doğan, 2017). For example, Yılmaz and Doğan (2017) revealed that recycling behavioral intention is highly effective in realizing the behavior. Arı and Yılmaz (2016) concluded that the recycling intentions of housewives affect behavior. Research shows that intention in TPB helps to predict whether a behavior will occur or not. In the study, the following hypothesis was proposed to test the relationship between recycling intention and behavior:

H5: The recycling intention of the participants affects their recycling behavior positively and significantly.

3.5. Data collection tool and sampling

The data were collected with the help of an online questionnaire. The survey consists of two parts. In the first part, there are demographic questions, while in the second part, there are attitude items with 10 Likert "1. totally disagree-10. totally agree" and behavioral items with 10 Likert "1.Never-10.Always". Items 11, 14, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35 in the questionnaire were taken from Yılmaz and Doğan (2017) and 9, 15, 17 from Arı and Yılmaz (2016).

In this study, a convenience sampling method was used as a method since face-to-face surveys could not be conducted due to the Covid-19 epidemic. The sample units were reached through an online link on social media, and data were collected. Data analysis was performed using the Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) Smart-PLS software, which can be used successfully in small-volume samples and does not require the assumption of multivariate normality. Since PLS-SEM analysis with the Smart-PLS program gave successful results in small samples, a sample volume of e 205 units was considered sufficient. In addition, there are 15 items in the study, and the sample size of 10 times the number of items is considered sufficient (Hair et al.1998; Çakır, 2020; Yıldız, 2019).

The sample consisted of 205 people who voluntarily responded to the online survey on social media in April, May and June 2021. Power analysis was performed for sample size. When the

desired statistical power level = 0.80, the number of latent variables = 5, the number of observed variables (item) = 15, and the probability level 0.05, the minimum sample size was calculated as 200. These results show that the sample size in the study is sufficient.

4. Findings

4.1. Descriptive Statistics

It is seen that 60.49% of the participants who voluntarily participated in the online survey were female and 39.51% were male. Considering the marital status of the participants who answered the questionnaire, it is seen that 66.34% of the participants are single and 33.66% of them are married. When the answers given to the question of your graduation status are examined, 27.80% of them are undergraduate graduates, 24.88% of them are high school graduates, 20.49% are still university students, 12.68% are associate degree graduates, 7.32% are primary school graduates, and 4.39% are secondary education graduates and 2.44% of them are graduates. The participants who answered the survey consisted of individuals from Bursa (122 participants), Eskişehir (21 participants), İzmir (19 participants), İstanbul (15 participants) and other cities (28 participants).

According to the answers given by the participants, 39.02% of the products thrown into the recycling bin are Paper, 32.20% Pet bottles, 19.02% Plastic, 3.90% other, 5.85% Glass. "Is there a recycling bin in your neighborhood?" directed to the participants. According to the answers given to the question, it was concluded that while 72.20% of them had a recycling bin in their immediate vicinity, 27.80% of them did not have a recycling bin in their immediate vicinity. Statistics on the demographic characteristics of the participants are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the participants

| Measure | Item | Frequency | % |
|--|---------------------|-----------|-------|
| Gender | Male | 81 | 39.51 |
| | Female | 124 | 60.49 |
| Marital status | Married | 69 | 33.66 |
| | Single | 136 | 66.34 |
| Education status | Undergraduate | 57 | 27.80 |
| | Highschool | 51 | 24.88 |
| | University students | 42 | 20.49 |
| | Associate degree | 26 | 12.68 |
| | Primary school | 15 | 7.32 |
| | Secondary education | 8 | 4.39 |
| Living city | Graduates | 6 | 2.44 |
| | Bursa | 122 | 61.0 |
| | Eskişehir | 21 | 10.0 |
| | İzmir | 19 | 9.0 |
| | İstanbul | 15 | 7.0 |
| | Other | 28 | 13.0 |
| Do you have a recycling bin near you? | Yes | 150 | 72.20 |
| | No | 55 | 27.80 |
| What product do you throw in the recycling bin most often? | Bottle | 66 | 32.20 |
| | Glass | 11 | 5.85 |
| | Paper | 79 | 39.02 |
| | Plastic | 39 | 19.20 |
| | Other | 5 | 3.90 |

4.2. Validity of the Measurement Model

Three criteria are used to ensure Convergent validity. First, the standardized factor load of the observed variables belonging to latent variables should be greater than 0.50 and be statistically significant (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Second, the Composite Reliability-CR and Cronbach Alpha (CA) values for each structure should be greater than 0.70 (Hair et. al.1998). Third, the Average Variance Extracted (AVE) value of each latent variable must be higher than 0.50 (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). In addition, it was stated that in cases where the CR values of the relevant factor are greater than 0.60, it is acceptable for the AVE to be less than 0.50 and the construct validity is sufficient (Hair et al., 1998; Çakır, 2020; Yıldız, 2019; Yılmaz & Kınaş, 2020). In Table 2, the CA, CR and AVE values obtained from the Smart-PLS software are given collectively.

Table 2. Cronbach's Alpha, CR and AVE Values

| Factors | Cronbach Alpha | Construct reliability (CR) | Average variance extracted (AVE) |
|---------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ADK | 0.823 | 0.894 | 0.739 |
| DAV | 0.792 | 0.871 | 0.695 |
| NYT | 0.906 | 0.941 | 0.843 |
| TUT | 0.906 | 0.941 | 0.842 |
| ÖZ | 0.724 | 0.845 | 0.647 |

When the construct reliability of the study was checked, it was observed that the CR values were ADK= 0.89, DAV= 0.87, NYT= 0.94, TUT= 0.94, OZ=0.85, and the AVE values were greater than 0.65. The discriminant validity of the measurement model is checked by comparing the square root of the AVE value of each construct and the correlation between that construct and the other constructs. As a result of these comparisons, discriminant validity is ensured if the square root values of the AVE are larger (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Table 3. The discriminant validity -Fornell-Larcker criterion

| | ADK | DAV | NYT | TUT | ÖZ |
|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ADK | 0.859 | | | | |
| DAV | 0.388 | 0.833 | | | |
| NYT | 0.639 | 0.496 | 0.918 | | |
| TUT | 0.659 | 0.234 | 0.640 | 0.917 | |
| ÖZ | 0.407 | 0.463 | 0.587 | 0.243 | 0.804 |
| AVE | 0.739 | 0.695 | 0.843 | 0.842 | 0.647 |

Note: The diagonal elements in the table are the square root of AVE, and the elements outside the diagonal are the correlation coefficients between the latent variables

As a result of the comparisons in Table 3, it was seen that discriminant validity was achieved because the square root values of AVE, that is, the diagonal elements in the table were larger.

According to the HTMT (Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio) criterion, it expresses the ratio of the average of the correlations of the items of all the variables in the study (the heterotrait-heteromethod correlations) to the geometric mean of the correlations of the items of the same variable (the monotrait-heteromethod correlations). The authors stated that the HTMT value should theoretically be below 0.90 for close concepts and 0.85 for distant concepts (Henseler et al., 2016; Yıldız, 2020). HTMT values are given in Table 4. When the values are examined, it is seen that the HTMT values are below the threshold value.

Table 4. The discriminant validity - Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT)

| | TUT | ÖZ | ADK | NYT | DAV |
|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| TUT | | | | | |
| ÖZ | 0.322 | | | | |
| ADK | 0.748 | 0.558 | | | |
| NYT | 0.713 | 0.744 | 0.744 | | |
| DAV | 0.261 | 0.595 | 0.389 | 0.521 | |

4.2.2. Fit criteria of the structural model

After the validity and reliability of the measurement model has been verified, the structural model is evaluated. The structural model usually evaluates the coefficient of determination R^2 , the effect size f^2 , the path coefficient and t-value, the validity of the estimator Q^2 , and the goodness-of-fit index (GoF). In addition, for the fit of the model, the measurements calculated by the Smart PLS software, Standardized Root Mean Square Residual SRMR, Chi-Square and Normed Fit Index (NFI) values are used (Yılmaz & Kinaş, 2020).

In the study, the R^2 values for behavior and intention factors, which are internal latent variables, are R^2 (DAV) =0.255 and R^2 (NYT)=0.629, respectively. f^2 (effect size), in addition to evaluating the R^2 values of all endogenous latent variables, the change in R^2 value when a particular exogenous latent variable is removed from the model is used to evaluate whether this subtracted construct has a significant effect on the endogenous latent variables. The effect measure f^2 estimator indicates that a latent variable has a weak ($0.02 < f^2 < 0.14$), moderate ($0.15 < f^2 < 0.34$), and high ($f^2 > 0.34$) effect at the structural level (Cohen, 1988). As a result of the analysis, DAV variable, which is an internal latent variable; ADK (0.011) and NYT (0.140) affect weakly. NYT variable, which is another endogenous latent variable; It affects ADK (0.058) weakly, TUT (0.250) moderately, and OZ (0.366) high. The Q^2 measure is an indicator of the validity of the model's prediction. If the Q^2 value of the structural model is greater than zero, it provides predictive validity. As a result of the analysis, $Q^2 = 0.524$ for intent and $Q^2 = 0.135$ for behavior were calculated. Model validity was provided according to the Q^2 values.

As there is no general fit index in PLS-SEM, the goodness of fit index (GoF) is suggested as a measure of goodness of fit. The GoF index is both the measurement model and was developed to determine the performance of the structural model and to provide a standard measure for the predictive performance of the whole model. The GOF index takes values between 0 and 1. The degrees of fit of the GoF index are $GoF < 0.10$ (less), $0.10 < GoF < 0.25$ (moderate), $0.25 < GoF < 0.36$ (good) $GoF > 0.36$ (very good) (Tenenhaus et al., 2005). Since $GoF = 0.82$ was calculated in the study, the goodness of fit of the model was evaluated as very good.

In order for the model to have an acceptable fit, the SRMR value is required to be less than 0.10. The SRMR value for the model was calculated as 0.076. The NFI value is required to take a value between 0 and 1. A value close to 1 for NFI indicates that the model has a good fit. The NFI value for the model was calculated as 0.864. In this case, it can be said that the model has an acceptable fit.

Finally, in the evaluation of the model, it should be determined whether there is a multicollinearity between the latent variables. For this, VIF (variance inflation factor) values are examined. A VIF value less than 5 indicates that there is no collinearity between the variables (Hair et al., 2011). For Outer, $1.275 < VIF < 3.584$ and Inner values were calculated as $1.246 < VIF < 2.010$. It can be said that the calculated VIF values are less than 5 and there is no multicollinearity problem.

4.2.3. Path coefficients and hypothesis testing

In Figure 3, a positive relationship was found between attitudes and intentions towards recycling in the model of attitudes and behaviors towards recycling. This value indicates that a one-unit increase in the attitude towards recycling will cause an increase of 0.41 units in the intention to recycle.

A positive relationship was found between the subjective norm towards recycling and the intention to recycle. This value indicates that a one-unit increase in the subjective norm for recycling will cause an increase of 0.40 units in the intention to recycle.

It is seen that there is a positive relationship between perceived behavioral control towards recycling and intention towards recycling. This value indicates that a one-unit increase in perceived behavioral control towards recycling will cause an increase of 0.21-unit in intention to recycle.

A statistically significant relationship could not be determined between perceived control of behavior towards recycling and behavior towards recycling.

It is seen that there is a positive relationship between intention towards recycling and behavior towards recycling. This value indicates that a one-unit increase in intention to recycle will result in a 0.42-unit increase in recycling behavior.

Standardized parameter estimates, t-values and structural equations are given in Figure 2 and Table 5.

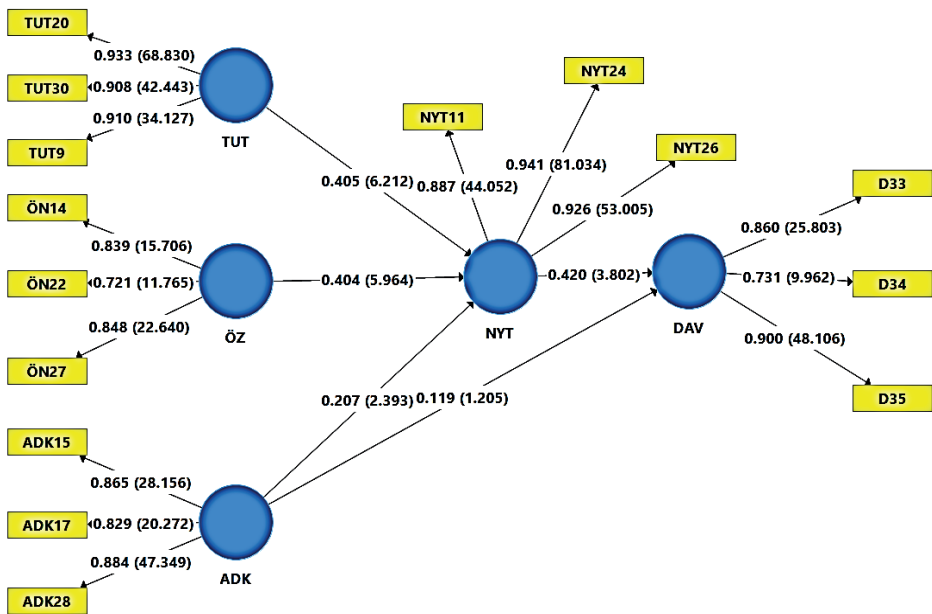


Figure 1: Attitudes and Behaviors towards Recycling - Planned Behavior Theory Model

The values in parentheses are the t values.

TUT: Attitude, ÖZ: Subjective Norm, ADK= Perceived Behavior Control, NYT= Intention, DAV= Behavior

Table 5. Standardized parameter estimates and t values

| Hypothesis | Path Coefficients | t-value | P-value | Result |
|-------------|-------------------|---------|---------|---------------|
| H1: ADK→DAV | 0.119 | 1.205 | 0.229 | Not supported |
| H2: ADK→NYT | 0.207 | 2.393 | P<0.05 | Supported |
| H3: NYT→DAV | 0.420 | 3.802 | P<0.01 | Supported |
| H4: TUT→NYT | 0.405 | 6.212 | P<0.01 | Supported |
| H5: ÖZ→NYT | 0.404 | 5.964 | P<0.01 | Supported |

5. Conclusion and discussion

Recycling is the most important factor for a livable world. Recycling needs to be expanded and made a responsibility. In this study, attitudes and behaviors towards recycling were investigated with the help of a model proposed within the scope of Theory Planned Behavior (TPB). The analysis of the data was made using the Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) Smart-PLS software, which can be used successfully in small-volume samples and does not require the assumption of multivariate normality. It was determined, because of PLS-SEM fit criteria, that TPB is suitable for explaining recycling attitudes and behaviors.

When Figure 2, in which the results of the PLS-SEM analysis are given, is examined, it is seen that the Attitude (TUT) factor has three observed variables and the highest factor load among them is the expression “TUT9: If I recycle, I will increase the quality of life of future generations (0.910)”. The subjective norm (ON) factor also has three observed variables. The highest factor load of these is ON27 with 0.848. He measured the phrase “People whose opinions I care about want me to recycle” in ON27. It is seen that the factor of perceived behavioral control (ADK) has three observed variables and the highest factor load of them is the statement “ADK28: I know how to sort waste for recycling (0,884)”. It is seen that the intent (NYT) factor also has three observed variables and the highest factor load of them is the statement “NYT24: I will make an effort to recycle regularly in the coming days (0.941)”. The behavior (DAV) factor also has three observed variables. The highest factor load of these is 0.900 and D35. In D35, “How often plastic bottles and plastics are recycled recently” was measured.

When the structural relations are examined, the Intent factor; It is concluded that attitude (0.405), Subjective norm (0.404) and Perceived behavioral control (0.207) affect it. From these results, it can be said that the most important determinant of the intention to recycle is the attitude towards recycling. A statistically significant positive correlation was found between attitude and intention (0.405). A statistically significant positive (0.404) relationship was found between subjective norm and intention. It has been observed that there is a statistically significant positive (0.207) relationship between perceived behavioral control and intention. A statistically significant positive (0.420) correlation was found between intention and behavior. According to the results of PLS-SEM analysis, the model has an acceptable fit.

As a result of the t test; attitude of gender; (female mean: 9.3898, male mean: 8.8107; $t=2.881$, $p=0.005$), there is a significant difference in perceptions above. The average attitude towards recycling is higher among women. According to gender, no significant difference was found between the mean of the subjective norm (female mean: 7.4946, male mean: 7.3621; $t=0.511$, $p=0.610$). There is a significant difference between the mean of perceived behavioral control (female mean: 8.9167, male mean: 8.1770; $t=3.288$, $p=0.001$) by gender. It was determined that there was no significant effect of gender on recycling behaviors (female mean: 6.5484, male mean: 6.8313; $t=-0.944$, $p=0.347$). In short, as a result of the t test, gender; while it was concluded that there was

no significant difference in the perceptions of the subjective norm factor and the behavior factor, it was found that there was a significant difference in the perceptions of gender on the factors in all other factors.

As a result of the Anova test, the level of education; While it was determined that there was no significant difference between the factors of Intent ($F= 1.435$, $p= 0.203$), Behavior ($F= 0.480$, $p= 0.823$), Attitude ($F= 2.649$, $p= 0.017$), Subjective norm ($F= 3.166$, $p= 0.005$) and Perceived behavioral control ($F= 3.663$, $p= 0.002$) factors were found to have significant differences. It has been determined that while the attitude towards recycling has the biggest impact among the determinants of recycling intention, it is the perceived behavioral control that has the lowest impact.

In the study, a positive relationship was found between recycling intention and perceived behavioral control. Similar to the results of the study, Klöckner and Oppedal (2011) determined that there is a positive relationship between the intention to recycle and the perceived behavioral control. Mosler et al. (2008) concluded in their study that perceived behavioral control positively affects the behavior towards recycling. The results show that individuals' perceived ease about recycling and adequate external conditions for recycling positively affect their recycling intentions.

TPB argues that subjective norm also has an impact on the determinants of individuals' behavioral intentions. It is accepted that suggestions and criticisms received from the environment affect the formation of subjective norms and, in short, measure social pressure (Yılmaz & Doğan, 2017). In the study, it was determined that the second most important determinant of the intention to recycle is the subjective norm for recycling. Encouraging and supporting individuals by people whose opinions they value in order to realize their responsibilities can increase the possibility of recycling. Similar to the study result, Cheung et al., (1999) stated that the subjective norm positively affects the intention to recycle waste paper. Botetzagias et al. (2015) revealed that there is a positive significant relationship between subjective norm and recycling intentions. These results reveal that subjective norms play a key role in determining how appropriate individuals find recycling action. The attitude factor towards recycling significantly affects the intention to recycle. In TPB, he argues that an individual's intention is shaped by the influence of his attitudes. In short, every individual who believes that recycling protects the environment can intend to recycle. Klöckner and Oppedal (2011) determined that there is a positive relationship between the intention to recycle and the previously acquired habits that affect it. They also found that perceived conditions and situations have a direct effect on recycling behavior. Mosler (2008) stated in his study that perceived conditions affect behavior positively, and in this study, it was concluded that perceived behavioral control positively affected behavior towards recycling.

By making arrangements that will make it easier for individuals to recycle, the reasons that prevent recycling behavior can be eliminated. The number and variety of recycling bins can be increased. Individuals can be provided with more space to recycle. Sensitivity levels can be increased by providing information about the materials they will reserve for the boxes. In order to make the boxes more visually appealing, campaigns can be organized to encourage individuals to recycle. It is possible for consumers to be directed to a sustainable consumption behavior. In this way, community behavior can also change quickly.

In addition, by local governments; various campaigns can be organized to raise awareness of individuals, public service announcements can be increased, and brochures emphasizing the importance of recycling can be distributed to raise awareness of all individuals in the household. Giving bonuses to individuals who recycle, taking into account the type and amount of recycling, granting scholarships to students with the revenues obtained from recycling, and organizing so-

cial activities for students with the revenue obtained from recycling can significantly contribute to increasing the recycling rate.

In order to strengthen the sensitivity of individuals towards the environment, information can be provided with the help of more social activities and especially social media tools. Sidique et al. (2010) found that communication and education efforts made to raise awareness about recycling encourage recycling behavior. Encouraging and supporting individuals by people whose opinions they value in order to realize their responsibilities can increase the opportunity to recycle. Therefore, in future studies, the research model can be expanded by adding variables such as environmental knowledge, environmental benefit, and moral norm to the TPB model.

In future studies, by considering qualitative and quantitative methods together, more detailed information about the psychological state of individuals can be provided, and recycling attitudes and behaviors can be explained more comprehensively. The individuals included in this study do not represent the whole society, because the majority of the participants are from Bursa. The validity of the study results on other population subgroups can be examined in more comprehensive studies.

Ethics Committee Approval: This study was approved by the Eskişehir Osmangazi University Social and Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. Decision no: 2021.15.04.

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Research Article

Impacts of Climate Change on Water Resources, Agricultural Production and Food Security: Evidence from Turkiye*

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ABSTRACT

Since agricultural production depends mainly on nature and uses surface and groundwater reservoirs, changes in existing water resources significantly affect this sector. Again, changes in global climate bring changes in water levels, consequently affecting agriculture, food supply, and income sources of households in different areas. However, to date, no such research has investigated the farmers who are the producers and the most vulnerable group to the impacts of climate change. Therefore, this paper explores climate change impacts on the water resources of Sarayonu, which in turn affects the agricultural food production and food security of the producers' households and the country's market. This qualitative study conducted in-depth interviews with the farmers from the Sarayonu district of Konya province in Turkiye. The study results show that ground and surface water resources are negatively affected by climate change. Consequently, the study area observed a decrease in water level over the last 15 years. Thus, these changes in water resources have been significantly affecting the agriculture sector, which alters the food supply for the market in general and the producers in particular. When people have less water, they have low quality and quantity crop yields, resulting in food crises and economic difficulties.

Keywords: Climate change, Water Resources, Agriculture, Farmers' Household income, Food security



1. Introduction

Climate characteristics are important for sufficient agricultural production, to maintain the food supply for households of the producers, and for the market. Already more than 700 million people are struggling with poverty, malnutrition, and meeting their basic needs (Hussain, Islam, Ahmed, Haq, & Islam, 2021; United Nations, 2019). Because the agriculture sector is climate-sensitive and depends mostly on nature and natural water resources, changes in existing water resources have great impacts on this sector. Climate change exacerbates the food crisis as it impacts food production around the world, since the frequency of various climate-induced disasters is very common worldwide (Haq, Ahmed, Islam, Hussain, & Islam, 2021). Many studies using both dynamical and statistical models argue that crop production in many parts of the world will decrease due to climate change's impact on agriculture (Islam, 2016; Roudier, Sultan, Quirion, & Berg, 2011; White, Hoogenboom, Kimball, & Wall, 2011; Zhu, et al., 2011; Laux, Jackel, Tingem, & Kunstmann, 2010; Liu, et al., 2010; Devereux & Edwards, 2004). It is argued that rainfall and cereal production will decrease due to global warming, which will create many problems such as the loss of arable land, increased water stress, and falling cereal yields, etc. Together, this will put pressure on the food supply, and countries will struggle to maintain food consumption through domestic production (Devereux & Edwards, 2004). Changes in global climate brings changes in water levels, which consequently affects the agriculture, food supply, and income source of households in different areas. Because water and food security are expected to face unprecedented outcomes in Türkiye in the changing climate conditions, they are a major concern for both academics and policymakers (Ağaçayak & Keyman, 2018).

The agriculture sector is the second largest sector in Türkiye and Konya is a leader of agriculture and agro-industry sectors because of its flat wide land (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022). Since the 1950s, the area has been known as the Grain House of Türkiye. However, changes in climate conditions, i.e., temperature increase, seasonal shifts, increasing water scarcity, and increasing frequency of extreme weather events, which have been observed over the last years (Soylu, 2021), have affected the agriculture sector of Konya as well as of Türkiye (Adaman, Avcı, Kocagöz & Yeniev, 2020). Because the agriculture sector depends mostly on nature and uses almost 60% of all the water resources available (MWI, 2010, 2009a, 2009, 2007, 1998), changes in existing water resources have a great effect on this sector. Climate change not only affects the water resources and water levels, but it also significantly affects the water quality (Aggarwal & Singh, 2010), which alters food security in the affected region. Moreover, surface and groundwater reservoirs are used in the agricultural sector of Konya. However, changes in global climate bring changes in water levels, which consequently affect the agriculture, food supply, health, industry, and tourism sectors of a particular area (T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2012). According to the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC, a temperature increase of 1°C-2°C in the Mediterranean region will increase aridity in the wider area, cause heat waves, and the number of hot days will increase, particularly in inland areas. The IPCC report also notes that Türkiye will be hotter, more arid, and unstable in terms of precipitation patterns. In Türkiye, the projected impacts of climate change are increasing summer temperatures, decreasing winter precipitation, loss of surface water, increased frequency of droughts, land degradation, coastal erosion, and floods. This will have negative impacts on water and soil, which are crucial for agricultural production and food security (IPCC, 2007).

Having a sufficient amount of food is termed *food security*, which can be managed through trade and domestic production. Thus, food security is not related to production sufficiency but to

the loss of food production of households because of the impact of climate change. A food crisis is the consequence of the loss of alternative income due to the farmers' decreased harvest, which is mostly dependent on agriculture. This situation brings food security concerns into the frontline. Therefore, climate change is one of the main factors that will undermine global food security in the next decades because it will alter precipitation patterns, affecting the supply of surface water and groundwater needed for agricultural production in the particular area (Wangchuk & Siebert, 2013; Ramirez-Villegas & Challinor, 2012; Vicuña, McPhee, & Garreaud, 2012; Devereux & Edwards, 2004). Türkiye's water resources are essential for proper agricultural production, which is gradually decreasing because of the impacts of climate change. As a result, water resources came in first place among the five most important fields supported by technical and scientific studies and participatory processes, followed by the agriculture sector and food security (T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2012).

Climate change has multiple impacts on society in the form of the diminishing amount of water for agriculture, decreasing water quality, changing sustainable agricultural production patterns, and changing biodiversity and ecosystems, which altogether eventually risk food security for the agricultural community (Aggarwal & Singh, 2010). Changes in climate may also lead to desertification in Türkiye (Tramblay, et al., 2020; Turkes, 2019, 2012). For example, the Konya Plain and Iğdir sub-region are located in a semi-arid region, which is prone to desertification (Çetin, Karaca, Haktanır, & Yildiz, 2007). All of these changes create a negative situation for agricultural food production, (Aggarwal & Singh, 2010) which ensures the food supply for many people around the world. Additionally, water is key to the agriculture in Konya Plain (Soylu, 2021). However, climate changes over the last 25 years (1991-2015) have affected the pattern and the type of agricultural products (Karapınar, Özertan, Tanaka, An, & Turp, 2020). If the current climate changes continue, their impacts on agriculture will be more striking. Nevertheless, very little research has been conducted in the Konya region from a sociological perspective incorporating the socio-economic aspects of the farmers (Adaman, et al., 2020). Most research on climate change impacts and future climate projections uses climatological and meteorological perspectives of natural science (Tramblay et al., 2020; Turkes, 2019; Ekercin, Sertel, Celik, & Durduran, 2013; Turkes, 2012). Nevertheless, Tramblay et al. (2020) emphasized the projected socio-economic impacts of droughts in the Mediterranean region.

However, there is scarce sociological research done in the study area incorporating the producers. This study will try to fill this gap by employing sociological research methods and techniques while exploring the goal of this study. Climate change has been affecting the agricultural sector directly and indirectly through decreasing surface and ground water resources. These changes will have great impacts on the small scale and subsistence farmers at the local level as they are highly vulnerable to climate change impacts and have less adaptive capacity to decrease their sufferings (Aggarwal & Singh, 2010). Therefore, this study examines the impact of climate variability on water resources of the Sarayonu district of Konya and consequent impacts on agricultural production and food security of farmers' households.

There are multiple reasons for choosing Konya as the location for this study. The Konya Closed Basin holds both the fourth and second largest basins based on its precipitation area and underground water potential (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022). However, disruption of the natural hydrological regimes and over-consumption of freshwater resources pose some serious threats to the wetlands, salt lakes, and freshwater sources. Irrigation schemes have diverted water from the streams that feed freshwater resources to convert some of the salty steppes to agricultural fields.

As a result, the overall freshwater content of the lakes, wetlands and streams decreases (Berktaş & Nas, 2008). Additionally, because of environmental pollution and global climate change, the use of irrigation water from basin water has been reduced. Consequently, cultivators had to change their irrigation systems and use new technology in the irrigation process. In addition, some cultivators may shift to other places, mostly cities, for their survival. As a result, many people are leaving the agricultural sector for other industries. Because of decreased precipitation, Konya is an arid climate zone and agricultural drought makes the situation more dangerous for high water-consuming crops. According to a report, Konya experienced the most severe agricultural drought of recent years in 2021, which affected the yield to fall from 22.6 million tons in 2015, the year of ideal precipitation for wheat production, to 15-16 million tons (Soylu, 2021). This situation threatens the food security of not only the Konya region but also Turkiye. Additionally, increasing temperature leads to low yields of barley and wheat, which are highly dependent on rain (Al-Bakri, et al., 2013; Topak & Acar, 2010). As a result, the cultivators have to change the cereal production patterns as well as irrigation systems. Previous research on the agriculture sector of Konya show that the climate of the region has been changing, which has severe impacts on existing water resources and consequently on the agriculture sector and food security of the area. Therefore, the present study explores the effects of climate change on water resources and the consequent impacts on agricultural food production and the food security of Konya.

2. Literature Review

Climate change has two significant elements: changes in temperature and changes in rainfall. Although precipitation has increased globally, some parts of the world have shown a decreasing trend while the other parts have shown an increasing trend (Aggarwal & Singh, 2010). However, the water crisis is worsening all over the world. It is expected that an increase in global temperature due to climate change will contribute to increasing water scarcity, which is expected to affect almost five billion people around the world by 2025 (Devereux & Edwards, 2004) and to make more than 60% people in Southern Africa vulnerable (Nhemachena, Nhamo, & Matchaya 2020). Moreover, climate change has a disproportionately high effect on the food security of poor households. Further, households struggling with water and food insecurity, and households that have no alternative source of income face the largest impacts (Nhemachena, et al., 2020; Devereux & Edwards, 2004). The Menderes river basin of Turkiye has witnessed the effects of climate change on water resources over the last 45 years. In the last 45 years, a 1°C temperature increase was measured, which decreased the annual precipitation trend of the region. In addition, climate change has impacts on the water resources of Seyhan River Basin, which is located in Southern Turkiye (Durdu, 2010).

Turkiye is one of the Mediterranean basin countries that will experience the largest precipitation changes. If we consider the precipitation of Turkiye, we see that the country has its highest precipitation rates in the winter season, and precipitation is much higher in coastal areas than in interior zones. However, because of hydrological changes, Turkiye has been experiencing temperature rising everywhere. The Turkish summer temperature increase has been particularly high. It is a projection that Turkiye's temperature will increase between 1.0 °C and 2.5 °C by the mid-21st century and between 2.5 °C and 5.0 °C by the end of the century. Meanwhile, at the same time, the average annual precipitation will decrease in southern Turkiye, and northern Turkiye will see an increase in temperature (Şen, 2013). It is claimed that increasing temperatures lead to low crop yields, particularly of barley and wheat, which are highly dependent on rain. Wheat

production will decrease by 3-10% with an increase in temperature of 1 °C (Al-Bakri, et al., 2013; Gohari, et al., 2013; Chiras, 2012; You, Rosegrant, Wood, & Sun, 2009; Anwar, O'Leary, McNeil, Hossain, & Nelson, 2007) while a total 25-50% yield loss is expected worldwide if the temperature rises 3°C (Karapınar, et al., 2020).

In addition, reductions in precipitation in arid and semi-arid countries may lead to a decrease in crop production. For instance, Türkiye will face a wheat production loss of 20% due to increased temperature and decreased precipitation, while wheat production will decrease from -2.5% to 20.7% in the Zayandeh-Rud River Basin in Iran, and there will be a 4.5% decline in China (Gohari, et al., 2013; Ozdogan, 2011; You, et al., 2009). Another semi-arid country, Jordan, also shows similar scenarios from the impact of climate change. Studies show that climate change impacts are devastating for arid countries like Jordan. Climate change puts extra pressure on already scarce water resources in countries with limited resources for agricultural production, which consequently puts pressure on the food security for those countries. All these changes create situations for farmers to develop adaptive mechanisms, particularly technological adaptive mechanisms to which producers react positively (Gohar & Cashman, 2016; Al-Bakri, et al., 2013). Further, climate change is expected to impact water availability in Southern Africa through increased temperature and decreased rainfall patterns, which will reduce agricultural production by 15%-60% (Nhemachena, et al., 2020). As a result, climate change is expected to increase the demand for water usage for agricultural production in Jordan, which is hampered by decreased rainfall and increased temperature. Therefore, the producers would depend mostly on irrigation, which is expected to increase by 14% by 2030 and 28% by 2050 respectively (Al-Bakri, et al., 2013).

Taking examples from Türkiye, Şen (2013) mentions that there are some important sectors of Türkiye, which are significantly affected by climate change. These sectors include Human Resources, Water Resources, Agriculture, Forest, Tourism and Energy. In addition, agriculture, Türkiye's dominant sector, where nearly 15 million people are employed, needs 73.2% or 85% of the total water supply of the country (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022; Dogdu & Sagnak, 2008). Another study tried to determine the effects of climate change on the water resources of Konya through climate data and multi-temporal Landsat images. Employing an engineering perspective and using technical data collected through a remote sensing method to identify the climate change impacts on water resources, the study shows that Konya has been in a drought for the last two decades due to two main aspects: uncontrolled use of groundwater in agriculture and a lack of sufficient precipitation. The primary data source of the research is remote sensing satellites, which generally did not consider the social consequences of climate change (Ekercin, et al., 2013).

A study report (Dursun, 2010) on the effects of global climate change on the water balance of Beyşehir Lake in Konya shows that the water level has been fluctuating due to two important factors: global warming and activities of local people. As a result, during the wet season, the water level rises, which is harmful to agriculture and human beings. During the dry season, there is lack of water flow, which leads to drought in the mentioned area. It is also shown here how evaporation, precipitation, and runoff affect the water level of the Beyşehir Lake. At the same time, the Carsamba River is an important source of water for the lake. Therefore, changes in this river flow ultimately affect the balance of water level of Beyşehir Lake. The construction of a dam and unconstrained use of water in agriculture have also destabilized the water level of this lake. At the end, this report urges to maintain water level in Beyşehir Lake in order to ensure economic benefits of water and suggests educating the farmers about the proper use of water in irrigation systems (Dursun, 2010). There are many other studies conducted in the Konya region on climate

change and its impacts on water and agriculture, namely Bayramoğlu and Ağızan (2022), Aydın et al. (2015), Dogan, Berktaş and Singh (2012), Topak and Acar (2010) etc.

For example, socio-economic drought, one of four types of drought observed in Konya (Dogan, et al. 2012), is also defined as the result of meteorological, hydrological, and agricultural droughts happened due to low precipitation in Konya (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022). This situation entails more demand for a financial product than the supply in the affected area. The main reason for less precipitation is climate change, which also leads to less agriculture production in the affected area and alters food security, leading to famine and health problems (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022). Therefore, farmers of Sarayonu district of Konya were interviewed because they are the actors who face climate-induced vulnerability most and whose household income and food security is most affected.

3. Objectives of the study

The broad objective of this study was to explore the impacts of climate change on the water resources of Sarayonu, Konya, and the consequent impacts on the food security of the households of the farmers. This broad objective has been split into several specific objectives and questions, which include:

- a. To find out the existing water reservoirs (ground and surface) required for agricultural production.
- b. What types of changes are there in water resources of the society in the last 15 years?
- c. What are the social impacts of water scarcity resulting from climate change? Does water scarcity have an effect on the poverty of the farmers?
- d. How and to what extent does water scarcity affect the decision-making process of farmers for further cultivation?
- e. How do the changes in water reservoirs affect the quality of agricultural production of the community and the income sources of the households of the farmers?
- f. How do the changes in water resources alter the food security of the households of the producers?

4. Methodology

In the present study, a qualitative research methodology was employed and the study design is descriptive-exploratory. Field interviews were conducted in 2018 on the farmers and a semi-structured in-depth interview form was designed. The interview guides were designed in both English and Turkish and were pretested and updated accordingly. Furthermore, the current study concentrates on the changes in number of wetlands, lakes, and irrigation pumps of the study area in the last 15 years in order to support the descriptive design of the study. The researcher received ethical approval from Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Ethics Committee (Decision No: 2018-226/28.06.2018/44) to conduct this study. Changes in water resources affect the agricultural sector and consequently the social status of the people engaged in this sector, as the income level is affected by these changes. Moreover, some people are expected to leave their production jobs and migrate to other places for their survival, while others still live there and struggle with the environmental changes resulting from climate change. These bring qualitative changes to the community and to the people's lives. The fieldwork approach demands that social life can only be understood through interpretation (Goffman, 2002; Bechhofer & Paterson, 2000). Qualitative researchers collect data through examining documents, observing behavior, interviewing people, or describing a

group of people that interact with each other. I have followed all these activities in this research. Therefore, the success of qualitative inquiry depends on the skills, assumptions and practices of researchers engaged in research (Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

To increase the reliability and in-depth understanding of the problem, an observation method was also employed and field notes were taken during observation alongside the interview. Sarayonu district was selected as the field of study because it is located in Konya Plain (*Konya Ovası*) region, which is the least rainy area of Türkiye with an annual average precipitation of 310.3 mm (Bozyiğit & Tapur, 2009). The respondent farmers were purposively selected from different villages (*Mahalle*) of the Sarayonu sub-district (*İlçe*) to investigate the changes to water resources and water quality of the area, which are essential for agricultural production. Using convenience sampling, I tried to reach a sufficient number of farmers who pass their time in the tea stall of the study area (Baker, 1994). The farmers generally gather in the local tea stall to spend their off-season time. Therefore, it was convenient to reach the target group of my study. Because it is a qualitative research, the number of the participants is less important here. Nevertheless, using the snowball sampling, a sufficient number of farmers, 31 farmers, were interviewed to reach the research objectives. After interviewing 31 farmers, the interview ended. Extra interviewees did not add any new thematic information, and data saturation was achieved (Crowe, Cresswell, Robertson, Huby, & Avery, 2011). The interviewees were given free choice to express their vulnerabilities. Income loss and food crisis of their households happened due to lack of water resources. Because participants' explanations are the foremost source of qualitative data, I took some notes while performing face-to-face interviews so as not to miss any nuance in the responses. A thematic method was applied to transcribe the interview data, and interpretative data analysis technique of qualitative research methodology was used to analyze them. The researcher has coded the transcripts manually to develop themes and sub-themes, which were later categorized. In order to increase reliability of the study results, the verbatim method (Silverman, 2006) was used in this study, i.e. the direct remarks and opinions of the respondents taken from the study notes are included in the analysis section of the research.

5. Results and Discussion

For information about water resources in the study area, the study considered the last 15 years. This study considers how the water resources were 15 years before and what types of changes happened to the water resources and water quality in this time. The agriculture sector is dependent on water, which covers over 70% of the earth's surface, but only 2.5% of water is fresh water, which is used for drinking, hygiene, agriculture, and industry. Studying water and its consequent impacts on agriculture is central, as two-thirds of all countries will face water scarcity by 2025 (SESRIC, 2019). In addition, climate change has great impacts on water resources in the form of low rainfall, less precipitation, etc. As a result, rain-fed agriculture, which is a source of food security, will be highly affected by the scarcity of water, i.e. the crop yield will decrease etc. (SESRIC, 2016). Therefore, both water resources and agriculture, which are vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, are the primary focus of my study.

Previous studies have shown that the Konya closed basin, which claims the least rainfall among the provinces in central Anatolia, has observed a rapid depletion in surface and groundwater resources due to increased water use in irrigation for agricultural production (Çelebi, 2016; Bozyiğit & Güngör, 2011; Kara, Topak, Şahin, Süheri, & Yavuz, 2008; Topak, Süheri, & Acar, 2008). Because the agriculture sector depends mostly on water resources (which consume be-

tween 70% and 90% of fresh water) and because climate factors affect the groundwater level negatively in the Konya Plain region (Bah & Acar, 2017; Cihan & Acar, 2016; Çelebi, 2016; Bozyiğit & Tapur, 2009), agricultural producers in Sarayonu face the highest vulnerability. The socio-demographic results of my study show that most of the farmers are over 40 years old and do not have higher education. This reveals that the young and educated portion of the population do not engage in the agriculture sector for various reasons. This sector is not profitable enough to maintain their livelihoods. This result contrasts with a previous study that argues that university graduates are entering the agriculture sector because of its being profitable (Bah & Acar, 2017). Due to climate change, the price of agricultural inputs and equipment are high, and an increasing number of youths receive higher education in cities and find their sources of income there. Thus, they do not return to Sarayonu, nor become involved in the agriculture sector. All of the respondents also mentioned that they try to ensure schooling of their children so that they can get a secure job in urban areas, because agriculture brings too little income to maintain the expenditures and food security of the households. This finding is also supported by a previous study, which claims that countries that have arable land and limited water resources are directly affected by the impacts of climate change in terms of food crisis and water scarcity (Al-Bakri, et al., 2013).

Regarding the existing water resources, the interviewees claimed that the existing water reservoirs are not sufficient for agricultural production. Water services for agricultural farming use a very small number of deep wells. The deepness of all the wells is on average 200-250 meters. Although there is a lack of information among the farmers regarding the water reservoirs, the reality for the Sarayonu district is that existing water resources are not enough for proper agricultural crop production. This is also supported by a previous study, which argues that there is not sufficient knowledge about climate change's impact on regional economies (Gohar & Cashman, 2016).

Moreover, there were fewer and shallower water wells 15 years ago, as the stream water flow was very good and the level of ground water was very close to the surface. All of the respondents mentioned that there were very few water wells in Sarayonu and the average depth of the water wells was below 100 meters and the average precipitation was regular and high before 15 years ago. Therefore, all farmers could produce agricultural products through irrigated farming. This result echoes a common feature of the region where agricultural production mostly depends on irrigation (Çelebi, 2016). However, my present study results show that the situation changed in the region where the water reservoirs lost 70% of their total amount of water in the last 15 years. In-depth interviews reveal that the number of water sources has been reducing day by day and irrigation systems went only to the hands of prominent and wealthy farmers, as digging deep wells is expensive. This result reflects a previous study that argues that water resources are controlled by cooperatives, which have a connection with the state (Adaman, et al., 2020). Therefore, small and poor farmers cannot afford them because they lack social capital. This result may show a striking scenario that deserves further evaluation in broad aspects. All the farmers claimed that both surface and ground water levels had diminished because both surface water and ground water had been used extensively for agricultural production for many years due to increased temperature and decreased precipitation in the region. This ultimately creates pressure on the existing surface water resources, which are limited, and on groundwater depletion, as rainfall maintains the surface and ground water storage (Almazroui, Şen, Mohorji, & Islam, 2019). As a result, food security is a serious concern under climate change. This correlates with a previous study that argues that shortages in surface water and groundwater depletion create a threatening situation for sustainable agricultural development (Gohari, et al., 2013).

Additionally, the study area's only pond, which was the main source of irrigation, became dry. Thus, farmers could not irrigate for many years. Consequently, the households of the farmers could not ensure proper a harvest and lost their income source and fell into food crisis. Moreover, the groundwater level dropped down. Farmers used to get water from about 90 meters deep 15 years previously but now get water from 150-180 meters deep and in some places from more than 180 meters deep. In my current study, the respondents viewed climate change in the form of decreased precipitation, increased temperature, and a fall of groundwater levels, which correlates with some previous studies conducted on water resources in Jordan (Schacht, et al., 2011; Abdulla, Eshtawi, & Assaf, 2009; Abdulla & Al-Omari, 2008).

There are a number of causes for changes in water resources. For example, some respondents mentioned the excessive and unconscious use of water by farmers in their agricultural lands, while most of the respondents noted less and irregular precipitation and drought due to the impact of climate change as the primary cause of these changes to water reservoirs. Because of climate change, the expenses for wells increased, which the poor farmers cannot afford. As a result, these farmers fall into a vicious circle. They lose income because they do not have a proper harvest, and they cannot have a proper harvest because production costs are high. Climate change has impacts on water used in irrigation for agricultural production. The more water is used, the more the groundwater level will decrease. As a result, the production costs for the farmers increases (Shahid, 2011). In addition, the production cost gets higher as the agricultural varieties and commodities are expensive and scarce (Wheeler & von Braun, 2013; Batisani, 2012; Ahmed, et al., 2011; Schneider, et al., 2011). Because the farmers lose their income, they have less access to food and cannot maintain the higher expenses of food production (Mushtaq, Marasenia, & Reardon-Smith, 2013).

The study results also show other reasons for the changes in water resources, such as global warming, climate change, lack of services, increased use of irrigation, a lack of new deep wells, the flow of stream affected by the ponds dug in the mountain villages, the irregular and wild irrigations, etc. All these factors cause changes in water reservoirs, which have consequent impacts on agricultural crop production. The study shows that farmers' energy expenses are high because farming requires frequent irrigation due to drought and other climate change impacts. They also cannot get a return on their expense at the end of the harvest, because when the amount of production decreases, the quality of the crops reduces. Therefore, in the next yielding year, the farmers are unmotivated and have insufficient capital for further cultivation. Consequently, their income sources and levels gradually decrease.

In addition, the study results show that farmers are disturbed by the price of seeds, fertilizer, and diesel, which have negative impacts on crop production and the economic condition of the farmers. One interviewee claims in this way:

“Before we used to buy 1 liter of diesel by selling 1 kilo of wheat, but now 3 kilos of wheat is needed to buy 1 liter of diesel. The price of wheat has been the same for the last 4 years but expenses increased 3 to 4 times.”

Moreover, climate change makes the situation worse. Due to climate change and its impacts on water resources, farmers' efficiency drops, crop varieties change, and farmers do not have a good harvest. Farmers stop planting particular types of crops, i.e. sugar beet, and consequently those crops cannot be found in the market after some time. Some farmers leave the farming industry completely and shift to other income generating activities, while others leave some parts of their land empty. This type of attitude of the farmers creates pressure on the food security of their households.

In addition, interviewees stated that wind erosion happened in the study area for two consecutive years, which damaged the surface level of the agricultural land for 2 meters. Drought, which is also a very common problem of the study area, was a problem almost every year in the last few years due to a lack of precipitation (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022; Turkes, 2019; Dogan, et al., 2012). The farmers were affected highly in the sense that they could not even repay agricultural loans taken from the government or afford their production costs. As a result, they fell in economic crisis and great debt. The interviewees claimed that when a disaster occurs, they lose their plants, become weak economically and mentally, and face a food crisis. They cannot buy fertilizer and pesticides for their farms, and they lose their motivation for further cultivation in the next years. Climate change also exaggerates the situation negatively. The study results also show that drought, which occurs due to lack of water, requires frequent irrigation. However, the farmers lack water, so they cannot plant and harvest crops properly. Thus, the farmers are in a vicious cycle of climate-induced devastation, which weakens the farmers mentally alongside the economic crisis. The results show that the water resources of the study area are highly affected by climate change. The number of water reservoirs deteriorated, water level of the reservoirs dropped, and groundwater levels dropped to more than 180 meters deep. All these changes have created water scarcity in the area, which has effects on the agriculture sector as because it is climate sensitive. When people have less water, they get low quality and low quantity crop yields, which cause the households to fall into poverty (Bayramoğlu & Ağızan, 2022). At the same time, food insecurity increases when farmers do not have proper harvest in back-to-back years, which also leads to the increase of commodity prices, as was expected by Güngör (2018). The present study results show that climate change affects water, which in turn has had negative impacts on food production in the study area in the last 15 years consecutively. Back-to-back damage in agricultural output due to climate change contributes to the food crisis of the farmers' households. The farmers get less harvest, cannot get returns on their production expenses, and engage in other income-generating activities, primarily in city areas. This result supports the results of previous studies, which argue that climate change impacts the water and food supply of the climate-affected areas (Gohar & Cashman, 2016; IPCC, 2007).

Water scarcity occurring due to climate change only alters the economic condition of the producers, not their health condition. The respondents mentioned that because they do not find natural drinking water anymore, they depend on bottled water for drinking. Therefore, they do not suffer from water-related health problems. Nevertheless, water scarcity increases the possibility of crop-related diseases such as pied disease. Some farmers have given up production and are searching for new income sources, while some others are changing the crop varieties in order to stick with this sector. As one farmer stated:

“When the water is over, civilization is over. It is apparent from the color of the face of the farmers that if there is no water, they become unhappy. Their income drops, and they fall in a food crisis. These altogether also affect their both their physical and mental health.”

Households of the farmers face net income loss due to a decreasing trend in consumer surplus, caused by a decrease in food supply and a price hike (Gohar & Cashman, 2016). As a result, farmers try to adapt to new irrigation technology, such as drip irrigation, in order to maintain their yield and increase their household incomes. Therefore, employing such adaptation technologies could be helpful to ensure food security for both the consumers and the producers, as efficient irrigation systems can contribute to saving water. This in turn can be used in other economic sectors can extend cultivable land for food production (Gohar & Cashman, 2016; Jägermeyr, et al., 2016; Jägermeyr, et al., 2015; De Fraiture & Wichelns, 2010).

If it is possible to increase the number of water reservoirs in the Sarayonu district, it will be possible to create new ways to gain income sources for the people who are new in the agriculture sector. In this regard, I can add success stories from the Konya-Karapınar district in Türkiye, which has been greatly affected by soil degradation and desertification (Turkes, 2019). Therefore, governmental and non-governmental bodies came forward to improve the soil quality in Karapınar and handed over 4,300 hectares of cultivable land to the farmers (Turkes, 2019). My study results show that because expenses are high, young farmers are trying to leave this sector and engage in other income generating activities. Farmers buy diesel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seeds at a higher cost. Gradually, the price of the agricultural equipment is increasing, and farmers' expectation from the government is only to lessen the price of agricultural production goods and to start issuing licenses to dig new wells so that they can continue crop production. Local actors also demand long-term annual unconditional monetary support from the government, as the banks provide them with credit for short-term payments.

There are some forms of support from the government to the farmers. They provide support for the irrigation system. The government also provides the farmers with insurance against natural disasters and catastrophes. Furthermore, farmers demand that the government introduce advanced technologies in the agriculture sector, as they are very expensive, and farmers cannot afford these upgrades due to their existing income crisis and the loss of agricultural production resulting from climate change. The farmers demand that the government should reduce the price of agricultural production goods. In addition, local farmers should be asked about the problems they encounter due to the impacts of climate change and their opinions should be evaluated in decision-making processes.

6. Conclusion

This study shows that climate change is a major concern for Türkiye, and the country is already experiencing its negative implications on agriculture (Soylu, 2021; Adaman, et al., 2020), which is highly dependent on the natural climate for a maximum harvest. Türkiye has been observing temperature increases, which create two problems for the agricultural sector of the country. First, changes in precipitation have been observed in Türkiye. Consequently, water levels and the water quality necessary for the agricultural production have decreased. Second, because the study area has been observing an increase in the temperature all over the region, farmers have to irrigate the agricultural lands frequently, which is not possible for farmers due to their socio-economic status. Therefore, they have not been able to produce quality agricultural goods in the last few years. These factors destabilize the farmers' income source and decrease the food security of their households. From the study it is clear that water is very important for agricultural production. The respondents assume that water is essential for civilization and say that if water finishes, it means that civilization is finished. From this claim, it is clear that the future of Türkiye is still largely dependent on its agriculture sector in order to maintain a high GDP.

In addition to climate change's implication on the agriculture sector, the people engaged in this sector also struggle with the high prices of agricultural goods such as seeds, diesel, manure, pesticides, etc. At the same time, they get less income from their products in the market. This creates a double burden for the farmers and consequently they lose motivation to continue in the future. Therefore, climate change and its impacts on water resources and the subsequent impact on agriculture have implications on the income levels and food security of the people engaged in the agriculture sector. Thus, some climate-affected farmers have adopted strategies to cope with

the situation, i.e. introducing new irrigation systems and leaving some part of the land empty. For others, migration is the only adaptive mechanism. There is little or no sociological research on climate change's impact on water and food security conducted in Konya and insufficient knowledge on the impacts of climate change on regional economies (Bah & Acar, 2017; Gohar & Cashman, 2016; Bozyiğit & Güngör, 2011). Again, Islam (2016) suggested doing more research using different methods to help researchers, academics, and policymakers understand the impacts of climate change on societies and the adaptive mechanisms to cope with the changing situations. This research thus aims to fill this knowledge gap by addressing climate change's impact on water resources and agricultural production and the consequential impact on the income levels and food security of households of Konya province in Türkiye.

In conclusion, this paper finds that the government should listen to this group of people, provide them with monetary support, and decrease the price of agricultural goods, as they provide the largest supply of food in Türkiye. The study results will be helpful for the national and local governments to review the existing risks on water resources and agricultural food production. Because it is claimed that climate change will bring a serious threat for Türkiye in the future, this research is needed to plan for adaptation. Pressures on water resources will hamper the agriculture sector, which is one of the sectors most dependent on the climate.

Geolocation Information of the Study Area

Sarayonu is a town and district of Konya Province in the Central Anatolia region of Türkiye. The geographic latitude and longitude of the district is 38° 15' 58 N and 32° 24' 23 E, respectively. Its total area is 1,088.07 km² and the total population of the district where the study was conducted is approximately 26,875 (2018 data).

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Research Article

Questioning the Dimensions of Digital Surveillance and Parental Supervision: YouTube Challenges and Video Recommendation System

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ABSTRACT

The development of communication technologies and the active use of social media platforms have led to the fusion of the existing culture with the digital culture formed in this field. While digital culture enables individuals to transfer their norms and values to social media platforms, on the other hand, it has adapted its norms and values to daily culture. YouTube has become one of the main social media platforms on which this culture is especially based and where it is defined as participatory culture. It is thought that especially younger age groups are included in this culture and that provides an occasion for them to take part in surveillance practices by providing data to big data. In this study, to make sense of this situation, the theories of digital sociology and digital surveillance sociology were rethought and qualitative research was conducted to look at the ways in which children aged 9-13 are involved in big data. The study focuses on their YouTube practices, especially their experiences of the challenges connected with using YouTube and the video recommendation system, and suggests precautions where necessary. After conducting netnography on YouTube, the sample of the study was determined using purposeful sampling and snowball sampling techniques, and in-depth interviews were conducted with 23 children upon obtaining consent forms from their families. The findings of the research revealed that usage patterns of social media platforms and the resulting consequences can reach very dangerous levels and that the degree of parental supervision should be reconsidered.

Keywords: Digital Surveillance, Video Recommendation System, Challenge, Parental Supervision



1. Introduction

With the communication revolution, usage of the internet and social media platforms has become widespread, and because of this development, the worlds of being online and offline, of virtual experience and reality, of digital culture and everyday culture have become interconnected. The Covid-19 Pandemic in which we are living reveals how much the internet has affected our lives. It gives clues about the impact of the digital culture arising from the new norms and values that have emerged with the widespread use of the internet. Therefore, digital culture has become one of the issues that requires more detailed thinking and social scientific research.

The digital culture emphasizes the concept of a culture where people are in a communication process like never before, where the concepts of time and space have lost their meaning, and where the speed, frequency, and quality of communication have reached unprecedented dimensions. Such a definition of culture necessitates the redefinition of most of the concepts discussed so far. For example, the concept of inequality can no longer be defined independently of the concept of digital discrimination based on digital culture. The positive results of digital culture should be mentioned, such as the increase of the speed and quality of communication between people, the contribution to cultural diversity and to democracy in the sense that it is an environment where everyone can express their opinions more comfortably, and the emergence of a freer and more critical public space. However, it is striking that digital culture also has negative consequences. These include insufficient access to the Internet in some places, the replacement of virtual reality, the prevalence of surveillance techniques and digital surveillance, viruses, fraud, ontological insecurity, the potential of the Internet to turn into a pressure tool, and manipulation through algorithms and advertisements.

Digital culture, which comprises all areas of life, can influence individuals of all ages through social media platforms. One of these platforms, YouTube, is important for understanding today's self-broadcasting culture (Keen, 2011). According to Keen, in "self-broadcasting culture", an amateur's or anyone's idea is praised, and the distinction between an educated expert and an uninformed amateur becomes dangerously blurred. Any individual has a right to create a channel and publish content on YouTube, but the distinction between amateurism and expertise has disappeared.

YouTubers participate in YouTube as "producers" by producing content (user-generated content), and viewers participate as "consumers" by watching, subscribing, liking, or commenting on this content. Both YouTubers and viewers participate as "prosumers" (producer-consumers) because YouTubers produce their contents by analyzing their viewers' evaluations and information (comments, likes, duration of watching, age scale etc) and viewers, while they are watching, influence the production of other contents. This presumption circle is the basis of a surveillance system and it is difficult to differentiate who monitors whom. YouTube and Google, which owns the company, can monitor YouTubers, their followers, and users by collecting all the data on the platform. YouTubers, on the other hand, have a kind of surveillance power by accessing data such as their followers' movements, likes, watching times, comments, what age group they watch, how much they are watched (this statistical data is presented to them by YouTube). Advertisements or other contents are directed to the users in that way. The viewers, on the other hand, watch or "monitor" YouTubers by following their content. In addition, the question of distinguishing who really wants to "express" oneself and who wants to "exhibit" oneself should also be asked. This situation conceptually takes place in the literature as the dilemma of expression and exhibitionism. It is stated that this situation leads to a process that directly kills the culture instead of producing a participatory culture. Describing users as "amateur monkeys", Keen criticizes the fact

that user-oriented content is used to publish unqualified political commentary, home videos that may violate privacy, embarrassing and very amateur music, unreadable poetry, and other similar content (Keen, 2011).

It is thought that social media platforms that support user-oriented content production, especially YouTube, do not lead to an egalitarian system and participatory culture but rather to a system that is suitable for surveillance. The main reason for this is that not every individual or institution in society has equal opportunity of accessing technology and there is a power imbalance between individuals and institutions that have this opportunity. This situation, which might be explained with the concept of digital discrimination, causes individuals who think that they are only expressing themselves to be included in big data with social media tools and to be included in the system with the thought that they must sacrifice something to benefit from something. It is stated that participatory culture is a strong incentive for people to share various things with others (Jenkins, 2009), and people see inclusion in the YouTube community as a kind of emotional support mechanism. However, it is not known how the participatory culture will interfere in human lives. It is stated that both individuals participating in this culture and even big industry leaders such as Google and Viacom can lose control at some point even if they have unequal power, ownership and control over the reality produced there (Burgess & Green, 2009). While many people on YouTube both contribute to and benefit from the cyclical mechanism of production and consumption processes, which are called prosumption, they contribute to big data with the algorithms they are involved in. Algorithms emerge as the digitized form of all movements of individuals and establish the necessary basis for making predictions about individuals' practices and habits. YouTube, with its entertainment element, includes young children in its digital surveillance system and easily collects data about them.

A review of the existing literature reveals that studies about YouTube are generally about its effect on culture and private-public space. They are focused on user-generated content and the video recommendation system and take YouTube as a social communication platform. When this research was conducted (2018), there were some articles about YouTube and YouTubers (Holmbom, 2015; Metz, 2008; Mingione, 2014; Harvey, 2013; Riley, 2014 etc.) in international studies. In Turkey there were a few studies on this topic (Yaraş, 2015; Mutlu&Bazarcı, 2017 etc.) but they were focused mainly on beauty and fashion vlogging or brand collaboration. YouTube's own report takes the youngest group as the 16-24 age range and 72% of this group watch videos on YouTube (YouTube, n.d.). According to YouTube's research, there are no data on primary school children. However, it is thought that they are digital natives and that as such they are active on this platform both as users and producers. The control of the content on YouTube is difficult and challenging, and the video recommendation system used by YouTube might be risky for this age group. The aim of this research is to obtain data on this issue for this special age group, to raise awareness about surveillance systems on YouTube and to inform parents by focusing on surveillance systems on YouTube through qualitative research techniques (both netnography and in-depth interviews). This research might fill the gap in the literature in respect of the sample group chosen, the techniques used, and the subject analyzed herein.

2. Theoretical Framework

Surveillance has started to gain an important place in sociology with the concept of "panopticon" defined by Jeremy Bentham. In addition to the concept of "crime", which is carried out against the legal systems in a country, deviant behavior which goes against certain norms and

values in society can be defined as “social deviation”. The first is subject to certain punishments and distinguishes between criminal and deviant behaviors. The concept of panopticon can be explained in terms of individuals in prison being watched and kept under control by guards in a watchtower. The basic idea here is that the snoopers see the spied on, but because the spied on cannot see them, the latter think that they are constantly being watched. This model provides the power to function easily and replaces the principle of “visibility” first coined in the 18th century (Eroğlu, 2016). Visibility forms the basis of digital surveillance because individuals will want to share their information and be spied on at various costs. The panopticon’s greatest impact on surveillance is the emergence of the logic that “you do not really need to watch people to control them. It is enough to make them think that they are being watched.” Over time, the logic of the panopticon spread over the whole of society making people think that not just criminals, but all individuals were under surveillance to perform “desired” behaviors. In the historical process, as seen in Foucault’s theory of biopolitics, surveillance has gained a form that works not with normation but with normalization and thus with social control. This form is one of the main characteristics of control societies. With social control and normalization, going beyond the central idea of crime and punishment, attention has been drawn to the historical establishment of a different form that operates in the context of “discipline instead of sovereignty, positivist social sciences instead of legal discourse, deviation, and surveillance instead of crime and punishment, and control” (Özkazanç, 2007, p.2).

According to Foucault the transition from disciplinary societies to control societies occurs in the first place when individuals are disciplined by institutions such as mental hospitals, education, nursing homes and prisons (normation process) and when the state directly imposes various sanctions, and in the second place when individuals who think they are being watched internalize and reproduce the norms (normalization process). Describing these societies using the concepts of biopolitics and biopower, Foucault emphasizes that the desire is to control life. Power has transformed from managing people to managing human needs. The fact that power puts into action mechanisms for restructuring life by putting life into forms that can be calculated and made economically productive has made a new art of management dominant. This new art of management is not based on controlling life, but on making life productive (Baştürk, 2012).

As a result of the formation process of these social control mechanisms, new power mechanisms emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries. On this basis, it was not goods and wealth that was gained, but labor and the value of time; laws were replaced by normalizations. An example of normalizations is the medicalization of behaviors and desires, and such a society can be described as a normalizing society. Based on biopower, especially in the second half of the 18th century, regulative power mechanisms replaced disciplinary power, the subject became the life of people, and the transition to a cumulative power mechanism instead of individualization was defined as biopolitics (Foucault, 1997). Emphasizing that power is not just something the state uses, but that it exists in all social relations, Foucault says that many social groups such as the insane, criminals, and the unemployed, who do not participate in social production or are thought to be harmful, are shut in various institutions for various reasons, as in the logic of the panopticon. Surveillance systems in modern societies, especially with technology and social media, have begun to collect information about individuals and create social control mechanisms in this way (Foucault, 2017).

Another concept based on biopower is the risk society, which describes the new consumption relations shaped by the desire for life. The basic concept on which the risk society is based is security (Sustam, 2016). In the risk society where risks are considered natural, people accept risk

and normality is determined by security. In Beck's theory of Risk Society, risks are globalized and avoiding risks is not enough. The biggest impact of the risk society on digital surveillance is that while people accept being spied on for security purposes, they also feel confused by thinking that they are being watched all the time.

These basic theories, which are here mentioned very superficially, are the theories that ground the transition from surveillance to digital surveillance. To gain a deeper understanding of digital surveillance in digital sociology, attention is first drawn to Lyon's work *The Surveillance Society*. When objects summon people and people begin to use whatever means available to them to possess them, the connection with the objects turns into a relationship with "Power" that begins with a capital letter. Economic, political, coercive, and symbolic powers become the Big Brothers of people who interact with objects in shopping spaces (Öztürk, 2013). This system, which allows the control of individuals in places of consumption, entertainment, and organization, is called Superpanopticon. By using the internet, the superpanopticon becomes an internalized control rather than a controlling and coercive power. As Melossi describes it, "After tyranny and the law were replaced by the manipulation and control of meanings, various social changes occurred. Language has a very important role at this point. Recreational activities have become tools of social control. Mass media is one of the important factors at this stage" (Melossi, 1997, p.55).

From this point of view, digital surveillance enables social media to control people. For Lyon, the surveillance society represents all societies that depend on communication and information technologies for management and control (Lyon, 2006). In surveillance societies, being watched, controlled, and investigated are the three most important basic features. Unlike the risk society, the reason for the desire to be observed in these societies is not only for security, but also for mass surveillance for all purposes. As expressed by the concept of liquid surveillance, especially with the development of social media tools, a situation of surveillance, control and what to do with this data, and the inability to control decentralized information, has emerged. The disappearance of the existence of individuals in the physical environment and the disconnection that occurs in social relations are explained by the concept of disappearing bodies. The framework that is effective in the formation of disappearing bodies is the "Invisible Frames" in Lyon's conceptual expression. The fact that individuals think that all these surveillance systems, especially the internet, have always existed in their lives and that they cannot live without them, is the basic framework that determines the limits of individuals' movements. "Power plays its part and ordinary people often become partners and sometimes surrender to the system. But is that control or coercion? This constantly changes." These sentences express the process of individuals becoming disappearing bodies with the boundaries drawn by invisible frames in the lives of individuals, and the logic of digital surveillance (Lyon, 2006).

Examining all changes and transformations such as computer technologies, social media tools and the internet, which are invisible frameworks, the field of digital sociology describes these transformations using concepts such as technobiophilia and scopophilia. As Thomas wrote in his book, *Technobiophilia: Nature and Cyberspace* (2003), since the emergence of computer technologies, terms such as web, cloud, bug, virus, and metaphors such as root and mouse are used because in this way computer technologies are seen as less scary and less alienating (Lupton, 2013). On the one hand, technobiophilia is considered as technology addiction, but on the other hand, it tries to explain the indispensability of these systems for people. It is seen that all concepts in human life are matched with the concepts of new technological developments so that these systems seem to have always existed and that surveillance is not denied. Scopophilia, on the other hand,

supports technophilia because of the desire to be admired by others and because of the evaluation of social positions that make individuals voluntarily involved in digital surveillance.

Deleuze's concept of rhizomatic connections explains the connections that enable involvement in surveillance. This concept describes "becoming" and "constant self-renewal". It is used to emphasize the situation where individuals in the surveillance system both affect and are affected by this system. "Rhizomatic is a concept that describes the destruction of all orders and all hierarchies. Rhizome is the root of a plant. This root moves horizontally underground and multiplies at an unpredictable speed" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). Theoretical discussions about rhizomatic connections are handled with four basic principles. These principles are connectivity and heterogeneity, multiplicity, the principle of nondeterministic rupture, and the principles of cartography and decalomania. With these principles, the infrastructure that constitutes the technical infrastructure of the internet and digital surveillance is discussed theoretically. In terms of connectivity and heterogeneity, it is emphasized that different social media platforms can synchronize with each other, and two different realities can progress through a single network. Multiplicity, on the other hand, refers to the state of being in more than one connection, the ability to connect with different DNS, and the ability of individuals to express themselves in many ways. Non-deterministic rupture refers to all technical obstacles in social media platforms where these systems may become inaccessible at any time due to technical reasons. However, cartography and decalomania, as the principles that most clearly explain the inclusion of big data, are a kind of mapping (cartography) where the connections and indeed the data are brought together and where the idea that the internet also has an end is seen (Yücedağ, 2017).

The emphasis on rhizomatic connections can be thought of as the diffusion of decentralized knowledge. Considering the example of YouTube, digital surveillance systems collect data and provide the opportunity to map individuals with algorithms, thanks to the decentralized information that spreads over all areas, resembling a rhizome, that is, the roots of a plant. These algorithms form the basis of the video recommendation system. YouTube, which is a social media platform where individuals share their personal preferences and data without being consciously aware of it, is also a social media platform where the video recommendation system and rhizomatic connections are based and where digital surveillance is operated. The biggest innovation brought by digital surveillance is that surveillance becomes more fluid without being directly limited by a certain physical power while becoming the control mechanism of meaning productions (Melossi, 1997). Being able to see others while invisible, and thus classifying, disciplining, and controlling individuals, forms the basis of digital surveillance (Thwaites, 2017).

As can be explained with theoretical transitions, transitions from panopticon to superpanopticon, from hard power to soft power, from a discipline society to a control society have caused societies to take the form of surveillance societies. Social media platforms have been one of the most effective tools that ensure the surveillance of masses in this form and the operation of digital surveillance. The most obvious differences between surveillance and digital surveillance are that it is massive (surveillance of everyone, not just criminals), that individuals are defined by "dividuation" rather than as individuals, and new classification normalization techniques are used. In digital surveillance, movements in all social networks are tracked thanks to algorithmic surveillance by using data that are shared consciously or unconsciously. Although digital surveillance is generally considered as soft power due to the fact that participation in this surveillance is voluntary and operates with participatory surveillance, it can still be used for punishment, capture, and grouping functions from time to time, and it can also be considered as hard power in such cases (Thwaites, 2017).

With the aforementioned theoretical framework, this research aims to examine and understand the reflections of YouTube's digital surveillance systems, which are increasingly influential today, on children. For that reason, this study looks for answers to the following research questions: What types of digital surveillance formats does YouTube have? What are the reasons for children to be included in digital surveillance systems on YouTube? Are children aware of the video recommendation system while watching YouTube contents? What does the "Challenge" mean for children, and if they are involved in these practices, what are the reasons? What is the role of parents in these processes, and what do children think about their family's behavior? What do children do to protect themselves from surveillance systems?

3. Methodology

This study uses data collected for the master's thesis "Youtubers in the Process of Changing Social Values from the Perspective of Digital Sociology: The Sample of Primary Education Students", written in Hacettepe University, Social Sciences Institute, Sociology Master's Program with Thesis. Qualitative research method was used to understand what the challenges and video suggestion system on YouTube mean to children between the ages 9-13 and to determine the dimensions of digital surveillance. Qualitative researchers rely on personal beliefs, biography, or specific current issues to identify topics of interest or importance to them. They may proceed through the theoretical-philosophical paradigm or place their research in the context of ongoing discussions with other researchers. Qualitative research provides the opportunity to choose a direction that may include many potential questions rather than narrowing it down. In qualitative research, the researcher collects, analyzes, and interprets data, but this process takes place as a fluent process that goes back and forth, and new concepts and theoretical interpretations occur during the interpretation of data (Neuman, 2014). In this study, qualitative research method was used to reach the individual experiences and interpretations of children on YouTube in general, the Video Suggestion System and Challenges in particular, and to focus on other potential questions in the research process.

3.1. Data Collection Tools

To collect data in the research, YouTube was determined as an area that needed to be investigated. Netnography was carried out to obtain the data in this field primarily through ethnography and to gain information for the next step, in-depth interviews. Unlike "nethnography", which is expressed as "netnography" in English and is based on examining consumer behavior without the letter "h", netnography is a research technique that aims to examine social interaction in online environments with an anthropological approach (Braga, 2021). The dispersion of time and space has led to the emergence of various techniques called netnography or virtual ethnographies, using classical tools such as archival studies of cultural anthropology to observe interaction and communication in online spaces, or treating materials obtained from online communication like any other text (Alexandersson, 2020). This technique has gained greater importance especially in studies done with generation Z or with digital natives. Netnography, with the century-old method of Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas, is an ethnography that supports research in an era where young people spend most of their social life on Facebook, not in the schoolyard, where new mothers learn a lot of information from internet forums, not from their family or friends and where blogs and Twitter are now the most important source of industry news and ideas in many workplaces (Kozinets, 2010 as cited in Özuz, 2018).

With netnography, this research has tried to understand the logic of the video suggestion system and how the algorithms work. To ensure the necessary interaction, notifications of YouTube channels followed by children were opened, these videos were followed regularly, and after these videos, an attempt was made to see what kinds of videos the video suggestion system suggested. A YouTube account was also opened for these stages and only channels followed by children were followed. The comments under the videos were carefully examined and comments were made on the videos that attracted a lot of attention. For the challenges, thanks to netnography, it was possible to observe what kinds of challenges there are, how they are carried out, and what the fun and danger dimensions related to them are. Netnography has made great contributions especially in the creation of individual interview forms. Thanks to the participatory observation carried out with netnography, all the issues that needed to be examined were revealed and the necessary ground was created for the second stage of the research.

In-depth interview was used as the main data collection tool in the research. In-depth interviews were conducted using a pre-created semi-structured individual interview form. Semi-structured individual interview forms were considered important especially in order to prevent the age group from deviating from the subject. For the same reason, since it is very important to observe the emotional states, gestures, and mimics of the children between the ages of 9-13, the interviews were conducted face to face. During data collection using in-depth interviews, the ability to add other questions deemed necessary and to focus more on the necessary questions was one of the biggest advantages. Before each interview, after informing participants and parents about the research, the participants signed voluntary participation forms, and the parents signed the parent consent form. In-depth interviews were conducted only with children whose parents had given consent for their children to participate in the research. The individual interview form was divided into five sections wherein the first section focused on general information, the second part on information about the use of YouTube, the third part on information about YouTube and social relations, the fourth section on YouTube's contribution to academic and daily life, and the final section on YouTubers as a role model.

3.2. Data Collection Process

In the first stage of the data collection process of the research, netnography was used and information about YouTube, which was determined as the study area, was collected through participant observation. In the light of this information, an individual interview form was prepared, and necessary preparations were made for the semi-structured in-depth interview. After determining the subject and basic questions of the study, all relevant forms and annexes were submitted to the Hacettepe University Ethics Committee to proceed to the second step of the data collection process. An application was made requesting approval regarding the suitability of the study, especially for children, and approval from the Ethics Committee was obtained. To determine whether the individual interview form fully covered the framework of the research and its functionality, necessary corrections were made by conducting a pilot study with one person, and the interview process was adjusted to last 40 minutes at most with the aim of eliminating the element of boredom and preventing loss of seriousness during the interview with children. Before the interviews, necessary information was given to the families and after the parents had signed a consent/voluntary participation form, the children were read the child/adolescent voluntary participation form and they were asked to sign it. Before each interview, it was stated orally, even though it was written in the form, that the study was completely voluntary. In the study, after the Hacettepe

University ethics committee report had been received on January 22, 2018, in-depth interviews were conducted with all participants between February 20 and April 20, 2018. 23 people were interviewed on different days and dates, and during the interviews permission was granted to use a voice recorder and in addition to record detailed notes made of the conversations. When the audio recordings and notes were brought together, a detailed deciphering process was carried out, and the data of the research were made ready.

3.3. Data Evaluation Process

It can be said that the most controversial part of qualitative studies is the data evaluation process because researchers make sense of the data by adding their own interpretations in this process. This claim is not entirely correct because there are many steps that are followed to ensure the validity of the research. This study draws on the following analysis methods: the analysis method of Miles and Huberman (1984), which proposes the data reduction process, the visualization of the data, the stages of reaching and confirming; Dey's (1993) analysis method, which enumerates the processes of description, classification and connection, and Dey's analysis method, which suggests general description, analysis and interpretation based on subjective interpretations with a careful and systematic analysis in which the data collected from the field is reflected as they are. In addition, Corbin and Strauss's (1990) analysis of coding and conceptualization of similar events by comparing events and cases based on answers was examined (Özdemir, 2010). Taking all these methods into account, the process of collecting the data that are important for the study and distinguishing them from the unnecessary ones was carried out as part of the "data reduction process". All the voice recordings and notes were read in detail after decoding and unnecessary data had been separated. This process was also seen as an important step in terms of block quoting to increase the validity of the research. Then, the stage that is called conceptualization, coding or linking, where the data are collected under certain headings, was carried out. In this stage the aim was to reach a basic conceptualization with coding concepts.

3.4. Participants

The participants of the research were aged 9-13, were being educated at primary school level, and were followers of YouTube as well as being YouTubers themselves. In the research design, attention was paid to the fact that of the 22 participants, 11 of them went to public school and 11 of them went to private school. Due to two of the participants being twins, the number was increased to 23 and the study was completed with these 23 participants given that the research had reached saturation point. The names of the participants were used anonymously throughout the study, and they were referred to using expressions such as "Participant 1" and so on. Due to the age group, extra care was taken in the process of creating the individual interview forms and in the process of obtaining the report from the ethics committee. The participants were determined within the framework of purposive sampling, and the sample's representativeness of the universe was not considered because it did not aim to generalize. Participants were selected from a group of people determined qualitatively and descriptively. In addition to the age criterion, the participants were asked to have the necessary technological equipment to access YouTube on the internet, to actively follow YouTube and to have information about the content there. In the stage of reaching the participants, the snowball participant technique was used to reach the participants who met the criteria specified in the purposeful sampling, and social communication networks were also given importance in the stage of finding the participants. The fact that the participants were young and required family per-

mission also provided convenience in terms of keeping in touch with the participants through social communication networks which provided easier access to individuals.

3.5. Risks and Limitations

For the research to work in a specific sample group, limiting the study to individuals who were in the 9-13 age group and who had knowledge about YouTube and were YouTubers was seen as a necessary limitation for the study. However, reaching children with those characteristics and getting permission from their families was one of the difficulties experienced in the research. During the interviews with individuals under the age of 18 and especially in this age group, the 40-minute limit applied to the in-depth interviews for the children to both give correct answers and complete the research without getting bored. Other difficult aspects of the research derived from the fact that the research was not a quantitative study, that parental consent was required to have the children fill in the questionnaires, that the research required in-depth interviews to be conducted and that this research technique needed to be explained to the families. Another risk was that digital sociology, which forms the theoretical basis of the research, is a new and developing field and attempts to progress with fewer resources. In the same way, the lack of many studies and resources in the process of research on YouTubers and the fact that the study did not progress with a known sociological phenomenon were other difficult aspects of the research. The biggest issue that can be seen as a limitation of the research was participant representation. Although qualitative research does not aim to generalize, it is important to note that the study cannot be generalized to include all children in the world or in Turkey, and that this study does not include any comments about children who do not have access to technological tools and who do not follow YouTube.

4. Findings

At the stage of interpretation of the findings, as can be seen in the subtitles of this section, the data obtained from netnography led to the emergence of YouTube and surveillance types in this field. The types of surveillance on YouTube are discussed within the framework of the principles of rhizomatic connection, drawing analogies as they take place in discussions of digital sociology. Following on from this the content of YouTube and digital surveillance in general is mentioned. The research-based and most important part of the study is the awareness levels and experiences of the participants in the Video Suggestion System, which reflects YouTube's surveillance practice and algorithmic surveillance logic. In the next section, the Challenges that increase the need for parental supervision and the children's involvement in the YouTube culture and surveillance system and the way they are implemented are discussed. Data obtained from both netnography and in-depth interviews were used to explain the challenges. The importance of challenges in terms of digital surveillance is that young participants voluntarily participate in this system, and this causes them to be involved in big data with these practices, reflecting the logic that "visibility is not a punishment, but a reward", which is one of the basic principles of digital surveillance. Finally, at this point, the attitudes of families are mentioned, and the importance of parental supervision is emphasized.

4.1. Types of Surveillance on YouTube within the Framework of Rhizomatic Connection Principles

When the findings of the research are evaluated, it is seen that the surveillance wherein children are involved and voluntarily exposed to on YouTube is shaped within the framework of the principles of rhizomatic connection. As a result of the methods of netnography and in-depth interviews, it

was determined that the principles of heterogeneity, multiplicity, cartography and decalcomonia of rhizomatic connection all exist. The research showed that children and YouTubers use their social media accounts in sync and for many purposes. Spying on, being watched, and surveillance are carried out from all social media platforms and generally continue into consumption practices. As an example, from the data obtained, it is seen that the participants follow both the channels and Instagram accounts of YouTubers and all related sites and content. For example, when a child follows Enes Batur, he/she visits the site where Batur sells the sweatshirt called “Batuber” and he/she follows the YouTuber’s movements on Instagram too. From the point of view of multiplicity, it is noteworthy that while YouTube is followed for the purpose of following others, this follow-up expands to include sharing of one’s own information, and data sharing takes place. The principle of cartography, on the other hand, refers to the fact that data collected from every angle become a whole like a map. In a sense, YouTube keeps and supervises its own employees, namely YouTubers, under a kind of control mechanism, and this process is about entertainment, with awards such as “YouTube Rewind”, “YouTube Thank You Letter”, and “1 Million Plaque”. It is well known that in addition to channel owners being checked, video contents are also checked, necessary videos are age-limited and YouTube Partnership of channel owners is cancelled where necessary. In addition, participants follow YouTubers with synchronization and participate in their activities with comments and likes. YouTubers, on the other hand, can follow their own subscribers, access a lot of information such as the watch time of a content, the number of people watching, the number of subscribers, and develop strategies accordingly. The fact that YouTube represents an endless internet tool that contains an infinite number and variety of content represents the principle of decalcomonia. It is seen that it is very easy to access many uncontrollable contents that occupy children’s minds such as the Deep Web, Blue Whale and Illuminati in this endless environment. A complaint against a YouTuber to the prosecutor’s office for saying “Commit suicide, get rid of this life” and a YouTuber sharing content in a place called “Suicide Forest” and having his partnership cancelled are two prominent examples of ways in which control can take place.

4.2. Principles of Digital Surveillance

The main principles of digital surveillance which come to the fore based on this study, can be determined as the disappearance of the separation of time and space, the increasing importance of mass surveillance, the increase of the culture of surveillance with organization and communication, and the death of culture. YouTube is a social media platform where digital surveillance systems work in every respect. Users can communicate with YouTubers regardless of time and place, and all their movements while using this opportunity can be watched by both YouTube and YouTubers in the content they follow. Decentralized information takes place on social media platforms, and it is getting harder and harder to control this information. YouTube is one of the systems that supports mass surveillance and is based on the logic of “seeing others when you are invisible”, reflecting the transition phase from a disciplinary society to a control society. As in social control systems, it is seen that people who are not included in this system are excluded from the groups they belong to and are exposed to a new classification. The statement of Participant 2 clearly illustrates this situation:

Kids who don’t open channels or whose parents don’t let them do it, feel left out. Because it’s a bit of a necessity at our age. Because people who don’t like or follow each other on YouTube are excluded. It happens at our school too. I mean, I don’t remember any examples of this right now, it was something that usually happened in elementary school. (Participant 2, 13, Female)

I would like to open a channel and broadcast, but I would like to this in 8th grade, I'm so young right now. However, I'm not jealous because my friends don't have many subscribers, so if I start now, I can catch up, but of course, if they have many subscribers and I can't catch up, I would feel excluded. (Participant 13, 12, Male)

The basic logic of digital surveillance is not to do surveillance with strict norms and punishment, but on the contrary to do surveillance through organization and communication, as explained by the concept of the superpanopticon. YouTube and the emerging Self-Publishing Culture are blurring out the public-private distinction, and individuals are sacrificing their data when they think they are having fun. Entertainment becomes central to the control of meaning production, and the death of culture occurs with the disappearance of the amateur-expert distinction as asserted by Keen. During the surveillance, YouTube also controls the consumption practices of children, as people accept having to sacrifice in order to reach various objects, including what objects they want to buy and what they crave.

4.3. Video Recommendation System Awareness and Responses

In order to check awareness of the video suggestion system and their involvement in algorithmic surveillance participants were asked questions about what kind of videos they saw advertised next to or below the videos they watched or in the auto play section after the video they had been watching was finished. Some of the children (as seen in Participant 7) stated that these videos were sent randomly, and they also encountered various scary items:

YouTube randomly sends recommended videos to me. I came across a scary video, but I was not afraid. For example, it was more of a thriller, for example, a clown joke. Horror movies also come up while watching movie trailers. (Participant 7, 11, Male)

Some of the participants found that YouTube's videos were sent according to a certain system, according to the videos they watched and depending on the content they watched the most, but they encountered various frightening elements:

I think YouTube sends suggested videos based on something specific. It looks at the content we watch the most. It sends it directly from there. There was a scary video that I came across. Forget what it is (laughs). In the video, there is a normal road at first, cars are passing by. In a moment, but in one scene, in a second, the video cuts out and something terrible explodes, something like a monster, a zombie explodes on the computer screen. At the beginning of the video, something normal, funny was written. There is another video about Dabbe Siccin. It happened unintentionally. When it opened there, I had to click it (laughing). It piqued my interest." (Participant 3, 13, Male)

I think YouTube is deliberately posting these suggested videos. It's not about the things I'm interested in. Aaa, it may be in the recommended videos, the things I watch or the ones that are followed so that you should watch it again. (Participant 11, 12, Female)

Our research revealed that some participants who encountered terrible items in the video suggestion system were afraid and anxious, or could not forget the content they watched from time to time:

I usually get the things I watch the most. I have never come across things that I would be afraid of, but when I think about it, there are some. For example, the girl who tore the Qur'an is just like that. Also, a video like the devil's son is smiling for two hours, but as it came up with the suggestions, I changed it right away. Five Nights at Freddy's "FNAF" is such a game, it came from suggested videos. Sometimes I sleep anxiously when I go to bed. When I go to bed, I don't pick up the phone and go to sleep, but sometimes I think of it and then it goes away when I watch other videos. (Participant 16, 12, Male)

Although the participants generally do not agree on whether the video suggestion system is intentional or random, it is clearly seen in the answers that the greater part of the participants have come across various scary or sexually explicit items due to YouTube video suggestions. The reason for encountering these kinds of videos was seen as content shared in the category of interesting information on YouTube in general, but it was understood that the participants who watched daily life videos were also exposed to these elements. For example, videos shared by the famous YouTuber Logan Paul in the domain Suicide Forest are watched by many children and this YouTuber is now subject to various sanctions placed by YouTube.

Our study revealed that in the video suggestion system one of the “recommended” video contents that the participants talked about the most was a game called FNAF. FNAF stands for “Five Nights at Freddy’s”. An important part of FNAF is its structure, which, with the detailed explanation of one of the participants, depicts digital surveillance in a way and may even contain important concepts for the sociology of surveillance.

Whatever YouTube video it is, for example, the ones suggested by the game video are the game videos or the ones we used to follow. I’ve never come across a scary video. I used to follow a game called FNAF (Five Nights at Freddy’s), it contains a lot of mystery, the game is a horror game and a thriller game. I was watching its videos and finally a guy was scaring me with Jumpscare. Jumpscare is something used there. There are several robots whose purpose is to catch you. You’re spying on them with a camera. They come to you, when you look at the camera, they either jump on you or do something else. If you stay fully open, you win” (Participant 13, 12, Male)

In the words of the participant, the rule of the game is that the individual who wants to survive in the game should always keep his camera on and he will encounter various frightening results when he looks at the camera. The idea that the individual sacrifices something in order not to be excluded and to be included in the system, as in digital surveillance, and that he or she will face various sanctions when he is out of this system, can be considered as very interesting data. The individual who stops being watched has lost the game. If the individual constantly looks at the camera, he will be attacked by various monsters.

In addition to the FNAF videos, a look at the contents that other participants mentioned reveals that one of the participants came across a video called the world’s most dangerous prison inmates and could not go to the toilet alone for a few days. Another participant encountered horror movie trailers while watching a movie trailer. It was also revealed that another participant faced many feelings of fear as he was afraid of the advertisements in between the videos.

This study shows that the videos coming from the video suggestion system encountered by the participants were not only scary, but also violent and sexual. As seen in the statements of Participant 4, Participant 14, and Participant 15, videos of animal torture, videos of human tattoos, and videos of killing dogs or a man cutting his face were encountered:

For example, they put a video of animal torture or a video of beating a person. And others are watching them too! I’m watching too, I can’t tell you that I’m not watching it. People become conscious, but at the same time others make money. I’m complaining to myself. However, I have never complained about any YouTuber even if I got very angry. Because I’m afraid it will mess with me if anything happens to me. I wouldn’t dare do it. (Participant 4, 13, Female)

A man was killing a dog. He didn’t like animals. I came across that video. But I just turned it off. Because it was so bad. There is automatic play, it is always pressed, it played itself from there, I do not press it. Otherwise, scary videos happened, it happened at school, and once my friends wanted it very much. There is a game called ‘Five Night in Freddy’s’, it is a very scary game.

Someone opened it. Then everyone was very scared. I hadn't watched it either. I saw something terrible in the commercials, too. I saw a movie. There is a girl, her eyes are different and transparent, she opens her eyes, they are round ones, they draw a circle, unfortunately, I don't remember her name." (Participant 14, 12, Female)

There was this guy named Jeff the Killer. It was a terrible video, the man cut his mouth and eye or something. It appeared in the suggested videos on the side. It was in the cover art where he cut his mouth off his face. I think the videos on this side come randomly. I don't think YouTube posts these videos on purpose. (Participant 15, 12, Male)

This study also attempts to understand how the children followed the video suggestion system in terms of coping with content that was bad or scary for them, and it was determined that they either assumed the role of passive viewers or tried to turn off the videos immediately. As seen in the statement above, when we look at the example of Participant 4, it is seen that social media is considered a kind of power and children think that they cannot cope with attacks there. One of the most impressive points encountered in the study is that one of the participants stated that instead of fairy tales with happy endings, YouTube shows them the real versions of these tales.

For example, I saw the real endings of fairy tales, I was very scared when I watched them, and I watched how horror movies were shot, and I was very scared. How the cartoons that I call the end of fairy tales Rapunzel, Snow White end. The ones I remember the most are Snow White's and Cinderella's. In Cinderella, the sisters cut off their toes and try on the shoes, so does the stepmother. In Snow White, the Evil Witch first gives Snow White a belt, a buckle, and then an apple. They weren't talking about what they were doing with that belt and buckle. And finally, Snow White and the Prince make the Evil Witch dance in shoes made of hot iron throughout the wedding to punish her. It was so scary. I don't remember any of the others. When I watched them, I was so scared, I said that the things I watch cannot end like this. (Participant 2, 13, Female)

In addition to such content, our research shows that games such as Blue Whale, which are banned in various countries, attract a lot of attention by this age group on YouTube, and they watch the relevant videos here to reach these games. Another remarkable result is that although the video game with the slogan "Die! You will be reborn anyway" causes children to injure themselves or commit suicide by performing various tasks, it is one of the many easily accessible contents on YouTube. Participant 4 expressed this as follows:

I think YouTube doesn't send suggestions based on the videos I watch. I think YouTube is an irresponsible app. For example, they say that Tom has a camera in his eye. They say they can see the photos you took on Snapchat. For example, I do not understand this, for example, the blue whale, you know? So how could something like that happen! Why would you want to kill a person, why would you want to make such a game! It's so different, it just seems silly to me. And they're playing! For example, my friends didn't play that game, but they explained what happened at the end of the blue whale video and they wrote blue whale here (she showed the inside of his arm) and died. They take pictures of all of them and post them on Instagram. For example, they have an Instagram account, they post all the photos and all the things written about the blue whale there. My friends follow him from there and he has quite a lot of followers, I can't believe how they did this. Even my friends follow him! I even stopped communicating with those people. Because they affect me too, they tell me all the time. (Participant 4, 13, Female)

Although the videos suggested by the video suggestion system to children vary, it can be seen that the participants encountered content that they would not want to encounter either with the suggestion system or with the friend circle connection. The danger dimension of this content

ranges from content that children will see and be afraid of, to content that may cause them to commit acts of violence.

4.4. Challenges and Practices

Within the context of YouTube, ‘Challenge’ refers to certain practices that have become widespread to include all age groups. Individuals try to fulfil certain tasks in order to prove themselves and have fun. While video recommendation systems are the result of a direct surveillance practice, it is a system that needs to be examined because it identifies videos that are directly accessible to children. Practices called ‘challenge’ were examined in this study primarily because they support children’s participation in big data and algorithmic surveillance, and because they have become an issue that can make parental supervision mandatory and very difficult to control. As a result of netnography, this study shows that there are many types of challenges on YouTube. These are Mannequin Challenge, Ice Bucket Challenge, 10,000 Calorie Challenge, Kissing Challenge, The Lollipop Kissing Challenge, Cinnamon Challenge, Blue Whale Challenge, Tide Pod Challenge, Hot Pepper Challenge, Banana Peel Challenge, Banana Throat Challenge, Cold Water Challenge, Marshmallow Chubby Bunny Challenge, Neknomination Challenge, Duct Tape Challenge, Pass Out Challenge, Smoothie Challenge, Pouring Cement on Your Head and Microwaving your Head Challenge, Staying in a Store Challenge, Eating Corn with a Drill Challenge, Inserting a Condom in the Nose Challenge, Passing a Filled Condom Over Head Challenge, Kylie Jenner Lip Challenge and Pencil Hold Challenge etc. Some challenges are held to draw attention to social events or diseases such as the Ice Bucket Challenge, which is held to draw attention to ALS Disease. This challenge aims to raise awareness about the disease and collect donations for patients. However, it seems that some challenges are not particularly suitable for children. Some challenges contain sexual elements that are not suitable for this age group (such as trying to understand what the other person is eating by kissing after eating something with Kissing Challenge or The Lollipop Kissing Challenge, or challenges such as Kylie Jenner Lip Challenge where participants try to enlarge their lips with various tools) and this study showed that some of them are dangerous and that the devices used for birth control are used in challenges for entertainment purposes (Plugging a Condom in the Nose or Pushing a Condom Filled with Water Down the Head Challenge). In addition to sexuality, some challenges contain serious violence or danger and some of them are seen to pose a direct health hazard. Cinnamon Challenge is a practice in which a certain amount of cinnamon is eaten and then talked about, but it is known that this powder can cause serious health problems if it enters the lungs. In addition, challenges such as pushing the chest of your friends until they faint with the pass out challenge, fainting by crouching on the ground after taking rapid breaths, or fainting by applying pressure to the vein under the left ear, were also seen on YouTube, especially in groups of friends. While the challenges of eating corn with a drill or pouring cement on the head and sticking it in the microwave are directly violent, the neknomination challenge, on the other hand, has been observed to include activities such as drinking bottles of alcohol or undressing in the social area. It is also known that the challenge of eating dishwashing detergent is especially common in this age group and that children take part in these practices.

The participants of this research were particularly asked about the challenge of finding out about the challenge. It was seen that most of the participants did not know the Turkish equivalent of the challenge, but they expressed it together with the practices.

“I don’t know much about the challenge of doing something in the challenge, but I know what it means on YouTube. “Water Bottle Flip Challenge” then “Ice Bucket Challenge” for example. The Water Bottle Flip either looks normal like this or it doesn’t stop.” (Participant 4, Male, 9)

In particular, the way a participant expressed these challenges is unique to digital natives and is remarkable:

“Was the challenge a challenge? What do they mean on YouTube? Challenge is not Turkish, but it has entered our daily language. It didn’t come into my mother’s language, but I hear it at school.” (Participant 1, Female, 12).

The participants were asked what kind of reward or punishment they would give because of this challenge if they were going to participate in it, and it was seen that most of the participants were generally in favor of punishing. When we look at the content of these punishments, preferences such as “entering a tub full of ice, drinking salt water, eating a spoonful of cinnamon, eating raw meat, breaking eggs on the head, eating hot peppers, eating vomit with sugar, being put inside an animal cage and feeding on lemons” were expressed. In general, the participants made suggestions that were more severe and based on the logic of punishment. The expressions of two of the participants reveal the violence and the violent infrastructure in the challenges:

If I made a challenge video, I would shoot it in the pool. Because we did. Do you know cards? The person with the biggest card throws the other person into the pool. We did it, for example, as a challenge. And 500 people watched. It was very good. We do unannounced challenges. Pool push challenge. For example, we pushed a child. The child was injured. He was messing with people every day. There was a bit of a disabled type. We pushed him into the pool (laughs). But for the video. (Participant 3, 13, Male)

Eating salt until blind is my favorite challenge but my mom wouldn’t let me. But I will. If we spill water or something, we will get sick the most, at least if we do the salt-eating challenge, then we will be blind at once, not in advance. (Participant 19, 10, Female)

This study showed that the challenges are not only made by the participants who are YouTubers, but also by the participants who do not have a channel yet who shoot videos, prepare the content of the challenge, and record them. The main point to be noted is that simple and non-dangerous videos do not attract attention or cause cyberbullying, and young participants may participate in more dangerous challenges. The expression of a YouTuber participant who shared a video and encountered the comment “brats are everywhere” is as follows:

I do the not to laugh challenge, simply. We made a video. In the comments section, someone wrote “unfortunately, brats are everywhere” (laughs). In the video, we were eating tangerines as a punishment, but we were trying to show the tangerine as sour (!). It wasn’t sour. If we knew it would be like this, maybe we would have done other more interesting challenges. (Participant 21, 12, Male)

The digital natives who were the participants of this research showed that the important point is that “visibility is a reward, not a punishment” as mentioned in the theoretical part, and they are ready to sacrifice something at this point. For the digital natives who are accustomed to being spied on, it is seen that the way in which visibility is gained is not important, rather, the important point is to be like them and gain appreciation by observing others, as explained by the concept of “scopophilia”. Challenges are one of the important points of being visible for the participants in terms of scopophilia. Scopophilia is supported by technobiophilia, the feeling that technology addiction and systems such as the internet have always existed, and one cannot live without them. The desire is to gain likes, and for YouTube, concrete indicators of this are manifested as com-

ments, number of views and likes. As Lyon explains, children try to exist in the virtual environment by getting away from the environments they are in and act within the frameworks foreseen by YouTube as “disappearing bodies”.

4.5. Challenges and the Parent’s Role

As stated in the theories of digital sociology, the concept of “rotted data”, which is one of the biggest problems brought by digitalization and big data, and the situation where an individual loses his control over the data he produces but still continues to produce this data, are also valid for YouTube and children. The concept of rotted data therefore greatly increases the burden of parents. Within the scope of the study, the participants were asked whether their families allowed them to open a channel on YouTube, and it was seen that most of them did, some of them allowed under certain conditions, and a very few of them did not. Although children want to open channels, it is seen that they have a fear of being watched in social reality.

There is a desire to open a channel and broadcast, and there is a fear inside me, for example, my account might be stolen, others might do something secretly, bad things, then they might see the house from the background, or from the outside, and maybe I will feel in danger.” (Participant 9, 12, Male)

In addition to their own fears, the criticism of families in terms of opening a YouTube channel for their children is remarkable. In general, the reasons why families do not allow their children to open channels are: Being too young, stealing information, deceiving people on YouTube, and evaluating YouTubers as wrong role models. Some children stated that their parents did not allow them because they thought they would be upset if they “failed” on YouTube.

If I want to open a channel, my family will allow it. Some families do not allow it because it has a bad purpose, for example, some of them become very famous, very talented, but some of them are humiliated, they cannot be very talented. But I think every family should allow the child if they want. It doesn’t make us feel bad if we fail, people’s comments make us feel bad. Because you stick to your purpose, but people’s comments can upset you. (Participant 5, 12, Female)

The most important reason given for not opening a YouTube channel is the theft of personal information. Although there are participants who think that the Internet environment is dangerous for this age group and that they should listen to their families to protect themselves (Participant 4), some participants (such as Participant 13) think that families are worried because they do not have enough information.

I think some families won’t allow it because people can give false information or videotape information that people can’t learn, which harms them. (Participant 4, 13, Female).

My parents let me start a channel on YouTube. I think some families do not allow this because they think it is dangerous. Because they do not know, they think it is fraud or they think that social accounts are not safe. I think malicious people cannot reach us from here. (Participant 13, 12, Male).

Some families give children permission to post videos on YouTube, but only by imposing conditions such as setting the condition of sharing videos in such a way that their face will not be seen and their voice will not be heard. However, these restrictions are not seen as desirable on the part of the children who consider this to be against the principle of visibility. Although some participants strongly oppose this, it is seen that it is particularly the participants who only shoot game videos and who are channel owners that are faced with this condition. As mentioned in the theory section of this paper, the fact that children’s private spaces have become accessible by social me-

dia, especially with the disappearance of the distinction between public and private, increases the responsibilities of parents more than ever before. To control whether the content shared by children will progress in the direction of self-expression or exhibitionism and to take precautions accordingly, families should also be knowledgeable about social media and be interested in the practices that their children are involved in. With the superpanopticon, digital natives voluntarily engage in surveillance practices and lose control of their own data.

5. Discussion and Result

This research examined YouTube's video suggestion system and challenge videos. It also studied the kinds of behavior that necessitate parental supervision in line with what kind of surveillance children are exposed to and their practices. A child is not considered a child in the digitalization period but a free subject and actor. Every action of this actor in society is digitized by collecting information from all kinds of activities on the internet, just like an adult. The whole of the data obtained about the individual through this digitization is called big data. Using research into YouTubers, YouTube, and users, this study has explained how multi-directional surveillance takes place on YouTube. In general, the conclusion reached is that children are mostly unaware that the video suggestion system is a system formed in the light of the data obtained as a result of monitoring the whole of their activities on the Internet and especially on YouTube. Therefore, an invisible surveillance system is in fact a digital surveillance system and YouTube reflects this system. Digital surveillance requires paying certain prices for certain gains. These gains are having fun and being visible on YouTube. Since individuals want to be visible of their own will, they share their information voluntarily. The video suggestion system, which they are unaware of, sends them videos ranging from horror movies, scary videos, violence, and torture to sexual content and it is a situation of concern for every participant. While children cannot understand why these videos come to them, some participants attribute this to the interesting information videos they watch. Children prefer not to report content that they are afraid of or that should be reported on YouTube. The reason for this is that they think that they can be harmed by this situation. Although the strategies to avoid them are generally to close the video, the fact that they remember these contents in detail shows that this strategy does not work.

Challenge videos posted on YouTube and watched by children were determined in this study to be a situation that families should pay attention to even more than the video suggestion system. This research shows that children can perform many activities for the sake of gaining more likes and being watched more. Challenges can include psychological harm as well as physical harm. This study shows that these practices are also used as a punishment method apart from being watched and as a way of gathering an audience. Participants record challenge videos even if they do not have channels. It has also been noted that if these challenges are not serious and dangerous, children tend to try more serious and dangerous challenges when bad comments are received by other YouTubers or after being exposed to cyberbullying. The main sources of these practices have been identified as technobiophilia and scopophilia (the desire to be like them and gain admiration by observing others).

The extent to which the video suggestion system and trying the challenges can reach children is explained in detail in this study. According to children, these two systems are never dangerous or harmful. The reasons why their families do not allow them to create a channel and implement these practices are that, according to the children, their personal information might be stolen, they might be deceived in social environments, they might be upset if they want to be YouTubers and

fail, and YouTubers might be people who should not be taken as an example. The way the children express the reasons for why their parents do not allow them to post on YouTube are quite innocent and reveal that they are not aware of the real danger. In addition, the in-depth interviews show that families are mostly unaware of YouTube and its activities. In this sense, digital literacy is of great importance both for families to be able to recognize virtual environments and the dangers these environments pose to their children, as well as for children to be more conscious and protect themselves.

It is expected that this research will pave the way for many more studies examining the digital surveillance systems that children are exposed to and the social, cultural, psychological, and physiological effects of these systems on children. These studies first need to reveal many more digital surveillance practices that children are exposed to and focus on how families should behave or guide them to protect their children who are included in digital culture and surveillance systems.

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Research Article

Digital Transnational Dissidence and State Control: A Conceptual Reflection on the Practice and Limits of Digital Transnationalism

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ABSTRACT

The historical practice of citizen participation in politics was confined to elections, yet in the digital era, increasing digitalisation in everyday life has opened windows of opportunities for alternative civilian participation in the political processes, oppositionary activities being foremost among them. Individual or collective opposition parties thus today also confidently carry out political activities against governmental politics through cyber and digital spaces, and thanks to digital advances, oppositionary political participation can no longer be confined to national borders. Hence, in forms of digital transnationalism and transnational dissidence, irrespective of the connection of the articulator to the target country, people around the world criticise governmental politics and shape public perceptions in one country from abroad. Nevertheless, governments, as well, make use of digital space in taking part in transnational practices in both shaping domestic and international public opinion and challenging overseas or domestic dissident digital transnationalism with an aim to increase its control over the narrative of its politics. This paper elaborates on this paradoxical relationship – the nexus of digital transnationalism, transnational opposition and state control. The paper examines how and why cyberspace turns into a domain for transnational political opposition and, in a related way, examines state endeavours to regulate and govern digital areas as a means of overseeing the digital transnationalism of (trans)local and transnational dissidence groups. Particularly with reference to the latter, the paper deliberates on the limits of digital transnationalism against state control.

Keywords: Digital transnationalism, Transnational dissidence, State control



1. Introduction

Digital advances have facilitated the transnationalisation of everyday practices. Personal mobility is no longer a prerequisite quality for practicing the *transnational*, as the mobility of information already extended transnational space towards digital spaces (Starikov, et al., 2018; Tedeschi et al., 2020; Jauhiainen, Özçürümez, & Tursun, 2021). Confirming Baumanian liquidity in time and space, people worldwide are involved in transnational forms of activities on a daily basis without even leaving their homes, free from fixed territorial constraints (Bauman, 2007; Basch et al., 1994). Upon this, we see that historically mobility-bounded categories such as trans-migrant, diaspora, or kin communities worldwide can now materialise or turn into a form of digital practice without the need for actual movement. As the transnationalism literature has covered, people can practice migrancy or diasporic kinship digitally (Alinejad & Ponzanesi, 2020), or those already experiencing mobility can digitally participate in and shape each other's and the home country's daily affairs, as seen in the practices of *digital natives*, *digital immigrants* or *digital diaspora* (Bayne & Ross, 2007; Bayne & Ross, 2011; Ponzanesi, 2020). In tandem with this scholarly scrutiny, there emerges recent literature on the implications of such changes on the government opposition relations (Radsch, 2013; Üstün, 2021) – digital forms of transnationalism have created new avenues for practicing and observing political opposition; the digital space has become a crucial channel for initiating and maintaining transnational opposition thanks to the opportunities provided by communication technologies, including swift access to global political, legal, economic or diasporic domains. Accordingly, extraterritorial political and dissident groups within the diaspora or expat communities are involved in oppositional activities in the home country or assist the local opposition groups in internationalising their voices via digital spaces (Tabak, 2016; 2020a). Equally relevant, local dissident groups, via digital transnational practices, carry their political opposition to extraterritorial spaces and networks. Accounting for all these new realities in government-opposition relations required taking a transnational perspective into account, as opposed to traditional ways of viewing this relationship, which were guided by methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002) and the national outlook (Beck, 2000) that confine the practice of dissidence to national boundaries/categories.

Digital transnationalism and digital transnational dissidence have also had bold consequences for governments. In the current debates on government responses to digital and transnational opposition, the scholarship consistently shows that digital transnationalism and opposition lead primarily to two forms of responses: on one hand states as well make use of the digital space in taking part in transnational practices; digital transnationalism also expedites the states' ability to reach out and mobilise, for instance, diaspora communities (Margheritis, 2007; Chin & Smith, 2015). On the other hand, it increases the volatility on the side of the government and thus leads governments to increase their control over digital and transnational spaces and flow of information through regulatory involvement as a means to strategically deal with opposition (Gainous, Wagner, & Ziegler, 2018). This then would cause setbacks on the side of transnational digital oppositionary involvement, as particularly authoritarian governments may utilise excessive force and increase their misinformative and manipulative digital presence to secure governmental legitimacy against oppositional involvement, as seen, for instance, in the formation of the *digital surveillance state* (Qiang, 2019) or *digital state propaganda* (Cheong, 2020).

This paper elaborates on this paradoxical relationship – the nexus of digital transnationalism, transnational opposition and state control. The nation-state apparently has not retreated against the erosive effects of globalisation, transnationalisation and digitalisation, yet considering digital

transnationalism's transformative power in government-opposition relations, it would be misleading to argue that digital transnationalism is overstated. The paper reflects on this puzzling relationship and intends to overcome it by, in particular, identifying the limits of digital transnationalism against state control.

In terms of the organisation of the research, the paper initially introduces the problem and then discusses the consequences of the transnational practices and domain for states and opposition groups. In the following two sections, the paper examines how and why cyberspace turns into a domain for transnational political opposition and the measures states take to control cyberspace and transnational dissidence, respectively. The final chapter deliberates on the limits of digital transnationalism against state control.

2. Digital Transnationalism, Dissidence and Control

Digital advances have provided individuals, families, organisations of various kinds (both governmental and nongovernmental) and corporations worldwide with historically unparalleled opportunities for communicating and influencing each other more directly. Day by day, more people around the world gain access to the internet and the impact people pose to each other increases concomitantly. Peoples' lives and suffering in one part of the world now become part of the lives of others on the other side of the world more often and more swiftly, whether intentionally or unintentionally. An enforced cosmopolitanisation of the everyday lives of people is experienced globally on this very ground, confirming global sociology arguments in this regard (Beck, 2000; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Delanty, 2009; Beck & Grande, 2010). Thanks to the internet and communication technologies, real and ordinary people in both Western and non-Western everyday contexts are involved in cosmopolitan practices, possibly unintentionally or even latently, thus are constant candidates for turning into "individuals with limited choices in deciding to enter into something larger than their immediate cultures" (Malcomson, 1998, p. 240). Paul Rabinow's definition of the cosmopolitan experience as "an ethos of macro-interdependencies, with an acute consciousness (often forced upon people) of the inescapabilities and particularities of places, characters, historical trajectories, and fates" (Rabinow, 1986, p. 258) becomes empirically overt and unflinching within this very ground. Hence, the internet and communication technologies – together with the other means of globalisation that facilitated the boundless movement of goods, capital, people, culture and ideas (innovations) – rendered territorial borders observably fuzzy and blurred and hence transformed the *containing* and *confining* role of territorial borders. What followed is increasing global minority representations, intensification of international travels and mobility, diffusing borders, ever-strengthening transnational corporations, the growing involvement of ordinary people in transnational initiatives and organisations, increasing global protest movements with vast local resonations –vice versa–, transnationalisation of political opposition, mass transnational news coverage and consumption, transnational mobility of memories and solidarities, etc. (Beck, 2008, p. 27–28). Confirming, to a certain degree, the *hyper globalisation* and the *retreat of the nation-state* arguments popular particularly in the 1990s (Shaw, 1997), and as a grave threat to territorially defined governance systems, all these led to the states' losing control of certain monopolies in political, legal and economic terms, which has increased volatility in their domestic and international affairs.

This volatility is also the reason such a transformation spurred the state to maintain its control on the flow of people, information, ideas and influences, by reinstating the *confining* character of borders surrounding the *homeland*. This confirms the *return of the state* arguments (Barrow,

2005; Delwaide, 2011). Nevertheless, concomitant with the increasing emancipation the internet and communication technologies provided to humanity, states today are keener to seek new opportunities to increase their control over how people communicate and interact, both nationally and cross-nationally. Among the means utilised, *securitisation*, *legal regulations*, and *political illegalisation* come as the primary responses, in particular, by which states endeavour to tame digital/cyberspace. The governments, accordingly, introduce social media regulations and bills, establish bodies with extended and exceptional authorities for cybersecurity, invent and institutionalise novel representations of cyberspace in which it is treated as contained within the *territorial homeland* (for instance the concept of *cyber homeland* or *cybernation*), illegalise the transnational (and digital) connections that political opposition groups develop and of course deploy *social media trolls* and *official digital campaigns* to demonise transnational opposition practices and increase the legitimacy of efforts to ‘thicken’ the national borders in the digital space. They thus regulate cyberspace in the guise of protecting the people and the nation from abuse, exploitation, violence and even terrorism.

The quest for increasing control over digital and cyberspace leads to state-centred sustenance of already-digitised everyday life. Nonetheless, the increasing digitalisation in everyday life, at the same time, has opened windows of opportunities for further civilian participation in political processes. The historical practice of citizen participation in politics was confined to elections, yet in the *digital era*, as Gao puts it, information and communication technologies “provide numerous opportunities for state-society communication in the whole policy cycle from policymaking to implementation and evaluation” (Gao, 2020 p. 2-3). In particular, in the evaluation part of the communication, we see that the political opposition as well has become a prime domain in *digital* political participation. Thus, individual or collective opposition parties also carry out their political activities against governmental politics through cyber and digital space. We often see that transnationalisation of political opposition accompanies such a practice and in the forms of digital transnationalism and transnational dissidence, irrespective of the connection of the articulator to the target country, people around the world criticise governmental politics and shape public perceptions in a country from abroad (Pearce, 2014). This represents a cosmopolitan form of political participation (Archibugi & Held, 1995), yet not necessarily a democratic one, and eventually enhances the political opposition in target countries worldwide. Recent examples of such cosmopolitan and transnational digital participation have been seen in protests including the Colour Revolutions, Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring, Gezi Park, Yellow Vests, and Hong Kong Protests. Nonetheless, most of the time, transnational dissidence is maintained by the transnational diaspora communities or governments-in-exile in close collaboration with opposition factions at home, and this leads governments to increase their search for extended control over digital space and transnational activities.

3. The Idea of *Transnationality* – Implications for the State and the Opposition

The *transnational* owes its salience as an analytical mechanism to the scholarly quests for making sense of globalisation. It is thus often thought of as a relatively recent discovery. This may be true of it as an analytical category, as the national-era concepts left no space for mechanisms that could not define and/or make sense of the empirical world nationally. Additionally, the transnational came to the help of the scholarship to explain the beyond-national realities that globalisation brought about. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to think of the transnational as a contemporary, everyday reality, as, as an empirical reality, the *transnational* has always been a constant of

life. It was a defining characteristic of the modern world “even in the high days when the nation-state bounded and bundled most social processes” (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 302). Having said so, it should be borne in mind that this empirical reality, the transnational life and realities, was not something the nation-states have been fond of (unless they benefit from it in controlling power relations in regional and/or international politics). This is because the transnational represented the limits and confines of the authority of the nation-state and the lessening of state control. It was blurring the boundaries of the national and making the national territorial, legal and even societal boundaries permeable. The transnational subjects were the anomalies, making national coherence stigmatised. The fierce hostility and demonisation targeting migrant communities, refugees or transnational capital, mostly led by nationalist political and societal factions, have also been caused by this. The lifeboat ethics of the national gaze were tacitly guiding such a stand. Transnational realities and subjects were thus not only jeopardising the state’s effort to stabilise the national category, but also resolving the national qualities. Due to this, the transnational has been a zero-sum subject for the idea of the nation-state.

On the side of the notion of political opposition, in the *national gaze*, the political opposition per se was not something that existentially threatened the national qualities of the state. Opposition groups and blocs were also national realities, obliged to show loyalty and patriotism towards the national categories. At the same time, for certain dissident groups – minority political parties, internationalist political fractions (both socialists and liberals), pan-nationalist structures, governments-in-exile etc. – the national gaze is simply a restraint on their political activities. Equally relevant, the transnational, on the other hand, is the domain of practice for how they maintain their political survival, how they mobilise in the first place, and, relatedly, how they escape from state control. This is the ground, from the perspective of the national condition, the transnational activities of opposition groups can be easily and often described as treachery. The zero-sum dilemma encircling transnational involvements has historically manifested itself within this very scope. The transnational characteristic of an opposition group made it the target of national wrath and made it be seen as the local collaborators of foreign enemies and traitors harming the national unity. Indeed, this has not changed much even today. States still embark on such acts of demonisation despite the transnationalisation they have gone through.

While transnationality predated contemporary globalisation, and thus is not merely an “offspring of globalization” (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 302), in the meantime, it cannot be denied that globalisation has spread the practice of it globally in an unprecedented way. Today, there is no community worldwide that is exempt from or remains outside of a transnational network, informally and/or formally. Transnationality today defines all sorts of links – mostly technological, social and economic – between *nations*, between *states* and even between *societies* (Beck, 2000, p. 87). This is a kind of development that brought along transnational forms of transformations in nationally organised inter-state relations and domestic politics. In today’s world, states are, intentionally or unintentionally, part of various transnational processes, structures and mechanisms, and thus are forced to transnationally deal with the actor and issue constellation in both domestic and international politics. From collaboration with civil society in dealing with refugee crises to public-private partnerships in defence industry and critical infrastructure security, or to transnational regimes of governance, states have become a key contributor and collaborator of transnationally governed domains. The national qualities of the states, accordingly, have been transnationally redefined (Major, 2013). National economies have had to adapt to global economic changes and thus have been reorganised to better collaborate and/or compete with transnational

multi-national companies or cross-national production chains. Domestic political domains are now more vulnerable to global interferences, due for instance to the interventionist liberal global agenda in terms of human rights, economic policies or state-society relations. Global governance regimes, as a product of collaboration among international, supranational and transnational global organisations, develop novel tools and means for shaping the normative standards of individual states. As seen in the UN system, the bulk of organisations first mainstream certain agendas and later impose and even dictate them on governments through diplomatic, economic and even legal means. In doing so, they even collaborate with local nongovernmental sectors, including opposition groups, for instance, as seen in the shadow report practices in terms of the global gender regime (Tabak et al., 2022; Tabak & Doğan, 2022).

Nevertheless, dissident groups may benefit from such a transnationalisation practice, and in fact, they do. Transnational qualities of opposition groups have flourished prominently. Together with digital and internet technologies, opposition and other transnational groups more swiftly access global political, legal, economic or diasporic domains. Yet, the other side of the coin shows that the transnationalisation of the nation-state also resulted in better control of the transnational domain by the state through state transnationalism. In the historical context, state control lacked the transnational tools and means of involvement; recently the state's governing capacity has increased in an unprecedented way. As seen in recent globe-spanning state efforts to controlling the digital space through regulations and bills, which we will touch upon in detail soon, the transnational continues to evoke a zero-sum relationship for the nation-state. The state, with tools better suited to transnational realities, endeavours to control the transnational domain and action, as seen in the attempts for control of digital space, targeting the digital transnationalism of political dissidence.

4. Cyberspace and Transnational Dissidence – on Digital Transnationalism

Despite the robust effects of transnational realities on states and the state's system, the transnational space is something still in the making, and digital/cyberspace's paving the way for transnationalising the everyday life of people worldwide has proven this – the boundaries of the transnational space are now extended to the digital domains (Tedeschi et al., 2020). As a practice of globalisation from below, people worldwide are involved in transnational forms of activities on a daily basis without even leaving their homes, thus, through living liquid lives free from fixed territorial constraints (Bauman, 2007). Thus, the personal mobility component of the *transnational* has today lost its prerequisite qualities – the mobility of information alone suffices for practising the *transnational*. Concomitantly, the nongovernmental sector – both national civil societies and transnational communities – can easily counter state transnationalism through digital (virtual) transnationalism (Starikov, et al., 2018; Jauhiainen, Özçürümez, & Tursun, 2021). Digital transnationalism enables the nongovernmental sector, including opposition and dissident groups, to bypass state control and conduct its activities away from the government's watch. Therefore, although the territorial determinants of transnational activities continue to remain intact and personal mobility remains a primary means for transnational mobilisation, the transnational space has been extending towards cyber and digital space. Technological advances and transnational space thus enrich each other. Accordingly, while the transnational movement of information is the defining component of the digital space, the digital space further facilitates the extension of transnational involvements towards the everyday life of people worldwide – social media being the engine for such a *dependency*.

In the historical context, no doubt the traditional media, as well, opened spaces for transnational involvement –transnational news coverage was key for people to experience the life of others beyond national borders. Yet, the most restraining part of this media was that it was evoking one-sided communication. The receiver community of a transnational story did not have the instruments to turn this into a dialogue. It was the internet technologies developed from the 1990s onwards that rendered a transnational dialogue possible. The digital communication networks, online forums, electronic mail platforms and online search engines, etc. all increased boundary permeability in favour of the flow of information and influences, thus facilitating virtual border-crossing for communities worldwide (Shields, 2014). There have even been transnational virtual communities that have formed (Broughton, 2011). Moreover, with smartphones and mobile devices with an internet connection, *news* production has cascaded towards non-institutional and informal domains. In a more inclusive framework, along conventional media companies' global spread, average internet users worldwide have come to be able to report on their surroundings and even on distant places. They furthermore easily become a participant of or contributor to national, global and transnational agendas globally, thanks to *social media* (Seo, et al., 2009, p. 123–126; Christensen, 2013; Gomes, 2018; Andersson, 2019; Dekker & Engbersen, 2013; Plaza & Below, 2014). Proving this right, *We Are Social's* global digital overview report 'Digital 2020' suggests "more than 4.5 billion people now use the internet, while social media users have passed the 3.8 billion mark. Nearly 60 percent of the world's population is already online, and the latest trends suggest that more than half of the world's total population will use social media by the middle of this year [2020]" (Digital 2020 Global Overview Report).

At this juncture, social media functions as a medium where political campaigns are carried out or social and mass movements are organised, a feature that opposition groups highly benefit from and exploit (Bennett, 2004; Gainous, et al., 2018; Gao, 2020, p. 2–3). Considering that governments, particularly the populist and authoritarian ones, often leave less and less space for dissident voices in conventional media, cyber and digital space (social media) stands out as an invaluable asset for opposition elements in moulding public opinion. In this way, government control on the conventional media becomes rendered ineffective, as opposition groups direct their criticism to government policies and are heard by the public more swiftly and directly, and at no cost. The opportunities for gaining supporters despite government control on media encourage more dissident groups to mobilise online tools and channels to provide a means of political socialisation and mobilisation to the broader public, youth being at the epicentre of such activities. And, indeed online tools have already proven their validity with regard to increasing political engagement of particularly the youth and young adults (Ødegård & Berglund, 2008; Keating & Melis, 2017). Thus, opposition groups greatly invest in making their views visible and dominant in cyber and digital space through news sites, social media applications, search engines, blogs, forums and sophisticated and at the same time *easy-to-share* audio and visual media contents.

Opposition groups, within this scope, also perform a vital task, tackling fake news and misinformation – much-needed work in the post-truth era in dealing with populist governments. Accordingly, concomitant with the increasing role of social media in political mobilisation, in addition to opposition groups, governments also utilise virtual communication and state resources to increase governmental presence and consolidate their power and control in cyber and digital space. They want to control information and the way it is framed; hence, they seek to be the dominant source in informing, influencing, directing and *thus manipulating* their citizens and world public opinion. Accordingly, to do so, we often see the utilisation of fake news and misinforma-

tion at the hands of governments. Opposition groups here serve in the critical task of fact-checking – they inform domestic and international public opinion regarding the validity of governmental coverage of developments and actual happenings (Coddington, et al., 2014; Graves & Cherubini, 2016; Lewandowsky, et al., 2017; Waisbord, 2018). Local opposition groups are not alone in this fact-checking business – there are international fact-checking networks *transnationally* contributing to making governments more transparent in their actions. These networks also collaborate with local dissidents and enable them to enter transnational domains as agents with valid political voices (The International Fact-Checking Network, 2015).

Digital transnational opposition involves more than international fact-checking. It evokes direct participation in politics in a locality. It may manifest itself in various forms. In the Arab world, for instance, we may talk about a transnational regional network of opposition cooperation that has had a bold impact on the Arab Spring protests (Kraetzschmar, 2011; Tabak, 2020b). The networks of transnational collaboration, forged by like-minded local civil society organisations, political parties and other informal protest groups and activists in the Arab world, initiated opposition cooperation on certain issues including reforms, election alliances or parliamentary politics. They also were involved in public mobilisation in the forms of grassroots coalitions and pro-democracy activism, and the effective use of social media by these networks of opposition coalition proved itself to be a game-changer during popular uprisings in the Arab world (Howard, et al., 2011; Sumiala & Korpiola, 2017). Indeed, the global popular support delivered via social media further strengthened the hands of the protestors on the ground. This leads us to the imperative role transnational solidarity networks play in the mobilisation of opposition worldwide – regarding both local and global agendas. For the former, people worldwide provided vast support to protestors via social media in the case, for instance, of the Colour Revolutions, Occupy Wall Street protests, Gezi Park protests, Yellow Vests and more recently, the Hong Kong protests. The human rights abuses governments committed when suppressing these protests were publicised through the digital circulation of images. Global public opinion was mobilised to put pressure on the governments. The same has been the case regarding global agendas. On issues such as nuclear power, climate change, violence against women, anti-racism, pollution, deforestation, whale hunting, corruption, austerity or education cuts and tax reforms, or blasphemy, transnational solidarity networks initiate virtual protest campaigns along with on-the-ground campaigns (Segeberg & Bennett, 2011; Sreberny, 2015; Ciszek, 2016; Baer, 2016; Mutsvairo, 2016; Kaun & Uldam, 2018). A final example of transnational digital oppositionary involvement would be those of the diasporic communities, a.k.a. digital diaspora. Political dissidents in exile from certain countries pursue political activism through digital communication technologies, thus involving themselves in the domestic politics of their *homelands* and endeavouring to build external pressure on the governments in their home countries by shaping the perceptions of the international audience. Among many others, the Israeli, Iranian, Uzbek, Russian, Chinese, Turkish, Burmese, Syrian, and Egyptian dissident diasporic communities have long pursued digital transnational opposition (Kendzior, 2011; Chen, 2016; Michaelsen, 2018; Varea, et al., 2018; Al-Rawi & Fahmy, 2018).

As the above section explicates, the digital space has become a crucial channel for initiating and maintaining transnational opposition. This has had bold consequences for governments, leading them to increase their control over digital space. The next section deals with the state response to digital transnationalism.

5. The Cyberspace and State Control

Digital space's enabling of dissident groups to maintain a political fight far away from the territorial (thus legal) reach of the governments increases the political volatility of governments. In return, it urges governments to take measures to maintain control on the digital (thus the transnational) flow of information, ideas and influences. Governmental involvement in this regard – including huge political, legal and economic influence the states pose on the digital space and the increase in governmental appearance on it – confirm the *return of the state* arguments (Barrow, 2005; Delwaide, 2011). States are better adapted to globalisation today, and thus have learnt how to *deal with* the emancipation the internet and communication technologies provided to humanity. We will reflect on the extent and limits of this adaptation and control in the next section (with a particular reference to the recent Covid-19 pandemic and the realities it brought), yet for now, we will reflect on how states respond to the challenges of digital transnational and transnational dis-sidence.

Defining the digital space as anarchic, insecure, and unreliable comes forth as the prime mechanism for states striving to keep cyberspace under control. Accordingly, governments often associate digital space with fraud, deception and abuse, while underlining their duty to keep citizens safe from abuse and malpractice originating from such spaces. They thus frame their digital involvement as something that favours their citizens. There is no doubt, as an existential criterion, that one of the most important priorities of the state is to protect their citizens. Considering that more than 500 million computers have been exposed to the negative effects of software and viruses (web spoofing, DDoS, botnets, Trojans, cybercrime, cyber-attack, privacy protection etc.) via the internet in recent years and that the cost of this damage to national economies on a global scale is equivalent to at least \$110 billion, their interest in securing the digital space proves well-founded (World Internet Development Report, 2019, p. 89). Moreover, there are also great risks, such as deciphering and seizing critical information and violating confidentiality. Therefore, in recent years, many countries have begun to make their national cybersecurity strategies functional in legal terms and as part of their broader national security, within the scope of which they strive both to increase their control and to overcome the actual threats that the anarchic structure of the digital space pose.

The United States of America stands out as the country that started the first initiatives in terms of cyberspace security. Accordingly, during the Obama and Trump administrations, the Cybersecurity National Action Plan – United States Cyber Incident Coordination, Strategic Principles for Securing the Internet of Things, Guide for Cybersecurity Event Recovery and A Framework for a Vulnerability Disclosure Program for Online Systems – was launched. Almost \$2 billion was appropriated to the National Protection and Programs Directorate (of the United States Department of Homeland), an institution in charge of cybersecurity and critical infrastructure administration (World Internet Development Report, 2019, p. 108). China announced its National Cyberspace Security Strategy and International Strategy of Cooperation on Cyberspace in December 2016 and March 2017. Cybersecurity Law, the first basic law to regulate China's cybersecurity management, entered into force in June 2017. Russia built its cybersecurity on the Information Security Doctrine published in 2000. The doctrine has functioned so far as a basis for shaping government policy on information security, for preparing suggestions to improve the legal, procedural and organisational framework, for ensuring information security and for devising targeted national information security programs. The concept of *sovereign internet* has been developed accordingly to build a legal and institutional ground for making sovereignty more sensible digi-

tally. In this system, internet traffic on the Russian web would be widely controlled. Germany, on the other hand, released a program called Cyber Security Strategy in November 2016 and concomitantly has passed an act targeting social network platforms like Facebook and Twitter. The fines aimed to eliminate expressions of hatred and slander (World Internet Development Report, 2019, p. 109). Singapore also launched its Cyber Security Strategy in October 2016 intending to build a resilient cyber infrastructure, creating safer cyberspace, developing a vibrant cybersecurity ecosystem and strengthening international partnerships in this context. The Singaporean government also established a cybersecurity laboratory at the National University of Singapore in March 2017 to support cybersecurity research and testing by academic and industrial staff (World Internet Development Report, 2019, p. 107). Lastly, following suit, Turkey also published a comprehensive plan for national cybersecurity in 2016 (the National Cyber Security Strategy 2016-2019). The plan was followed in 2020 by the entrance into force of an internet broadcast law for regulating internet broadcasts and for preventing crimes committed through internet broadcasts. In Turkey, the concept of the *cyber homeland* was developed in order to show the necessity of the comprehensive institutional presence of the state within cyberspace. Several other states, such as Ukraine, Australia, Japan, India and Afghanistan, implemented similar measures related to cyberspace (Lu & Liu, 2018).

In addition to these measures, some states also endeavour for their citizens to be more secure and under control in cyberspace through their private institutions. Among these states, Japan established a unit called the Office of Cyber Security Policy in 2016 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2016, the Australian government initiated the Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre for making its cyberspace capacity particularly effective at combatting financial crimes. The British government established a unit called the National Cyber Security Centre in 2017 to respond to cybersecurity incidents and to secure public and private sector networks. Also in 2017, India established its national cybersecurity unit: the Indian National Cyber Security Co-ordination Centre. It is the highest cyberspace intelligence agency in the country. In addition, the Indian Government established in March 2017 the Cyber Swachhhta Kendra to create secure cyberspace, to detect botnet infections in India and to notify and enable cleaning and securing systems of end-users from further *infections* (World Internet Development Report, 2019, p. 107).

The state response to digital developments is explicated above. The question of the implications of increasing state involvement in cyberspace for state-society relations, and thus for transnational dissidence, remains partly addressed. The bills and regulations governments introduced regarding the internet are no doubt necessary for and deployed in fighting cybercrime. Yet the regulations also allow governments an immense say in how the internet can be used by ordinary people. Governments can cut internet connections country-wide or partly in case of an *emergency*, emergency being defined by the governments. They can filter and watch all traffic and block any content that seems inappropriate from the governmental perspective, paving the way for increased censorship throughout the country. Practically, this legal and political capacity for censoring any content means that governments control the flow of information. In addition to this, governments also enjoy the capacity to define real and fake news, and through the legal instruments they have developed, they outlaw the production and spread of false information. Considering that opposition voices are often cherished globally, they concomitantly find themselves the target of criminalisation due to their production and circulation of *false* information. An increasing number of legal cases targeting opposition groups for *disrespect of authorities* is also another consequence of such (il)legalisation (Moyakine & Tabachnik, 2021). Legal grounds are not yet

always necessary in the governments' digital dealings with opposition groups. In the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi, a dissident journalist in exile, at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, for instance, Khashoggi's communications and movements, along with several other Saudi human rights defenders in exile, were monitored via internet-based surveillance technologies (spyware) operated from Saudi Arabia (Michaelsen, 2020).

In summary, "digital technologies have given authoritarian governments new tools to control, silence, and punish dissent across borders" (Michaelsen, 2020). They tame transnational and national political opposition through *securitising*, *legally regulating*, and *politically illegalising* digital practices. Governments thus introduce internet regulations, establish bodies with extended and exceptional authorities for cybersecurity, redefine cyberspace as a cyber-homeland (thus legitimising their sovereignty over it), and illegalise political opposition. In some cases, governments even deploy illegal means for controlling the opposition.

6. State Control and the Limits of Digital Transnationalism

The fact that a great portion of the world's population has internet access and that traditional communication systems have shifted towards virtual communication in many areas has attracted the attention of not only governments but also opposition elements. We can see that governments inform, influence, manipulate and direct their citizens and world public opinion by using social media, along with mass media, effectively, just as do the opposition elements. Yet, unlike the opposition elements, the legal and political privileges of the governments allow them to increase and even consolidate their power and control in the cyber and digital field day by day. Moreover, the opportunities the internet provides the opposition with in reaching the target audience both nationally and transnationally motivate governments to search for ways of further consolidating their control on the digital space and equally for silencing and defaming opposition views. Nevertheless, opposition and dissident voices have successfully employed the internet in shaping the national political scope – the transnational mobilisation that dissident groups have initiated has become consequential in several cases. There is no doubt, opposition groups have profoundly benefitted from digital transnationalism. Global connectedness and transnational civil society and activism have contributed to optimism on the opposition regarding the facilitative role globalisation and concomitant digital revolution can bring about. Transnational governance mechanisms that enabled the worldwide nongovernmental sector to participate in global processes and global neoliberal common sense favouring interventionism where human rights issues and democracy are concerned have both empowered opposition groups. Digital advances have furthered the mobilisation and participation capabilities of opposition groups globally. Opposition groups have become collaborators with international organisations in democracy and human rights watch missions. They have enabled the international community to hear about the human rights abuses that national governments commit. As seen in mass public protests, the opposition has made use of the internet and social media very well so that revolutionary popular changes became possible to initiate. However, digital transnationalism has some limits in bringing about a revolutionary change in state power, emanating from an ontological relationship between the internet and the state. The recent *return-of-the-state* (states' recovering their control in cyberspace) arguments have very well established this.

The argument is that digital space and electronic connectivity existentially depend on physical infrastructure established in sovereign territories and are regulated under legal jurisdictions – it is thus not a de-territorialised structure. And, other than limiting the sovereignty of states, they offered

novel forms of control into the service of the nation-states. Therefore, “cyberspace has evolved in ways that fit remarkably well onto the map of Westphalian sovereign states”, as governments have utilised cyberspace for their own strategic advantage rather than as an authority circumscribing element (Mainwaring, 2020, p. 217). “Rather than signalling the decline of the importance of Westphalian States,” therefore, cyberspace “has enabled sovereign power to evolve, creating new means of governance and reinforcing centralised power and authority in significant ways.” Governments have shown no hesitation in exploiting the cyberspace in their own gains (Mainwaring, 2020, p. 218). The *retreat of the nation-state* arguments, within this scope, emanated from the idea that the internet revolution was initially, from a libertarian perspective, considered a development extending individual freedoms beyond state sovereignty and a development eroding the prominence of the state in the globalising world. Cyberspace was thus thought of as a realm out of government authority and boundaries remained weak or even non-existent. It was within this scope that the internet, particularly in the 1990s, was thought of as something that would give rise to democracy and human rights globally. This emancipatory image of cyberspace, as the contemporary *return-of-the-state* approaches argue, was no doubt a misconception and *blind optimism*; it was even “deliberately promoted by states in order to distract from the reality” (Mainwaring, 2020, p. 215). Here, citizen and public cynicism, as factors encouraging states to disregard the cries against increasing state control in the digital space, also need to be addressed as a limiting factor in the practice and robustness of transnational opposition (see Song et al., 2020).

The ontological relationship between the internet and the state, along with increasing state capacity in securing and regulating the digital space, therefore led digital transnationalism to remain limited in effect, as state control has not been solely consolidated on the digital space. The transnational domain has also experienced an extended state presence and control. States make good use of and are well adapted to both transnational and digital spaces. The Covid-19 pandemic has stood out as another process proving that governments maintain a tight control over both transnational and digital processes. This was despite the easy access the digitalised terrain of global politics provided to the public worldwide, allowing them to learn about other countries’ public health experiences and management during the pandemic (techno-optimism). The territorial state borders were raised more powerfully against the free movement of people and goods during this period. Moreover, the state presence on the internet has become more and more prominent. Digitalised public health tracking systems gave easy access to the private life of citizens. Governments, also through the digital space, misinformed both the national and global public regarding their performance in dealing with the pandemic. The public health risks became a ground upon which digital and privacy rights of citizens were easily violated, and critiques of the way governments dealt with the pandemic were silenced. Digital authoritarianism, as a misuse of power, became a concern within this very scope (Nitsche, 2020).

7. Conclusion

Digital transnationalism represents a novel phase in the cosmopolitanisation of the everyday lives of ordinary people worldwide. Digital technologies equipped people with opportunities to be involved in transnational practices without even leaving their homes. This has served well in the transnationalisation of political opposition. Political opposition groups worldwide made use of the digital advance in making their point politically legitimate and in participating in global processes by which their governments become restrained by global governance mechanisms. Indeed, this has increased volatility in states’ domestic and international affairs, thus spurring states to seek

ways to gain back control over such transnational practices. This is a critical juncture in discussing the nexus of digital transnationalism, transnational opposition and state control. This is because, while increasing digital transnationalism and transnational opposition created a libertarian optimism for weakening state control, in reality, the state never ceded ground or moved toward limited involvement in the digital space. Rather it has developed the means to be more directly and existentially involved in it. Therefore, in order to increase their control over digital space and on digital transnational opposition, states have effectively utilised legal, political and strategic means. The impact of this is evident in the legal and political capacity states enjoyed in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic.

Digital transnationalism is not overrated; it has been consequential for states and other forms of governance in global politics. Yet, despite the increasing digitalisation in everyday life and the opportunities for further civilian participation in transnational political processes, one can hardly be optimistic about the future of digital transnationalism as a practice that alters governmental dominance in political life. State control will seemingly continue to increase as the material dimension of the digital space continues to be ruled by governments and bounded by the territorial confines of countries. This is something that also jeopardises the future of transnational governance (and democracy), as increasing state presence and control over the digital space come to mean a weaker transnational oppositional presence in it. Thus, the transnational, whether digital or not, continues to be a zero-sum subject for governments, yet this time also for the opposition groups.

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Research Article

The Relationship Between Online Socialization and Online Social Identity

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ABSTRACT

Social identity is the part of an individual's self-perception of membership in a social group and it develops through the socialization process. People interact with many different socialization agents such as family, school, friends, mass media, work, and professional groups. In the twenty-first century, socialization has not been able to escape the influence of digital technologies, and they have been considered an alternative to traditional socialization channels. Web 2.0 technologies have become an essential source of online socialization. However, the question of whether online socialization (OS) impacts the formation of online social identities (OSI) is quite limited in the literature. Therefore, this study examined the effects of internet addiction (IA) and the average time spent on social media (ATSM) (as online socialization) on OSI, and the mediate effect of the time spent on the internet when young people are together with their family members (TSIWTF). A quantitative method was used, and data were collected from 272 university students. According to the study results, there is a relationship between OS and OSI, and TSIWTF partly mediates this relation.

Keywords: Online social identity, online socialization, internet addiction, social media usage



1. Introduction

Technologies are one of the fundamental social change tools in social life. Today, technological developments have become involved in every aspect of life, from personal relations to macro-scale global communications. We are now in a digital society rather than merely owning digital things (Lindgren, 2017).

Digital technologies include the widespread use of computers and the internet due to technological developments. Smartphones, various applications used on these phones, in social networks, and communication applications are known as new media that enables mutual relationships. After the invention of the internet, Web 2.0 technology was developed by Tim O'Reilly as a further step (O'Reilly, 2005). Web 2.0 technology is also described as the social web. Due to this technology, the form of relationships has also changed. Social media usage, blog usage, commenting, liking, sharing, etc. are examples of Web 2.0 technology (Lupton, 2015). Social media networks have become very high-profile social and cultural interactions (Beer and Burrows, 2010). The number of followers and the number of likes received are among the factors affecting this high prestige. Therefore, Web 2.0 technologies, in which interactive interaction and hashtags are possible, have also become an essential source of social change.

Lupton (2015) uses the concept of "digital society," and Van Dijk (2012) uses the concept of "network society" for the society we have been living in. However, there are also different concepts to explain digitalization in human and social life. One of them is the conceptualization of "digital natives" created by Prensky (2001). The concept of digital native corresponds to the generations known as generations Y and Z today. The reason for this is that these generations were born when digital technologies developed and became widespread. The generations known as digital natives have mastered using these technologies in many ways, even when they were children. This generation, also called the "app generation," can think fast, practical, and versatile (Pafrey and Gasser, 2008).

Internet and social media have many benefits, but also drawbacks. When the use of the telephone, computer games, and social media reaches excessive levels, it brings the risk of addiction. In recent years, many studies have been conducted on these issues. Smartphones (Elhai, Levine, Dvorak and Hall, 2016; Montag, Wegmann, Sariyska, Demetrovics, and Brand 2021), computer games (Karaca, Karakoç, Gurkan, Onan and Barlas, 2020), social media usage (Kaşıkçı, Denli and Karaman, 2021; Sun and Zhang, 2020), and internet addiction (Ağırtaş and Güler, 2020; Har-sej, Mokhtari Lakeh, Sheikholeslami, Kazemnezhad Leili, 2021; Young, 1998;) have been investigated in these studies. Social media addiction is accepted as one of the types of internet addictions. Measured social media addiction with a comprehensive sampling (23,500 people) has revealed that such addictions are associated with being a young individual (Andreassen, Pallesen and Griffiths, 2017). A significant number of studies in the literature indicate that addiction to digital technologies is not an individual situation, but a social problem in today's societies.

Socialization has not been able to escape the influence of digital technology. Family, friends, school, and work are essential traditional socialization tools. Digital technologies, on the other hand, have taken their place among socialization agents since the 2000s (Farquhar, 2012; Göker et al., 2009; Günindi Ersöz, 2016; Van Dijk, 2013). Generations Y and Z, sometimes called the internet generation (Milner, 2010) and the digital generation (Buckingham and Willet, 2006), continue to interact with these technologies in many areas of their lives, for example, education, consumption habits, business life, and marriage. In other words, digital technology is inherent in all behavior patterns, ways of thinking, action practices, and forms of interaction of the digital generation.

For this reason, we cannot imagine a world without digital technologies and Web 2.0 for this generation. Therefore, online socialization is an essential part of young people's lives. As a result, the literature on this subject has expanded greatly. Yet, studies on the relationship between online socialization and online social identity have been scarce.

In this study, we investigated the impact of social media usage and internet addiction as an online socialization channel on social identities and the mediate effect of the time spent on the internet when young people are together with their family members.

2. Literature Review: Socialization, Online Socialization, Internet Addiction, and Online Social Identity

Socialization can be understood as the way that a human being becomes a member of society from the moment of birth on, and transforms from a mere biological entity into a social individual (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2014; Openstax, 2012). Identity, personality, self, social self, and social identities develop through the socialization process. Since the family is the starting point of social life, it marks the first and the most significant step in the socialization process. People interact with many different socialization agents such as school, friends, mass media, work, and professional groups. Thus, individuals internalize all these in socialization and acquire a specific culture, institutions, values, norms, moral system, religion, language, etc. Therefore, they become a part or a member of a group.

The family is often regarded as the agent with the most significant influence on the socialization process. However, in the twenty-first century, technology has increased rapidly and assumed much of that role. As families become more technologically equipped, children may tend to be more autonomous in integrating technology and media into their daily lives at the same rate (Genner and Süss, 2017). The media also plays a significant role in developing identity; this is one of the most crucial phenomena that develop under the effect of the media in an individual's life (Genner and Süss, 2017; Prot et al., 2015). The internet and social networks are among the most current channels of this process as new media. In this way, the temporal and socio-spatial boundaries in reaching others have disappeared, and the opportunity to interact with countless people online at the same time has emerged. Thus, new technology has created new possibilities, new methods, and new kinds of practices in the self-construction of the individual.

Due to the digital technologies, "online socialization" has become a concept used in the literature (Günindi Ersöz, 2016; Van Dijk, 2012). Mediatization, conceptualized as media socialization, has been investigated in some research. The media effect refers to people's socialization processes depending on media use (Genner and Süss, 2015; Kammerl and Kramer, 2016). While this concept expresses the diversification of new communication networks and media tools that have started to be used by society with the internet, it also refers to social changes (Genner and Süss, 2017). Online socialization means that when people participate in social networking sites, they meet their social needs (Park, Kee and Valenzuela, 2009).

Social identity is the part of an individual's self-perception of membership in a social group and the value and emotional meanings he or she attributes to this membership (Tajfel, 1981). Tajfel draws attention to the point that individuals want to attribute positive emotions/features to both themselves and to the group they belong to (Hogg and Ridgeway, 2003). According to Social identity theory (SIT), people classify themselves and others into various social categories, such as organizational membership, religious affiliation, gender, and age (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). People can have more than one social identity (Trepte, 2013). In other words, people categorize them-

selves within all these social groups since they may have more than one social group identity. However, not all of them are equally significant. Zhang, Carrol and Jiang (2010) stated that these social identities emerge with different levels of importance and prominence in social interactions. In some cases, social identities even exhibit a hierarchical feature. Therefore, the degree of importance of these groups (identities) also differs from person to person. One of the areas where social identities are formed or presented today is social media.

Cavanagh (2007) pointed out that the social effects of the internet on the formation and nature of virtual selves are an important area of research. The internet has become a highly effective channel for fragmenting and rebuilding identities. İşman, Buluş and Yüzüncüyıl (2016) draw attention to digital technologies where individuals have the opportunity to redefine their socialization process (Turkle, 2011). Internet technology has become a new way and a new strategic tool for individuals to think about their environment and themselves.

Kiesler and others worked in the context of computer-mediated interaction in the mid-1980s, before the advent of the internet. They showed that cyberspace is a virtual alternative channel for reconstructing identities and provides freedom from existing social categories and pressures (Spears, Lea and Postmes, 2009), just as societies introduced to computer and internet technology initially reflected their current identity and personal characteristics on cyberspace. Then these areas began to affect identities and occur in the identity construction processes. Poster (1995) states that identities are now constructed online as well (Cavanagh, 2007). It has been frequently mentioned that online environments are an alternative to traditional identity categories (Ridout, Campbell and Ellis, 2012).

The concept of a group, a central point in classical social identity theories, has now begun to express a broader meaning, including online groups. As Akar and Mardikyan (2018) stated, online communities are networks where users who share common interests and purposes develop social relationships. People can reach a large social circle as a specific community member on this platform. These communities have become as crucial as the relationships established in real life by transferring genuine relationships to the virtual environment. Participation and acceptance in these communities have become extremely important in learning and adopting group behaviors, providing a wide range of references for identity development. Ren et al. (2012) drew attention to the significance of online communities in individuals' self-definition. Pegg, O'Donnell, Lala, and Barber (2018) indicated that the concept of online social identity is grounded in realizing that the online realm is a social medium. While individuals may be physically alone when interacting online, psychologically their online experiences are often social. The social identity approach allows that such identities are dynamic and can influence thoughts, emotions, and behaviors both online and offline. Online and offline social identities are no more real or valid than one another. Social identities and social group belonging have been transferred to social networks today. This also plays a critical role in forming social identity and group belonging (Barker, 2012). As a crucial concept in understanding such communities, social identities enable a more active and dynamic social identity construction process in social identity theory than the traditional definition of identity (Pegg et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2010).

Theoretical Model of the Study and Hypotheses

Online Socialization and Online Social Identity

The use of technologies such as the internet, smart phones, and social media affects young people's identity, group relations, family, and school relations (McKay, Thurlow and Toom-

ey-Zimmerman, 2005). Although a family is one of the most crucial agents of identity development, digital technologies such as the internet and social networks also provide significant clues about social identity (Barker, 2009). Today, one of the primary sources of information for people, especially young people, is the internet, social media, online social groups, and online communities. However, social research which includes these online socialization channels (online groups and online communities) and their positive or negative effects has been scarce (Prot et al., 2015).

There is a difference between the concepts of an online group and an online community. Only some of the social media platforms have a community feature. Many studies focused on the online group, and others focused on an online community in social identity research. In this study, we summarized both literature to understand the relation between online socialization and online social identity. We have taken both online groups and communities as an online socialization source in this research. We did not focus on the differentiation of these concepts or compare them.

Barker (2012) revealed that social networks are a crucial antecedent in developing self and social identity. These online environments with social networks are expressed as an alternative to traditional identity categories (Ridout et al., 2012). These environments, also called online socialization, internet socialization, and cyberspace, are alternatives in reproducing identities. This online socialization environment also provides freedom from existing social categories and pressures (Genner and Süss, 2017; Spears et al., 2009).

Although the intensive use of social media and the internet provides alternative channels to an individual, it may also constitute the risk of addiction after a point. Dutot (2020), on the other hand, focused on the effect of internet addiction on individual and social identity. The study results showed that addiction is associated with low social self-esteem. However, the internet can help individuals achieve their wishes. Therefore, Dutot concluded that internet addiction is a powerful determinant of social identity.

Social identity theory emphasizes how identity is created through group memberships (Tajfel, 1981). According to this theory, individuals desire to attribute positive characteristics to both themselves and the group they belong to (Hogg and Ridgeway, 2003: 97). A person remains a member of that group if this social group contributes positively to a person's social identity. Otherwise, a person seeks alternative communication sources or groups (Tajfel, 1978). The social system in which individuals live is flexible and permeable. Therefore, when individuals are not satisfied with the social groups they belong to for any reason, they can be included in another one. However, this permeability is not always easy in face-to-face communication (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). According to Zhang et al. (2010), social identity is highly significant in understanding the interaction in online communities, and online social identity is more common among young people.

Online communities are created on the internet and social media as social groups where individuals come together. This is an alternative socio-spatial context. These online platforms have been revealed as a virtual space for identity creation (Subrahmanyam and S̄mahel 2011b; Valkenburg et al. 2005). Social media platforms provide participation in various groups such as fan pages, opportunity for sharing opinions, organizing parties or events, and encouraging other users to participate in such group activities (Hsu and Lin, 2020). As the socio-spatial necessity disappears in these online groups, inter-community permeability and flexibility - in other words, dynamism - become more manageable. Barker (2009) stated that young people with low or negative collective self-esteem or who think that their groups are undesirable by others might more likely stay away from this environment and communicate with online communities. This originates from the fact that these people may desire to develop more rewarding group relationships

online. Therefore, to have a positive sense of social identity, the individual may want to use social networks more as an alternative way to reach it easily. When people feel that they are not liked or desired by others, they believe that such negative self-thoughts will change with the number of followers or friends on social media (Andreassen et al., 2017). The study of Barker (2012) also showed that young people with negative collective self-esteem and dissatisfaction with their group use their peer groups and social media networks more intensively because young people prefer positive social identity construction through social media as online social identity. Therefore, we hypothesize (Figure 1):

H1: Online Socialization is positively related to online social identity.

H1a: Internet addiction (IA) is positively related to online social identity.

H1b: The average time spent on social media is positively related to online social identity.

H2: Online Socialization is positively related to the time spent on the internet when together with family members.

H2a: Internet addiction is positively related to the time spent on the internet when together with family members.

H2b: The average time spent on social media is positively related to the time spent on the internet when together with a family member.

H3: The time spent on the internet when together with a family member is positively related to online social identity.

Mediating Role of TSIWTF

Issues such as the family's inadequacy in problem-solving, communication disorders, negativities in roles and responsibilities, lack of attachment, lack of interest, and inadequacy in emotional response are also associated with youth's internet addiction (Habibi et al., 2017). One study showed that excessive use of social media by university youth negatively affects family relations (Ali, 2016). When the frequency of using modern technologies increases, the probability of young people becoming freer and more independent from their families also increases (Moawad and Ebrahim, 2016). Sultana (2017), revealed that young people spend more time on the internet in their spare time than with their families and that young people prefer making online friendships to making friends offline. When families are considered as a social system with a social identity, this identity is formed through processes such as playing games, chatting, and spending time together with family members. Therefore, young people, spending time on the internet when they are together with their families in their free time, may have a higher level of online social identity. We expect TSIWTF has a mediating effect.

H4: The relationship between online socialization and online social identity is mediated by the time spent on the internet when together with family members.

H4a: The relationship between internet addiction and online social identity is mediated by the time spent on the internet when together with family members.

H4b: The relationship between the average time spent on social media and online social identity is mediated by the time spent on the internet when together with family members.

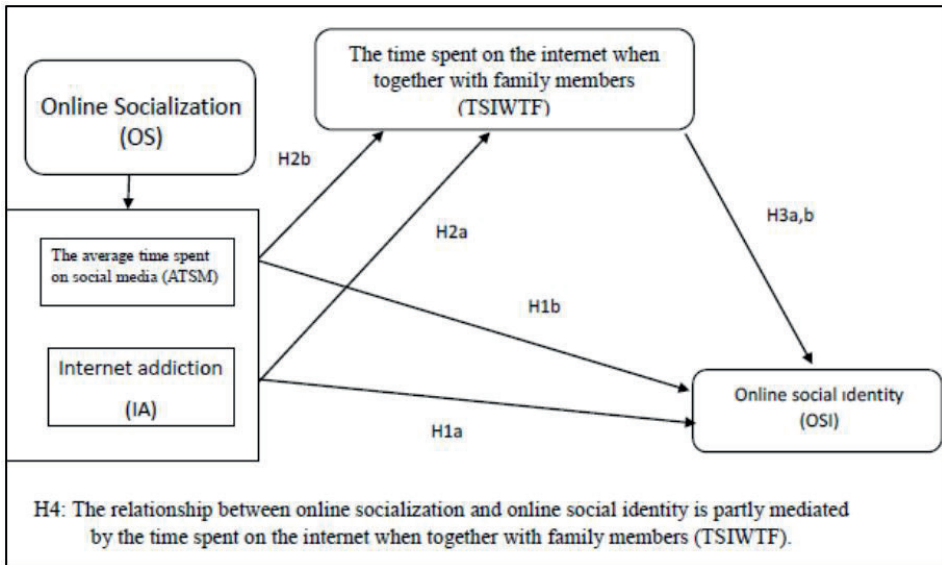


Figure 1: Theoretical model of the study

3. Methodology

This study used a survey to collect data from university students in Turkey.

3.1. Sample and Data Collection

The sample of this study consisted of 272 university students in Turkey. Of the 500 questionnaires distributed by the researcher, 272 responses were collected. In other words, two hundred seventy-two students voluntarily participated in the research. 139 (51.5%) were female, and 131 (48.5%) were male. The mean age of the participants was 24.

Hacettepe University ethics committee approved the study (approval number: 35853172-433-25). In addition, institutional approval was taken from the university to collect data. First, participants were informed about the aim of the study. Voluntary participation in the study was the basis. This situation was explained to all students participating in the study. The voluntary participation form was given together with the questionnaire. Afterward, the students who accepted to participate in the survey voluntarily answered the questionnaire and handed it to the researcher in a closed envelope. In this way, we improved anonymity and objectivity.

3.2. Survey Measures and Data Analysis Techniques

The survey instrument is a three-part questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire involves demographic questions. The second part of the survey includes questions about online social identity. In some literature, online social identity is shaped on digital platforms, especially with social media groups (Andreassen et al., 2017; Barker, 2009; Hsu & Lin, 2020; Latif et al., 2021; Pegg et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2010). Therefore, we operationalized the online social identity as feeling a part of social media groups and caring about getting likes from social media groups. We used two items, and the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which the

item described their feeling on this three-point Likert question: 1. Very Important, 2. Moderately Important, 3. Not Important. The Cronbach’s Alpha is 0.81.

Online socialization questions are in the third part of the survey. After an extensive literature review of online socialization, we saw three variables (internet use, internet addiction, and social media) widely used to define it (Genner and Süss, 2017; Park et al., 2009; Spears et al., 2009; Van Dijk, 2012). Therefore, online socialization was operationalized as internet addiction and the average time spent on social media in this study. We used the Internet Addiction Test (IAT) developed by Kimberly S. Young in 1998. The scale consists of twenty items. Çakır-Balta and Horzum made a Turkish adaptation in 2008, and they removed one item from the IAT. The scale consists of nineteen items rated in a five-point Likert scale (from 1 - not at all, to 5 - always). For example, “How often do you find yourself waiting for your time to be online again?” and “Wanting to increase the time to be online.” In this Turkish version of the scale, the Cronbach alpha value was 0.90. The Cronbach Alpha value was found to be relatively high (0.91) in this study.

Data Analysis

IMB SPSS 21 was used for statistical analysis of the data. In the first stage, descriptive and reliability analyses were performed. Correlation, regression analysis was then carried out for hypothesis testing. We used the Sobel test for the mediation effect.

4. Results

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the variables of the study. According to Table 1, there is a positive correlation between internet addiction and online social identity (r=.182, p<0.01). The average time spent on social media has a positive correlation with online social identity (r=.246, p<0.01). There is also a positive correlation between internet addiction and the time spent on the internet when together with family members (r=.172, p<0.01). In addition, the time spent on the internet when together with family members has a positive correlation with social identity (r=.246, p<0.01).

Table 1: Means, standard deviations and correlations among the study variables

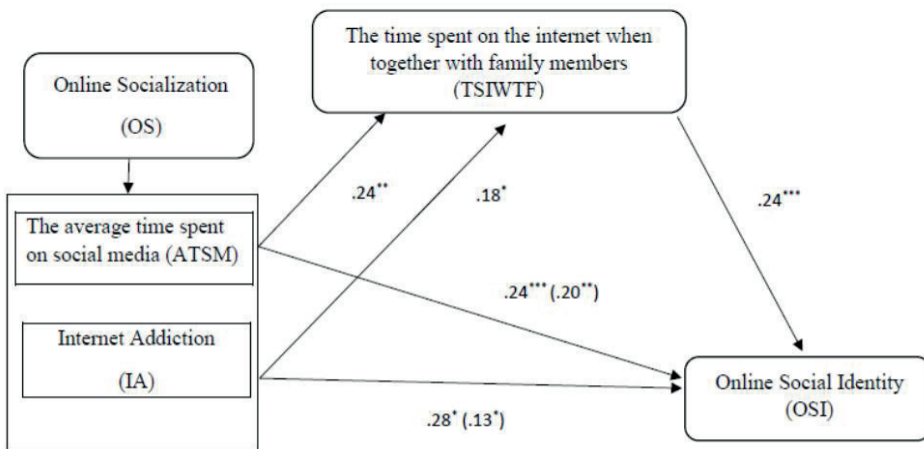
| | Mean | SD | IA | ATSM | TSIWTF | OSI |
|--------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| IA | 12.2 | 6.7 | | | | |
| ATSM | 2.49 | 1.26 | ,154* | | | |
| TSIWTF | 1.74 | .48 | ,172** | ,216** | | |
| OSI | 1.56 | .59 | ,182** | ,246** | ,246** | |

Notes: n=270, The Cronbach’s α’s are indicated diagonally, *P<0.05, **P<0.01

Regression analysis was performed to test the mediation effect with Baron and Kenny (1986)’s method. However, the results of this analysis do not include the significance of the indirect (mediated) effects. Thus, we used the modern method, the IBM SPSS Process Macro application suggested by Hayes and Matthes (2009), to test the significance of the indirect (mediated) effects. We also used the Sobel test to estimate the mediation effect (Preacher and Hayes, 2004). In this context, the effect of the mediator variable was determined according to the confidence intervals obtained by the Bootstrap technique.

The first step in the regression analyses showed that IA was significantly and positively related to OSI (β= 0.28, P<0.05). ATSM was significantly and positively related to OSI (β= 0.24,

P<0.001), and H1 was accepted. In the second step, IA and TSIWTF showed a significant relationship ($\beta= 0.18, P<0.05$). ATSM was significantly and positively related to TSIWTF ($\beta= 0.24, P<0.01$), and H2 was accepted. In the third step, TSIWTF was significantly and positively related to OSI ($\beta= 0.24, P<0.001$), and H3 was accepted. Finally, the results showed that TSIWTF partly mediates the relationship between IA and OSI (.28* reduced to .13*). As shown in Table 2 and Figure 2, after induction of TSIWTF between internet addiction and online social identity, the indirect effect was significant, as confirmed by bootstrapping at the 95% confidence interval (effect: 0.03, LL=0.10, UL=0.75), thus supporting H4a. We used the Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) to test whether the indirect effect was statistically significant or not, and the results of the test showed that the effect was significant. (IA-TSIWTF-OSI: $z=2.46, SE=0.01, P=0.01$). TSIWTF has a partial mediator effect between internet addiction and online social identity.



The relationship between IA and OSI is partly mediated by TSIWTF: .28* reduced to .13* with TSIWTF

ATSM and OSI is partly mediated by TSIWTF: .24*** reduced to .20** with TSIWTF

Figure 2: Results from a mediation analysis

TSIWTF partly mediates the relationship between ATSM and OSI (.24*** reduced to .20**). An indirect effect of TSIWTF between the average times spent on social media and online social identity was also significant (the bootstrapping at the 95% confidence interval effect: 0.02, LL=0.001, UL=0.006). Thus, TSIWTF has a partial mediator effect between the average times spent on social media and online social identity and H4b accepted. The results of the Sobel test showed that the effect was significant. (ATSM- TSIWTF-OSI: $z=2.99, SE=0.009, P=0.002$).

Table 2: Bootstrap analysis of mediation effect

| Variables | Effect | SE | LL 95%CI | UL 95% CI |
|-------------------------|--------|------|----------|-----------|
| IA-TSIWTF-OSI | | | | |
| Direct effect | 0.1275 | .056 | .167 | .238 |
| Indirect effect | 0.0379 | .016 | .104 | .075 |
| Total effect | 0.1654 | .056 | .054 | .276 |
| ATSM- TSIWTF-OSI | | | | |
| Direct effect | .0968 | .28 | 0.012 | 0.040 |
| Indirect effect | .0208 | .008 | 0.001 | 0.006 |
| Total effect | .1176 | .028 | 0.004 | 0.061 |

IA internet addiction, TSIWTF the time spent on the internet when together with family members, OSI online social identity, ATSM The average time spent on social media

5. Discussion

This study aimed to examine the relationship between OS and OSI and the mediator role of TSIWTF. The results presented above show a relationship between OS and OSI, and TSIWTF is a partial mediator of this relation. This means that as TSIWTF increases, OSI increases as well.

This study used social identity theory as the underlying theory to synthesize online socialization and online social identity literature. The results showed that IA and ATSM as an OS fostered TSIWTF, which was in line with social identity theory. Some literature has demonstrated that OSI is associated with IA and ATSM (Barker, 2012; Dutot, 2020). However, this study showed that TSIWTF is an intermediary mechanism that explains how IA and ATSM affect OSI. Based on the SI theory, the family loses its influence on the socialization process of the young since the young spends time on the internet when they are together with family members. In cases where the family’s interaction decreases, IA and ATSM as an OS channel encourage the OSI.

Theoretical implications

This study aimed to show that IA and ATSM as a channel of OS encourage OSI and the mediating role of TSIWTF. Social media is an alternative socialization agent to traditional channels (Sadat et al., 2015). Social networks, social media, the internet, and internet addiction are essential in young people’s identity development and online socialization (Barker, 2012; Dutot, 2020; Lalonde, Castro and Parise, 2016; Spears et al., 2009). This study successfully explains why social media usage and internet addiction are online socialization agents and related to social identity development. Our conceptual model, based on social identity theory, has contributed to explaining online social identity by identifying the mediation mechanisms of TSIWTF between OS and OSI.

These results offer a new way of understanding OSI. OS affects OSI, and TSIWTF partly mediates the relationship between IA and OSI. If youth spend time on the internet instead of doing and sharing something with their families, OSI increases. Therefore, this study contributes to the dynamic nature of social identity theory by using online socialization and online social identity. OS channels do not solely determine the OSI. These channels could be changed and evolved by the family. Some literature showed that social identity is formed by playing games, chatting, and spending time with family members. When young people spend more time on the internet than spending time with their families in their free time, they may prefer making online friendships to real friendships (Sultana (2017). If families provide young people with an opportunity to chat or an activity, a game, etc., young people can do something together instead of spending time on the

internet. In this way, the search of youth for likes online may be decreased. The family may still be an essential socialization agent as long as it spends the necessary effort.

Practical implications

The most critical problem at the OS and OSI is the increasing number of unhappy young people with low self-esteem in real life. In the literature, playing games on the internet, which is one of the types of internet addiction for young people, was negatively related to family rules. The rules set by families decreased playing games on the internet (Bonnaire and Phan, 2017). In other words, as the strength of family functions increased, internet gaming disorder scores decreased. In this context, the effect of the family on the positive social identity construction of the young people could be increased instead of OS. The absence of internet use when young people are together with their family may provide spending this time with family activities. That improves family relations and increases integration and family function. This way may contribute to unhappy young people with low self-esteem becoming happier and having a higher self-perception in real life by reducing their efforts to get likes on social media as online social identity.

Limitations and areas for future research

This study used data collected from youths living in Turkey; therefore, future research scholars may conduct cross-national studies and get findings to help generalize. In addition, this study analyzed the overall effects of OS and TSIWTF on OSI with a quantitative method. Therefore, future studies may be conducted with both quantitative and qualitative methods. In this way, qualitative studies may be helpful to the families as to how they can create situations in which time can be spent with family activities instead of the internet.

Ethics Committee Approval: Hacettepe University ethics committee approved the study (approval number: 35853172-433-25).

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Author Contributions: Conception/Design of Study- B.Ş.K., I.A.A.; Data Acquisition- I.A.A.; Data Analysis/Interpretation- I.A.A., B.Ş.K; Drafting Manuscript- I.A.A., B.Ş.K; Critical Revision of Manuscript- B.Ş.K., I.A.A.; Final Approval and Accountability- B.Ş.K., I.A.A.

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Research Article

Social Capital Measurement in Türkiye: Creating an Index by Province*

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to create a social capital index on the basis of 81 provinces covering the years between 2007-2018 in Türkiye. While creating the social capital index, the method of creating the social capital index obtained from 2 networks and 2 norm variables, which was also used in previous studies, was applied. While the number of foundations and associations on a provincial basis was used as network variables, the rate of voting in parliamentary elections and the rate of response to WVS surveys were used as norm variables. In order to perform principal component analysis, the collected data was entered into the SPSS 23 package program, and the relevant analysis was performed. For this purpose, principal component analysis was applied for the years 2007, 2011, and 2018, when parliamentary general elections were held, and the first component that emerged was taken as an indicator of social capital index. Since social capital does not change in a short period of time for countries, regions, and cities, the index values for the years between 2007, 2011 and 2018 were created with the linear interpolation method using the data, as applied in similar studies. Positive ones among the index values created on the basis of provinces indicate a high level of social capital, while negative values indicate a low level of social capital. When the social capital index values of 2007 and 2018 are examined, it is observed that the social capital levels of the provinces have increased over the years, although there has not been much change in the index values on a provincial basis over the years.

Keywords: Social Capital Index, Principal Component Analysis, Linear Interpolation, Türkiye



1. Introduction

The concept of social capital was first used by Hanifan (1916) in the study “The Rural School and Rural Life”. Subsequently, studies by important researchers such as Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam have been used as an important source for socioeconomic research. Yet, in the pre-industrial economy period, when capital had been mentioned, material assets such as land, labor force, and capital (Smith, 1776; Marx, 1990; Mill, 1848) defined by classical economists were considered. In the information economy period, intangible factors have come to the fore along with tangible assets.

Institutional theory states that different institutions in countries will affect the bureaucratic perceptions and thoughts of the country (Kaufmann, 2018, p. 379). Institutions and rules that affect people’s perceptions can be official institutions and rules as well as informal institutions and rules. The constitutions, laws, and contracts of the countries constitute the official institutions and rules of those countries (North, 1990; Lowndes, 1996). Unwritten religion, tradition, custom, moral structure, and norms constitute the informal rules of societies (Pejovich, 1999, p. 167). Individuals, institutions, and organizations that are influenced by the rules, norms, behaviors, and procedures of the societies in which they are involved, and the behavior patterns imposed on them by the society can also be expressed as informal institutions (North, 1990, p. 5). Social capital is also shown among these informal institutional factors (Hofstede, 2001; Jin et al., 2019). Social capital, which is shown as one of the informal institutional factors, has enabled a large number of studies on the subject in the literature in order to clarify the missing areas (Putnam, 1993, p. 167).

After the 1990s, social capital, which tries to explain the areas that other types of capital do not touch on the economic levels and development levels of countries, has been evaluated and studied as an informal institutional factor, although it is an interdisciplinary concept (Kaufmann et al. 2018). The study, named “Making Democracy Work” by Putnam et al. (1993), has made a significant impact, especially on the social capital literature. Although Putnam (1993) was a political researcher, after this study, it was thought that the concept of social capital could be an important variable for economics and economics studies as well as education. It has been seen that this issue has been the subject of many studies, both theoretical, regarding economic development and growth (Fukuyama, 1995; Portes & Landolt, 1996; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Knoke, 1999; Winter, 2000a; Knack, 2002; Adam & Roncevic, 2003), and empirical (La Porta et al., 1997; Pejovich, 1999; Guiso et al. 2004 and 2008; Fountain, 1997; Akçomak & ter Weel, 2009; Barney, 1991; Dobler, 2011; Gönc Şavran, 2018; Akar & Ay, 2018; Bayramoğlu & Bozdemir, 2020; Terzioglu, 2021).

There are different social capital definitions (Bourdieu, 1986; Baker, 1990; Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995; Guiso et al., 2000) and measurement methods (Putnam, 2007; Rupasingha and Goetz; 2008; Wang et al., 2014). In terms of its importance and effects as of today, it is understood that there is a consensus on the concept of social capital. Researchers conduct research on the different effects of social capital on different subjects, sometimes on different indicators, in accordance with their fields of study and research topics. Social networks, social norms, and the element of trust are the most emphasized concepts in definitions of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2007; Rupasingha & Goetz; 2008).

Social capital consists of connections and breadth of connections between people. It consists of the factors that make up the structure of society, such as the number of norms and the level of trust and understanding between people, which prepares the environment for cooperation between people (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 21). Therefore, countries, regions, and cities with a high level of social capital are positively affected by this situation, while countries, regions, and cities with a low level of social capital are negatively affected (Putnam, 2007; Jin et al., 2017 and 2019).

In this part of the study, the concepts of social capital used in the literature, its history and content will be discussed. Then, the definition, scope, types, and importance of the concept of social capital in economics and finance literature and what is said about social capital in important studies in the literature will be mentioned.

2. Conceptual Framework

Social capital is widely used in different subjects and interdisciplinary studies. In these studies, there is a different definition of the concept of social capital according to the purpose of the study and its use in this direction. Social capital is used in a wide range from economists to educational scientists, from sociologists to business managers, and from political scientists to medical professionals. Due to the fact that social capital finds itself in a wide range, it has prepared the ground for it to be the subject of research in different fields.

Social capital, which is handled from different perspectives and defined in different ways, is generally explained through social networks, social norms, relationships, group memberships (Uphoff, 2000, p. 228; Tüylüoğlu, 2006, p. 16) and trust (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 97; Guiso, 2004, p. 528). Social capital of societies includes institutions, relationships, attitudes, and values that direct interactions among individuals and contribute to socio-economic development. In recent years, the concept of social capital has emerged as a unifying concept that includes these different views. Social capital's significant popularity has been seen in the work of researchers such as Coleman (1988, 1990), Putnam (1993), Bourdieu (1986), and Fukuyama (1995). In addition, many other authors have tried to define the concept of social capital from different perspectives and to emphasize its conceptually sound and practically useful aspects (Grootaert, 1997; Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998; Narayan & Pritchett, 1999; Serageldin & Grootaert, 2000; Woolcock et al. Narayan, 2000).

3. Social Capital Concept

The concept of social capital has been associated with social problems, education, and especially the economic structure and growth, thus enabling the concept of social capital to gain a new perspective. Although the number of studies on social capital has increased considerably, the history of the concept goes back a long time. The components that make up social capital are not new either. Although Marshall (1890) was the first to use the concept of social capital, he did not mean social capital in today's sense. For this reason, Hanifan (1920) and Jacobs (1961) are reported by Woolcock (1998) as the first researchers to introduce the concept of social capital.

When the concept of social capital is examined in the literature, it is seen that most studies focus on the common aspects of the concept of social capital, namely memberships, collaborations, productivity, trust, and social relationships with benefits. It is understood that the diversity of the concept of social capital in the literature is due to the unique nature of social capital as well as the complexity of its measurement and conceptualization and differentiation according to countries.

The concept does not have a clear, unchanging and always valid meaning due to the differences and ideologies of the countries (Dolfsma & Dannreuther, 2003, p. 408; Foley & Edwards, 1997, p. 552). For this reason, researchers have examined the concept of social capital from different perspectives, mainly networks, norms, and trust, and have made different definitions although they are close to each other.

Bourdieu (1993), Putnam (1993), and Coleman (1988), who are considered to be the most important writers in the social capital literature, define it as a resource for collective action that emerges as a result of economic prosperity, democracy, and the acquisition of human capital in the

form of education (Winter, 2000b, p. 2-6). When the definitions in Table 1 are examined, it will be seen that they generally have an understanding that includes this definition.

Table 1 shows different definitions of researchers. In the following, the researchers who first put forward the theory of social capital and their views are mentioned.

Table 1: Social Capital Definitions

| Authors | Definition |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Baker (1990: 619). | A resource that individuals derive from certain social structures and then use to pursue their interests; It is created by changes in the relationship between individuals. |
| Belliveau vd. (1996: 1572). | It consists of an individual's personal network and outstanding corporate connections. |
| Bourdieu (1986: 248) / (1986: 243). | Mutual acquaintance or recognition is the sum of real or potential resources associated with having a strong network of more or less institutionalized relationships. It consists of social obligations (links) that can be transformed into economic capital under certain conditions and institutionalized as being noble. |
| Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 119). | It is the sum of real or virtual resources accruing to a person or group due to having a solid network of more or less institutionalized relationships with acquaintance and recognition. |
| Boxman vd. (1991: 52). | The number of people who can be expected to provide support and the resources they have. |
| Burt (1992: 9)/ (1997: 355). | A collection of friends, colleagues, and more general contacts with whom you have gained opportunities to use your financial and human capital. Brokerage opportunities in a network. |
| Knoke, (1999: 18). | Networking of social actors within and between organizations to gain access to the resources of other social actors. |
| Portes (1998: 6). | The ability of actors to derive benefits through membership in social networks or other social structures. |
| Brehm & Rahn (1997: 999). | A network of collaborative relations between citizens that facilitates the resolution of collective action problems. |
| Coleman (1990: 302). | Not a single entity, but several different entities with two common features. They all consist of some aspects of the social structure and facilitate certain actions of individuals within the structure. |
| Fukuyama, (1995: 10; 1997b: 25). | The ability of people to work together in groups and organizations for common goals. It can be expressed as the existence of different informal values or norms shared among group members with whom cooperation is established. |
| Inglehart, (1997: 188). | A culture of trust and tolerance in which large networks of voluntary associations emerge. |
| Portes, (1993:1323). | Expectations of action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members, even if the prospects are not directed towards the economic sphere. |
| Putnam, (1995: 67). | It is a set of features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate mutually beneficial coordination and cooperation. |
| Thomas, (1996: 11). | Voluntary tools and processes developed within civil society that promote collective development for all. |
| Loury (1992: 100). | Naturally occurring social relationships between people who promote or assist in the acquisition of skills and characteristics valued in the market. |
| Nahapiet and Ghoshal, (1998: 243). | The sum of the actual and potential resources that exist in, exist through, and derive from the network of relationships an individual or social unit has. Thus, social capital includes both the network and the assets that can be mobilized through it. |
| Pennar, (1997: 154). | The web of social relations that influence individual behavior and economic growth. |
| Schiff, (1992: 160). | Which are the inputs of the production, affecting the relations between people. |
| Woolcock, (1998: 153). | It consists of norms of knowledge, trust and reciprocity found in individuals' social networks. |

Source: Adler and Kwon (2002: 21)

In order for social capital to emerge, more than one person must come together and interact. Because, as a result of interactions between people and groups of people, factors that affect the welfare and peace of the society in general such as networks, norms, trust, social assistance, crimes, lies, rules, opportunistic behaviors, voting, membership in associations, and foundations emerge between people and groups. Considering these emerging symptoms, the social capital existence of countries, regions and cities can be revealed.

3.1. Social Capital According to Lyda Judson Hanifan

It is stated in the literature that the first researcher to use the concept of social capital was Hanifan (1916). It is known that the study evaluating the school system in the US state of Virginia in 1916 is a very important resource for researchers working on social capital (Woolcock, 1998, p. 153). In Hanifan's study, it is known that the term 'capital' is used mostly to indicate the importance of social structure for people with a business and economic perspective (Routledge & Amsberg, 2003).

Hanifan, examining the effect of social capital on students' school performance, stated that this level of effect can increase. According to him, social capital emerges depending on the level of cooperation, friendship, and social relations that occur between individuals and communities that make up the social structure in daily life. The increasing effect of social capital can be mentioned as people cooperate with their neighbors and neighbors with other neighbors (Pinto, 2012). He states that developments in this direction will be sufficient for the socialization needs of individuals and will provide sufficient opportunities in terms of increasing social capital (Hanifan, 1916, p. 130).

3.2. Social Capital According to Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu has mostly worked on class differences with the concept of social capital. According to him, social capital is all individual or social resources based on individuals' knowing each other (Sabatini, 2006). In other words, social capital is an asset that can be owned by classes with high privilege levels, and these classes can use it to maintain their privileges (Field, 2008). At this point, two situations come to the fore in Bourdieu's concept of social capital. According to him, individuals can obtain various possibilities through the relationships they have. It also states that the size and quality of relationships affect the opportunities and the resources available to individuals. Therefore, social capital is the sum of real or potential resources associated with membership in a group, which is more or less institutionalized and has permanent networks of mutual acquaintance, or in other words, offering some opportunities to its members (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 210).

3.3. Social Capital According to James Coleman

Coleman (1988) stated that individuals tend to behave rationally in order to maintain their interests, and mentioned that social capital also provides benefits to those who are disadvantaged compared to others in terms of value. Coleman evaluates social capital in terms of social organization and social relations. He defines social capital as a concept that includes some institutions and structures, facilitates some activities of individuals and institutions within them, and contributes to the formation of common features (Coleman, 1990, p. 302).

Coleman emphasized that social capital represents a resource and emerges reciprocally. The network of relationships goes beyond individuals with a high level of trust and management of common values (Field, 2008, p. 29). In this respect, social capital also has a feature that facilitates

productivity. Moreover, a community with a high level of trust is capable of achieving much more than a similar community that does not.

“A variety of different entities comprising some aspects of the social structure and facilitating certain actions of actors (personal or institutional actors) within the structure” (Coleman, 1990, p. 598).

This definition shows that he cares more about intergroup relations rather than implicit individuals.

3.4. Social Capital According to Robert Putnam

Putnam et al. (1993, p. 167) states that the concept of social capital is based on three important and interacting concepts such as norms, networks, and trust. According to Putnam, characteristics such as trust, norms, and networks that enable individuals and institutions to act jointly to achieve common goals constitute social capital. The studies published by the sociologist Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) have an important role in the development of the concept of social capital.

A political scientist, Putnam made a significant contribution to social capital theory in his research on American society and Italian society. Putnam handled the concept of social capital differently from Bourdieu and Coleman. He tried to explain social capital by taking into account the general structure and characteristics of the society. In addition, he emphasized that the social capital level of the society has an effect on the degree of development of the society and the determination of its place in the democratic and political system. While trying to explain the differences in the southern and northern regions of Italy, he noted the differential effects of public practices on relative performance. In that study, he emphasized that the relationship between government and civil society is important in the emergence of institutional performance (Field, 2006, p. 41). In these studies (Putnam et al. 1993; 1995; 2000), Putnam has contributed to the concretization of the concept by considering social capital from a theoretical and an empirical point of view. While Putnam (1993) provides evidence of strong links between social capital and economic performance indicators, especially in Italian regions, subsequent studies show that this link also applies to other countries (Whiteley, 1997; Knack & Keefer, 1997; La Porta et al., 1997).

3.5. Social Capital According to Francis Fukuyama

Fukuyama defines social capital as social norms that enable and encourage cooperation among individuals (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 8). According to him, since trust is very important for social capital, he built the concept on trust. Social capital is an acquisition that can be obtained by the existence of a sense of trust in the general or part of the societies (Fukuyama, 2005, p. 42).

Social capital is defined as a set of concrete and informal norms that provide mutual cooperation between two or more individuals. The concept of “reciprocity” here is clearly visible in groups where sincere friendships and connections arise. Thanks to the positive effect brought by social capital, transaction costs are reduced, and a democratic environment is reached, contributing to the development of the regional and national economy (Fukuyama, 2005, p. 59).

3.6. Social Capital According to OECD and World Bank

OECD expresses social capital as common norms, values, and networks that facilitate cooperation within or between groups (OECD, 2001, p. 41). As communication and trust within or between groups increase, so does the social capital level of that society. In addition to the definitions of social capital, it can also be classified according to different features in terms of private

and public institutions, together with the benefits arising from it. There are definitions for social capital, with a narrower scope, as “no more than interpersonal networks” (Dasgupta, 2000, p. 10). In some definitions, the network dimension of social capital is not taken into account, and social capital is completely reduced to trust or “confidence density” (Paldam & Svendsen, 2000).

There is a distinction between social capital, which includes institutions as well as networks and norms, and those (World Bank, 2011) that do not. The first concrete initiative on social capital, which was put forward by the World Bank and is said to have made an important contribution to the development of countries, is the Social Capital Initiative, which emerged in 1998. Here, the World Bank’s statement that defines social capital as “the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social relations” is the most basic form of this approach (World Bank, 2011). This perspective includes the most formal institutional relations and structures such as institutions, government, political regime, rule of law, court system, civil and political freedoms (World Bank, 2011).

4. Components of Social Capital

Multiple definitions and approaches have been considered to explain social capital. While these definitions are made, it is seen that the most striking and used indicators are the definitions made on norms, networks and trust. At this point, social capital is shaped by the characteristics of groups rather than those of individuals. Important components of social capital include social relationships, formal and informal social networks, group memberships, trust, and civic participation.

Some factors are very important in the emergence and development of social capital. Putnam et al. (1993, p. 304) states that social organization provides important features such as trust, norms, and networks that can increase the productivity of society. Among these components, interpersonal trust, norms, and social networks occupy an important area not only in social life but also in socio-economic life (Coleman, 1994, p. 91).

The World Bank (1998), which deals with the concept of social capital from a wider perspective, expresses the elements of social capital as networks, trust and cooperation, and the effective provision of information and communication. It is seen that the terms of trust, network, unity, group membership, and norm are used more frequently in studies on economics (Tüylüoğlu, 2006, p. 17). For this reason, social network and social norms and trust elements, which are the most known and used components of social capital, will be discussed.

4.1. Social Networks

One of the most important components of social capital is social networks. It arises when people come together and increases due to reciprocity and trust between groups. The level of social capital is expressed by the level of interaction between people and groups. Social capital is also expressed as “norms, values and understandings that facilitate and increase cooperation within or between networks and groups” (Lin, 2001). Social capital is about people’s connections and the breadth of these connections. Networks, on the other hand, are a network of relationships that emerges when people reveal themselves openly due to the connections between people (Cohen & Prusak, 2001, p. 83).

The first studies on the network approach have reached this level with the research of Bourdieu and Coleman, who are social capital researchers. In the following period, important and effective studies were carried out by Granovetter (1973) and Burt (2005). According to Granovetter (1973), networks are an important factor that both connects and bridges social capital, represent-

ing networks within and between organizational entities such as community groups and firms as well as horizontal and vertical associations, respectively.

Some researchers can state different things about which aspects of social networks are important. There is no clear consensus on whether dense social networks or sparse social networks are better. By dense networks, strong and supportive connections; scattered networks are called extra-community ties between more diverse social groups. Coleman cares about dense networks, and Burt cares about sparse networks with more structural voids (Glanville & Bienenstock 2009, p. 1512). When the studies in the literature are examined, it is revealed that “networks” are an important component of social capital.

4.2. Social Norms

Social norms are behavioral patterns that show which actions are accepted as appropriate and right and which are considered inappropriate and wrong by some groups in the society (Coleman, 1990: 243). Norms and the accompanying potential benefits (for compliance) or harms (for non-compliance) are not the sole determinants of individuals’ decisions. Norms are mostly an element that affects the costs and benefits that individuals take into account when implementing any choice (Coleman, 1987, p. 135).

In this respect, norms are expressed as a set of formal and unwritten rules that determine how and under what conditions the members of a group or community will act. Norms have no legal or other formal basis. Sometimes norms can even go beyond this and say different things with laws (Coleman, 1990, p. 244). It is natural that this situation differs from society to society. While this is sometimes due to laws, sometimes it arises due to different customs, traditions and customs of societies compared to each other.

4.3. Trust

Generalized trust, also known as social trust studies, has been studied in different ways by more than one researcher. According to the results of the research, in societies where people trust each other more easily, social relations are ‘healthier’; therefore, governance can provide higher democratic standards (Putnam, 1993), economic growth is achieved more easily (Fukuyama, 1995; Knack & Keefer, 1997) and people are generally happier and better off (Subramanian et al., 2002; Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). Social capital, through generalized trust, facilitates the solution of the problems of communities and individuals, reduces the transaction costs of those involved in daily social interactions, and accelerates the flow of information from one or more people to others (Putnam, 2000). Due to the multiple positive externalities of the generalized confidence level, studies on trust have increased (Delhey & Newton, 2005; Bjørnskov, 2007).

In the World Value Survey, the measure of trust is “in general, would you say most people are trustworthy or that you should be very careful when interacting with people?” It is calculated by taking the percentage of participants who answer the question “most people are reliable” (WVS, 1994).

The generalizable trust question, “in general, would you say that most people are trustworthy or that you should be very careful when interacting with people?” is being used. There have been some criticisms that the problem may remain superficial from an international perspective (Delhey & Newton, 2005). However, there are many studies stating that trust will emerge more easily in societies with high trust (Uslaner, 2002) in universal welfare states (Kumlin & Rothstein, 2005) with neutral policies (Delhey & Newton, 2005).

5. Measuring Social Capital and Establishing a Province Based Index

5.1. Measuring Social Capital

The social capital measure produced in this study was created as an index to show the social capital level of 81 provinces of Türkiye. Index values on the basis of 81 provinces were created for the years 2007-2018. The social capital index was obtained by subjecting two social norms and two social network variables to principal component analysis. This method was first used by Rupasingha and Goetz (2008). The main variables used to create the social capital index on a provincial basis are as shown in Table 1. The index generation method used by Rupasingha and Goetz (2008) to show the level of social capital on a provincial basis is the most widely used comprehensive approach in regional and city-based studies (Putnam, 2007; Jha & Chen, 2015; Hasan et al. 2017).

In order to produce a social capital index on the basis of 81 provinces, Principal component analysis was applied to (Rupasingha et al. (2006)) four different variables (2 network and 2 norm measures). For this purpose, principal component analysis was carried out three times using the data in 2007, 2011 and 2018 on the basis of 81 provinces. The first components obtained from the principal component analysis were used as the social capital indicator of the provinces. Higher values of the index value obtained are an indication of having more social capital. A high (positive) index value indicates a higher level of social capital, while a low (negative) value indicates a lower level of social capital. This index generation method is one of the most comprehensive methods used in many other studies (Knack, 2003; Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Jha & Chen, 2015; Hasan et al., 2017; Jin et al., 2019; Davaadorj, 2019).

The numbers of foundations and associations, which are among the variables shown in Table 1 and constitute social capital, represent the social network variables, and the rates of participation in elections and surveys represent the variables of social norms.

Table 1: Variables Constituting Social Capital

| | Variables | Identification/Calculation | Source |
|------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|
| Social Networks | Number of Foundations | Number of foundations per 100 thousand people on a provincial basis. | General Directorate of Foundations |
| | Number of Associations | Number of associations per 100 thousand people on a provincial basis. | Directorate of Associations (DGM) |
| Social Norms | Participation Rate in Elections | Participation rates in the general parliamentary elections held in 2007, 2011, and 2018 on a provincial basis are taken as basis. | Supreme Election Board (YSK) |
| | Rate of Participation in Surveys | Response rate to surveys conducted in World Value Survey. Wave 5 data for 2007, Wave 6 for 2011, and Wave 7 for 2018 was used. This ratio was calculated over the regions at TUIK Level 1 based on the ratio of each province and the region it is in. | World Value Survey |

The index values of the social capital variable were calculated on a provincial basis. While calculating this value, the number of foundations on a provincial basis, the number of associations, the rate of participation in the elections and, finally, the response rate of the participants in the World Value Survey were used. While calculating the social capital index on the basis of provinces, since the General Elections for the Parliament in Türkiye were held in 2007, 2011, and

2018 in the period subject to the research, principal component analysis was made on the basis of 81 provinces for those three years. As the response rate to the surveys for the years (2007, 2011 and 2018), Wave 5 (2005-2009) for 2007, Wave 6 (2010-2014) for 2011, and 2018 Wave 7 (2017-2020) data was used for the year. Response rates to the surveys were made using the data shared by the WVS according to the 2nd Level Statistical Regional Units Classification in Turkiye (2nd Level NUTS). The rates given for the 26 regions in Level 2 were used as the survey response rates of each province in that region. The social capital index on a provincial basis was first calculated separately for the years 2007, 2011, and 2018, and then the remaining years were filled.

Since the level of social capital is not very variable in terms of countries, regions, and cities over the years, as in similar studies (Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Jha & Chen 2015; Jin et al., 2019), the index for the years 2007, 2011, and 2018 values was created using the linear interpolation method based on the data. Linear interpolation takes place in the form of filling the values of the remaining years between 2008-2010 and 2012-2017 in a linear manner over the data of the current years.

5.2. Establishing the Index Based on Province

The index generation method utilized in this study, consisting of four components, is one of the most comprehensive methods used in different studies (Knack, 2003; Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Jha & Chen, 2015; Hasan et al., 2017; Jin et al., 2019; Davaadorj, 2019).

In order to produce a social capital index on the basis of 81 provinces, principal component analysis was applied (Rupasingha et al. 2006) to four different variables (2 network and 2 norm measures). For this purpose, principal component analysis was carried out three times using the data in 2007, 2011, and 2018 on the basis of 81 provinces. The first components obtained from the principal component analysis were used as the social capital indicator of the provinces. Higher values of the index value obtained are an indication of having more social capital. A high (positive) index value indicates a higher level of social capital, while a low (negative) value indicates a lower level of social capital.

5.2.1. Principal Component Analysis

Multivariate statistical analyzes are used to analyze x features of n variables. Problems arise in the analysis if some of the variable properties used are interrelated (dependent) and the number x is too large. The fact that variable properties are related to each other does not comply with the (albeit approximate) independence rule of the variables. In addition, working with a large number of variables is not desired by researchers as it will increase the number of procedures and cause some difficulties in interpreting the findings to be obtained.

The dependent variable is not included in the principal component analysis as the variables in the data set are used for the same purpose in the analysis. One of these variables is not sought to explain or relate to the others. Principal component analysis is not a technique that restates a data set consisting of more than one variable, but is actually a method of reducing all components to one or at most three dimensions. Principal component analysis does this by reducing it to one dimension while recreating the data set (Jackson, 2004, p. 225). While producing the social capital index, the first component was taken as the social capital variable, as in similar studies (Rupasingha, 2006; Hasan et al., 2017; Hasan et al., 2019; Jin et al. 2019; Davaadorj, 2019).

Even if the processing load is not seen as a problem in a time period when computer and programming facilities are quite advanced, evaluating and summarizing the results of a multivariate analysis can be complex and difficult. Principal Component Analysis, which is one of the most

important methods applied in such cases, is generally preferred to eliminate the dependency structure between the variables or to reduce it to one dimension. (Büyüköztürk, 2007, p. 214). It can also be used as a spreadsheet to prepare data sets, variables, and indices for different analyzes.

Principal component analysis is similar to factor analysis, but not the same thing. The main thing that differentiates principal component analysis from factor analysis technique is that the error term is neglected in the calculation of the common factor variances of the variables in principal component analysis, and the error variance, which cannot be explained by the common factors and is known as residual variance, is taken into account in the model in factor analysis. In fact, this is the case when the sum of variance of x variables is explained with a linear component of n common factors in the principal components analysis, and there is another variance that the common factors cannot explain in factor analysis. This is the main feature that distinguishes principal component analysis from factor analysis.

5.2.2. Principal Component Analysis Results

Principal component analysis is a method used to express the data set, which is expressed with a larger number of variables, with an alternative, understandable and easily analyzable variable (index). In order to perform principal component analysis, it is necessary to test the suitability of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) variables for the analysis in general. Here, regarding the thesis that the correlation matrix is equal to the unit matrix, since the degree of freedom is greater than the Chi-square value, this assumption is rejected and it is said that the principal component analysis method can be used in this case (Şen et al. 2006, p. 162).

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) is a measure of sample size adequacy. This is an indexing method that compares the size of the correlation coefficients with the size of the partial correlation coefficients. If the sum of the squares of the partial correlation coefficients of the paired variables is smaller than the sum of the squares of the correlation coefficients, the KMO coefficient approaches one. Small KMO values indicate that performing a principal component analysis with these variables is not very accurate, as paired variable correlations cannot be adequately explained by other variables. When the KMO criterion is 0.90-1.00, it is considered excellent, between 0.80-0.89 very good, between 0.70-0.79 good, between 0.60-0.69 moderate, between 0.50-0.69 poor. If it takes a value below 0.50, using the data may not give very accurate results (Sipahi et al. 2008, p. 81).

Accordingly, the results of the KMO and Bartlett's test, which show the suitability of the principal component analysis conducted in 2007, 2011, and 2018 when parliamentary general elections were held in Türkiye, are shown in Table 2. Accordingly, the KMO value emerged as 0.678 in 2007, 0.702 in 2011, and 0.624 in 2018, and it was understood that it was above the acceptable value of 0.50.

Table 2: KMO and Bartlett's Test Results

| | | 2007 | 2011 | 2018 |
|--|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. | | .678 | .702 | .624 |
| Bartlett's | Approx. Chi-Square | 71.279 | 85.179 | 65.764 |
| Test of | df | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Sphericity | Sig. | .000 | .000 | .000 |

Looking at the explained variance table for 2007 in Table 3, it was understood that the study had two sub-dimensions, and these two sub-dimensions explained 75.589% of the total variance. The

first component, which is taken as a basis while creating the social capital index, explains 55.095 of the total variance. 55.095% disclosure rate. Considering that the research is carried out on the basis of 81 provinces with 4 variables and includes social indicators, it is considered to be sufficient.

Table 3: Announced Total Variances of the Index for 2007

| Variables | Initial Values | | | Sum of Rotated Square Loads | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % |
| 1 | 2.048 | 55.095 | 55.095 | 2.048 | 55.095 | 55.095 |
| 2 | 1.040 | 20.494 | 75.589 | 1.040 | 20.494 | 75.589 |
| 3 | .657 | 18.625 | 93.214 | | | |
| 4 | .246 | 5.786 | 100.000 | | | |

Method: Principal Component Analysis

Looking at the explained variance table for 2011 in Table 4, it was seen that the study had only one sub-dimension, and that the sub-dimension explained 58.357% of the total variance. Considering that the research is conducted on the basis of 81 provinces and includes social indicators, the disclosure rate of 58.357% is considered to be sufficient.

Table 4: Announced Total Variances of the Index for 2011

| Variables | Initial Values | | | Sum of Rotated Square Loads | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % |
| 1 | 2.334 | 58.357 | 58.357 | 2.334 | 58.357 | 58.357 |
| 2 | .803 | 20.077 | 78.435 | | | |
| 3 | .518 | 12.942 | 91.377 | | | |
| 4 | .345 | 8.623 | 100.000 | | | |

Method: Principal Component Analysis

Looking at the explained variance table for 2018 in Table 5, it was seen that the study had only one sub-dimension, and the sub-dimension explained 54.142% of the total variance. Considering that the research is conducted on the basis of 81 provinces and includes social indicators, the disclosure rate of 54,142% is considered to be sufficient.

Table 5: Announced Total Variances of the Index for 2018

| Variables | Initial Values | | | Sum of Rotated Square Loads | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % | Sum | Variance % | Cumulative % |
| 1 | 2.044 | 54.142 | 54.142 | 2.044 | 54.142 | 54.142 |
| 2 | .860 | 19.494 | 73.636 | | | |
| 3 | .785 | 17.625 | 91.261 | | | |
| 4 | .311 | 8.739 | 100.000 | | | |

Method: Principal Component Analysis

In 2007, 2011, and 2018, the first principal components were accepted as general factors that affect all of the variables simultaneously and jointly or that are affected by the variables. Therefore, in this study, as in other studies for the three years in question (Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000; Knack, 2003; Jha & Chen, 2015; Hasan et al., 2017; Davaadorj, 2019; Li et al., 2020) the first basic component was used as the “social capital index value”, which shows the social capital levels of the districts.

Table 6 shows the social capital index values on the basis of 81 provinces in 2007, which were produced according to the principal component analysis. Positive values indicate a high level of social capital, while negative values indicate a low level of social capital.

Table 6: 2007 Social Capital Index Values

| Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1 Ankara | 2.1821 | 28 Eskişehir | 0.3714 | 55 Manisa | -0.1971 |
| 2 Sivas | 2.0940 | 29 Kırklareli | 0.3709 | 56 Iğdır | -0.2386 |
| 3 Rize | 1.9237 | 30 Karaman | 0.3644 | 57 Antalya | -0.2398 |
| 4 Yalova | 1.7870 | 31 Sakarya | 0.3279 | 58 İzmir | -0.2849 |
| 5 Karabük | 1.6599 | 32 Balıkesir | 0.3163 | 59 Mersin | -0.3816 |
| 6 Bayburt | 1.5847 | 33 Kırşehir | 0.2808 | 60 Osmaniye | -0.4190 |
| 7 Çankırı | 1.5691 | 34 Uşak | 0.2133 | 61 Adana | -0.5387 |
| 8 Düzce | 1.4917 | 35 Kocaeli | 0.1880 | 62 Hatay | -0.5573 |
| 9 Bolu | 1.0828 | 36 Edirne | 0.1782 | 63 Kahramanmaraş | -0.5908 |
| 10 Artvin | 1.0205 | 37 Çorum | 0.1712 | 64 Sinop | -0.6449 |
| 11 Kastamonu | 0.8294 | 38 Aydın | 0.1534 | 65 Kars | -0.6779 |
| 12 Kütahya | 0.8290 | 39 Tunceli | 0.1237 | 66 Elazığ | -0.7215 |
| 13 Isparta | 0.8241 | 40 Niğde | 0.1024 | 67 Malatya | -0.7528 |
| 14 Kırıkkale | 0.8062 | 41 Kayseri | 0.0926 | 68 Kilis | -0.9970 |
| 15 Erzincan | 0.7903 | 42 Amasya | 0.0880 | 69 Siirt | -1.0711 |
| 16 Gümüşhane | 0.7393 | 43 Ordu | 0.0577 | 70 Bingöl | -1.1116 |
| 17 Trabzon | 0.7078 | 44 Tekirdağ | 0.0461 | 71 Van | -1.3788 |
| 18 Bilecik | 0.5897 | 45 Tokat | 0.0025 | 72 Bitlis | -1.4233 |
| 19 İstanbul | 0.5516 | 46 Samsun | -0.0154 | 73 Ağrı | -1.5318 |
| 20 Çanakkale | 0.5427 | 47 Şanlıurfa | -0.0989 | 74 Adıyaman | -1.6134 |
| 21 Zonguldak | 0.5345 | 48 Ardahan | -0.1047 | 75 Gaziantep | -1.7144 |
| 22 Nevşehir | 0.5054 | 49 Yozgat | -0.1294 | 76 Muş | -1.7247 |
| 23 Burdur | 0.4994 | 50 Bartın | -0.1332 | 77 Şırnak | -1.8467 |
| 24 Giresun | 0.4816 | 51 Bursa | -0.1414 | 78 Batman | -1.9792 |
| 25 Denizli | 0.4719 | 52 Erzurum | -0.1520 | 79 Diyarbakır | -2.0127 |
| 26 Afyonkarahisar | 0.4566 | 53 Muğla | -0.1840 | 80 Hakkari | -2.0646 |
| 27 Konya | 0.4047 | 54 Aksaray | -0.1856 | 81 Mardin | -2.5496 |

Figure 1 shows the mapped form of the social capital index values created for the year 2007 in Table 6. While the green color density shows the provinces with high social capital, the red color density shows the provinces with low social capital value. According to this, it is understood that Ankara has the highest social capital with 2.1821 and Mardin has the lowest social capital with -2.550 in 2007.

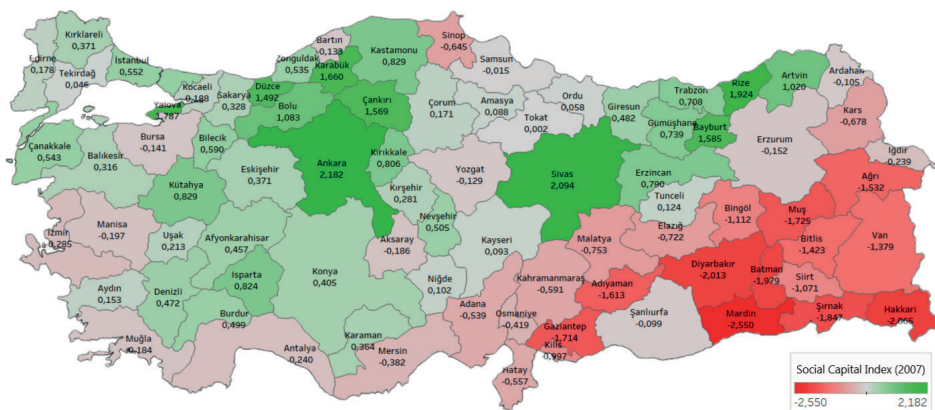


Figure 1: Türkiye’s 2007 Social Capital Index by Province

Source: Derived by the author. (See Table 6).

Table 7 shows the social capital index values on the basis of 81 provinces in 2011, produced according to the principal component analysis over 2 norms and 2 network variables. Sorting was made according to the province with the highest index value and the city with the lowest index value.

Table 7: 2011 Social Capital Index Values

| Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1 Sivas | 1.8502 | 28 Balıkesir | 0.3937 | 55 Sinop | -0.2113 |
| 2 Karabük | 1.7373 | 29 Amasya | 0.3925 | 56 Erzurum | -0.2235 |
| 3 Rize | 1.5740 | 30 Edirne | 0.3675 | 57 Elazığ | -0.2459 |
| 4 Bayburt | 1.4009 | 31 Afyonkarahisar | 0.3403 | 58 Şanlıurfa | -0.2797 |
| 5 Ankara | 1.3879 | 32 Kocaeli | 0.3282 | 59 Manisa | -0.2888 |
| 6 Çankırı | 1.3816 | 33 Kırşehir | 0.3053 | 60 Kahramanmaraş | -0.3078 |
| 7 Bolu | 1.3599 | 34 Uşak | 0.2860 | 61 Malatya | -0.3149 |
| 8 Düzce | 1.2900 | 35 Bartın | 0.2750 | 62 Hatay | -0.3283 |
| 9 Yalova | 1.1959 | 36 Samsun | 0.2617 | 63 Mersin | -0.3658 |
| 10 Artvin | 1.1511 | 37 Kayseri | 0.2335 | 64 Adana | -0.4113 |
| 11 Kastamonu | 0.9840 | 38 Isparta | 0.2118 | 65 Bingöl | -0.5144 |
| 12 Kütahya | 0.7299 | 39 Denizli | 0.2082 | 66 Antalya | -0.6129 |
| 13 Gümüşhane | 0.7122 | 40 Karaman | 0.2030 | 67 Kilis | -0.6484 |
| 14 Bilecik | 0.6865 | 41 Niğde | 0.1929 | 68 Bitlis | -0.6838 |
| 15 İstanbul | 0.6616 | 42 Bursa | 0.1736 | 69 Kars | -0.7263 |
| 16 Kırkkale | 0.6538 | 43 Tokat | 0.1733 | 70 Iğdır | -1.0751 |
| 17 Zonguldak | 0.6379 | 44 Konya | 0.1540 | 71 Adıyaman | -1.0933 |
| 18 Trabzon | 0.6249 | 45 Ordu | 0.1463 | 72 Gaziantep | -1.4717 |
| 19 Çanakkale | 0.6232 | 46 Ardahan | 0.0371 | 73 Ağrı | -1.4782 |
| 20 Nevşehir | 0.5861 | 47 Tekirdağ | 0.0185 | 74 Muş | -1.5135 |
| 21 Giresun | 0.5798 | 48 Yozgat | 0.0115 | 75 Van | -1.6389 |
| 22 Sakarya | 0.5610 | 49 Aydın | -0.0370 | 76 Batman | -2.2412 |
| 23 Eskişehir | 0.5525 | 50 Burdur | -0.0768 | 77 Hakkari | -2.2581 |
| 24 Kırklareli | 0.5495 | 51 Aksaray | -0.1017 | 78 Siirt | -2.3000 |
| 25 Tunceli | 0.5123 | 52 Muğla | -0.1143 | 79 Mardin | -2.3624 |
| 26 Erzincan | 0.5069 | 53 Osmaniye | -0.1431 | 80 Diyarbakır | -2.4365 |
| 27 Çorum | 0.4811 | 54 İzmir | -0.1548 | 81 Şırnak | -3.0260 |

Figure 2 shows the mapped form of the social capital index values in Table 7, created for 2011. According to this, it is seen that Sivas province has the highest social capital with 1.8502 and Şırnak province has the lowest social capital with -3.0260 in 2011.

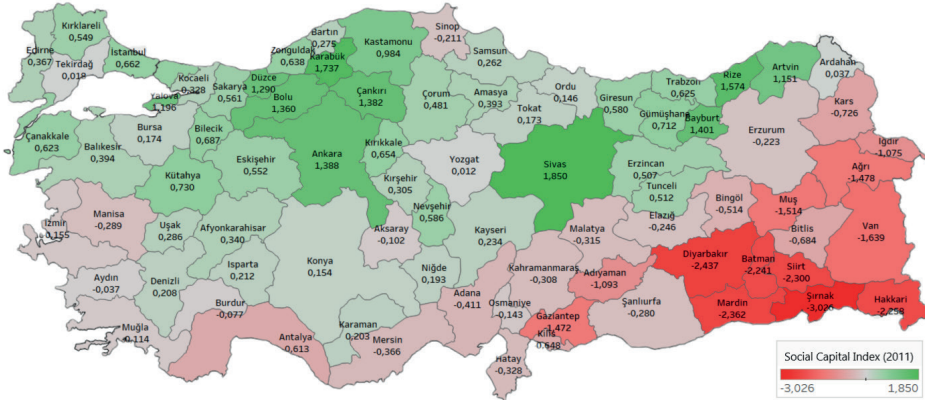


Figure 2: Türkiye's 2011 Social Capital Index by Province

Source: Derived by the author (See Table 7).

Table 8 shows the social capital index values on the basis of 81 provinces for 2018, which were produced according to the principal component analysis over 2 norms and 2 network variables. Provinces are ranked from the province with the highest social capital level to the lowest level of social capital.

Table 8: 2018 Social Capital Index Values

| Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1 Sivas | 2.3752 | 28 Ardahan | 0.4004 | 55 Malatya | -0.2634 |
| 2 Rize | 1.9620 | 29 Nevşehir | 0.3780 | 56 Şanlıurfa | -0.2665 |
| 3 Karabük | 1.8211 | 30 Amasya | 0.3234 | 57 Elazığ | -0.2772 |
| 4 Ankara | 1.7204 | 31 Giresun | 0.3174 | 58 Hatay | -0.3401 |
| 5 Düzce | 1.5557 | 32 Isparta | 0.3112 | 59 Osmaniye | -0.3579 |
| 6 Çankırı | 1.4698 | 33 Bartın | 0.2996 | 60 Manisa | -0.3588 |
| 7 Bolu | 1.4189 | 34 Afyonkarahisar | 0.2864 | 61 Aksaray | -0.3725 |
| 8 Artvin | 1.4184 | 35 Tunceli | 0.2492 | 62 Kahramanmaraş | -0.4137 |
| 9 Yalova | 1.1510 | 36 Denizli | 0.2289 | 63 Adana | -0.4156 |
| 10 İstanbul | 1.1114 | 37 Uşak | 0.2192 | 64 Bitlis | -0.7401 |
| 11 Bayburt | 1.0992 | 38 Konya | 0.1566 | 65 Kilis | -0.7916 |
| 12 Kırıkkale | 1.0859 | 39 Samsun | 0.1503 | 66 Sinop | -0.7971 |
| 13 Kütahya | 0.9008 | 40 Karaman | 0.1142 | 67 Antalya | -0.8157 |
| 14 Trabzon | 0.8491 | 41 İzmir | 0.0871 | 68 Bingöl | -0.9174 |
| 15 Çanakkale | 0.7379 | 42 Tokat | 0.0280 | 69 Iğdır | -1.0629 |
| 16 Kastamonu | 0.7337 | 43 Kırşehir | 0.0081 | 70 Kars | -1.0884 |
| 17 Kırklareli | 0.6998 | 44 Kayseri | -0.0192 | 71 Adıyaman | -1.2431 |
| 18 Bilecik | 0.6858 | 45 Ordu | -0.0667 | 72 Muş | -1.3273 |
| 19 Sakarya | 0.6146 | 46 Muğla | -0.0869 | 73 Hakkari | -1.4532 |
| 20 Eskişehir | 0.5838 | 47 Tekirdağ | -0.1455 | 74 Gaziantep | -1.5285 |
| 21 Kocaeli | 0.5252 | 48 Aydın | -0.1663 | 75 Van | -1.8266 |

Table 8: Continue

| Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value | Provinces | Index Value |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| 22 Zonguldak | 0.5127 | 49 Yozgat | -0.1941 | 76 Batman | -1.8351 |
| 23 Balıkesir | 0.4711 | 50 Mersin | -0.2032 | 77 Mardin | -1.9167 |
| 24 Edirne | 0.4695 | 51 Niğde | -0.2276 | 78 Siirt | -2.0563 |
| 25 Çorum | 0.4683 | 52 Burdur | -0.2394 | 79 Ağrı | -2.1230 |
| 26 Erzincan | 0.4465 | 53 Gümüşhane | -0.2432 | 80 Diyarbakır | -2.1700 |
| 27 Bursa | 0.4216 | 54 Erzurum | -0.2474 | 81 Şırnak | -2.2695 |

Figure 3 shows the social capital index values in Table 8 created for 2007, colored and transferred to the map. Accordingly, it is seen that the province with the highest social capital in 2018 was Sivas with 2.3752, followed by Rize with 1.9620, and Karabük with 1.8211 in the third place. It is seen that Şırnak province has the lowest social capital with -2.2695.

In general, it is seen that the provinces with low social capital in Türkiye are mostly located in the Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia regions. In addition, while the highest social capital index value was 2.182 in 2007, the highest value increased to 2.375 in 2018.

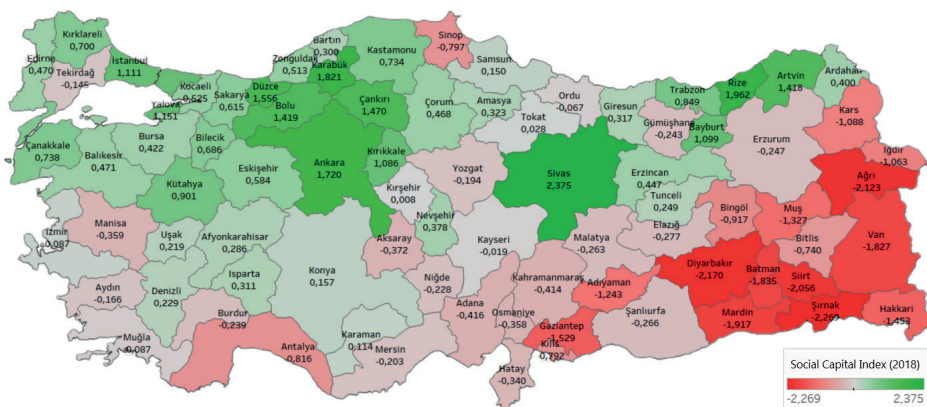


Figure 3: Türkiye’s 2018 Social Capital Index by Province

Source: Derived by the author (See Table 8).

Looking at these results, it can be said that Türkiye’s social capital level has been in an increasing trend over the years.

6. Türkiye’s Social Capital Index

The social capital index (SCI) was calculated for the 81 provinces shown in Table 1. Social capital index by principal component analysis was applied (Rupasingha et al. 2006) to 2 networks and 2 norm variables. The first component obtained as a result of the principal component analysis was taken as the social capital index, as in similar studies (Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Jha & Chen, 2015; Hasan et al., 2017; Davaadorj, 2019, Li et al., 2020). The same index generation process was repeated for the years 2007, 2011, and 2018, and then the remaining years were filled with the linear interpolation method.

6.1. Linear Interpolation

Interpolation is expressed as the calculation of unknown values in a certain range using known values. According to this method, by using the data obtained with the help of calculation, observation, and experiment, it is possible to calculate, observe, and find values that are difficult or impossible to find. Linear (linear), parabolic (quadratic), Lagrange and spline interpolations are among the most used interpolation methods (Vatansever & Dođalı, 2011).

There are two data points in the coordinate frame given as (x_0, y_0) and (x_1, y_1) respectively. To find a function representing the data points, the straight-line equation representing a straight line passing through the two data points can be used. The equation of a straight line is given as follows (Abdul Wahab, 2016, p. 2):

$$f(x) = y = mx + c$$

Here, m represents the gradient of the line. c represents the y-intercept of the equation with y value at $x = 0$ and is given by the following formula:

$$m = \frac{(Y_1 - Y_0)}{(X_1 - X_0)} \quad \text{and} \quad c = y_1 - mx_1$$

After substituting and rearranging the values of m and c , the interpolation function $f(x)$ is written as:

$$f(x) = y = m = \frac{(y_1 - y_0)}{(x_1 - x_0)} (x - x_0) + y_0$$

The straight-line equation is basically a 1st order polynomial. Figure 4 shows linear interpolation.

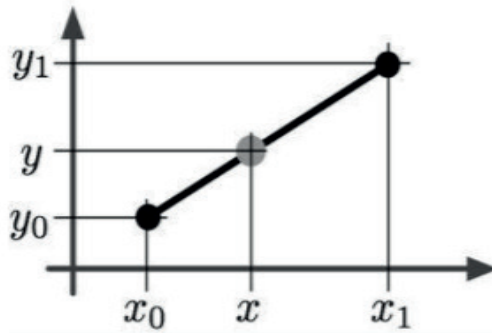


Figure 4: Linear Interpolation Plot

In this study, social capital data between 2007, 2011, and 2018 was filled with linear interpolation method.

6.2. Turkiye's Social Capital Index for the Years 2007-2018

Table 9 shows the social capital index values of the years between 2007-2018, which were created according to the linear interpolation method on a provincial basis in Turkiye, based on the social capital index values of the years 2007, 2011 and 2018. These values, as mentioned above, were determined by Rupasingha et al. (2006) using the principal component analysis method of four different variables consisting of 2 mesh and 2 norm measures. Since it is not possible to in-

clude the index values of all years and provinces in a single graphic in an understandable way, the index values are given as in the table.

Table 9: Turkey's Provincial Social Capital Index

| Province Name | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1 Adana | -0.539 | -0.496 | -0.454 | -0.411 | -0.412 | -0.412 | -0.413 | -0.414 | -0.414 | -0.415 | -0.415 | -0.416 |
| 2 Adıyaman | -1.613 | -1.440 | -1.267 | -1.093 | -1.115 | -1.136 | -1.158 | -1.179 | -1.200 | -1.222 | -1.238 | -1.243 |
| 3 Afyonkarahisar | 0.457 | 0.418 | 0.379 | 0.340 | 0.333 | 0.325 | 0.317 | 0.309 | 0.302 | 0.294 | 0.288 | 0.286 |
| 4 Ağrı | -1.532 | -1.514 | -1.496 | -1.478 | -1.570 | -1.662 | -1.755 | -1.847 | -1.939 | -2.031 | -2.100 | -2.123 |
| 5 Aksaray | -0.186 | -0.158 | -0.130 | -0.102 | -0.140 | -0.179 | -0.218 | -0.256 | -0.295 | -0.334 | -0.363 | -0.372 |
| 6 Amasya | 0.088 | 0.189 | 0.291 | 0.393 | 0.383 | 0.373 | 0.363 | 0.353 | 0.343 | 0.333 | 0.326 | 0.323 |
| 7 Ankara | 2.182 | 1.917 | 1.653 | 1.388 | 1.435 | 1.483 | 1.530 | 1.578 | 1.625 | 1.673 | 1.708 | 1.720 |
| 8 Antalya | -0.240 | -0.364 | -0.489 | -0.613 | -0.642 | -0.671 | -0.700 | -0.729 | -0.758 | -0.787 | -0.808 | -0.816 |
| 9 Ardahan | -0.105 | -0.057 | -0.010 | 0.037 | 0.089 | 0.141 | 0.193 | 0.245 | 0.297 | 0.348 | 0.387 | 0.400 |
| 10 Artvin | 1.020 | 1.064 | 1.108 | 1.151 | 1.189 | 1.227 | 1.266 | 1.304 | 1.342 | 1.380 | 1.409 | 1.418 |
| 11 Aydın | 0.153 | 0.090 | 0.026 | -0.037 | -0.055 | -0.074 | -0.092 | -0.111 | -0.129 | -0.148 | -0.162 | -0.166 |
| 12 Balıkesir | 0.316 | 0.342 | 0.368 | 0.394 | 0.405 | 0.416 | 0.427 | 0.438 | 0.449 | 0.460 | 0.468 | 0.471 |
| 13 Bartın | -0.133 | 0.003 | 0.139 | 0.275 | 0.279 | 0.282 | 0.286 | 0.289 | 0.293 | 0.296 | 0.299 | 0.300 |
| 14 Batman | -1.979 | -2.067 | -2.154 | -2.241 | -2.183 | -2.125 | -2.067 | -2.009 | -1.951 | -1.893 | -1.850 | -1.835 |
| 15 Bayburt | 1.585 | 1.523 | 1.462 | 1.401 | 1.358 | 1.315 | 1.272 | 1.228 | 1.185 | 1.142 | 1.110 | 1.099 |
| 16 Bilecik | 0.590 | 0.622 | 0.654 | 0.687 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 | 0.686 |
| 17 Bingöl | -1.112 | -0.913 | -0.713 | -0.514 | -0.572 | -0.630 | -0.687 | -0.745 | -0.802 | -0.860 | -0.903 | -0.917 |
| 18 Bitlis | -1.423 | -1.177 | -0.930 | -0.684 | -0.692 | -0.700 | -0.708 | -0.716 | -0.724 | -0.732 | -0.738 | -0.740 |
| 19 Bolu | 1.083 | 1.175 | 1.268 | 1.360 | 1.368 | 1.377 | 1.385 | 1.394 | 1.402 | 1.410 | 1.417 | 1.419 |
| 20 Burdur | 0.499 | 0.307 | 0.115 | -0.077 | -0.100 | -0.123 | -0.146 | -0.170 | -0.193 | -0.216 | -0.234 | -0.239 |
| 21 Bursa | -0.141 | -0.036 | 0.069 | 0.174 | 0.209 | 0.244 | 0.280 | 0.315 | 0.351 | 0.386 | 0.413 | 0.422 |
| 22 Çanakkale | 0.543 | 0.570 | 0.596 | 0.623 | 0.640 | 0.656 | 0.672 | 0.689 | 0.705 | 0.721 | 0.734 | 0.738 |
| 23 Çankırı | 1.569 | 1.507 | 1.444 | 1.382 | 1.394 | 1.407 | 1.419 | 1.432 | 1.445 | 1.457 | 1.467 | 1.470 |
| 24 Çorum | 0.171 | 0.275 | 0.378 | 0.481 | 0.479 | 0.477 | 0.476 | 0.474 | 0.472 | 0.470 | 0.469 | 0.468 |
| 25 Denizli | 0.472 | 0.384 | 0.296 | 0.208 | 0.211 | 0.214 | 0.217 | 0.220 | 0.223 | 0.226 | 0.228 | 0.229 |
| 26 Diyarbakır | -2.013 | -2.154 | -2.295 | -2.437 | -2.398 | -2.360 | -2.322 | -2.284 | -2.246 | -2.208 | -2.180 | -2.170 |
| 27 Düzce | 1.492 | 1.424 | 1.357 | 1.290 | 1.328 | 1.366 | 1.404 | 1.442 | 1.480 | 1.518 | 1.546 | 1.556 |
| 28 Edirne | 0.178 | 0.241 | 0.304 | 0.367 | 0.382 | 0.397 | 0.411 | 0.426 | 0.440 | 0.455 | 0.466 | 0.470 |
| 29 Elazığ | -0.722 | -0.563 | -0.404 | -0.246 | -0.250 | -0.255 | -0.259 | -0.264 | -0.268 | -0.273 | -0.276 | -0.277 |
| 30 Erzincan | 0.790 | 0.696 | 0.601 | 0.507 | 0.498 | 0.490 | 0.481 | 0.472 | 0.464 | 0.455 | 0.449 | 0.447 |
| 31 Erzurum | -0.152 | -0.176 | -0.200 | -0.223 | -0.227 | -0.230 | -0.234 | -0.237 | -0.241 | -0.244 | -0.247 | -0.247 |
| 32 Eskişehir | 0.371 | 0.432 | 0.492 | 0.552 | 0.557 | 0.561 | 0.566 | 0.570 | 0.575 | 0.579 | 0.583 | 0.584 |
| 33 Gaziantep | -1.714 | -1.634 | -1.553 | -1.472 | -1.480 | -1.488 | -1.496 | -1.504 | -1.512 | -1.520 | -1.526 | -1.529 |
| 34 Giresun | 0.482 | 0.514 | 0.547 | 0.580 | 0.542 | 0.505 | 0.467 | 0.430 | 0.392 | 0.355 | 0.327 | 0.317 |
| 35 Gümüşhane | 0.739 | 0.730 | 0.721 | 0.712 | 0.576 | 0.439 | 0.303 | 0.166 | 0.030 | -0.107 | -0.209 | -0.243 |
| 36 Hakkari | -2.065 | -2.129 | -2.194 | -2.258 | -2.143 | -2.028 | -1.913 | -1.798 | -1.683 | -1.568 | -1.482 | -1.453 |
| 37 Hatay | -0.557 | -0.481 | -0.405 | -0.328 | -0.330 | -0.332 | -0.333 | -0.335 | -0.337 | -0.338 | -0.340 | -0.340 |
| 38 Iğdır | -0.239 | -0.517 | -0.796 | -1.075 | -1.073 | -1.072 | -1.070 | -1.068 | -1.066 | -1.065 | -1.063 | -1.063 |
| 39 Isparta | 0.824 | 0.620 | 0.416 | 0.212 | 0.226 | 0.240 | 0.254 | 0.269 | 0.283 | 0.297 | 0.308 | 0.311 |
| 40 İstanbul | 0.552 | 0.588 | 0.625 | 0.662 | 0.726 | 0.790 | 0.854 | 0.919 | 0.983 | 1.047 | 1.095 | 1.111 |
| 41 İzmir | -0.285 | -0.242 | -0.198 | -0.155 | -0.120 | -0.086 | -0.051 | -0.017 | 0.018 | 0.053 | 0.078 | 0.087 |
| 42 Kahramanmaraş | -0.591 | -0.496 | -0.402 | -0.308 | -0.323 | -0.338 | -0.353 | -0.368 | -0.383 | -0.399 | -0.410 | -0.414 |
| 43 Karabük | 1.660 | 1.686 | 1.712 | 1.737 | 1.749 | 1.761 | 1.773 | 1.785 | 1.797 | 1.809 | 1.818 | 1.821 |
| 44 Karaman | 0.364 | 0.311 | 0.257 | 0.203 | 0.190 | 0.178 | 0.165 | 0.152 | 0.140 | 0.127 | 0.117 | 0.114 |
| 45 Kars | -0.678 | -0.694 | -0.710 | -0.726 | -0.778 | -0.830 | -0.881 | -0.933 | -0.985 | -1.037 | -1.075 | -1.088 |
| 46 Kastamonu | 0.829 | 0.881 | 0.932 | 0.984 | 0.948 | 0.912 | 0.877 | 0.841 | 0.805 | 0.769 | 0.743 | 0.734 |
| 47 Kayseri | 0.093 | 0.140 | 0.187 | 0.234 | 0.197 | 0.161 | 0.125 | 0.089 | 0.053 | 0.017 | -0.010 | -0.019 |
| 48 Kırıkkale | 0.806 | 0.755 | 0.705 | 0.654 | 0.716 | 0.777 | 0.839 | 0.901 | 0.962 | 1.024 | 1.070 | 1.086 |
| 49 Kırklareli | 0.371 | 0.430 | 0.490 | 0.549 | 0.571 | 0.592 | 0.614 | 0.635 | 0.657 | 0.678 | 0.694 | 0.700 |
| 50 Kırşehir | 0.281 | 0.289 | 0.297 | 0.305 | 0.263 | 0.220 | 0.178 | 0.135 | 0.093 | 0.051 | 0.019 | 0.008 |

Table 9: Continue

| Province Name | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 51 Kilis | -0.997 | -0.881 | -0.765 | -0.648 | -0.669 | -0.689 | -0.710 | -0.730 | -0.751 | -0.771 | -0.786 | -0.792 |
| 52 Kocaeli | 0.188 | 0.235 | 0.281 | 0.328 | 0.356 | 0.384 | 0.413 | 0.441 | 0.469 | 0.497 | 0.518 | 0.525 |
| 53 Konya | 0.405 | 0.321 | 0.238 | 0.154 | 0.154 | 0.155 | 0.155 | 0.155 | 0.156 | 0.156 | 0.157 | 0.157 |
| 54 Kütahya | 0.829 | 0.796 | 0.763 | 0.730 | 0.754 | 0.779 | 0.803 | 0.828 | 0.852 | 0.876 | 0.895 | 0.901 |
| 55 Malatya | -0.753 | -0.607 | -0.461 | -0.315 | -0.308 | -0.300 | -0.293 | -0.285 | -0.278 | -0.271 | -0.265 | -0.263 |
| 56 Manisa | -0.197 | -0.228 | -0.258 | -0.289 | -0.299 | -0.309 | -0.319 | -0.329 | -0.339 | -0.349 | -0.356 | -0.359 |
| 57 Mardin | -2.550 | -2.487 | -2.425 | -2.362 | -2.299 | -2.235 | -2.171 | -2.108 | -2.044 | -1.980 | -1.933 | -1.917 |
| 58 Mersin | -0.382 | -0.376 | -0.371 | -0.366 | -0.343 | -0.319 | -0.296 | -0.273 | -0.250 | -0.226 | -0.209 | -0.203 |
| 59 Muğla | -0.184 | -0.161 | -0.137 | -0.114 | -0.110 | -0.106 | -0.103 | -0.099 | -0.095 | -0.091 | -0.088 | -0.087 |
| 60 Muş | -1.725 | -1.654 | -1.584 | -1.514 | -1.487 | -1.460 | -1.434 | -1.407 | -1.380 | -1.354 | -1.334 | -1.327 |
| 61 Nevşehir | 0.505 | 0.532 | 0.559 | 0.586 | 0.556 | 0.527 | 0.497 | 0.467 | 0.437 | 0.408 | 0.385 | 0.378 |
| 62 Niğde | 0.102 | 0.133 | 0.163 | 0.193 | 0.133 | 0.073 | 0.013 | -0.047 | -0.107 | -0.168 | -0.213 | -0.228 |
| 63 Ordu | 0.058 | 0.087 | 0.117 | 0.146 | 0.116 | 0.085 | 0.055 | 0.025 | -0.006 | -0.036 | -0.059 | -0.067 |
| 64 Osmaniye | -0.419 | -0.327 | -0.235 | -0.143 | -0.174 | -0.204 | -0.235 | -0.266 | -0.297 | -0.327 | -0.350 | -0.358 |
| 65 Rize | 1.924 | 1.807 | 1.691 | 1.574 | 1.629 | 1.685 | 1.740 | 1.796 | 1.851 | 1.907 | 1.948 | 1.962 |
| 66 Sakarya | 0.328 | 0.406 | 0.483 | 0.561 | 0.569 | 0.576 | 0.584 | 0.592 | 0.599 | 0.607 | 0.613 | 0.615 |
| 67 Samsun | -0.015 | 0.077 | 0.169 | 0.262 | 0.246 | 0.230 | 0.214 | 0.198 | 0.182 | 0.166 | 0.154 | 0.150 |
| 68 Siirt | -1.071 | -1.481 | -1.890 | -2.300 | -2.265 | -2.230 | -2.196 | -2.161 | -2.126 | -2.091 | -2.065 | -2.056 |
| 69 Sinop | -0.645 | -0.500 | -0.356 | -0.211 | -0.295 | -0.379 | -0.462 | -0.546 | -0.630 | -0.713 | -0.776 | -0.797 |
| 70 Sivas | 2.094 | 2.013 | 1.931 | 1.850 | 1.925 | 2.000 | 2.075 | 2.150 | 2.225 | 2.300 | 2.356 | 2.375 |
| 71 Şanlıurfa | -0.099 | -0.159 | -0.219 | -0.280 | -0.278 | -0.276 | -0.274 | -0.272 | -0.270 | -0.268 | -0.267 | -0.266 |
| 72 Şırnak | -1.847 | -2.240 | -2.633 | -3.026 | -2.918 | -2.810 | -2.702 | -2.594 | -2.486 | -2.378 | -2.296 | -2.269 |
| 73 Tekirdağ | 0.046 | 0.037 | 0.028 | 0.018 | -0.005 | -0.028 | -0.052 | -0.075 | -0.099 | -0.122 | -0.140 | -0.145 |
| 74 Tokat | 0.002 | 0.059 | 0.116 | 0.173 | 0.153 | 0.132 | 0.111 | 0.090 | 0.070 | 0.049 | 0.033 | 0.028 |
| 75 Trabzon | 0.708 | 0.680 | 0.653 | 0.625 | 0.657 | 0.689 | 0.721 | 0.753 | 0.785 | 0.817 | 0.841 | 0.849 |
| 76 Tunceli | 0.124 | 0.253 | 0.383 | 0.512 | 0.475 | 0.437 | 0.400 | 0.362 | 0.324 | 0.287 | 0.259 | 0.249 |
| 77 Uşak | 0.213 | 0.238 | 0.262 | 0.286 | 0.276 | 0.267 | 0.257 | 0.248 | 0.238 | 0.229 | 0.222 | 0.219 |
| 78 Van | -1.379 | -1.465 | -1.552 | -1.639 | -1.666 | -1.692 | -1.719 | -1.746 | -1.773 | -1.800 | -1.820 | -1.827 |
| 79 Yalova | 1.787 | 1.590 | 1.393 | 1.196 | 1.190 | 1.183 | 1.177 | 1.170 | 1.164 | 1.157 | 1.153 | 1.151 |
| 80 Yozgat | -0.129 | -0.082 | -0.035 | 0.012 | -0.018 | -0.047 | -0.077 | -0.106 | -0.135 | -0.165 | -0.187 | -0.194 |
| 81 Zonguldak | 0.535 | 0.569 | 0.603 | 0.638 | 0.620 | 0.602 | 0.584 | 0.566 | 0.548 | 0.531 | 0.517 | 0.513 |

Source: Calculated by the author.

In Table 9, there are index values showing the social capital levels for 81 provinces and each year from 2007 to 2018. Positive and higher values of the index value obtained are an indication of having more social capital. The negative and lower values of the index value obtained are an indication of having a lower level of social capital.

When the social capital change of the provinces is examined, it has been determined that the social capital index value of 46 provinces increased from 2007 to 2018, while the social capital index value of 35 provinces decreased. In the provinces shown in Table 9 and shown in bold, the social capital index value increased whereas it decreased in the others.

7. Conclusion

Social capital is one of the important concepts that has become increasingly important in recent years and has taken its place in the literature, especially in the field of economy and education as well as in different fields. Although there are different opinions on the definition, types and measurement of social capital, the importance of the concept, its effects and the number of studies on this concept are increasing. The fact that the concept of social capital is multidimensional and an interdisciplinary concept is one of the main motives of the different views on the concept.

Institutional theory states that different institutions in countries affect the perceptions of people in that country towards bureaucratic institutions (Kaufmann, 2018, p. 380). However, the institutions and rules that affect these perceptions may not always be official institutions and rules such as the constitution, laws, and contracts. These perceptions can sometimes be influenced by informal institutions and rules. Informal institutions and rules consist of unwritten rules such as religion, morality, tradition, customs, and norms (Pejovich, 1999, p. 167). Informal institutions can also be defined as the ways in which people do business by being influenced by the rules, norms, and procedures of the societies in which they live, and the behavior, restriction, and action styles that societies direct individuals and institutions (North, 1990, p. 5). One of these informal institutional factors is social capital (Hofstede, 2001; Jin et al., 2019).

In some cases, the success of countries or regions in terms of economy, education, finance, growth, technology, cooperation, crime rate, and social welfare may not be directly dependent on their performance in these areas. Social capital levels, which is one of the non-institutional factors of societies, can emerge as a factor affecting their success. At this point, it is important to consider the social factors that affect socio-economic activities, albeit indirectly. This is why social capital, which is an important indicator of relations, social ties, reconciliation, cooperation and trust, has been the subject of important studies in many different fields, especially in economy and education in recent years (Knack and Keefer, 1997; La Porta et al., 1997; Glaeser et al., 1995; Fountain, 1997; Guiso et al. 2004 & 2008; Akçomak & ter Weel, 2009; Guriev & Melnikov, 2016).

These studies on social capital, which have been carried out in different fields, show that social capital provides higher economic growth, higher education level, more efficient and fair institutions, more efficient production, more qualified health services, lower crime rates, and a higher level of cooperation. Also, it contributes to the level of trust and more qualified human capital. Recently, there has been an increase in the number of studies on how social capital affects socio-economic structure and country and regional developments in the world. The inadequacy of other theories in explaining the results at some points and the expectation that social capital can fill the uncertainties that arise in the relevant theories over time have increased the importance of social capital.

The method used to create the social capital index in this study is the method used in previous studies (Rupasingha, 2006, p. 85; Hasan et al., 2017, p. 1024; Huang & Shang, 2019, p. 29) in addition to using the principal component analysis method using 2 networks and 2 norm variables. For this, principal component analysis was applied in 2007, 2011, and 2018, and the first component was taken as the social capital index indicator in these years. Since social capital is not a value that changes in a short time for countries, regions, and cities, as applied in similar studies, the index values for the years 2007, 2011 and 2018 were created by linear interpolation method using the data (Rupasingha & Goetz, 2008; Jha & Chen, 2015; Jin et al., 2019).

When the created social capital index was examined, it was determined that the social capital index of 46 provinces increased from 2007 to 2018, while the social capital index value of 35 provinces decreased. In addition, as of 2018, the number of provinces with positive social capital index value was 43, while the number of provinces with negative index was 38. When the course of the general index is examined, it is understood that the provinces with low social capital in Turkiye are mostly among the provinces in the Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia regions. In addition, while the highest social capital index value was 2,182 in 2007, the highest value increased to 2,375 in 2018. Looking at these results, it can be said that there is a general increase in the level of social capital in Turkiye over the years.

In this study, Türkiye's social capital index was created on the basis of 81 provinces between 2007-2018. Although there are studies in the literature that calculate Türkiye's social capital on a regional basis (Tüysüz, 2011; Öztöçü, 2017), there is no study to create a social capital index on a provincial basis. The fact that there are few studies on a regional basis on the creation of a social capital index in Türkiye and that no studies can be found on a provincial basis constitute the main motivation and the most important aspect of this study. In this study, it is aimed to contribute to studies in the field of economy, education, and other interdisciplinary fields by using the social capital index data produced on a provincial basis.

Finally, this study aims to contribute to the relevant national and international literature by creating the necessary method and theoretical knowledge through the indirect effect method. It provides an important data set to policy makers, researchers, and other interested parties. Finally, due to the fact that the subject is about a developing country, it is thought that the same method will be used for other developing countries and it will set an example for similar studies to be done. In this study, a data set consisting of 2 norms and 2 network variables was used while calculating the social capital index. In future studies, the social capital index can be calculated on a provincial basis with more different variables.

Ethics Committee Approval: In this study, there was no need to obtain an ethics committee certificate, since data collection was not conducted through "survey, interview, focus group work, experiment and similar ways".

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Research Article

Development of a New Composite Index for Measuring the Sustainability Performance of Manufacturing Companies Operating in the BIST Sustainability Index*

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*This study is derived from the first author's doctoral thesis

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ABSTRACT

The number of studies on sustainability assessment tools and models has increased in the last two decades. Composite Indexes (CIs) have become popular as a useful tool for assessing business level sustainability to compare the companies operating in the same sector. Limited studies have covered all three dimensions (economic, environmental, and social) of the sustainability assessment in an integrated manner in Turkey. This paper aims to measure and evaluate the Corporate Sustainability (CS) performances of ten manufacturing companies operating in the Istanbul Stock Exchange Market. For this purpose, a new integrated sustainability composite index was developed by using previous composite indexes in the literature. The developed assessment model provides a practical tool for the organizations in the manufacturing sector in Turkey by measuring and evaluating their sustainability performances in a holistic way. By using the analytical hierarchy process (AHP), the levels of the sustainability performances of ten manufacturing organizations were assessed in a short time. The index allows managers to make comparisons among companies within the same sector. The results further indicated that the economic dimension score of the analyzed organizations had a weighty and salient effect on the total corporate sustainability performance score. This finding contributes to the literature that economic performance is predominantly effective in the sustainability performance of businesses.

Keywords: Sustainability Assessment, Integrated Measurement, Composite Index, Economic Dimension, BIST



1. Introduction

Problems such as climate change, reduction of natural resources, global warming, the extinction of some living species, increasing pollution, degradation of forest areas, and an unavoidable increase in global population pose critical threats to all humanity and our planet (Büyükozkan & Karabulut, 2018; Krajnc & Glavic, 2003; Veleva & Ellenbecker, 2001). The basis of these problems is generally economic and development-based activities, and many businesses, especially global ones, are trying to understand their effects on sustainable development. Undoubtedly, organizations need to adjust their management understandings by increasing their positive impacts on the environment, society, and economic development. This obligation forces businesses to reconsider their roles and responsibilities regarding nature and society and prompt them to embed sustainability principles into current management strategies (Medel-Gonzalez, Garcia-Avila, Acosta-Beltran, & Hernandez, 2013).

It is not easy to evaluate or make a judgment on the sustainability status of an organization. For this reason, measuring the sustainability of organizations using critical performance indicators and evaluating the measurement results according to specific predetermined criteria has emerged as one of the solutions (Linke, Corman, Dornfeld, & Tönissen, 2013). Elkington (1997), one of the theorists of Corporate Sustainability (CS) states that business activities need to be evaluated not only according to financial results but also to environmental and social effects. He proposed the Triple Bottom Line (TBL or 3P – People, Planet, Profit) approach, which are the dimensions of sustainable development. This approach emphasizes focusing on society and the ecological environment as well as on economic activities. A study conducted by KPMG (2020) has shown that the number of businesses that make corporate sustainability reporting based on the triple bottom line approach has increased by 300 % in the last 25 years.

Chen, Thiede, Schudeleit, & Herrmann (2014) state that none of the existing tools aimed at measuring the sustainability performances of organizations can simultaneously meet all requirements, such as having general applicability or measuring sustainability from a holistic perspective. Similarly, Veleva & Ellenbecker (2001) concluded that it is not possible to use a standard sustainability indicator set in all industries due to differences in firm sizes and activities. However, the use of quantitatively expressed sustainability indicators has emerged as a solution so that it would be possible to monitor the economic, social, and environmental performances of the organizations (Epstein, Buhovac, & Yuthas, 2015; Linke et al., 2013; Singh, Murty, Gupta, & Dikshit, 2012). By using the composite indicators or composite sustainability indexes as a valid method to measure the sustainability performances of organizations, it would be possible to include all three dimensions of the sustainable development concept (Feil, Schreiber, Haetinger, Strasburg, & Barkert, 2019; Niemeijer & Groot, 2008; UNCSD, 2012; Zhou, Tokos, Krajnc, & Yang, 2012).

Corporate sustainability studies in Turkey focus on two areas. These are the quality of corporate sustainability reporting and measuring the sustainability performance of companies. In essence, there were no sustainability reports published in Turkey before 2005 (Ertan, 2018). In other words, studies on corporate sustainability performances of enterprises in Turkey started in the last 15 years. While some of the studies conducted were based on sustainability reporting and the quality of the information level in these reports (Bozaykut Bük, 2020; Ertan 2018; Gümrah & Büyükepeççi, 2019; Hancıoğlu, Gülençer, & Tünel, 2018; Mısırdalı Yangil, 2015), others focused on financial performance and business sustainability indicators (Acar, Kılıç, & Güner, 2015; Aksoylu & Taşdemir, 2020; Bilge, Badurdeen, Seliger, & Jawahir, 2014; Ergüden & Çatlıoğlu, 2016). Although some works conducted in Turkey aimed to assess the sustainability performances of the

businesses by using Multi-Criteria Decision Making (MCDM) methods, they are quite limited in number. Furthermore, while some of the studies for sustainability measurement dealt with a single dimension of sustainability (i.e., environment), others tackled only single company cases (Alp, Öztel, & Köse, 2015; Öztel, Köse, & Aytekin, 2012). Thus, there is a need to increase the number of studies measuring the sustainability performances of industrial organizations in a holistic approach.

Using the pre-determined methodology, composite indicators are the set of indicators created by performing the phases shown in Figure 1 below (Zhou et al., 2012). Even though composite indicators are mainly the tools for the evaluation of countries' sustainability performances in terms of their economic, social, and environmental progress, they can also be good instruments for the measurement of sustainability performances of the industrial organizations (Butnariu & Avasilcai, 2015).

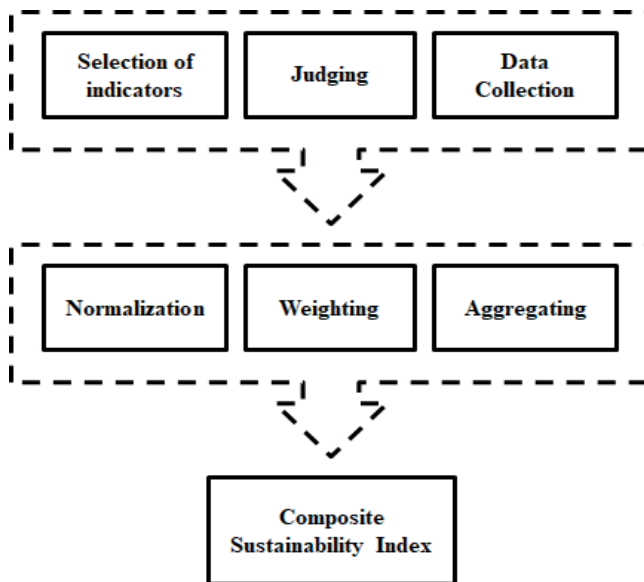


Figure 1: Steps for Creating CI for Sustainability Measurement (Zhou et al., 2012:792)

This study aims to develop a new CI using the methodology shown in Figure 1 and to measure and compare the sustainability performances of ten manufacturing companies operating in the Istanbul Stock Exchange (BIST) Sustainability Index.

2. Literature Review

This section provides brief information about sustainable development and corporate sustainability concepts. After giving a summary of developments of sustainability assessment tools and their categorization efforts, it concludes with information on composite indexes or indicators used in the literature.

2.1. Sustainable Development and Corporate Sustainability

Although sustainable development (SD) and corporate sustainability (CS) are two different concepts, they are closely related to each other. It is possible to say that these two concepts comp-

lement each other in theory and practice (Feil et al., 2019). While sustainable development covers the macro-level applications of the triple bottom line, corporate sustainability involves the micro-practices, which are at the business or corporate level. Even the definition of sustainable development continues to be ambiguous; the World Commission on Environment and Development defines it as "...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This definition is extensively recognized worldwide. It could be challenging to understand sustainable development since it is a complex, multi-dimensional subject and focuses on intergenerational equity based on economic, social, and environmental aspects (Ciegis, Ramanauskiene, & Martinkus, 2009).

Sustainable development is such an approach that it requires the development of human welfare with environmental protection and social equality in a balanced manner. From this point of view, Bork, de Souza, de Oliveira Gomes, Canhete, & De Barba (2016) state that natural resources are not unlimited, climate change accelerates with the effect of greenhouse gases, the extinction of some living species disrupts the balance of the ecosystem, and pollution affects human health negatively. The environmental problems mentioned above cannot be ignored. Similarly, sustainable development must comply with the laws and regulations in force in the relevant countries for decent working conditions, equal payment for equal jobs, and be sensitive to ethical issues.

Corporate/business sustainability is defined as "*adopting business strategies and activities that meet the needs of the enterprise and its stakeholder today while protecting, sustaining and enhancing the human and natural resources that will be needed in the future*" (Deloitte & Touche, 1992). To be a sustainable organization, a program, an activity, or a project should meet all the following criteria (Brocket & Rezaee, 2012): (1) create economic value, (2) increase public welfare, (3) be socially acceptable, (4) be sensitive and respectful to the environment, (5) comply with ethical rules, and (6) comply with applicable rules and regulations.

Similarly, Veleva and Ellenbecker (2001) stated that the following conditions must be met for industries to be sustainable: (1) reduction of natural resource and energy usage, (2) reusing, or recycling of materials to avoid waste, (3) disposal of non-recyclable and environmentally acceptable wastes, (4) use of clean technologies in the production process and product life cycle, (5) reducing transportation conditions, (6) planning of adaptable and durable products that are easy to repair, (7) supporting social issues, and (8) making economic feasibility at every opportunity.

2.2. Sustainability Assessment Tools and Their Categorization

It is difficult to define sustainable business, which is a rather vague and broad concept. It is difficult to reveal the sustainability degree for a company since no model and measurement tool has been agreed on. Labuschagne et al. (2005) stated that managers do not have enough tools to measure the sustainability performance of organizations. Similarly, Singh Murty, Gupta, & Dikshit (2007) highlighted that no framework provides a comprehensive assessment of sustainability performance management in businesses. Briassoulis (2001) demonstrated that the most dominant factor for not integrating the sustainability approach into the organization is that companies do not know how to measure it systematically, and the tools supporting sustainability management practices are inadequate. Although many businesses have adopted standards and guidelines such as ISO 14000, Social Accountability (SA) 8000, Social Responsibility and Management System ISO 26000, and AccountAbility 1000, these are only recommendations and suggestions.

Some authors have examined and made different categorizations of sustainability assessment tools from different perspectives. For example, Ness, Urbel-Piirsalu, Anderberg, & Olsson (2007)

analyzed and categorized whether tools were integrated or non-integrated. They also examined and classified whether the tools were designed for the product or policy level. Furthermore, Feng, Joung, Che, & Li (2010 a, b) analyzed the tools in terms of hierarchy, and whether they were created for the global, country, sector, company, product, or process level. Labuschagne et al. (2005) reviewed whether the tools comprised a set of indicators and integrated the three dimensions of sustainability. Madanchi, Thiede, Sohdi & Herrmann (2019) made a practical and easily understandable categorization, which is depicted in Figure 2. Authors classified and categorized the sustainability assessment tools by looking at the following factors:

- If the tool integrates the three dimensions of sustainability: economic, social, and environmental,
- Whether the tool covers the global, country, sector, corporate, or product level and,
- Whether the tool is developed by an organization or a company.

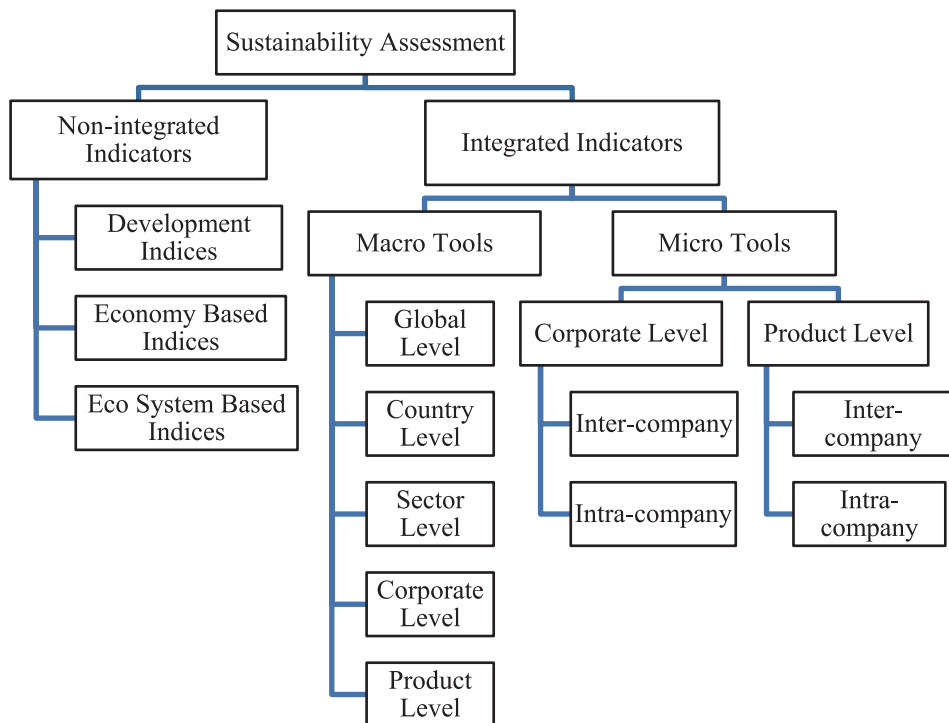


Figure 2: Categorization of Assessment Tools (Madanchi et al., 2019)

The most baffling aspect of measuring sustainability, including industrial organizations, is the uncertainty inherent in sustainability and the difficulties encountered in quantifying its sustainability effects (Büyüközkan & Karabulut, 2018; Lee & Saen, 2012). However, if an indicator set reflects the measurements of the dimensions of sustainability, it can provide a valuable picture of the sustainability status of an organization from a holistic perspective. Using composite indexes to evaluate companies' measurement and sustainability might be easier to support the decision-making system since it brings multi-dimensional issues into one index and provides comp-

prehensive information (Zhou et al., 2012). Measurement results can also help companies establish focus areas for sustainability improvement (Joung et al., 2012).

Sustainability assessment aims to evaluate the status of an organization in terms of the triple-bottom-line of sustainable development (Lozano & Huisingh, 2011). It is a significant step to have a sustainability assessment tool that evaluates the sustainability performances of business organizations or industries, which provides a fast and integrated assessment with a minimum time effort. The sustainability concept contains differences from country to country and region to region because of cultural, social, and economic differences. It requires adjusted sustainability assessment tools that enable measurement (Zijp et al., 2017).

2.3. Composite Indexes (CIs) in the Literature

Business management can get benefits by using sustainability assessment tools, in short, to be able to monitor the sustainability developments of the organization. Thus, managers can identify possible improvements or deterioration in their sustainability activities by comparing their results with other businesses (Madanchi et al., 2019).

Composite or integrated indexes have started to be an accepted and increasingly important tool in informing stakeholders about the sustainability performance of organizations, as well as creating sustainability strategies and policies and providing effective internal and external communication (Harik, El Hachem, Medini, & Bernard, 2015; Helleno, De Moraes, & Simon, 2017; Singh, Murty, Gupta, & Dikshit, 2009). Within this context, possible pros and cons of CIs are listed in Table 1 (Nardo, Saisana, Saltelli, Tarantola, Hoffman, & Giovannini, 2008: 13).

Table 1: Pros and Cons of CIs

| Pros of Composite Index | Cons of Composite Index |
|---|--|
| Summarize multi-dimensional and complex issues and support the decision-making system | May send misleading or non-robust messages if poorly constructed |
| Provide an easier and quick picture of the organization's sustainability status | The big picture may draw simplistic policy conclusions to decision-makers |
| Provide a good link with the public and stakeholders and raise their interest | Selection of sub-indicators, deciding for the model, weighting, normalizing and aggregating indicators may raise some problems and may need some statistically acceptable treatments |
| Give more information with a single unit or figure | |

Mainly, constructing a sustainability index requires following these procedures systematically: (1) Selecting suitable indicators for each dimension, (2) Weighting the selected indicators after normalization and, (3) Aggregating all sub-indexes into a composite index (Gan, Fernandez, Guo, Wilson, Zhao, Zhou, & Wu, 2017).

Weighting and aggregating methods are important steps for constructing sustainability indexes because of the inherent complexity and interlinkages among the dimensions of the sustainability concept (Nardo et al., 2008). Gan et al. (2017) categorized the weighting methods most used in the literature as follows:

(1) Equal weighting, (2) Statistic-based weighting (Principal Component Analysis or Factor Analysis, Benefit of Doubt Approach, Regression Analysis, Unobserved Component Models) and, (3) Public/Expert opinion-based weighting (Budget Allocation, Public Opinion, Analytic Hierarchy Process, Conjoint Analysis). They identified the most used aggregation methods as (1) Additive aggregation, (2) Geometric aggregation and, (3) Non-compensatory aggregation.

However, one of the most discussed issues on sustainability indicators in the literature is the number of indicators used in measurement. According to Linke et al. (2013), the number of indi-

cators determined needs to be enough to perform the desired analysis, but not more. Similarly, Singh et al. (2007), Krajnc and Glavic (2005), Veleva and Ellenbecker (2001) and Tokos, Pintaric, & Krajnc (2012) emphasized that performance evaluation using too many sustainability indicators would be difficult.

The other problematic area for measurement tools is the selection of the indicators for the evaluation model. Selection and prioritization of sustainability indicators from many indicators requires logical and reasonable explanation. Niemeijer (2002) argues that indicators may be chosen for being: (1) data-driven when the main concern is data availability, or (2) theory-driven when the quality of the data has the utmost importance, or (3) policy-driven when a specific policy is to be followed. Furthermore, evaluation tools need to be generic and applicable to large firms and SMEs as well (Veleva & Ellenbecker, 2001; Cagno, Neri, Howard, Brenna, & Trianni 2019).

There have not been many integrated sustainability assessment tools developed by researchers to measure company-level sustainability with a holistic perspective. Docekalova and Kocmanova (2016) created an integrated corporate sustainability index that can be used in businesses by offering the set of main indicators used by organizations, such as the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), International Integrated Reporting Council (IIRC), and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which work on corporate sustainability performance measurement. The number of indicators dropped when the correlation and factor analysis was conducted from the first indicator pool, without any reduction from the initial information. They removed repeated information from the model, and as a result, they obtained 17 critical performance indicators for the model. With the proposed model, it was possible to measure four dimensions (economic, social, environmental, and governance) of the industrial organizations. The indicators in the model with their properties are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: CI Developed by Docekalova and Kocmanova (2016)

| Dimension | KPI | Indicator | Formulas | Type | Benchmark |
|-------------|-------|---|--|------------|-------------------------|
| Environment | KPI-1 | Consumption of recycled materials and raw materials | $(\text{Total recycled materials} / \text{Total materials}) \times 100$ | Max | 90% |
| | KPI-2 | Fuel consumption | $(\text{Annual fuel consumption} / \text{Annual production}) \times 100$ | Min | Approaching to 0 |
| | KPI-3 | Waste production | $(\text{Annual waste production} / \text{Annual Production}) \times 100$ | Min | Approaching to 0 |
| | KPI-4 | Environmental Costs | $(\text{Non-investment annual environmental costs} / \text{Annual value added}) \times 100$ | Min | Approaching to 0 |
| Social | KPI-1 | Percentage of employment for collective agreement | $(\text{number of employee for collective agreement} / \text{Average annual employee}) \times 100$ | Max | 100% |
| | KPI-2 | Occupational diseases | $(\text{Annual occupational diseases reported} / \text{Average annual employee}) \times 100$ | Min | 0% |
| | KPI-3 | Percentage of products or Services for which the impact on health and safety for customers is evaluated during life cycle | $(\text{Number of products and services evaluated for the customer safety} / \text{Total products produced}) \times 100$ | Max | 100% |
| | KPI-4 | Expenditures on identifying and ensuring customer satisfaction | $(\text{Expenditures on identifying customer satisfaction} / \text{Annual value added}) \times 100$ | Max Min | Can not be determined |
| | KPI-5 | Wage discrimination | $(\text{Average wage of men} / \text{Average wage of women}) \times 100$ | Max Min | Alternating preferences |
| | KPI-6 | Violations of code of ethics | $(\text{Number of cases} / \text{Average annual number of employee}) \times 100$ | Min | 0% |
| Economic | KPI-1 | Cash flows | $(\text{Net increase/decrease in cash} / \text{Annual value added}) \times 100$ | Max | Best in group |
| | KPI-2 | Return on assets | $(\text{EBIT} / \text{assets}) \times 100$ | Max | Best in group |
| Governance | KPI-1 | Contributions to political parties, politicians and other institutions | $(\text{Total annual such contributions} / \text{Annual value added}) \times 100$ | Min | 0% |
| | KPI-2 | Percentage of complaints received from stakeholders | $(\text{Number of complaints received} / \text{Number of board members}) \times 100$ | Min | 0% |
| | KPI-3 | Percentage of women in the board | $(\text{Number of women in the board} / \text{Number of board members}) \times 100$ | Max Min | 50% |
| | KPI-4 | Percentage of achieved strategic goals | $(\text{Number of achieved strategic goals} / \text{Total strategic objectives}) \times 100$ | Max | 100% |
| | KPI-5 | Sanctions for non-compliance with laws and regulations | $(\text{Number of sanctions} / \text{Number of board members}) \times 100$ | Min | 0% |

A similar study was conducted by Feil et al. (2019). In this study, the researchers determined the characteristic features of sustainability indicators by scanning the literature and considering repetitive sustainability indicators. They reduced the number of indicators in the environmental, social, and economic dimensions by 93.7%, 91.8%, and 91.3%, respectively. Thus, they reduced the number of indicators from 753 to 69. The indicator set offered by the authors is presented in Table 3. It denotes the sustainability indicator pool by Feil et al.

Table 3: The Sustainability Indicator Set Presented by Feil et al. (2019)

| S.NU. | ENVIRONMENT | FN | S.NU. | SOCIAL | FN | S.NU. | ECONOMIC | FN | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|----|--|---------------------------------|----|--|--------------------------------|----|----|--|--|
| Electric Energy | | | Employees | | | Costs / Expense | | | | | |
| 1 | Electric energy consumption | 38 | 1 | Number of Employees | 12 | 1 | Nonconformity costs | 2 | | | |
| 2 | Use of renewable energies | 9 | 2 | Turnover index | 10 | 2 | Expense with wages | 10 | | | |
| Water | | | 3 | Trainings for employees (hours) | 15 | 3 | Expense with taxes | 6 | | | |
| 3 | Water consumption | 31 | 4 | Level of teh formal instruction | 6 | 4 | Environmental expenses | 8 | | | |
| 4 | Reuse and recycling | 3 | 5 | Discrimination | 7 | 5 | Operational expense | 8 | | | |
| 5 | Water acidification | 6 | 6 | Wages and benefits | 8 | Profit | | | | | |
| Waste | | | 7 | Health and security | 21 | 6 | Liquid profit | 13 | | | |
| 6 | Volume of solid waste | 28 | 8 | Career and stability | 6 | 7 | Financial indicators | 5 | | | |
| 7 | Volume od hazardous waste | 9 | 9 | Participation in management | 4 | 8 | Edded Value | 13 | | | |
| Emission | | | 10 | Complaining | 4 | 9 | Productivity | 4 | | | |
| 8 | Volume of atmospheric gases | 42 | 11 | Deaths | 4 | Investments | | | | | |
| Product | | | 12 | Job creations | 7 | 10 | Capital for investments | 10 | | | |
| 9 | Volume of recycling | 6 | Work | | | 11 | Benefits for employees | 5 | | | |
| 10 | Volume of reuse | 5 | 13 | Child labor | 7 | 12 | Investments for R&D | 8 | | | |
| 11 | Durability level | 11 | 14 | Satisfaction level | 5 | 13 | Return on assets | 2 | | | |
| Resources / Materials | | | 15 | Intensity level | 5 | Suppliers | | | | | |
| 12 | Consumption of natural resources | 29 | 16 | Noise level | 6 | 14 | Local suppliers | 5 | | | |
| 13 | Consumption of recycling materials | 9 | 17 | Accidents / Injuries | 15 | Gross Revenue | | | | | |
| 14 | Hazardous materials | 3 | 18 | Number of Diseases | 10 | 15 | Gross Revenue value | 14 | | | |
| Effluents | | | 19 | Management quality | 5 | Shareholders / Director's Board | | | | | |
| 15 | Volume of liquid materials | 26 | Clients / Consumers | | | 16 | Participation of shareholders | 8 | | | |
| Labels and Certificates | | | 20 | Satisfaction level | 7 | 17 | Meetings of board of directors | 5 | | | |
| 16 | Environmental labels and certificates | 6 | 21 | Number of complaining consumers | 5 | Institutional | | | | | |
| Logistics | | | Community and Stakeholders | | | 18 | Number of organizational units | 7 | | | |
| 17 | Transportation and logistics | 6 | 22 | Engagement of community | 21 | 19 | Contributions or donations | 2 | | | |
| 18 | Reverse logistics | 3 | 23 | Local partnership | 10 | 20 | Competitiveness / market | 4 | | | |
| Environmental investments / Spendings | | | 24 | Investments for community | 8 | 21 | Expense with clients | 5 | | | |
| 19 | Environmental spendings | 14 | Ethics | | | Total frequency = 177 Total of indicators = 161 Percentage of compilation = % 91,3 Number of compiled indicators = 21 | | | | | |
| 20 | Environmental fines | 3 | Ethical behaviour | | | | | | 18 | | |
| 21 | Environmental management system | 9 | Total frequency = 224 Total of indicators = 244 Percentage of compilation = % 91,8 Number of compiled indicators = 25 | | | | | | 22 | | |
| Environmental Impacts / Degradations | | | | | | | | | 23 | | |
| 22 | Impacts / Environmental degradation | 25 | | | | | | | 24 | | |
| Soil | | | | | | | | | 25 | | |
| 23 | Quality and use of soil | 5 | Ethics | | | | | | 21 | | |
| Total frequency = 326 Total of indicators = 348 Percentage of compilation = % 93,7 Number of compiled indicators = 23 | | | | | | | | | | | |

Taking into consideration the growing number of frameworks and tools with different focus areas, Madanchi et al. (2019) developed a new CI for manufacturing companies to evaluate their sustainability performances. The total number of the indicators in the sub-dimensions was 20, and the tool is depicted in Table 4.

Table 4: The CI developed by Madanchi et al. (2019)

| SN | Dimension | Theme | Indicator | Unit |
|----|-------------|---|--|----------|
| 1 | Environment | Natural resources and assets | Energy use | MWh |
| 2 | | | Material use | kg |
| 3 | | | Freshwater consumption | m3 |
| 4 | | | Waste generation kg | kg |
| 5 | | Pollution | Global warming potential | t CO2-eq |
| 6 | | | Acidification potential | t SO2-eq |
| 7 | Social | Health and Safety | Working accidents | - |
| 8 | | | Safety training | - |
| 9 | | | Hazardous materials | kg |
| 10 | | Labor development and work satisfaction | Training and education | h |
| 11 | | | Sickness frequency | days |
| 12 | | | Employee attrition rate | % |
| 13 | | Equal opportunity and decent work | Share of women in workforce | % |
| 14 | | | Share of women in management positions | % |
| 15 | | | Wages at lowest wage group | \$ |
| 16 | Economic | Financials | Net profit margin | % |
| 17 | | | Return of capital employed | % |
| 18 | | Development | Investment in R &D | \$ |
| 19 | | | Investment in Staff Development | \$ |
| 20 | | | Expenditures on EHS Compliance | \$ |

3. Methodology

This study aims to measure the corporate sustainability performances of manufacturing companies operating in the BIST Sustainability Index in Turkey. For this purpose, a new CI was developed using the methodology shown in Figure 1 above. Creating a composite index requires the selection of the appropriate sustainability indicators for each dimension. To do this, the integrated measurement tools developed in the literature were reviewed and a new one was created by selecting the appropriate sustainability indicators for each dimension. The proposed CI was presented to academic experts to receive their confirmation for content validity analysis. In the next step,

the selected indicators were examined to determine whether they contributed positively or negatively to sustainable development. Since it is not possible to combine indicators with different units without normalization, the next step was the normalization process. After that, weights were assigned to each indicator using the AHP method to obtain a meaningful sustainability picture of the organization. The final steps were finding the aggregated values of sub-indexes and total sustainability scores of the companies for the relevant years.

3.1. Determining Indicator groups and Obtaining Expert Evaluations for the Proposed Composite Index

To determine which sustainability indicators are to be included in the proposed CI, other indexes developed by researchers in the literature were identified. Composite indexes developed by Docekalova and Kocmanova (2016), Feil et al. (2019), Cagno et al. (2019), and Madanchi et al. (2019) were carefully examined. The proposed CI model was built based on an understanding that it should cover the main sustainability issues with a minimum number of indicators. The choice of the indicators is a kind of process based on the preferences of the authors, so receiving experts' evaluation could be a logical way to be sure of the validity of the content of the developed CI. The experts were selected from among faculty members working at universities in Turkey. All experts were academics who have worked on corporate sustainability and whose articles on sustainability have been published in national or international journals. They were determined by using internet database search engines. The experts (n=20) were asked to evaluate the sustainability measurement effectiveness of the model by choosing one of the options as "very good", "acceptable", or "weak". The questionnaire was sent to the experts by e-mail. Fourteen of the twenty academics responded to the questionnaire. According to the experts' evaluations, the content of the proposed CI was acceptable and reliable. The developed CI is presented in Table 5 and the content validity analysis of the CI is presented in Appendix A.

Table 5: The CI Developed for Turkish Manufacturing Companies

| DIMENSION | THEME | INDICATOR | UNIT |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Economic | Financial Efficiency | Return on assets (ROA) | % |
| | | Return on investment (ROI) | % |
| | | Return on equity (ROE) | % |
| | Investments | R&D Investments | Turkish Lira (TL) |
| Environment | Natural Resources | Total energy consumption per unit production | GJ / tonnes |
| | | Total water consumption | M3 |
| | | Reused water per unit production | M3 / tonnes |
| | Pollution | Total waste per unit production | % tonnes or kg |
| | | Total recycled waste per unit production | % tonnes or kg |
| | | Total hazardous waste per unit production | % tonnes or kg |
| | | Total GHG emissions per unit production | t-CO2 |
| | | Air emissions per unit production | t-SO2 |
| | Environmental Development | Environmental investments per unit production | TL / tonnes |
| | Social | Employee Development & Job Satisfaction | Total employee number |
| Employee turn over rate | | | % |
| Total employee trainings | | | hour |
| Training hours per employee | | | hour |
| OHS | | OHS training per employee | |
| | | Accident Rate (Formula 1 below) | % |
| | | Accident frequency rate (Formula 2 below) | % |
| Gender Equity and Decent Job | | Female employee rate | % |
| | | Female manager rate | % |
| | | Rate of collective agreement for employees | % |
| Formula 1 = (Total lost working day / Total net working days) X 1.000 | | | |
| Formula 2= (Total accident number / Net working days X working hours per day) X 1.000.000 | | | |

3.2. Determining Impacts of the Indicators (Positive/Negative Contribution to SD)

It is necessary to determine whether the indicators used in the developed CI have positive or negative impacts on Sustainable Development (SD). While positive indicators' (I⁺) increasing value, such as total employee training, contributes positively to SD, negative indicators' (I⁻) increasing value, such as total waste per unit production, contributes negatively to SD. In the normalization phase, positive and negative type indicators have different formulas. Table 6 summarizes the impact on the sustainable development of the indicators.

Table 6: Indicators Measuring Positive and Negative Impacts to SD

| S.NU | INDICATORS MEASURES POSITIVE IMPACTS | S.NU | INDICATORS MEASURES NEGATIVE IMPACTS |
|------|---|------|--|
| 1 | Return on assets (ROA) | 1 | Total energy consumption per unit production |
| 2 | Return on investment (ROI) | 2 | Total water consumption |
| 3 | Return on equity (ROE) | 3 | Total waste per unit production |
| 4 | R&D Investments | 4 | Total hazardous waste per unit production |
| 5 | Reused water per unit production | 5 | Total GHG emissions per unit production |
| 6 | Total recycled waste per unit production | 6 | Air emissions per unit production |
| 7 | Environmental investments per unit production | 7 | Employee turn over rate |
| 8 | Total employee number | 8 | Accident Rate (Formula 1 below) |
| 9 | Total employee trainings | 9 | Accident frequency rate (Formula 2 below) |
| 10 | Training hours per employee | | |
| 11 | OHS training per employee | | |
| 12 | Female employee rate | | |
| 13 | Female manager rate | | |
| 14 | Rate of collective agreement for employees | | |

3.3. Normalization of the Sustainability Indicators

Normalization is one of the important steps for sustainability measurement. What needs to be done here is to create a common measurement unit that will enable indicators with different measurement units to be aggregated. Thus, it is possible to illustrate indicators with many different units with a single value. Therefore, normalization ensures that the original units of the indicators expressed in different units are converted to a common unit so that different indicators can be summed up and expressed with a single score. For example, adding the unit value of the energy consumption indicator in the environmental dimension, which is expressed in gigajoules, with the value expressed in m³ of the water consumption indicator, is only possible after the normalization process.

As is stated by Zang, Xu, Yeh, Liu, & Zhou (2016) and Kandakoğlu, Frini, & Amor (2019), evaluating corporate sustainability can be seen as a multi-criteria decision-making problem since sustainability indicators are numerous and the measurement units of each indicator are frequently different. There are no standardized normalization techniques in Multi-Criteria Decision-Making (MCDM) methods (Özdağoğlu, 2013). Among the normalization techniques, the linear maximum technique, linear maximum-minimum technique, linear sum technique, vector normalization te-

chnique, and logarithmic normalization technique can be used when MCDM methods are applied (Vafaei et al., 2016). The linear maximum-minimum technique was used for normalization in this study. The formulas for the selected technique are presented below:

Positive Indicators:
$$N_{ijt} = (I_{ijt} - I_{ijMin}) / (I_{ijMax} - I_{ijMin})$$

Negative Indicators:
$$N_{ijt} = 1 - (I_{ijt} - I_{ijMin}) / (I_{ijMax} - I_{ijMin})$$

As can be seen from the formulas, the measured value of the sustainability indicator in the year “t” is subtracted from the measured minimum value in the time series and normalized by proportioning the difference between the maximum and minimum values in the time series. The same is done by subtracting the number 1 for the negative indicators.

3.4. Weighting the Sustainability Indicators of the Proposed CI

At this stage, it is necessary to determine the weight values of each indicator in the proposed CI. Generally, the weighting of indicators can be obtained with three different methods: equal weighting, statistic-based, and public/expert opinion. In the public/expert opinion method, data envelopment, budget allocation, and analytical hierarchy process techniques are used (Gan et al., 2017). Singh et al. (2007) stated that AHP is the leading model for MCDM problems since it has many advantages, such as being easily understood, easily applied by managers, and being capable of taking quantitative and qualitative properties of the indicators into consideration. In this study, the AHP method was used to assign the weights of the indicators.

AHP, developed by Saaty (1980), is a method that enables decision making in multivariate environments. It considers the criteria and sub-criteria to be used in problem solving in a hierarchical structure that prioritizes and weights these criteria with pair-wise comparisons. AHP permits the decision-makers to consider both objective and subjective evaluations and includes them in the decision-making process. In this method, experts evaluate how important indicator j is relative to indicator i. Experts assign values to relevant indicators on a scale of 1 to 9 to show the intensity of preference (Saaty, 1980).

To weigh the proposed CI indicators, expert opinions were received. For this purpose, 20 experts, consisting of 11 academics and 9 managers, were asked to compare each indicator with others in the related dimension and to assign a score between 1 and 9 to that indicator, in short, they were asked to make pair-wise comparisons. After the pair-wise comparison, results were indicated in a matrix, and the weight value of each indicator was found. Academic experts were selected from faculty members working at universities in Turkey, while expert managers were selected from among those who work as managers in various companies in Manisa Organized Industrial Zone. Selected managers are continuing their master thesis program at Manisa Celal Bayar University and work in human resources, production, supply chain, and other units in their companies.

The weight values of each indicator in the proposed CI are presented in Table 7, and the expert evaluations are presented in Appendix B.

Table 7: Weighted Values of Indicators

| Dimension | Indicators | Weighted Value | Dimension | Indicators | Weighted Value |
|---------------|---|----------------|-----------|---|----------------|
| Economic | Return on assets (ROA) | 0.250 | Social | Total employee number | 0.105 |
| | Return on investment (ROI) | 0.208 | | Female employee rate | 0.088 |
| | Return on Equity (ROE) | 0.292 | | Female manager rate | 0.088 |
| | R&D Investments | 0.250 | | Rate collective agreements for employee | 0.088 |
| Environmental | Total energy consumption per unit production | 0.111 | | Employee turnover rate | 0.123 |
| | Total water consumption | 0.111 | | Total employee trainings | 0.105 |
| | Reused water per unit production | 0.111 | | Training hours per employee | 0.105 |
| | Total GHG emission per unit production | 0.111 | | OHS training per employee | 0.088 |
| | Air emission per unit production | 0.111 | | Accident rate | 0.105 |
| | Total waste per unit production | 0.093 | | Accident frequency rate | 0.105 |
| | Total recycled waste per unit production | 0.111 | | | |
| | Total hazardous waste per unit production | 0.111 | | | |
| | Environmental investments per unit production | 0.130 | | | |

3.5. Calculation of Sub-Indexes and CI

The sustainability value of each indicator was obtained by multiplying the normalized and weighted values of the indicator. Sustainability values of all indicators in the sub-index were aggregated to find the total sustainability value of the sub-index. By dividing this value by the number of indicators in the sub-index, the final sustainability value of the relevant index was obtained (arithmetic or additive aggregation method). Similarly, the total value of the CI in the relevant year was found by adding the total values of the three sub-indices, specifically the economic, social, and environmental dimensions. The formulation of these processes is presented below.

Total Value of Sub-index = $1/n \sum W_{ji} * I_{Nji}$ $ji =$ from 1 to n, where W_{ji} is the weight of the indicator i in the group j ; I_{ji} is the normalized value of the indicator i in the group j .

Total Value of CI = \sum Sub-index _{j} $j =$ from 1 to n ($n=3$ sub-indices, namely economic, environment and social dimensions)

4. Analysis and Findings

This section analyzes the data attained from the sustainability and the business activity reports of the ten manufacturing companies following the procedures mentioned in the methodology section. All manufacturing companies listed in Table 8 were examined from the years 2014-2018. In this article, only the calculations of the Arçelik company are shown to be practical. The data of other companies were calculated similarly and their sustainability performances in the relevant years were found (see first author's dissertation for all calculations: Alaca, 2020).

Table 8: Manufacturing Companies Examined Operating in BIST Sustainability Index

| S.NU. | Examined Companies | S.NU. | Examined Companies |
|-------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|
| 1 | Anadolu Cam Inc. | 6 | Erdemir Inc. |
| 2 | Anel Elektrik Inc. | 7 | Kordsa Inc. |
| 3 | Arçelik Inc. | 8 | Şişe Cam Inc. |
| 4 | Brisa Inc. | 9 | Tat Gıda Inc. |
| 5 | Çimsa Inc. | 10 | Ülker Inc. |

4.1. Corporate Sustainability Performance Evaluation of Arçelik from the Years 2014 to 2018

The annual sustainability and activity reports published by the company covering the years 2014 to 2018 were examined and the quantitative values of the indicators in the CI are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Data Obtained from Sustainability & Activity Reports of Arçelik Inc.

| Dimension | ICSET Indicators | Arçelik | | | | |
|-------------|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | 2018 | 2017 | 2016 | 2015 | 2014 |
| Economic | Return on assets (ROA) | 0.0321 | 0.0453 | 0.0856 | 0.0685 | 0.0501 |
| | Return on investment (ROI) | 0.0357 | 0.044 | 0.079 | 0.0601 | 0.0574 |
| | Return on equity (ROE) | 0.1108 | 0.1339 | 0.2409 | 0.2012 | 0.1411 |
| | R&D Investments | 204,792 | 170,177 | 151,668 | 125,173 | 102,055 |
| Environment | Total energy consumption per unit production | 1.659 | 3.154 | 2.998 | 2.669 | 2.170 |
| | Total water consumption | 1.736 | 1.967 | 1.875 | 1.642 | 1.803 |
| | Reused water per unit production | 1.651 | 1.566 | 1.547 | 1.273 | 1.023 |
| | Total GHG emissions per unit production | 0.157 | 0.162 | 0.131 | 0.115 | 0.122 |
| | Air emissions per unit production | No data | No data | No data | No data | No data |
| | Total waste per unit production | 0.157 | 0.156 | 0.141 | 0.136 | 0.148 |
| | Total recycled waste per unit production | 0.137 | 0.138 | 0.119 | 0.031 | 0.050 |
| | Total hazardous waste per unit production | 0.0036 | 0.0043 | 0.0047 | 0.0046 | 0.0040 |
| | Environmental investments per unit production | 0.45 | 0.35 | 0.32 | 0.27 | 0.20 |
| Social | Total employee number | 28,119 | 27,360 | 29,551 | 26,337 | 24,876 |
| | Female employee rate | 0.194 | 0.168 | 0.154 | 0.166 | 0.165 |
| | Female manager rate | 0.211 | 0.228 | 0.221 | 0.210 | 0.184 |
| | Rate of collective agreement for employees | 0.60 | 0.63 | 0.68 | 0.74 | 0.75 |
| | Employee turn over rate | 0.184 | 0.229 | 0.135 | 0.142 | 0.125 |
| | Total employee trainings | 599,276 | 603,428 | 443,573 | 534,007 | 517,237 |
| | Training hours per employee | 21.31 | 22.06 | 15.01 | 20.28 | 20.79 |
| | OHS training per employee | 7.02 | 11.02 | 8.25 | 6.78 | 5.78 |
| | Accident Rate (Formula 1 below) | 1.05 | 2.96 | 2.38 | 6.37 | 3.51 |
| | Accident frequency rate (Formula 2 below) | 0.010 | 0.033 | 0.021 | 0.036 | 0.040 |

The values of indicators belonging to Arçelik Inc. from the years 2014 to 2018 were calculated to correspond between 0 and 1 by using the normalization formulas. The values of the normalized indicators were multiplied by the weight values determined from expert opinion, and the sustainability performance value of that indicator in the relevant year was calculated. Obtained normalization, weight, and sustainability values of all indicators in the proposed CI are presented in Table 10.

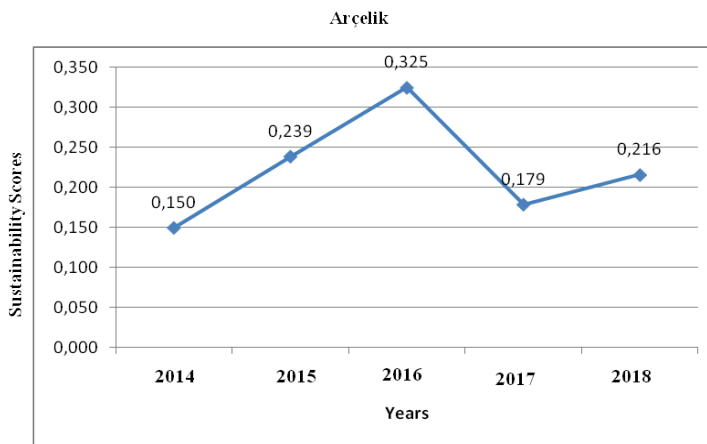
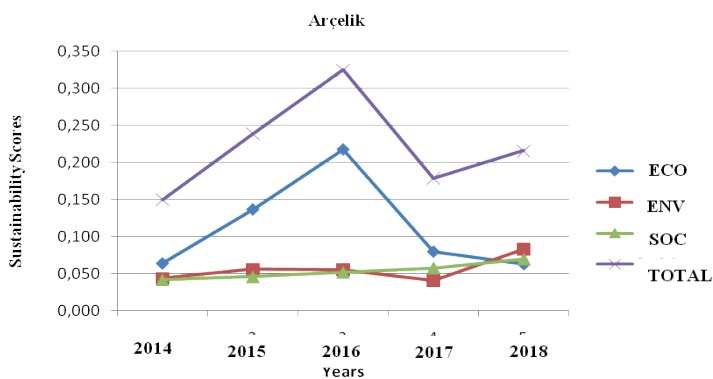
Table 10: Calculated Normalization and Sustainability Values for Arçelik Inc.

| Indicator | Arçelik | | | | | Weight | Arçelik | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 2018 | 2017 | 2016 | 2015 | 2014 | | 2018 | 2017 | 2016 | 2015 | 2014 |
| ROA | 0.00 | 0.25 | 1.00 | 0.68 | 0.34 | 0.250 | 0.000 | 0.062 | 0.250 | 0.170 | 0.084 |
| ROI | 0.00 | 0.19 | 1.00 | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.208 | 0.000 | 0.040 | 0.208 | 0.117 | 0.104 |
| ROE | 0.00 | 0.18 | 1.00 | 0.69 | 0.23 | 0.292 | 0.000 | 0.052 | 0.292 | 0.203 | 0.068 |
| R&D INV | 1.00 | 0.66 | 0.48 | 0.23 | 0.00 | 0.250 | 0.250 | 0.166 | 0.121 | 0.056 | 0.000 |
| Positive Normalization = $(i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ Negative Normalization = $1 - (i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ | | | | | | <i>Economic Sub-Index</i> | 0.063 | 0.080 | 0.218 | 0.137 | 0.064 |
| TEC | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.32 | 0.66 | 0.111 | 0.111 | 0.000 | 0.012 | 0.036 | 0.073 |
| TWC | 0.71 | 0.00 | 0.28 | 1.00 | 0.51 | 0.111 | 0.079 | 0.000 | 0.032 | 0.111 | 0.056 |
| RW | 1.00 | 0.87 | 0.84 | 0.40 | 0.00 | 0.111 | 0.111 | 0.096 | 0.093 | 0.044 | 0.000 |
| GHG | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.67 | 1.00 | 0.85 | 0.111 | 0.012 | 0.000 | 0.074 | 0.111 | 0.095 |
| AEM | No data | No data | No data | No data | No data | 0.111 | No data | No data | No data | No data | No data |
| TWP | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.79 | 1.00 | 0.41 | 0.093 | 0.000 | 0.002 | 0.074 | 0.093 | 0.038 |
| TRW | 0.99 | 1.00 | 0.83 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.111 | 0.109 | 0.111 | 0.092 | 0.000 | 0.019 |
| THW | 1.00 | 0.38 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.65 | 0.111 | 0.111 | 0.042 | 0.000 | 0.013 | 0.072 |
| EIN | 1.00 | 0.060 | 0.50 | 0.30 | 0.00 | 0.130 | 0.130 | 0.078 | 0.065 | 0.039 | 0.000 |
| Positive Normalization = $(i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ Negative Normalization = $1 - (i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ | | | | | | <i>Environment Sub-Index</i> | 0.083 | 0.041 | 0.055 | 0.056 | 0.044 |
| TEN | 0.69 | 0.53 | 1.00 | 0.31 | 0.00 | 0.105 | 0.073 | 0.056 | 0.105 | 0.033 | 0.000 |
| FER | 1.00 | 0.35 | 0.00 | 0.28 | 0.25 | 0.088 | 0.088 | 0.031 | 0.000 | 0.025 | 0.022 |
| FMR | 0.61 | 1.00 | 0.84 | 0.59 | 0.00 | 0.088 | 0.054 | 0.088 | 0.074 | 0.052 | 0.000 |
| CAR | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.53 | 0.93 | 1.00 | 0.088 | 0.000 | 0.018 | 0.047 | 0.082 | 0.088 |
| ETR | 0.43 | 0.00 | 0.90 | 0.84 | 1.00 | 0.123 | 0.053 | 0.000 | 0.111 | 0.103 | 0.123 |
| TET | 0.97 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.57 | 0.46 | 0.105 | 0.102 | 0.105 | 0.000 | 0.059 | 0.048 |
| THE | 0.89 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.75 | 0.82 | 0.105 | 0.094 | 0.105 | 0.000 | 0.078 | 0.086 |
| OHS | 0.24 | 1.00 | 0.47 | 0.19 | 0.00 | 0.088 | 0.021 | 0.088 | 0.041 | 0.017 | 0.000 |
| ACR | 1.00 | 0.64 | 0.75 | 0.00 | 0.54 | 0.105 | 0.105 | 0.067 | 0.079 | 0.000 | 0.056 |
| AFR | 1.00 | 0.23 | 0.63 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 0.105 | 0.105 | 0.025 | 0.067 | 0.014 | 0.000 |
| Positive Normalization = $(i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ Negative Normalization = $1 - (i-jmin.) / jmax - jmin.$ | | | | | | <i>Social Sub-Index</i> | 0.070 | 0.058 | 0.052 | 0.046 | 0.042 |

The final corporate sustainability scores from the years 2014 to 2018 for Arçelik Inc. are presented in Table 11. The graphical representations of the company's overall corporate sustainability performance and its economic, social, and environmental dimensions are presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4.

Table 11: Corporate Sustainability Scores of Arçelik Inc. for 2014-2018

| Dimension | Sustainability Scores of Arçelik | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 2018 | 2017 | 2016 | 2015 | 2014 |
| Economic | 0.063 | 0.080 | 0.218 | 0.137 | 0.064 |
| Environment | 0.083 | 0.041 | 0.055 | 0.056 | 0.044 |
| Social | 0.070 | 0.058 | 0.052 | 0.046 | 0.042 |
| Total Score | 0.216 | 0.179 | 0.325 | 0.239 | 0.150 |

**Figure 3: Corporate Sustainability Performance of Arçelik Inc.****Figure 4: Corporate Sustainability Performance of Arçelik with Dimensions**

4.2. Ranking the Manufacturing Companies Operating in Istanbul Stock Exchange Market from the Years 2014 to 2018

The corporate sustainability performances of manufacturing companies were measured with the developed CI and model mentioned in Fig 1. Companies’ sustainability performances were aggregated to a single score. The obtained scores were compared and their rankings from the years 2014-2018 are depicted in Figures 5 to 9.

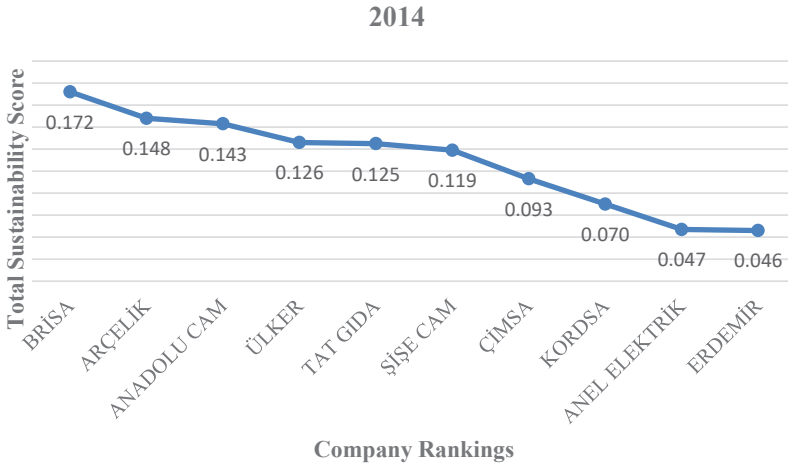


Figure 5: Company Rankings Examined in 2014

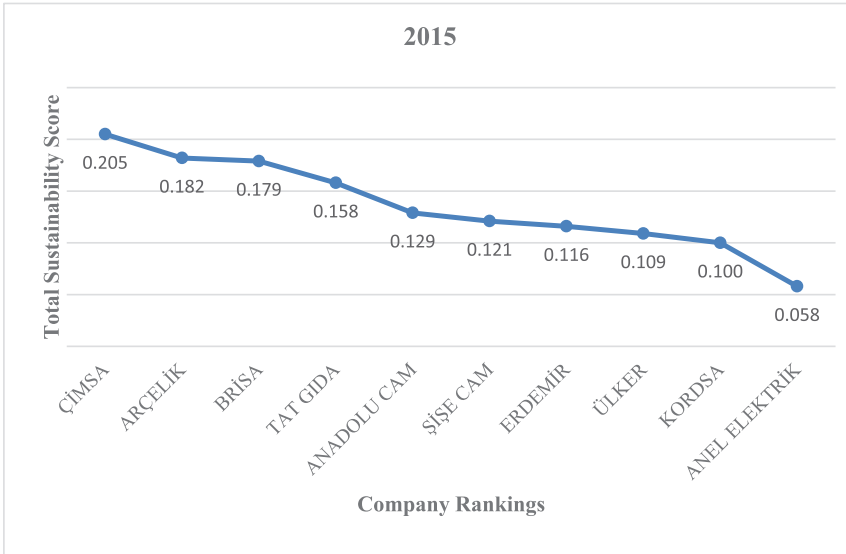


Figure 6: Company Rankings Examined in 2015

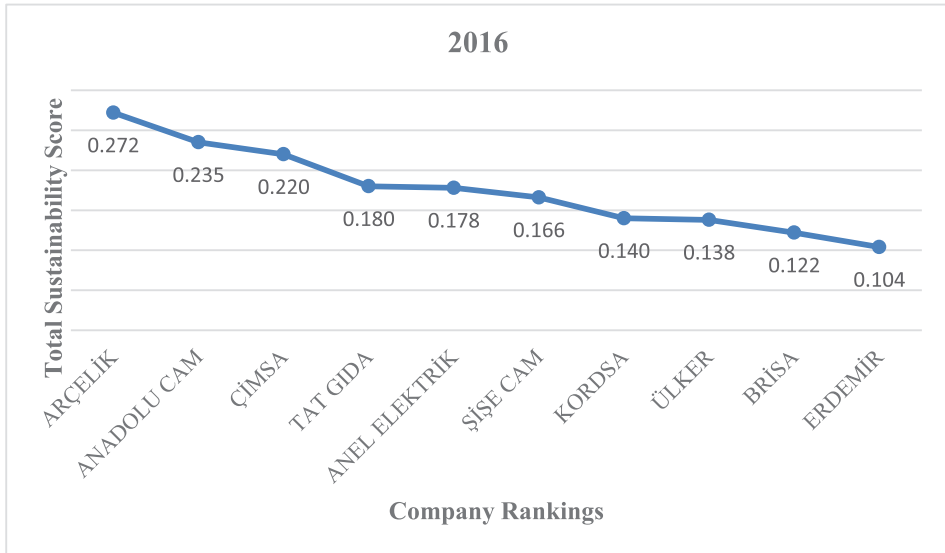


Figure 7: Company Rankings Examined in 2016



Figure 8: Company Rankings Examined in 2017



Figure 9: Company Rankings Examined in 2018

5. Conclusions and Implications

The concept of corporate sustainability has gained importance in recent years, is still developing, and remains on the agenda for the management of organizations. One of the most important phases of the concept is to measure the companies' performance in a holistic way. Although various models have been developed in the literature, which measure how stable the organizations are, no study measures all the production processes, products, and services of manufacturing companies in a way that covers all three dimensions of sustainability (Bilge et al., 2014; Harik et al., 2015; Helleno et al., 2017). Composite indexes (CIs), mainly comparing country or region performance, have become a viable solution for measuring the sustainability performances of the companies and comparing them over the years (Butnariu & Avasilcai, 2015). Since CIs aggregate multi-dimensional issues into one index, they can give quick and comprehensive information and provide a useful tool for decision-makers.

By using the methodology suggested by Zhou et al. (2012), a composite index was developed and the sustainability performance scores of ten companies operating in the BIST Sustainability Index were calculated. The company with the highest total corporate sustainability score in 2014 was Brisa, Çimsa in 2015 and 2017, Arçelik in 2016, and Kordsa in 2018. There have been limited studies in Turkey measuring the corporate sustainability of companies/sectors in an integrated way. In this study, as the Triple Bottom Line (TBL) approach requires, the economic, social, and environmental sustainability performances of some manufacturing companies operating in the Istanbul Stock Exchange Market Sustainability Index were effectively measured with a holistic perspective. Thus, this study contributes to the literature by providing an assessment tool to be used in future studies.

This study showed that it is possible to monitor the increases or decreases in the sustainability performances of the organizations. Therefore, it is likely to determine the reasons and which di-

mension of themes/issues are causing the increase or decrease. This provides considerable input to decision-makers in checking whether the organization can reach its previously determined sustainability goals. In short, the proposed CI model in this study is a tool that can shed light on determining the level achieved by the manufacturing organizations operating in Turkey in terms of their sustainability activities and draws a fast, simple, and understandable picture of their sustainability states. Consequently, it would be possible to take necessary actions to produce improved sustainability policies. The proposed model and method allow businesses to periodically monitor their sustainability-related activities to see and correct their deficiencies, as well as to compare themselves with other businesses in terms of their economic, environmental, and social impact levels. Thus, businesses will have the opportunity to improve their strategic and operative activities by comparing themselves with others and taking their good practices as an example.

Another remarkable finding in the study is that the economic dimension score of the analyzed organizations has a weighty and salient effect on the total corporate sustainability performance score. This result may be attributed to management practices that attach more importance to the economic activities of the companies examined. Epstein et al. (2015) reported that the companies' informal systems support sustainability, but their formal systems still reinforce financial performance. This finding contributes to the literature that economic performance is predominantly effective in the formation of the sustainability performances of businesses. However, evolving theories such as the Triple Bottom Line Approach, Corporate Sustainability, and Green Economics establish that the sustainability of businesses is concerned with the balance of economic, social, and ecological aspects of corporate performance. Conceivably, the existing practices in social and environmental dimensions in corporate sustainability activities in Turkey are not at a sufficient level of total sustainability.

Some limitations need to be mentioned for proper evaluation of the study's findings. First, the analysis conducted was based on the information available in secondary data sources. When the relevant data could not be found in the sustainability reports of the examined companies, the analysis was made with data missing. Although the companies were asked to send their missing figures, no response was received. It can be deduced that the data collection and processing system related to sustainability issues in the organizations may not have been fully established and operational. Second, the study covered only some organizations in the Istanbul Stock Exchange Market Sustainability Index. Third, although the validity of the proposed CI model has been confirmed based on expert opinions in the study, it still contains subjectivity.

The study has some suggestions for future work. The sustainability performance evaluation studies with the AHP method in Turkey are limited. It would be appropriate for academics in this field to conduct comparative studies using the proposed CI model and other models in the literature. In this study, only the companies in the manufacturing sector in the Istanbul Stock Exchange Market Sustainability Index that have adopted the sustainability approach have been analyzed. Researchers who will conduct further studies in this field will be able to work with a sample that will cover all businesses included in the Istanbul Stock Exchange Market Sustainability Index. Further, by making sectorial comparisons, researchers and managers can reveal which sector has what problems or advantages in sustainability.

Ethics Committee Approval: The article is derived from a doctoral thesis, and ethics committee approval was not obtained because the research data were collected in 2019 and using secondary sources (corporate sustainability reports of enterprises).

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Author Contributions: Conception/Design of Study- S.A., M.T.; Data Acquisition- S.A.; Data Analysis/Interpretation- S.A., M.T.; Drafting Manuscript- S.A., M.T.; Critical Revision of Manuscript- S.A., M.T.; Final Approval and Accountability- S.A., M.T.

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Appendix -A

Content Validity Analysis of Proposed Composite Index

A new integrated Composite Index (CI), consisting of 23 indicators was constructed. To improve face and content validity of the index expert opinions were requested. The quality and the number of experts (between 5 and 40) to be consulted are very important in obtaining objective results in the content validity analysis (Yeşilyurt & Çapraz, 2018). The issue of whether the proposed CI content is appropriate was confirmed by taking expert opinion from 14 academicians who have previously worked in the field of corporate sustainability in Turkey. The title distribution of the academicians whose opinions were received via e-mail is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Demographic Distribution of the Experts

| Gender | Academic Title | | | | Total |
|--------|----------------|--------------|--------------|----------|-------|
| | Prof. | Assoc. Prof. | PhD Lecturer | Lecturer | |
| Male | 3 | - | 2 | 2 | 7 |
| Female | 3 | 2 | 2 | - | 7 |
| Total | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14 |

Whether each indicator remains within the model is determined by calculating the Content Validity Ratio (CVR). If the calculated value of the indicator is greater than the Scope Validity Criterion (SVC), which is set according to the number of experts, then that indicator remains in the set. If it is smaller than SVC, then it is taken out of the index. Lawshe (1975), according to the number of experts and $\alpha = 0.05$ significance level has prepared Scope Validity Criterion values as a table according to the number of experts. Scope Validity Criterion values are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Minimum Acceptance Values of Content Analysis

| Number of Expert | SVC Value | Number of Expert | SVC Value | Number of Expert | SVC Value |
|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| 5 | 0,99 | 11 | 0,59 | 25 | 0,37 |
| 6 | 0,99 | 12 | 0,56 | 30 | 0,33 |
| 7 | 0,99 | 13 | 0,54 | 35 | 0,31 |
| 8 | 0,78 | 14 | 0,51 | 40 | 0,29 |
| 9 | 0,75 | 15 | 0,49 | | |
| 10 | 0,62 | 20 | 0,42 | | |

The number of experts whose opinions were consulted in this study is 14, and its SVC value is 0.51. The academics, whose opinions were requested, were asked to evaluate whether each of the indicators in the CI corresponds to the “very good” or “acceptable” or “poor” options. The received opinions were classified with the excel program, and the Content Validity Ratio (CVR) of each indicator was calculated with the help of the following formula:

$$CVR = [Nu / (N/2)] - 1;$$

Nu = Number of experts who evaluated as “Very Good”,

N= Number of experts

In this context, the CVRs of 23 indicators were calculated one by one, and the content validity of the model was accepted statistically by comparing the SVC value.

Examples for the calculations:

ROA:

Nu: 14

SVC: 0.51

CVR of ROA = $[14 / (14/2)] - 1$

CVR of ROA = $(14/7) - 1$

CVR of ROA = $2 - 1 = 1 \sim 0,99$

$0,99 \geq 0,51$ then ROA is included in the model, so acceptable.

ROE:

Nu: 13

SVC: 0,51

CVR of ROE = $[13 / (14/2)] - 1$

CVR of ROE = $(13/7) - 1$

CVR of ROE = $1,86 - 1 = 0,86$

$0,86 \geq 0,51$ then ROE is included in the model, so acceptable.

The chart of the operation performed is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Content Validity Analysis of the Proposed CI

| Dimension | Indicator | Number of NU Received | CVR | SVC Value | Decision |
|-------------|---|-----------------------|------|-----------|----------|
| Economic | Return on assets (ROA) | 14 | 0,99 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Return on investment (ROI) | 14 | 0,99 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Return on equity (ROE) | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | R&D Investments | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| Environment | Total energy consumption per unit production | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total water consumption | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Reused water per unit production | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total waste per unit production | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total recycled waste per unit production | 14 | 0,99 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total hazardous waste per unit production | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total GHG emissions per unit production | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Air emissions per unit production | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Environmental investments per unit production | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| Social | Total employee number | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Employee turn over rate | 14 | 0,99 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Total employee trainings | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Training hours per employee | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | OHS training per employee | 14 | 0,99 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Accident Rate (Formula 1 below) | 12 | 0,71 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Accident frequency rate (Formula 2 below) | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Female employee rate | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Female manager rate | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |
| | Rate of collective agreement for employees | 13 | 0,86 | 0,51 | Accept |

Furthermore, the Scope Validity Index (CGI) for the entire CI was calculated by dividing the total CVR by 23, which was the indicator number, and it was concluded that the entire model was valid and reliable at the significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$.

$$\text{Whole ICSET Model} = 19.53 / 23 = 0.85, 0.85 > 0.51$$

Appendix -B

Calculation of Weight Values of Indicators in the Proposed Composite Index

To determine the weights of each indicator in the proposed CI, the opinion of a group of 20 experts consisting of 11 faculty members and 9 managers was consulted. Experts were asked to evaluate the importance of 4 economic, 9 environmental, and 10 social indicators in their dimensions by making a pairwise comparison, by giving a number for each indicator between 1 to 9. The order of importance of numbers and corresponding definitions found by Saaty (1980) are presented in Table 1 below. The average importance value of the relevant indicator was found by adding the values assigned by the experts for each indicator and dividing the result by 20. The titles and ages of the experts, whose opinions were taken, and the average importance values for each indicator are shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Fundamental Scales of the Numbers (Saaty, 1980)

| Intensity of Importance | Definition | Explanation |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | Equal importance | Two activities contribute equally to the objective |
| 2 | Weak or slight | |
| 3 | Moderate importance | Experience and judgement slightly favour one activity over another |
| 4 | Moderate plus | |
| 5 | Strong importance | Experience and judgement strongly favour one activity over another |
| 6 | Strong plus | |
| 7 | Very strong or demonstrated importance | An activity is favoured very strongly over another; its dominance demonstrated in practice |
| 8 | Very, very strong | |
| 9 | Extreme importance | The evidence favouring one activity over another is of the highest possible order of affirmation |

As an example, to calculate the weight values of economic dimension indicators, a matrix was created. The importance values of each indicator determined by the experts were written in the matrix. Thus, pair-wise comparison matrixes were created. In the matrix, the horizontal side of each indicator was compared with the average importance value of each vertical indicator's assigned values and divided by each other. In the obtained new matrix, every row's total was calculated. The calculated rows were divided by the vertical total, so every indicator's relative weighted value was obtained. For example, the importance value of the Asset Profitability indicator determined by the experts was 6, the importance value of the Economic Efficiency indicator was 5, the importance value of the Financial Efficiency indicator was 7, and the importance value of the R&D indicator was 6. By substituting these values in the matrix and performing simple division operations, the numerical values in the second part of Table 3 were reached. The horizontal total values of the relevant indicator were found by adding horizontally the values formed after each indicator itself and the other pair-wise comparisons. For example, the horizontal value total resulting from the pair-wise comparison of the Asset Profitability indicator was 4.1. By dividing this value by the matrix total value, that was, by 16.2, the weight value of the Asset Profitability indicator, 0.250, was found. As can be seen in Table 3 below, the same operations were performed for other indicators, and the weight value of the Economic Efficiency indicator was calculated as 0.208, the weight value of the Financial Efficiency indicator as 0.292, and the weight value of the R&D indicator as 0.250. The sum of the weight values calculated here is equal to 1.

Table 2. Importance Values of the Indicators Assigned by the Experts

| S.No. | Expert | Age | Eco 1 | Eco 2 | Eco 3 | Eco 4 | Env 1 | Env 2 | Env 3 | Env 4 | Env 5 | Env 6 | Env 7 | Env 8 | Env 9 | Soc 1 | Soc 2 | Soc 3 | Soc 4 | Soc 5 | Soc 6 | Soc 7 | Soc 8 | Soc 9 | Soc 10 |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | Academic | 41 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| 2 | Academic | 43 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| 3 | Academic | 50 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| 4 | Academic | 35 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| 5 | Academic | 43 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| 6 | Academic | 50 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 7 | Academic | 45 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| 8 | Academic | 30 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 |
| 9 | Academic | 53 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| 10 | Academic | 32 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| 11 | Academic | 47 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| 12 | Manager | 52 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 7 |
| 13 | Manager | 36 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| 14 | Manager | 34 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| 15 | Manager | 35 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 16 | Manager | 33 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 9 |
| 17 | Manager | 35 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| 18 | Manager | 34 | 5 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| 19 | Manager | 37 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| 20 | Manager | 52 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| Total | | | 110 | 90 | 132 | 125 | 120 | 124 | 126 | 118 | 111 | 96 | 113 | 111 | 138 | 117 | 105 | 104 | 95 | 130 | 116 | 118 | 109 | 128 | 116 |
| Average Number | | | 6 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |

Table 3. Calculated Weights of Economic Dimension Indicators

| Dimension | Indicators | ROA | ROI | ROE | R&D | Pair-wise Comparison | ROA | ROI | ROE | R&D | TOTAL | Weighted Calculations | Calculation | Obtained Weight |
|--------------------|------------|----------|------------------|-----|-----|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | | Economic | Return on Assets | 6/6 | 6/5 | | 6/7 | 6/6 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | | 0,9 | 1,0 |
| Return on Invest. | 5/6 | | 5/5 | 5/7 | 5/6 | 0,8 | 1,0 | 0,7 | | 0,8 | 3,4 | 3,4 / 16,2 | 0,208 | |
| Return on Equity | 7/6 | | 7/5 | 7/7 | 7/6 | 1,2 | 1,4 | 1,0 | | 1,2 | 4,7 | 4,7 / 16,2 | 0,292 | |
| R. & D Investments | 6/6 | | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 1,0 | 1,2 | 0,9 | | 1,0 | 4,1 | 4,1 / 16,2 | 0,250 | |
| | | | | | | Total | | | | | 16,2 | | | |

With the same procedure, the weights of environmental and social dimensions calculated are presented at the Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4. Calculated Weights of Environment Dimension Indicators

| Dimension | Indicators | TEC | TWC | REW | GHG | TAE | TWP | TRW | THW | ENI | Pair-wise Comparisons | TEC | TWC | REW | GHG | TAE | TWP | TRW | THW | ENI | Tot. | Calculation of Weights | Calculation | Obtained Weight |
|---|------------|-------------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | | Environment | Total energy consumption per unit production | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/7 | | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 0,9 |
| Total water consumption | 5/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Reused water per unit production | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Total GHG emissions per unit production | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Air emissions per unit production | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Total waste per unit production | 5/6 | | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/5 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/7 | 0,8 | 0,8 | 0,8 | | 0,8 | 1,0 | 0,8 | 0,8 | 0,7 | 7,5 | 7,5 / 81,5 | 0,093 | | |
| Total recycled waste per unit production | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Total hazardous waste per unit production | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 1,0 | | 1,0 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 0,9 | 9,1 | 9,1 / 81,5 | 0,111 | | |
| Environmental investments per unit production | 7/6 | | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/5 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/7 | 1,2 | 1,2 | 1,2 | | 1,2 | 1,4 | 1,2 | 1,2 | 1,0 | 10,6 | 10,6 / 81,5 | 0,130 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | | | | | | | | | 81,5 | | | |

Table 5. Calculated Weights of Social Dimension Indicators

| Dimension | Indicators | TEN | FEM | FMN | CAR | ETR | TET | TPE | OHS | ACR | AFR | Pair-wise Comparisons | TEN | FEM | FMN | CAR | ETR | TET | TPE | OHS | ACR | AFR | Tot. | Calculation of Weights | Calculation | Obtained Weights |
|-----------------------------|------------|--------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|------|--------------|------|------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| | | Social | Total employee number | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | | 6/6 | 6/6 | | 1 | 1,2 | 1,2 | 1,2 | 0,86 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | | 1 | 1 |
| Female employee rate | 5/6 | | 5/5 | 5/5 | 5/7 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/5 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 0,83 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 0,71 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 1 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 8,9 | 8,9 / 101,2 | 0,088 | |
| Female manager rate | 5/6 | | 5/5 | 5/5 | 5/7 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/5 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 0,83 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 0,71 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 1 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 8,9 | 8,9 / 101,2 | 0,088 | |
| Collective agreement rate | 5/6 | | 5/5 | 5/5 | 5/5 | 5/7 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/5 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 0,83 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 0,71 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 1 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 8,9 | 8,9 / 101,2 | 0,088 | |
| Employee turn over rate | 7/6 | | 7/5 | 7/5 | 7/7 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/5 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 7/6 | 1,17 | 1,4 | 1,4 | | 1,4 | 1 | 1,17 | 1,17 | 1,4 | 1,17 | 1,17 | 12,4 | 12,4 / 101,2 | 0,123 | |
| Total employee trainings | 6/6 | | 6/5 | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 1 | 1,2 | 1,2 | | 1,2 | 0,86 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | 1 | 1 | 10,7 | 10,7 / 101,2 | 0,105 | |
| Training hours per employee | 6/6 | | 6/5 | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 1 | 1,2 | 1,2 | | 1,2 | 0,86 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | 1 | 1 | 10,7 | 10,7 / 101,2 | 0,105 | |
| OHS training per employee | 5/6 | | 5/5 | 5/5 | 5/7 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/5 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 5/6 | 0,83 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 0,71 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 1 | 0,83 | 0,83 | 8,9 | 8,9 / 101,2 | 0,088 | |
| Accident Rate | 6/6 | | 6/5 | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 1 | 1,2 | 1,2 | | 1,2 | 0,86 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | 1 | 1 | 10,7 | 10,7 / 101,2 | 0,105 | |
| Accident frequency rate | 6/6 | | 6/5 | 6/5 | 6/7 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/5 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 6/6 | 1 | 1,2 | 1,2 | | 1,2 | 0,86 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | 1 | 1 | 10,7 | 10,7 / 101,2 | 0,105 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | | | | | | | | | 101,2 | | | | |

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Research Article

The Impact of Fiscal Policies on Inclusive Growth in Türkiye*

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ABSTRACT

Countries aim to inclusive growth to find a common solution the problems that poverty, income inequality, and unemployment. To boost inclusive growth, policies differ by country but fiscal policies play a crucial role in making growth more inclusive. In this study, five different indices were calculated to measure whether Turkish economic growth was inclusive. After obtaining the result that growth is inclusive, the calculated indices were used as the inclusive growth indicator, and we inquired in which direction the fiscal policies on education, health, social transfers, and taxes affect inclusive growth. Annual data covering the period 2006-2018, and the ARDL method were used to test the relationship between fiscal policies and inclusive growth. We figured out that fiscal policies had different effects on created inclusive growth indices. The results obtained show that public expenditures for health and education have a decreasing effect on inclusive growth indices while social transfers contributed positively to inclusive growth index, two indices were negatively affected by indirect taxes.

Keywords: Inclusive growth, Fiscal policies, Inclusive growth index



1. Introduction

The economic growth model, which aims to distribute the benefits and opportunities created by economic growth equally to all segments of society, is defined as inclusive growth. Inclusive growth aims to increase the welfare of all segments of society. Depending on the challenges it faces the priorities of an inclusive growth policy are different for each country. However, it stated in the OECD (2012) report that reducing poverty, unemployment, and income inequality are the main goals of inclusive growth.

Fiscal policies are the most effective tools to reach the three main objectives of inclusive growth. Besides being used for supporting economic growth, fiscal policies are also utilized for reducing poverty and income inequality. Public health and education expenditures, and taxes are frequently preferred fiscal policy instruments on the road to inclusive growth (Estrada et al., 2014).

Public education spending can impact inclusive growth in many ways. The first impact of education expenditures is on human capital. Education improves the qualifications of people so the probability of being fired or unemployed in the skilled labor force decreases. Also, more educated workers earn higher wages. Thus, while more educated individuals can avoid poverty, the increasing labor force qualifications helps to reduce income inequalities. Especially, education of females increases labor force participation rate and provides better employment opportunities. For this reason, everyone in society must benefit equally from educational opportunities in countries that aim for inclusive growth.

Another effective fiscal policy instrument for inclusive growth is public health expenditures. It is known that the poor live in unhealthy conditions compared to the rich and have difficulties accessing health services. Healthier people are more productive and have a higher participation rate for employment. Increased productivity of the workforce due to better health conditions not only increases wages but also positively affects economic growth. To create healthy societies, everyone in the society needs to benefit from health services equally. A healthier society boosts economic growth, as well as contributes to the country's struggle with poverty, income inequality, and unemployment problems.

Tax and social transfers contribute to inclusive growth, especially with their positive effects on poverty and income inequalities. The tax collection capacity of developed countries is much greater than developing countries. The advantage that developed countries gain in tax collection allows more public expenditures for education and health services, social protection, transfers, and subsidies. Countries with higher tax revenues have a more balanced growth performance and less income inequality (Heshmati et al., 2014). Social public expenditures are public transfer expenditures used to reduce poverty. Besides direct income transfers or benefits in kind, practices such as establishing job workshops and opening training centers are social expenditures, made to bring new and valid professions to unqualified or outdated occupational groups. Public transfer expenditures for increasing the qualifications and employment of the unskilled labor force are highly effective in reducing poverty (Sarısoy and Koç, 2010).

After the crisis of 2001, the Turkish economy showed a rapid economic growth performance except for the years 2008-2009. The first question in our study was whether Türkiye's economic growth was inclusive. So, we needed to measure inclusive growth for Türkiye.

There are many methods for measuring the inclusiveness of economic growth for a country, country group, or region. One of these methods is creating an inclusive growth index. Creating an index offers the opportunity to evaluate many variables together. In this study, we created indices

with five different methods to use as the indicator of inclusive growth. Moreover, different indices enabled us to compare the results.

In the next section, we investigated the effects of public expenditure policies implemented by the government of Türkiye on inclusive growth. We analyzed the relationship between public education, health, social transfer expenditures, and tax policy, and the inclusive growth index for the period 2006-2018 using the ARDL method. We used the indices mentioned above as indicators of inclusive growth. In this study, we aimed to contribute to the literature by calculating the inclusive growth index for Türkiye using different methods and analyzing the relationship between different fiscal policies and these indices.

The study was organized as follows. The first section describes the definition and measurement of inclusive growth. The second section explains the relationship between inclusive growth and fiscal policies and the third section presents methodology and estimation results.

2. Definition and Measurement of Inclusive Growth

There is no single and clear definition of inclusive growth in the literature. Economic growth in which all members of society benefit from the affluence and opportunities arising from the increase in national income in a balanced way is expressed as “inclusive growth”. Based on this definition, it can be said that inclusive growth has two dimensions; the first is economic growth, the second is sharing the benefits of economic growth with the broadest possible segment of the society (Taşkın, 2014). According to the definition of OECD, inclusive growth is economic growth that creates opportunities for people in all segments of society and ensures that these opportunities are distributed equally (OECD, 2017). The World Bank defines inclusive growth as growth that improves the social situation of the poor by focusing on poverty (World Bank, 2009). According to the Asian Development Bank, inclusive growth is a concept that goes beyond broad-based growth. It is a type of “growth that not only creates new economic opportunities, but also one that ensures equal access to the opportunities created for all segments of society, particularly for the poor” (Ali and Son, 2007). According to the UNDP International Policy Center for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), what should be considered in inclusive growth is not the level of growth but how inclusive the growth is (IPC-IG, 2013). For growth to be inclusive; it should benefit the whole society, including the disadvantaged groups in society, target poverty and inequality and contribute to the economic growth of countries (C20, 2015). Klasen (2010) defined growth as inclusive growth, which reduces income inequalities among the poor, middle-income, and wealthy segments of society, benefits all segments of society from the opportunities created by growth and reduces disadvantages.

There is a term “pro-poor growth” which is used like inclusive growth, but it is not the same meaning. Pro-poor growth refers to economic growth for the benefit of poor people, but the concept of inclusive growth means a better redistribution of the benefits and opportunities of economic growth. Also, World Bank defines inclusive growth as a growth that poor people benefit more. The World Bank defines inclusive growth in two categories: absolute and relative. Improvement of the situation of the poor is known as absolute inclusive growth. If the situation of the poor is improving faster than the rest of the society, this implies relative inclusive growth. When talking about inclusive growth, usually absolute recovery is meant. In this case, while the rich get rich rapidly, the slight improvements observed in the situation of the poor allow us to talk about inclusive growth (World Bank, 2009). In the World Bank’s approach, a high rate of economic growth is necessary for reducing absolute poverty. But, for this growth to be sustainable in the

long run, it should be broad-based across sectors, and inclusive of most of a country's working-age population. In this perspective, inclusive growth focuses on raising the pace of growth and increasing productive employment opportunities. Employment growth generates new jobs and income, while productivity growth has the potential to raise wages of workers and self-employed earnings.

In achieving the goal of inclusive growth, it is important to ensure an equal distribution of economic opportunities and to improve living standards and quality of life. Economic growth is a tool to achieve these goals, but not every economic growth is expected to benefit every household (World Economic Forum, 2017). It is important to determine national economic strategies to achieve the goal of inclusive growth. While each country determines its strategy by considering its own economic, social and demographic characteristics, there are basic areas that countries should improve to achieve the goal of inclusive growth. Besides enlarging the size of the economy, it is needed to achieve strong and sustainable living standard improvements. Designing and implementing policies to increase labor productivity and household income will raise living standards (World Economic Forum, 2017).

Many methods are used to measure inclusive growth. Inclusive growth measurement methods differ depending on how inclusive growth is defined, what variables are used, and what the policy priorities of countries are. The most preferred methods in the literature to measure inclusive growth are inclusive growth indices and social opportunity curves used by Ali and Son (2007).

Ali and Son (2007) measured inclusive growth with social opportunity curves similar to social welfare curves. The social opportunity curves approach focuses on opportunities created for poor people. Creating opportunities for poor people makes growth more inclusive. Inclusive growth is achieved when the social opportunity curves reach the maximum level. The social opportunity function is a function of the opportunities available to individuals such as education, health, and basic services. The social opportunity function increases as people's access to opportunities increase. Opportunities will also increase in countries with strong economic growth performance. Therefore, inclusive growth should not only create opportunities but also ensure that opportunities are spread equally and in a balanced manner throughout society. In the model developed by Ali and Son, the distribution of opportunities to the society is provided by opportunity transfer. An opportunity transfer from the rich to the poor increases the social opportunity function. Inclusive growth therefore should not only expand average opportunities but also improve the distribution of opportunities across the population. If the opportunities created in a society have increased and these opportunities are more evenly distributed to the society, then the country is found on a higher social opportunity curve with more opportunities (Ali and Son, 2007). Opportunity curves are shown on the biaxial plane with the cumulative distribution of opportunities on the vertical axis and the population on the horizontal axis. If the entire opportunity curve shifts upward, this implies that everyone in society -including the poor- is enjoying an increase in opportunities, and hence we may call such a growth process as unambiguously inclusive. The degree of coverage depends on how much the curve shifts upward and on which part of the horizontal axis the shift occurs. The downward slope of the opportunity curve indicates that opportunities are available to the poor more than to the rich. Conversely, the upward sloping opportunity curve means that opportunities benefit more people in the upper-income group. In this approach, it is preferable that the opportunity curve slopes downward in a way that benefits the poor (Ali and Son, 2007).

Another method used to measure inclusive growth is creating a composite index. Inclusive growth has a multidimensional structure and includes many different variables. Creating an index

enables us to evaluate many variables together. However, it is a disadvantage that to create a multivariate or long-time interval index, access to sufficient data is limited. There are many different methods of creating an index. Therefore, determining the correct method is also important.

The composite index is created by combining several variables or indicators. The purpose of the composite index is to combine all defined variables or indicators to find a measure that reflects the current situation and progress (Chakrabarty, 2017). Certain steps are followed to create a composite index. First, the variables to be used are determined. There is no rule in the determination of the variables. But a high correlation between the selected data allows for an analysis with the low-dimension dataset. The second stage is the scaling of selected indicators. Normalization is the most used method at this stage. It is important to choose a suitable normalization method with the available data. The most common normalization methods are Z-score and min-max methods. The third stage is scoring and weighting. Scoring is done by two different methods, subjective and objective. Subjective scoring develops entirely under the control and initiative of the author. For this reason, it is vital to decide the points to be used when creating the index (Chakrabarty, 2017). Different methods can be used in objective scoring. One of these methods is to give 0 point to the variable with the lowest value and 100 point to the variable with the highest value. Equation 1 is used to determine the scores of the variables between 0 and 100.

$$\chi' = \frac{x - \min(x)}{\max(x) - \min(x)} \times 100 \quad (1)$$

Principal component analysis and factor analysis are the other methods that can be used for objective scoring. Both are data reduction techniques that allow automatic score assignment to variables. The next step after determining the scores is weighting. Several weighting methods were proposed in the literature. In subjective weighting, weightings are determined based on the magnitude of the impact of the data included in the index on the country's inclusive growth. Most composite indicators rely on equal weighting which all dimensions, areas, and variables are given the same weight. The last method used in determining the weights is geometric or arithmetic average. When applying the arithmetic mean, all observation values are divided by the number of observations. The variables handled in this method are assumed to have the same significance level. In cases where not all observation values have the same significance, each of the observation values is weighted according to their priority. After each observation is multiplied by its own weight, the weighted average values are obtained. The final values of all observations for a year are obtained by taking the average of calculated weighted average values. Kiani and Ullah (2015) calculated an inclusive growth index by taking the simple average of the normalized values by the Z-score method for Pakistan. The created inclusive growth index takes a value between 0 and 1. A value close to 0 means that the country has achieved a low level of inclusive growth and a value close to 1 means that the country has achieved a high level of inclusive growth (Kiani and Ullah, 2015). On the other hand, Hakimian (2013) used the equal weight method for the inclusive growth index calculated for North Africa. In his study, the inclusive growth index value was obtained by multiplying the points calculated with the standardized value by applying equal weight to each variable with the 1/n method (Hakimian, 2013).

Among the composite inclusive growth indices formed by the weighted average and score method in the literature, the best known is the study of McKinley (2010). McKinley calculated an

inclusive growth index for Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Uzbekistan. McKinley grouped the variables into dimensions and areas. Then determined the scores and weights subjectively. The scores were valued between 0 and 1. The scoring was made by taking into account the change of the data during the period examined (McKinley, 2010). The distribution of the weights used in McKinley's study are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Weights used at McKinley's research

| Dimension | Weight | Area | Weight |
|--|--------|-----------------------------|--------|
| <i>Economic growth, productive employment, economic infrastructure</i> | 50% | Economic growth | 0.25 |
| | | Employment | 0.15 |
| | | Economic Infrastructure | 0.10 |
| <i>Poverty, inequalities, gender inequality</i> | 25% | Poverty | 0.10 |
| | | Inequalities | 0.10 |
| | | Gender Inequality | 0.05 |
| <i>Human capabilities, accessibility to resources</i> | 15% | Health and Nutrition | 0.05 |
| | | Education | 0.05 |
| | | Accessibility to safe water | 0.05 |
| <i>Governance and social protection</i> | 10% | Social Protection | 0.10 |

Source: McKinley, 2010

3. Fiscal Policies for Inclusive Growth

In the OECD's Inclusive Growth Report, it stated that the problems of poverty, unemployment, and income inequality caused high growth levels to fail (OECD, 2012). To overcome these three main problems, fiscal policies were effective tools. While countries use fiscal policy to accelerate economic growth, they also used these policies to struggle with income inequality and poverty. To achieve the goal of inclusive growth, fiscal policies such as education and health expenditures, transfers, and taxes were preferred as effective tools (Estrada et al., 2014). Studies on OECD countries have shown that fiscal policies were one of the most effective tools to reduce poverty and income inequality. Benefiting from social security services, taxes on consumption and real estate taxes were factors that affected the redistribution of income (Heshmati et al., 2014). The main achievement was that fiscal policies made economic growth inclusive while maintaining fiscal sustainability.

Human capital is important for both growth and its inclusiveness. Investments in human capital increase its productivity, employment, and wage. These are critical issues for inclusive growth, so this makes human capital important for the countries' inclusiveness aim and education expenditures are the key issue. The impact of human capital on economic growth occurs through an increase of physical capital's productivity, employment opportunities, creating and spreading technological developments (Çakmak and Gümüş, 2005). Education and skills are critical for growth and inclusiveness. An increase in public education expenditures contributes to economic growth, reduces poverty and income inequality, and creates a qualified labor force. Workers' human capital, educational attainment and skills not only determine employment and earnings, but they also matter for health, social participation and overall living standards, which are key to non-income dimensions that matter for inclusive growth (OECD, 2012). Also, public provision of education services free of charge will enable every segment of society to benefit from education.

The effect of health expenditures on inclusive growth emerges with the improvement in living standards and positive effects on economic growth. The relationship between health expenditures and economic growth emerges with the effect of health expenditures on human capital because of

inequality in access and benefit from health services. There is an evident health condition gap between the poor and the non-poor. People who benefit from health services become healthier. The income inequality disrupts the access and opportunities to benefit from health services against the poor. The relationship between public health spending and poor health status is stronger in low-income countries (Gupta et al., 2001). Public spending on health significantly improves the health conditions of the poor. Healthy people become more productive, and this positively affects growth. Also, the time that healthy people spend on leave from work due to health problems is reduced, so there is no decrease in wage earnings per hour (Bloom et al., 2001).

Likewise, taxes and social transfers affect inclusive growth through their impact on income inequality, poverty and employment figures. To reduce poverty, public transfer expenditures are mostly preferred. Low-income groups benefit more from direct cash transfers and subsidies than the wealthy and these aids that countries apply to low income groups reduce income inequality and poverty. With cash transfers and subsidies, poor households who do not have access to education and health services can benefit more from these services (Asian Development Bank, 2014). Public transfer expenditures which are allocated for the training and employment of unqualified workforce are highly effective in reducing poverty. The public transfer expenditures applied to gain entrepreneurship qualification for the poor ensuring that people get rid of poverty and at the same time increase their contribution to national income (Sarısoy and Koç, 2010). Taxes have an important role in reducing income inequality. Against the distorting effect of indirect taxes on income distribution, the corrective effect of income tax on the distortions in income distribution makes income tax one of the important tools in minimizing income inequality, which is one of the main objectives of inclusive growth.

4. Methodology and Estimation Results

In this study, the effect of fiscal policy on inclusive growth in Türkiye was investigated for the 2006-2018 period. Annual data were used in the study. The reason for covering a 13-year period was the lack of data. Firstly, inclusive growth indices (IGI) were calculated to be a measure of “inclusiveness” of Turkish economic growth. In this study, five IGIs formed by five different methods were used as an inclusive growth indicator. Information related to these indices and other variables used in the study are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Abbreviations and explanations used for variables

| Variable | Explanation |
|----------|---|
| IGI_EW | Inclusive growth index created with equal weight method |
| IGI_CA | Inclusive growth index created with cropped average |
| IGI_MK | Inclusive growth index based on the study McKinley (2010) |
| IGI_AV | Inclusive growth index created by taking the average of IGI_EW, IGI_CA and IGI_MK |
| IGI_WA | Inclusive growth index created using the weighted average |
| EDEX | Share of public education expenditures in GDP |
| HLTEX | Share of public health expenditure in GDP |
| TRNEX | Share of public transfer expenditures in GDP |
| INDTAX | Share of indirect taxes in GDP |

For the 2006-2018 period, five different indices were created for Türkiye. The indices consisted of 3 dimensions, 8 areas, and 13 variables. The variables used in the creation of the indices were determined with reference to McKinley’s (2010) study. The dimensions, areas, and variables of the indices are given in Table 3.

Table 3: The variables included in the indices created for Turkiye

| Dimensions | Areas | Variables |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| Economic growth, productive employment, economic infrastructure | Economic growth | *Per capita GDP growth rate |
| | Employment | *Workforce (15+) rate |
| | | *The ratio of employed in the manufacturing industry to total employment |
| | Economic Infrastructure | *Share of self-employed people in the total working population (%) |
| *Electricity consumption | | |
| Poverty, inequalities, gender inequality | Poverty | *Proportion of population living below the poverty line (50%) |
| | Inequalities | *Gini Coefficient |
| | | *P80 / P20 ratio |
| | Gender Inequality | * (15+) proportion of female literate |
| Human capabilities, accessibility to resources | Education | *Share of women in total workforce (%) |
| | | *Primary education participation rate |
| | Health | *Secondary education participation rate |
| | | *Mortality rate under 5 years (female + male) |

The first IGI for Turkiye was created with the equal weight method for the period 2006-2018. After giving equal weight to all the variables considered, the weighted and normalized value of the year was multiplied. The index value for that year was obtained by taking the simple average of all values of a particular year. This process was made for all years of the period, so Turkiye’s IGI_EW was obtained.

The second index was calculated by cropped average method. The cropped average of 10% was applied when generating the IGI_CA. After eliminating the effect of the highest and lowest values on the index, the IGI_CA value for that year was obtained with the simple average and this process was repeated for all years.

The third index was calculated by multiplying the normalized variable values with the weights (IGI_MK) then taking the average. Used weights were adapted from McKinley’s (2010) study shown in Table 4.

The fourth index IGI_AV created for Turkiye was created by taking the average of the three indices (IGI_EW, IGI_CA, IGI_MK) frequently used in the literature.

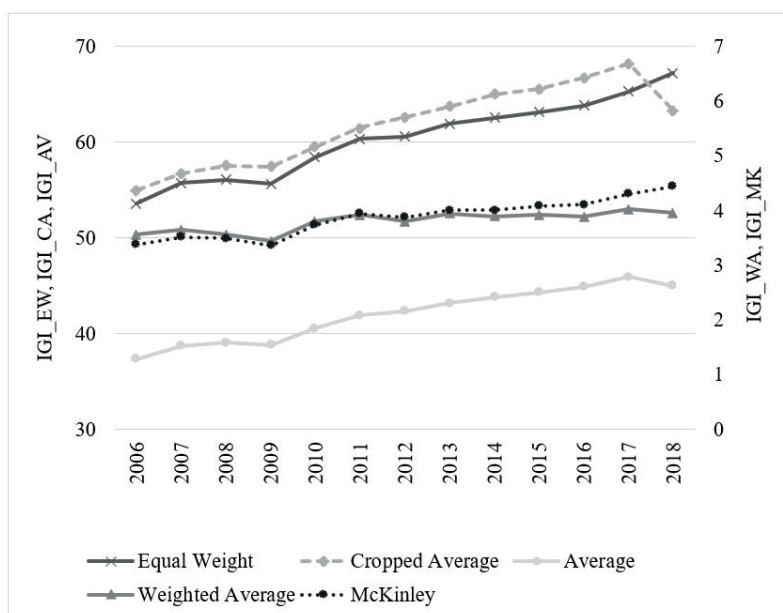
The last IGI for Turkiye was created with the weighted average method (IGI_WA). Considering the importance of the variables and their impact on inclusive growth in Turkiye, the weights of variables were determined by us. Used weights are given in Table 4. The IGI_WA was calculated by multiplying the determined weights and normalized values then taking simple averages.

The indices, used as inclusive growth indicators in this study, are given in Figure 1 to see their movements together. All IGI’s showed that inclusiveness of growth increased in Turkiye in the period 2006-2018. The 2008 global crisis had a decreasing effect on all IGI values. The increase in IGIs has continued since 2010. After 2017, IGI_CA, IGI_WA and IGI_AV have shown that the inclusiveness of growth has decreased.

Table 4: Weights used for IGI_MK and IGI_WA

| Area | Weights for IGI_MK | Weights for IGI_WA | Variables | Weights for IGI_MK | Weights for IGI_WA |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Economic growth | 0.25 | 0.30 | *Per capita GDP growth rate | 0.25 | 0.30 |
| Employment | 0.15 | 0.15 | *Workforce (15+) rate | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| | | | *The ratio of employed in the manufacturing industry to total employment | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| | | | *Share of self-employed people in the total working population (%) | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Economic Infrastructure | 0.10 | 0.02 | *Electricity consumption | 0.10 | 0.02 |
| Poverty | 0.10 | 0.15 | *Proportion of population living below the poverty line (50%) | 0.10 | 0.15 |
| Inequalities | 0.10 | 0.15 | *Gini Coefficient | 0.05 | 0.10 |
| | | | *P80 / P20 ratio | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Gender Inequality | 0.10 | 0.08 | *(15+) proportion of female literate | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| | | | *Share of women in total workforce (%) | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| Education | 0.10 | 0.10 | *Primary education participation rate | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| | | | *Secondary education participation rate | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Health | 0.10 | 0.05 | *Mortality rate under 5 years (female + male) | 0.10 | 0.05 |

Source: Weights for IGI_MK adapted from McKinley (2010), weights for IGI_WA determined by authors.

**Figure 1: Inclusive growth indices calculated by five different methods**

Source: Authors' estimations.

After obtaining indicators to represent inclusive growth for Turkiye, we investigated the impact of fiscal policy instruments on inclusive growth. Equation 2 was created to test the relationship between the five IGI and fiscal policies.

$$\begin{aligned}
 &IGI = \{IGI_EW, IGI_CA, IGI_MK, IGI_AV, IGI_WA\} \\
 &IGI_t = \beta_1 + \beta_2 EDEX_t + \beta_3 HLTEX_t + \beta_4 IND TAX_t + \beta_5 TRNEX_t + \mu_t \tag{2}
 \end{aligned}$$

In this study, to analyze the effects of Turkiye’s fiscal policy on inclusive growth, the annual values of the GDP share of education, health, social transfer expenditures, and indirect taxes were selected as independent variables for the period of 2006-2018. We could not reach adequate data on education expenditures statistics from neither OECD nor Turkish Statistical Institution for Turkiye. Instead, we used the ratio of the Ministry of National Education’s budget to GDP. We obtained the indirect tax and current transfer expenditures to GDP ratio data from the Republic of Turkiye Ministry of Treasury and Finance, and the ratio of total health expenditures to GDP data from the Ministry of Health. Figure 2 shows the movements at all the fiscal policy variables we used for the 2006-2018 period in Turkiye.

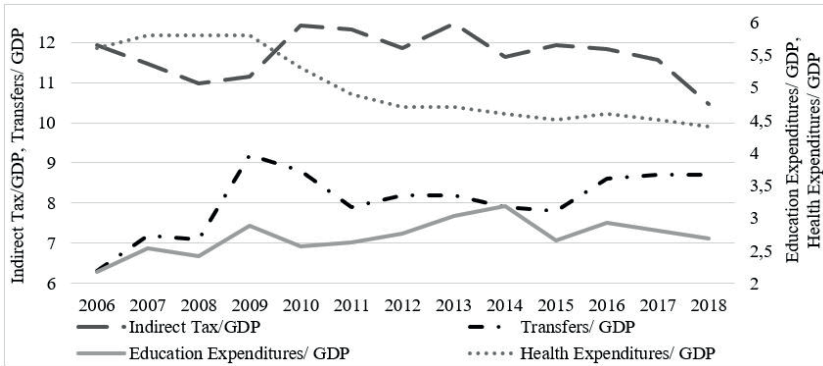


Figure 2: Selected fiscal policy indicators in Turkiye
 Source: The Republic of Turkiye Ministry of Treasury and Finance, Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Health

As seen in Figure 2, after the 2008 global crisis, all ratios increased except for health expenditures. Especially, transfer expenditure increased from 7.1% in 2008 to 9.2% in 2009. In the same period, we see that the ratio of education expenditures and indirect taxes to the GDP also increased.

The unit root test of the series, which was the first step of the time series analysis, was conducted. The ADF, PP and KPSS unit root tests were applied to the series. Stationarity analysis results are given in Table 5.

Table 5: ADF, PP and KPSS unit root analysis results

| | ADF | | | | PP | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|----------|---------------|-----------|
| | level | | 1. difference | | level | | 1. difference | |
| | c | c+t | c | c+t | c | c+t | c | c+t |
| IGI_EW | 0.8328 | 0.2393 | 0.0092*** | 0.0444** | 0.8309 | 0.1057 | 0.0006*** | 0.007*** |
| IGI_WA | 0.4757 | 0.2487 | 0.0253** | 0.0929* | 0.5834 | 0.2899 | 0.0002*** | 0.0019*** |
| IGI_MK | 0.8529 | 0.1284 | 0.0199** | 0.0905* | 0.9614 | 0.0967* | 0.0009*** | 0.0044*** |
| IGI_CA | 0.3574 | 0.9782 | 0.5847 | 0.7297 | 0.3377 | 0.9861 | 0.5847 | 0.8943 |
| IGI_AV | 0.4104 | 0.7576 | 0.0663* | 0.1260 | 0.0350** | 0.7892 | 0.0774* | 0.0805* |
| EDEX | 0.0466** | 0.1601 | 0.0014*** | 0.0045*** | 0.0399** | 0.1627 | 0.0002*** | 0.0001*** |
| HLTEX | 0.8665 | 0.4518 | 0.1482 | 0.3639 | 0.8665 | 0.6175 | 0.1497 | 0.1003 |
| TRNEX | 0.1614 | 0.2215 | 0.0152** | 0.0614* | 0.0024*** | 0.0188** | 0.001*** | 0.0039*** |
| INDTAX | 0.4866 | 0.8335 | 0.0749* | 0.1706 | 0.4866 | 0.8015 | 0.0847* | 0.0397** |
| | KPSS | | | | | | | |
| | level | | 1. difference | | | | | |
| | c | c+t | c | c+t | c | c+t | c | c+t |
| IGI_EW | 0.55 (0.463000)** | 0.1892 (0.146000)** | 0.3796 (0.347000)* | 0.3114 (0.216000)*** | | | | |
| IGI_WA | 0.4705 (0.463000)** | 0.1402 (0.119000)* | 0.4292 (0.347000)* | 0.4241 (0.216000)*** | | | | |
| IGI_MK | 0.5358 (0.463000)** | 0.5 (0.216000)*** | 0.4094 (0.347000)* | 0.4108 (0.216000)*** | | | | |
| IGI_CA | 0.4981 (0.463000)** | 0.1528 (0.146000)** | 0.3385 | 0.1535 (0.146000)** | | | | |
| IGI_AV | 0.5296 (0.463000)** | 0.1631 (0.146000)** | 0.50 (0.4630)** | 0.50 (0.2160)*** | | | | |
| EDEX | 0.3813 (0.347000)* | 0.1465 (0.146000)** | 0.3033 | 0.3886 (0.216000)*** | | | | |
| HLTEX | 0.4823 (0.463000)** | 0.1101 | 0.1492 | 0.1149 | | | | |
| TRNEX | 0.3617(0.347000)* | 0.1114 | 0.218 | 0.2994 (0.216000)*** | | | | |
| INDTAX | 0.1762 | 0.1716 (0.146000)** | 0.2126 | 0.2227 (0.216000)*** | | | | |

Note: (*), (**) and (***) show the stability at 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01 significance level, respectively.

c: The unit root analysis results of the model with the only constant term

c + t: The unit root analysis results of the model with constant terms and trends.

Test results with no value in brackets show that all the critical values of 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01 are lower than the calculated KPSS value.

The ARDL model was used in this study to test the relationship between inclusive growth and fiscal policies. The ARDL model was preferred because the time interval of the data set was not wide, and the variables were stationary at different levels. There is no need to run a unit root test to perform ARDL analysis. However, ARDL is not used when the variables are stationary in the second difference. For this reason, the unit root analysis in Table 5 was made to indicate that the variables fulfill the level and the first difference stationary condition.

The second step in the ARDL analysis is the determination of the lag length. Since the time interval of the study was limited, the maximum lag length test could be determined as one (1). However, as a result of the analysis, as shown in Table 6, it was observed that a delay was appropriate according to the information criteria of Akaike (AIC), Schwarz (SC) and Hannah-Quinn (HQ).

Table 6: Determining the appropriate lag structure of the model

| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 5 | |
|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| AIC | -16.73 | -23.25* | -15.49 | -25.19* | -16 | -22.8* | -16.68 | -23.18* | -16.33 | -24.24* |
| SC | -16.53 | -22.04* | -15.29 | -23.98* | -15.8 | -21.58* | -16.48 | -21.97* | -16.13 | -23.02* |
| HQ | -16.81 | -23.7* | -15.57 | -25.64* | -16.08 | -23.25 | -16.75 | -23.63* | -16.40 | -24.68* |

Note: (*), (**) and (***) show the stability at 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01 significance level, respectively.

The long-term model estimation results for the five IGIs are reported in Table 7. Health expenditures and indirect taxes had a decreasing effect both on the IGI_EW and IGI_CA. It was observed that health and education expenditures had a decreasing effect on IGI_MK, while public transfer expenditures had an increasing effect. In the IGI_WA model, health expenditures had a negative effect, while indirect taxes had an increasing effect on inclusive growth.

Table 7: IGI models long term forecast results

| | | EDEX | HLTEX | INDTAX | TRNEX | C |
|--------|-------------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| IGI_EW | Coefficient | -0.050677 | -0.279839 | -0.186643 | -0.035396 | 5.162.853 |
| | t-Statistics | -2.533.855 | -6.955.911 | -3.778.819 | -2.359.346 | 24.599.538 |
| | Probability value | 0.1268 | 0.02 | 0.0634 | 0.1423 | 0.0016 |
| IGI_CA | Coefficient | -0.169614 | -2.225.971 | -4.542.301 | -0.961519 | 21.952.582 |
| | t-Statistics | -1.270.228 | -3.409.226 | -2.545.366 | -1.910.781 | 3.180.805 |
| | Probability value | 0.2936 | 0.0422 | 0.0843 | 0.152 | 0.0501 |
| IGI_MK | Coefficient | -0.195117 | -0.578888 | 0.01645 | 0.358784 | 2.051.544 |
| | t-Statistics | -2.867.661 | -11.331.575 | 0.141665 | 3.596.382 | 4.187.752 |
| | Probability value | 0.0642 | 0.0015 | 0.8963 | 0.0369 | 0.0248 |
| IGI_AV | Coefficient | -0.070625 | 0.07806 | 1.536.167 | 1.008.721 | -2.391.504 |
| | t-Statistics | -0.635803 | 0.248454 | 1.942.819 | 2.825.932 | -0.738044 |
| | Probability value | 0.59 | 0.827 | 0.1915 | 0.1057 | 0.5373 |
| IGI_WA | Coefficient | -0.08024 | -0.30314 | 0.202103 | 0.105808 | 1.473.424 |
| | t-Statistics | -1.835.381 | -8.193.473 | 2.473.445 | 1.574.994 | 4.252.897 |
| | Probability value | 0.1638 | 0.0038 | 0.0898 | 0.2133 | 0.0238 |

All indices except IGI_AV, show that health expenditures had a decreasing effect on Türkiye's inclusive growth in the 2006-2018 period. During this period, increased privatization in Turkish health care widened inequality to access in health services. We found two opposite results: indirect taxes had an increasing effect on IGI_WA and a decreasing effect on IGI_EW and IGI_CA. The share of indirect taxes in total tax revenues in Türkiye is over 60%. Economic growth accelerates on strong domestic demand and increases tax revenues. But it must be remembered that indirect taxes increase income inequality, thus negatively affecting inclusive growth. We saw positive effects of transfer expenditures at IGI_MK. The public pensions, which reduce poverty in the elderly population, have the largest share in transfer expenditures. Direct cash transfers enable the poor to benefit more from education and health services while increasing their income. The results showed that education expenditures had a negative effect on IGI_MK. But high youth unemployment rate, especially for university graduates, is a growing problem in Türkiye. It is thought that education spending negatively affects inclusive growth through the unemployment rate. We would like to remind you that we used the ratio of the Ministry of National Education budget to GDP since we could not find reliable data on education expenditures.

5. Conclusion

Although economic growth is seen as an important factor to improve the life of citizens, it is known that growth has no ability to reduce poverty, unemployment and income inequality by itself. Fiscal policies emerge as the most effective tool in combating these three problems. In this study, the effects of fiscal policy implemented in Türkiye on inclusive growth were investigated. The study covers the period between 2006-2018. The impact of public education, health, transfer expenditures and indirect taxes on inclusive growth was tested with ARDL models by annual data.

The fact that the analysis was made with a small sample since the study covers 13 years, will certainly be subject to criticism. Due to limited data availability, we could only access annual data since 2006. One of the aims of this study was to contribute to the literature by creating an index that measures Türkiye's inclusive growth. Therefore, five different inclusive growth indices were created to use as an indicator of inclusive growth. According to the results obtained, all the inclusive growth indices show that Türkiye had more inclusive growth in the period under consideration except for the year 2009.

Since 2002, the Turkish government emphasized that they have increased public expenditure for education, health and social transfers. We also tried to answer the question of whether public expenditures for education, health, social transfers and tax policy as a fiscal policy could affect inclusive growth in Türkiye?

The results we obtained show that health expenditures had a decreasing effect on four IGIs. It can be said that the most important reason for this result was the decrease in Türkiye's total health expenditure. The health expenditure as a share of GDP decreased from 5.6% of GDP in 2006 to 4.4% of GDP in 2018. Türkiye's health care spending remains far below OECD countries. We observed the reducing effect of indirect taxes on two IGIs. The share of indirect taxes in total tax revenues is more than 60% in Türkiye. Considering the effect of indirect taxes on increasing income inequality, this result can be explained. We determined that social transfers could boost inclusive growth. It is known that transfers do more to reduce inequality than taxes. Obtained results showed that education expenditures in Türkiye had a reducing effect on inclusive growth.

In this study, the first step in creating an inclusive growth index for Türkiye has been laid. In further studies, it will be possible to examine both the inclusive growth and the effects of the policies to be followed with a sufficient number of data covering a longer period.

Ethics Committee Approval: Ethics committee approval is not required.

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Research Article

Does Inclusion in the Sustainability Index Contribute to the Financial Performance of the Companies: Evidence from Developing Countries*

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* This article is developed from a master thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates whether the performance of the companies is affected when they are included in the Sustainability Index. The study deals with companies operating in Brazil and Turkiye, in this respect, the panel data analysis technique is applied. ROA (Return On Assets) is used for the dependent variable, while independent variables are debt/equity ratio, company size, operational ratio and the Sustainability Index. The results of the study reveal that taking part in the Sustainability Index has a statistically significant positive effect on profitability for both Brazil and Turkiye. When the other results are analyzed, it is seen that there is a negative relationship between the debt / equity ratio and ROA for the case of Turkiye.

Jel Codes: Q01, L25, C33

Keywords: Sustainability Index, Financial Performance, Panel Data Analysis



1. Introduction

In recent years, the perspective of company stakeholders towards the concept of sustainability has started to change. Stakeholders have begun to carefully monitor the company activities on sustainability. The big scandals such as Volkswagen and Enron, in the past years showed that it is not enough for companies to continue their profit-oriented activities. While profit-oriented companies continued their activities, they did not care about environmental sensitivity, ignored the ethical rules, and did not establish enough relations with their social environment. However, due to the awareness of the stakeholders, these companies experienced customer losses, which also affected the profit of the companies. Therefore, the companies that want to continue their lives have had to invest on sustainability issues. It has become crucial for companies to work without endangering economic, social, and natural resources (Demirkol, 2020).

The concept of sustainability first emerged due to the concerns about the sustainability of forests. A German mine worker published a series of rules on how to improve the productivity of forests and make them 'sustainable' (Brander, 2007). After these rules, the book 'Silent Spring', published in 1962, formed a major impact domain. In this book, the effects of pesticides on the environment were discussed and the biggest step was taken for the formation of environmental movements in the world. The effect of the book was bigger than it was expected. Governments have taken steps to examine the effects of pesticides, and the research has shown that the effects of these pesticides are damaging the entire ecology. Thus, countries need to take more conscious steps on environmental issues. The United Nations, which is one of the largest communities of countries, has slowly begun to grasp the importance of environmental issues, and it held the 'Biosphere Conference' in 1968. In this conference, it was discussed that the environment is being harmed by people, and proper actions should be taken to avoid this. The published conclusion report is the first report published on environmental issues all around the world. This conference was the first of many important steps of the United Nations about sustainability.

With the struggling efforts of international organizations, there has been an increase in the awareness of stakeholders about the sustainability. For this reason, meeting the sustainability needs within the framework of economic, social, and economic issues has become one of the main objectives of companies (Baltacı, 2020).

The institution that plays the most active role in the development of the concept of sustainability is the United Nations (UN). The United Nations has consistently acted in cooperation with countries to ensure sustainable development. The UN touched on all three aspects of sustainability, and arranged activities related to all of them. In addition, the United Nations has formed the basis for Sustainability Indexes, so that these indexes are spread all over the world and become an essential element of responsible investment.

The establishment of sustainability indexes revealed the concept of sustainability performance. The Sustainability index is a tool for evaluating and measuring the efforts of companies on sustainability. To be included in the Sustainability Index, companies must prove their sustainability performance. Each index has its own specific criteria, and if the company is included in the sustainability index, it demonstrates to the public that the company meets these criteria, and they announce their sustainability efforts in sustainability reports. The sustainability reports are examined by the research companies or by the stock exchanges. The companies with the best sustainability performance are identified and included in the sustainability indexes.

Although each index is free to determine its own criteria, in general, ESG (Environmental, Social and Governance Criteria) factors are used to determine these criteria. In addition, most countries individually publish guidelines on ESG reporting, guiding companies on sustainability reporting.

When the history of the indexes was examined, it was seen that the first sustainable index was the Domini 400 Social Index which started to operate in 1990. After the United Nations launched the sustainable stock exchange initiative, the number of sustainability indexes has spread over the world.

Sustainability indexes were firstly established in developed countries, and developing countries started to keep up with these developments rapidly. When the developing countries were analyzed, it was seen that the first sustainability index, which was established in 2004, was the Social Responsibility Index on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE SRI) Index. Later to further develop itself, the index was done in collaboration with the FTSE Russell. Following South Africa, Latin American countries established their sustainability indexes. In 2005, the Corporate Sustainability Index started its operations in Latin America, so that the Sustainability Index continued to spread in developing countries.

Some countries come together and establish sustainability indexes collectively. The main reason for collaborations were the encouragements of the United Nations for joint work. When the index collaborations are examined, it is generally seen that they exist in developed countries. In the future, it is possible that developing countries will come together and establish common indexes or establish other sustainability indexes that will cover the countries of the world.

The concept of sustainability has become a crucial topic all over the world. Stakeholder awareness has created the concept of responsible investment, and therefore, sustainability indexes have started to be established. The sustainability indexes become an important benchmark for companies. The companies listed on the sustainability indexes are more prestigious and prevail over other companies that do not care about sustainability. The companies that want to be listed in this index must fulfill the criteria determined individually by each country's index.

Stakeholders have a positive impression of the companies listed on the sustainability index when they see that their responsibilities have been successfully fulfilled. Thus, stakeholders will be more demanding of their products & services, and will be more willing to invest in these companies. Companies whose sustainability performance is proved by sustainability indexes may have a bigger market share and this may affect the performance of the companies.

The relationship between a sustainability index and financial performance has recently started to be investigated. The published literature has meaningful contributions, but a lot of work needs to be done. The corporate sustainability index is a promising research area for companies and researchers. The main aim of this study is to examine the effect of inclusion in a sustainability index on the financial performance of the companies. A major shortcoming for research is insufficient literature due to the very recent history of studies on sustainability indexes. Furthermore, by comparing two developing countries, the aim is to enrich a limited number of studies, focusing on developing countries.

The rest of the article is organized as follows. Part two reviews the literature on the sustainability and the link between sustainability and financial performance. The third part introduces the data and the methodology part, and gives information about the results of the analysis. The fourth part is devoted to the discussion. The last part is the conclusion part that provides an overall assessment while giving further research ideas.

2. Literature Review

How does the 'sustainable' behavior of companies have an impact on companies? This question is still being discussed around the world. The relationship between sustainability performance and the financial performance of companies is not yet fully explained. The studies that

show a relationship between sustainability performance and the financial performance of companies and their effects on each other, need to be investigated deeply.

For a long time, corporations used financial performance indicators to determine their success. However, environmental, and social needs arising from the company's stakeholders made the sustainability concept crucial and inevitable. At this point, companies are being forced to address their environmental and social responsibility performances in addition to traditional financial performances. The number of companies that disclose their environmental and social performances voluntarily is increasing. The main reason for this trend is the increase in environmental and social risk costs that negatively affect the financial baseline. The predominant theories that try to explain the reasons for the motives of the disclosure are as follows: Agency theory, Resource Dependency Theory, Stakeholder's theory and Legitimacy Theory.

Some companies have a great competitive advantage. The resource dependency theory tries to find the answer to how these companies have a great competitive advantage. Considering the limitation of resources, each company wants to acquire more resources and gain a competitive advantage. The resource dependency theory suggests that it is essential for a company to develop an improved relationship with its external environment to reduce the uncertainty in its external environment. An improved relationship with its external environment is positively associated with the success of the company. The resource dependency theory suggests that if the companies can retain resources that are valuable, rare, impersonal, and unique, the companies can gain a competitive advantage and performance (Barney, 1991). The concept of the resource dependency theory is in accordance with corporate sustainability. Firstly, both the resource dependency theory and corporate sustainability care about firm performance. Secondly, corporate sustainability helps the resource dependency theory by developing an improved relationship with the external environment. Lastly, the companies invest in social, financial, and human resources. By that way, corporate sustainability can be viewed as a unique and valuable resource within the resource dependency theory (Sharma and Vredenburg, 1998).

The second theory that must be examined is the stakeholder theory. This theory advocates that companies can determine their interests and wishes by increasing communication with stakeholders, and thus, can come to the forefront in financial terms. Thus, companies which can improve their relations with their stakeholders, can affect their financial success positively (Chevalier, 2001). The key point of this theory is caring for their stakeholders. Companies that listen well to their stakeholders will create a feedback system for themselves, and be able to review their strategies to become more successful (Freeman and Mevea, 2001). But in some cases, conflicts of interest are observed among stakeholders. Companies, on the other hand, are the parties that gather all their stakeholders under one roof and encourage them to act socially responsibly (Maignan and Ferrel, 2004). This theory explains that the relationship between corporate sustainability and financial performance depends on companies' communication with their stakeholders. Companies wishing to continue their sustainability activities must communicate with their stakeholders. Thus, trust on companies will increase, the resulting trustworthy environment will reduce the costs of companies and consequently the financial performance will be affected positively (Barney and Hansen, 1994).

The institutional theory is related to corporate sustainability by saying that the companies follow each other in behavioral terms. The companies will prefer to imitate each other to legitimize their actions to get the approval of society (Dillard, Rigsby and Goodman, 2004). The companies that do not respect social norms will not be able to get the approval of society, and may

have difficulty in accessing resources, so their lives may be in danger. The company behavior is affected by each other. When there is a successful example, the best thing to do is to act like this successful company. Small companies in the same field of activity follow the large ones. The companies that continue their activities in the same sector indicate that they behave in a similar manner because of the pressure they feel. In this respect, the corporate sustainability and institutional theories are similar in many ways. Firstly, the commitment to sustainability affects the company's legitimacy. Secondly, the stakeholders with different ideas will reach a consensus on common norms of sustainability (Hoffman, 1999).

A legitimacy theory explains why companies' voluntarily disclose their sustainability performance. The companies act responsibly regarding environmental and social issues to gain a competitive advantage. If they act contrary to the expectations of the stakeholders, the companies will be confronted with constraints (pressure, fine, reduction of demand), and their performance will be adversely affected (Deegan, 2002). For this reason, companies are obliged to be in harmony with the social area of society if they wish to continue their activities. This theory's link to corporate sustainability is based on sustainability reports. To be accepted by society, and gain their legitimacy, the companies are generally eager to publish sustainability reports. Since legitimate companies will be perceived positively by society, this situation gives them a competitive advantage (Mousa, 2004). For example, according to the findings of Maltais and Nykvits (2020) in Sweden, the strong pressures on investors and firms on sustainability cause the firms to issue more green bonds (Löfer, 2021)

The theories examined the relationship between sustainability and financial performance in terms of their perspective. But as previously mentioned, the studies on the relationship between corporate sustainability and financial performance, have different results. Academic studies show that there are three relationships: positive, negative, and neutral between financial performance and corporate sustainability. So, how corporate sustainability really has an impact on the performance of companies still retains its place as an important debate today. The studies are summarized below to provide a better understanding of the differences.

Table 1: Summary of Studies on The Relationship Between Sustainability and Financial Performance

| Study& Country | Variables | Method | Results |
|----------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Soytaş et al. (2017)- Türkiye | Dependent Variables: ROA Independent Variables: Whether or not to take part in CSI and BIST 15 Control Variables: Company Size and Company Partnership Structure | Linear Regression Analysis | As a result of the study, they concluded that sustainability has a positive impact on financial performance. |
| Önder (2018)- Türkiye | Dependent Variables: ROA Independent Variables: Environmental Rating, Governance Performance Rating, Sustainability ratings | Multiple Linear Regression Analysis | The study concluded that overall sustainability scores positively influence profitability. |
| Aggarwal (2013) - India | Dependent Variables: ROA, ROE, ROCE, PBT and GTA Independent Variables: Impact of overall sustainability rating of company Control Variables: Company size | Multiple Regression Analysis, correlation, t-test and F-test | No significant relationship |

| | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| Önce and Düzer (2018)- Turkiye | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA, ROE, P/E ratio, Market/ Book Value ratio</p> <p>Independent Variables: Economic, Environmental and Social Scores</p> <p>Control Variables: Sector</p> | Panel Data Analysis | The study concluded that the level of knowledge about sustainability had a positive impact on financial performance. |
| Altınay et al. (2017)- Turkiye | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA, ROE, P/E Ratio, Market/ Book Value Ratio</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the BIST Sustainability Index</p> | Regression Analysis | At the end of the study, it was concluded that inclusion in the sustainability index had no significant relations with the value of share. |
| Kasbun et al. (2016)- Malaysia | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA And ROE</p> <p>Independent Variables: Economic, Environmental and Social Sustainability Reporting</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size</p> | Regression Analysis | The study found a positive relationship between financial performance and sustainability reporting. |
| Santis et al. (2016)- Brazil | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA, ROE, ROI and Liquidity Ratios</p> <p>Independent Variables: whether it is included in the sustainability index</p> | Cluster Analysis | As a results of the study, it was found that no significant difference in financial performance between the companies quoted in the Sustainability Index and the non-quoted companies. |
| Aydın (2017) – Turkiye | <p>Dependent Variables: Operating Profitability Ratio, Net Profit/Equity Ratio, Net Profit/ Total Assets, Financing Rate, Current Ratio</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the BIST Sustainability Index</p> | Paired Student T-test | As a result of the study, it was found that the inclusion of the index did not have a statistically significant effect on the performance of the companies. |
| Fettahoglu (2013)- Turkiye | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA</p> <p>Independent Variables: Overall Sustainability Rating, Community, Employees and Environmental Performance Rating, Governance Performance Rating</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size and Leverage Ratio</p> | Multiple Linear Regression Analysis | As a result of the analysis, it was concluded that the sustainability of the companies had a statistically significant but low impact on the profitability. |
| Yu and Zhao (2015) – USA | <p>Dependent Variables: Tobins' Q</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether or not to take part in DJSI</p> <p>Control Variables: Total Assets Whether it is included in the US Stock Exchange, Total Liabilities/Total Assets, Capital Expenditures/Total Assets</p> | Ordinary Least Squares Regression | As a result of the study, a positive relationship was found between sustainability performance and company value. |
| Bäckström and Karlsson (2015) - Sweden | <p>Dependent Variables: ROA</p> <p>Independent Variables: Corporate Sustainability Performance</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size, Debt Ratio And Number Of Board Members</p> | Multivariate Regression Method | As a result of the study, it is concluded that corporate sustainability has a positive effect on financial performance. |
| Charlo et al. (2015) - Spain | <p>Dependent Variables: ROE, Earnings Per Share, Price / Book Value Ratio</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the Sustainability Index</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size, Leverage Ratio,</p> | Discriminant analysis | As a result of the study, it was concluded that the companies in the sustainability index are more profitable |

| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| Önder (2017) - Turkiye | <p>Dependent Variables: Profit Before Tax</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the BIST Sustainability Index</p> <p>Control Variables: Sector, Leverage Ratio, Revenue, Total Assets</p> | Multiple Linear Regression Analysis | As a result of the study, it is concluded that there is no impact of corporate sustainability on company profit. |
| Collison et al. (2007) - UK | <p>Dependent Variables: Daily Return Of Index, Price Level Of The Index</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the Sustainability Index</p> <p>Control Variable Exchange Rate</p> | Descriptive Analysis | As a result of the study, it was observed that the stock market performance of the companies that are included in the sustainability index are more profitable. |
| Thai and Kabir (2017) - Netherlands | <p>Dependent Variables: ROE, ROA</p> <p>Independent Variable: Data From Corporate Sustainability Reports</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size, Leverage, Company Age, Sector, Selected Year and Previous Year</p> | Ordinary Least Squares Regression | It was found that Corporate Social Responsibility activities have a positive effect on the financial performance of the companies. |
| Lo and Sheu (2007) - Taiwan | <p>Dependent Variables: Tobins' Q Ratio</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the Sustainability index.</p> <p>Control Variables: Company Size, Access To The Financial Market, Leverage, ROA, Growth in Sales, Growth in Investments, Industry Branch, Credit Quality, Sector Impact</p> | Panel Data Analysis | The results of the study revealed that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between company value and corporate sustainability. |
| Ching-Hui (Joan) SuaChun-DaChen (2020)-North America | <p>Dependent Variables: Abnormal Return on stock</p> <p>Independent Variables: the return on stock i on day t, R_{mt} is the benchmark index return on day, Whether it is included in the Sustainability Index</p> | EGARCH Z-test | It was found that hospitality firms' financial performance is more sensitive to inclusion of sustainability index as compared with non-hospitality firms, |
| Schmutz (2020)-EU and US | <p>Dependent Variables: Abnormal return, α: the return on stock i after new information</p> <p>Independent Variables: Whether it is included in the Sustainability Index</p> | Event Study and) Regression Methodology | The findings of this study did not reveal that environmental rules and regulations have a sustainability impact by neither EU nor US firms. |

3. Empirical Analysis

3.1. Data, Variables and Methodology

This study examines the relationship between corporate sustainability and financial performance for two developing economies, namely for Turkiye and Brazil. Turkiye and Brazil are selected because they are similar in terms of economic trends and socio-cultural aspects.

Data cover companies traded at the stock exchanges of countries between 2014 and 2017. 374 firms are included in the Turkish sample and 298 firms are included in the Brazilian sample. Data are obtained from the Thomson Reuters Eikon database. Return on assets (ROA) is used as a dependent variable. Being included in the sustainability index (1 in case of taking, 0 in case of not taking), debt / equity ratio, total assets (company size criterion) and operational ratio (Operational Expenses / Total Revenue) variables are included in the model as independent variables and control variables.

Panel data, which consists of a combination of cross-section and time series data, allows for a robust analysis in economics and finance. Through these data, both time-dependent changes and differences between units can be examined (Baltagi, 1995).

In addition, other variables can be added to the models with panel data frequently used for econometric analysis techniques. The effects that are associated with these variables can be studied (Hausman and Taylor, 1981).

In our study, we also tried to see the effects of variables on a dependent variable by using panel data. The variables used in the study are summarized below.

Table 1: Variables

| Variables | Code | Statement |
|------------------------------|------|--|
| Dependent Variable | K1 | Return on Assets (ROA) |
| Independent Variables | K2 | Debt / Equity |
| | K3 | Total Assets (Logarithm) |
| | K4 | Operational Ratio (Operational Expenses/Total Revenue) |
| | K5 | Inclusion of Sustainability Index |

The econometric model of the study is formed as follows.

$$K1_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 K2_{it} + \beta_2 K3_{it} + \beta_3 K4_{it} + \beta_4 K5_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

3.2. Findings

The findings for both Turkiye and Brazil are given in this part.

3.2.1. Findings for Turkiye

The cross correlations between the independent variables are tested to check if there is a multicollinearity problem.

The results of the cross- correlation analysis are presented in Table 2. As it can be seen, there is no statistically important relationship between the independent variables. Thus, the results show that there is no multicollinearity problem; the use of all independent variables in the model is appropriate.

Table 2: Cross- Correlation Between the independent variables for the Case of Turkiye

| | Debt/Equity (K2) | Total Assets (K3) | Operational Ratio (K4) | Sustainability Index (K5) |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Debt/Equity (K2) | 1.0000 | | | |
| Total Assets (K3) | 0.0042 | 1.0000 | | |
| Operational Ratio (K4) | -0.0467 | -0.0033 | 1.0000 | |
| Sustainability Index (K5) | 0.0066 | 0.3374 | 0.0676 | 1.0000 |

F-test is applied to check whether the data set allows panel data analysis. F-test is performed for the suitability of the data to the panel data. The fact that the F-test result is statistically significant ($F(335,779) = 3.61$ and $p\text{-value} = 0.0000$) indicates that panel data analysis should be used.

Before panel estimations, Wald, Wooldridge and Pesaran's tests are applied to check if there is variance, cross-sectional and autocorrelation problem or not. The Wald test is used to test the variance and the p-value is obtained as 0.0000. This shows us that there is a heteroskedasticity problem. The results of the Wooldridge test ($p=0.0145$) show us the presence of autocorrelation. The results of Pesaran's test ($p=0,000$) shows us the presence of the cross-sectional dependency.

Once the panel data has been decided, then it is decided by a Hausmann test which panel data method should be used. In the presence of autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity, the Hausman test cannot be reliable. In this case, the robust version of Hausman should be used. As a result of the robust Hausman test, p-value is found to be 0.4707. The robust Hausman is higher than 0.05, which shows the validity of the random effects model for Türkiye.

The random effects model estimation results are recreated with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors resistant to variance, cross-sectional and autocorrelation problems. The results are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Random Effects Model Results of Türkiye

| ROA (K1) - Dependent Variable | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---------|----------------|
| Analysis Result | | | | |
| Variable | Coefficient | Drisc/Kraay Std. Error | t value | Probability |
| Debt/Equity (K2) | -3.92e*06 | 8.61e-07 | -4.55 | 0.020** |
| Total Assets (K3) | 0.0101817 | 0.0059672 | 1.71 | 0.186 |
| Operational Ratio (K4) | -0.0000733 | 0.0000585 | -1.25 | 0.299 |
| Sustainability Index (K5) | 0.0076711 | 0.0012494 | 6.14 | 0.009* |
| Cons | -0.0164664 | 0.0519883 | -0.32 | 0.772 |

*Statistically significant at %99 at confidence level ** statistically significant at %95 at confidence level

A statistically significant relationship is found between return on assets and sustainability index. And also, a negative significant relationship is found between return on assets and debt/equity ratio. When the effect of the inclusion in the sustainability index on the profitability is examined, a positive relationship is found between the inclusion in the sustainability index and the return on assets.

In this case, it is concluded that there is a positive relationship between the sustainability index and company performance.

3.2.2. Findings for Brazil

The relationship between profitability and to be included in the sustainability index for Brazil is analyzed after Türkiye was examined. Before the analysis, the correlation table (Table.4) is presented below.

Table 4: Cross- Correlation Between the independent variables for Brazil

| | Debt/Equity (K2) | Total Assets (K3) | Operational Ratio (K4) | Sustainability Index (K5) |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Debt/Equity (K2) | 1.0000 | | | |
| Total Assets (K3) | -0.0071 | 1.0000 | | |
| Operational Ratio (K4) | 0.0047 | -0.0234 | 1.0000 | |
| Sustainability Index (K5) | 0.0025 | 0.0880 | 0.0765 | 1.0000 |

In table 4, it is seen that there are no statistically important relationships between the independent variables. Thus, the results show that there is no multicollinearity problem, the use of all independent variables in the model is appropriate.

F-test is applied to check whether the data set allows panel data analysis. The result of F-test (F (4, 516) = 147 and p-value = 0.0000) indicates that panel data analysis should be used.

The Wald test is used to test the variance and the p-value is obtained as 0.0000. This shows us that there is a heteroskedasticity problem. The p-value of the Wooldridge test is found as 0.000, and, the p value of Pesaran’s test is found as 0.000. So, similar to Turkiye, the data has autocorrelation and cross-sectional dependency problems.

In the presence of autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity, the Hausman test cannot be reliable to determine which panel data method will be used. In this case, the robust version of Hausman should be used. As a result of the robust Hausman test, p-value is found to be 0.644. This result shows the validity of the random effects model for Brazil.

The random effects model estimation results are recreated with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors resistant to variance, cross-sectional and autocorrelation problems. The results are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Random Effects Model Results of Brazil

| ROA (K1) - Dependent Variable | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---------|---------------|
| Analysis Result | | | | |
| Variable | Coefficient | Drisc/Kraay Std. Error | t value | Probability |
| Debt/Equity (K2) | -1.04e-06 | 1.50e-06 | -0.70 | 0.537 |
| Total Assets (K3) | 0.0027103 | 0.0024478 | 1.11 | 0.349 |
| Operational Ratio (K4) | -8.19e-08 | 6.75e-08 | -1.21 | 0.312 |
| Sustainability Index (K5) | 0.01355354 | 0.0038849 | 3.48 | 0.040* |
| Cons | 0.0291277 | 0.0265592 | 1.1 | 0.353 |

*Statistically significant at %95 at confidence level

There is a statistically significant positive relationship taking place between the Sustainability Index and profitability which is like the Turkish results.

In this case, it is concluded that inclusion in the Sustainability Index positively affects companies’ performance both in Turkiye and Brazil.

4. Discussion and Implications

Two developing countries are selected in the study, and the analysis is conducted for each country. The findings of the analysis showed that similar results are obtained for both countries.

Statistically significant results are obtained for both Turkiye and Brazil. This indicates that there is a positive relationship between profitability and being included in the sustainability index. It is not a surprising that the results are similar for both countries because these two countries are similar in terms of economic trends and socio-cultural aspects. Considering that the Brazilian Corporate Sustainability Index started to operate in 2005, this study shows that the awareness of stakeholders has increased regarding the context of sustainability. In addition, the results of the study show that the index performs its function successfully.

From the perspective of Turkiye, the BIST Sustainability Index is a very new index that started operations in 2014. Therefore, it is surprising that the positive relationship exists between sustainability index and financial performance. Although the concept of sustainability and the index are very new for stakeholders in Turkiye, the Sustainability Index functions successfully. As the awareness and recognition of the index increases in the future, companies will make more efforts to be included in this index.

The Brazil and Türkiye study results are consistent with other studies that have positive relations in sustainability. Studies such as Soytaş et al. (2017), Önder (2018), Önce and Düzer (2018), Yu and Zhao (2015), Bäckström and Karlsson (2015), Charlo et al. (2015), Collison et al. (2007), Thai and Kabir (2017) tell us about the existence of a positive relationship.

However, studies on the relationship between social performance and sustainability performance will continue to be important due to differences in the literature.

5. Conclusion

Sustainability indexes, the biggest indicator of sustainability performance, continue to spread all over the world. The relationship between sustainable performance and financial performance is still a matter of debate. Because the social performance imposes an extra cost burden on the companies, the effects of social performance have become a subject that the world is looking at. The studies carried out in this field are increasing day by day and continuing.

In this study, the companies operating in Türkiye and Brazil (which are two characteristically similar developing countries) stock exchanges between 2014-2017 are examined, and it is investigated whether the inclusion in the sustainability index affects the company's profitability.

In the study, return on assets (ROA) is selected as the dependent variable and the status of being included in the sustainability index, debt / equity ratio, logarithm of total assets (company size) and operational ratio are selected as independent variables.

As a result of the study, it is found that the inclusion in the Sustainability Index in Türkiye and Brazil has a positive effect on company performance. The study results yield similar results for the two countries. As the Brazilian Sustainability Index has been in operation for a long time, the results of the study in Brazil are not surprising. What is surprising is the results found in Türkiye. Because the BIST Sustainability Index of Türkiye does not have a long history, however, the results of the study indicate that there is a positive relationship. This result shows that confidence and consciousness in the index created for Türkiye have been successfully created in a few years. Türkiye successfully manages its activities on sustainability and quickly gains momentum with the Sustainability Index.

In Türkiye, the increase in debt/equity ratio decreases profitability. This explains that if the company borrows more, then this will have a negative effect on the profitability of Turkish firms.

The importance of the concept of sustainability increases every day. Especially due to the recent climate changes, awareness of the value of resources is spreading rapidly to all segments. With the initiative on sustainability indexes, the awareness of responsible investment has increased in the same way, and has led to this issue becoming a research area. However, the fact that the studies are carried out in developed countries raises questions about what the attitude of developing countries is. This study, tries to clarify this subject a little more and aims to shed a light on the differences of opinion in the literature.

Future research might explore the effects of the declarations about the sustainability index on the financial performance of the firms and understand the effects of the sustainability index factor in more detail. A study on other developing countries is another promising field for future studies.

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Research Article

Improving Organizational Resilience in Businesses: A Qualitative Study on the Effect of COVID-19

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ABSTRACT

Due to the long-term threat that it poses, COVID-19 has become an important problem for businesses, and therefore, for national economies. Obviously, organizations that have survived this process will be able to continue with more stability and will gain significant gains in terms of organizational resilience. The aim of this study is to investigate the strategies of businesses to meet the challenges of the COVID-19 period and the subsequent recovery process from the perspective of human resources, leaders, and corporate structure. From this point of view, this study was carried out with a case study, which is one of the qualitative research designs. During the data collection process of the study, interviews were conducted with fifteen senior managers of businesses operating in various sectors, selected by the purposive sampling technique. The data obtained from the in-depth and semi-structured interviews were subjected to thematic analysis in a case study design. The findings, which are divided under the three main headings of human resources, leadership, and organization/system, point to the following results: In terms of human resources: experience, generating ideas, psychological resilience, and commitment to the organization and its culture; in terms of leadership: valuing the employees, analytical thinking, foresight, quick decision making and prudence; and in terms of organization/system: positive financial situation, quick response to the market, the effectiveness of alternative solutions, effective use of digital infrastructure and online commerce, as well as effective communication/cooperation, contribute effectively to organizational resilience.

Keywords: Organizational resilience, COVID-19, Organizational Management, Crisis Management, Organizational strategy



1. Introduction

Karl E. Weick, in his book “Managing the Unexpected” with K. M. Sutcliffe, states that “Unexpected events often control our resilience.” (Bryce et al., 2020; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2013). Organizations increasingly feel the need to be prepared in the face of all these unexpected situations, since technological developments and the diversification of the demands, as well as the needs of the people in the constantly transforming world, cause the business world to be more complex (McMunus et al., 2007; Patriarca et al., 2018). Naturally, as a result, protecting ourselves and our institutions against the risks associated with modern technologies has emerged as an important social concern in the industrialized world (Wildavsky, 1991).

Since COVID-19 has become a long-standing threat to human life, it has also become a major issue for businesses, and therefore, national economies. More than a year after the World Health Organization (WHO) declared an international public health emergency on January 30, 2020, it is still clearly evident that the epidemic has not yet been brought under control. The COVID-19 pandemic still continues to spread due to the virus mutating almost all over the world and due to the vaccination process still being in its initial stage (Nicola et al., 2020). According to IMF (2021) data, it is estimated that there will be an economic contraction of 3.5% (4.9% in developed economies, and 2.4% in developing economies) in 2020 all over the world. It has been observed that especially the food-beverage, tourism, airline, sports, and entertainment companies have been hit hard, and many companies that could not continue their activities due to the pandemic have closed.

An important area of experience for businesses - on the condition of surviving - is the crisis. The gains obtained during the crisis periods can become important company strategies for the post-crisis period (Çengel et al., 2020). On the other hand, it is clear that the COVID-19 outbreak has given researchers the opportunity to explore how this crisis, which has different aspects, has been managed over time. Again, crisis periods bring differences in the way businesses conduct their work, and furthermore, transformations and innovations can be achieved. Therefore, it can be said that crisis periods offer opportunities for many companies to increase their resilience (Cheema-Fox et al., 2021). For example, digitalization was used as an important instrument in the face of the restrictions and lockdowns during the COVID-19 pandemic period, and it was observed that during the digital transformation process of the world, medium and long-term plans were changed to the short term; while the digital infrastructures were strengthened by making them suitable for remote/home working. In fact, Microsoft Corp. CEO Satya Nadella stated that the progress which was predicted to take two years, actually took only two months with digitalization (Microsoft, 2020).

With the COVID-19 pandemic threatening human life, it has become a major issue for businesses and therefore the economies of countries. It would not be wrong to say that businesses have not seen such different and volatile economic conditions before. While this situation has caused many businesses to stop their activities, some of them have become more fragile, though it has also turned into an opportunity for businesses operating in some business sectors. In this context, most businesses have focused on coping with the crisis and adapting to the new and riskier environment that has been emerging. In this process, organizations sense and respond to external threats (Bryce et al., 2020; Vogus & Sutcliffe, 2007). At this point, the concept of resilience, which is adapted to the field of organizational science from other disciplines, gains importance. Especially the business world, which is accustomed to unexpected situations caused by an economic recession, may be faced with relatively rare and unexpected situations such as natural di-

sasters, epidemics, and terrorist attacks from time to time. With the COVID-19 global pandemic that started at the beginning of 2020, the ability to take precautions against unexpected events and to continue activities in the face of what happened has gained much more importance. The concept of organizational resilience, which can be considered from the perspective of a systems approach, is based on the idea that the organization is a structure that should be handled not only within itself but also with its environment, within the framework of the holistic view of the systems approach, and explains the preparation, response, and quick return to unexpected situations that may come from the internal and external environment (Koçel, 2011).

The pandemic process has led to the questioning of the effectiveness of many business models. Hence, methods that work as well as those that are unhelpful, have been clearly differentiated from each other, and companies of almost all sizes and sectors are looking for methods that will allow them to do their jobs better and more efficiently. They encounter an “agile approach” in their quest to adapt to change and take firmer steps during uncertainty. For example, we are in a period where there is talk of returning from the “just-in-time” concept, which is indispensable for some businesses in the context of supply chain management due to the pandemic, to the “just-in-case” concept (HBR Turkey & ACM, 2020). We saw the first examples of this after the fire disasters in 1997 and the earthquake disasters in 2011, when Toyota adopted just-in-time systems to allow for at least one month’s production of special components for products, in order to build flexibility (Li, 2020). This and many other actions have created the situation of reviewing various understandings and practices in businesses. At this point, it is an important research topic to understand what kind of actions businesses take in this period and what they do to increase their resistance in the face of turbulent conditions in the markets.

In this article, first of all, the general framework of the concept of organizational resilience will be presented. A resilient organization absorbs shocks and prevents emerging problems before they truly turn into crises (Boin & van Eeten, 2013). From this point of view, the COVID-19 period provides a suitable laboratory environment for researchers for a study focused on determining resilience strategies. The fact that there are only a few studies in the literature examining resistant organizations during the pandemic periods as well as the desire to contribute to the literature with good research has been our source of motivation. The subject of this study is based on the dimensions obtained from the literature and some strategies, methods and practices used by some organizations that achieved success in the COVID-19 period.

2. Theoretical Background

Identifying what is known, what is unclear, and even what is not known about the subject covered in the research can provide a working perspective (Berg & Lune, 2019). In qualitative research, it is important to conduct a literature review before the code, sub-theme, and theme determination process in terms of structuring the research correctly is commenced. Consequently, a conceptual framework has been drawn up for the concept of organizational resilience.

2.1. Organizational Resilience

Internal and external environmental conditions create different threats to business organizations in various forms while increasingly challenging them. Natural disasters, infectious diseases, terrorist attacks, recessions, equipment failure, and human errors are some examples that help us understand how many different events can undermine an organization’s success and security. In recent years, it has been seen that businesses are increasingly trying to increase their ability to

respond to these crises (Annarelli & Nonino, 2016; Belkıs, 2016; Burnard et al., 2018; Stephenson et al., 2010). Along with instruments such as crisis management and risk management, the concept of organizational resilience has also been the subject of academic studies, and they have become concepts that the business world has pondered over. While crisis management focuses more on what to do after a crisis occurs, risk management is a risk-oriented concept that focuses on minimizing risks. The concept of organizational resilience, on the other hand, requires a more holistic view that includes both.

Before moving on to the concept of organizational resilience, if we define the concept of “resilience”; The concept expresses being able to come out of difficulties stronger, with self-efficacy and renewal (Bryce et al., 2020; Somers, 2009; Yılmaz Börekçi & Gerçek, 2018). The concept of resilience is a concept that has found its place in psychology, metallurgy, engineering, ecology, and many other fields since the first quarter of the 20th century. It is seen that the concept has been included in the literature of organizational science since the beginning of the 80s, together with the ones obtained from condition dependency approaches and resource dependence approaches (Mallak, 1998; Vogus & Sutcliffe, 2007). First, Meyer (1982) examined how hospitals responded to an unexpected doctor’s strike and clearly introduced the concept into organizational science literature, using the term resilience to mean an organization’s resilience in the process of responding to shock and restoring order (Denyer, 2017). In his study, Meyer referred to James Thompson’s studies in terms of the effects of environmental elements on the organizational structure and to the resource dependency approach of Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald R. Salancik, which was evaluated within the framework of adaptation approaches.

In the following years, the use of the concept of organizational resilience mostly focused on determining the causes of large-scale accidents and disasters of the time and similar issues. In this period, scientists who contributed to the literature especially emphasized operational safety and reliability, and focused on the characteristics of reliable organizations in times of crisis and complexity (Smart & Vertinsky, 1984; Vertinsky & Vertinsky, 1990). In the 90s, Karl E. Weick contributed to the relevant literature, especially with his examination of the Mann Gulch Forest fire event and the surviving firefighter’s decision-making skills in the moment of panic. Thus, in his study, results were obtained on the ability to make improvised decisions in extraordinary situations and with the appropriate organizational structure (Linnenluecke, 2017; Weick, 1993). Again, the studies conducted within the scope of High-Reliability Organizations, in which Roberts (1989) contributed to the literature on aviation, nuclear power plants, and energy and gas distribution enterprises, are among the studies that have contributed to the formation of organizational resilience literature.

Thus, the concept of organizational resilience was used to explain the organization’s capacity to respond and recover quickly against unexpected environmental turbulences and events such as economic crises, epidemics, and disasters (Denyer, 2017). Especially after September 11, 2001, it is seen that the relevant literature has developed and the focus on the subject has shifted to researching effective response mechanisms and coping with external threats and great conditions of uncertainty. Why can some organizations operate more comfortably in turbulent environments than others? (Andersson et al., 2019; Horne III, 1997; Rehak, 2020; Vogus & Sutcliffe, 2007). Therefore, issues such as employee strengths, adaptable business models, and building resilience through better supply chain design have come to the fore. In some studies, there are also opinions that the concept of organizational resilience is based on Holling’s (Holling, 1973) work in the field of ecology. Holling defined the resilience of an ecosystem as the measure of its ability to absorb

change and still exist. After this study, it is stated that Meyer and Weick put forward the view that the concept can be adapted for organizations and brought it to the organizational literature (Annarelli & Nonino, 2016). It can be said that the use of the term “resilient organizations” by Deevy (Jaquess, 1996) and the concept of organizational resilience by Horne III (Horne III, 1997) are among the first uses in the literature. In subsequent years, it is seen that Mallak (1998) contributed to the conceptualization of the expression of organizational resilience.

Gerçek and Börekçi (2019) stated that the concept of resilience in the organizational context refers to the ability of an organization to heal, adapt, and transform. It can be said that the development of this ability depends on many factors. Lengnick-Hall and Beck (2005) revealed that this ability has cognitive, behavioral, and contextual aspects. In some studies, it is seen that organizational resilience emphasizes predictive and intuitive dimensions (Rehak, 2020; Somers, 2009). Organizational resilience literature has generally dealt with the establishment of a structure for awareness of sensitive issues, organizational awareness, and accuracy in improvised decisions. Especially, the studies put forward by Weick can be considered as the basis of the concept (Weick, 1993; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2013). In this context, the concept does not represent a program or a short-term practice, but an understanding of the way it handles the subject and events.

3. Problem

“How has the situation of organizational resilience elements, which are underlined in applied studies especially after previous crisis situations in the literature, been shaped in the COVID-19 process?” The question constitutes our source of motivation for this research, the point we are very curious about, and therefore the main problem of the study. The sub-problems related to this are below;

- I. According to the participants’ views, which characteristics of human resources contributed to organizational resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic?
- II. According to the participants’ views, what characteristics of managers/leaders are needed to ensure organizational resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic?
- III. What are the organizational resilience themes that stand out during the COVID-19 pandemic, according to the participants’ views?

We aimed to discuss the findings obtained in the study in the context of the sub-problems mentioned above. Care has been taken to present the findings in order of sub-research questions without adding comments. Furthermore, any differences in the results with the existing literature have been given in the discussion and conclusion sections.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research Type, Design, and Model

It is possible to talk about many research designs in the qualitative research method. One of the qualitative research designs from the available options, i.e., case study, embedded theory, phenomenology, self-study, action research, and ethnography, has been selected, according to the research question(s) that we asked and the result that we wanted to reach in the study.

This study was conducted using the case study method, which is one of the qualitative research designs. The case study is an empirical research strategy that examines a current phenomenon in its real-life context and it is used especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the content are not clear. The case study to be examined can be a city, institution, situation, accident, or even an experience that can be investigated with a case study method. In this

context, the case study can be named as a natural occurrence that can be defined in a certain framework (Akturan ve Baş, 2013).

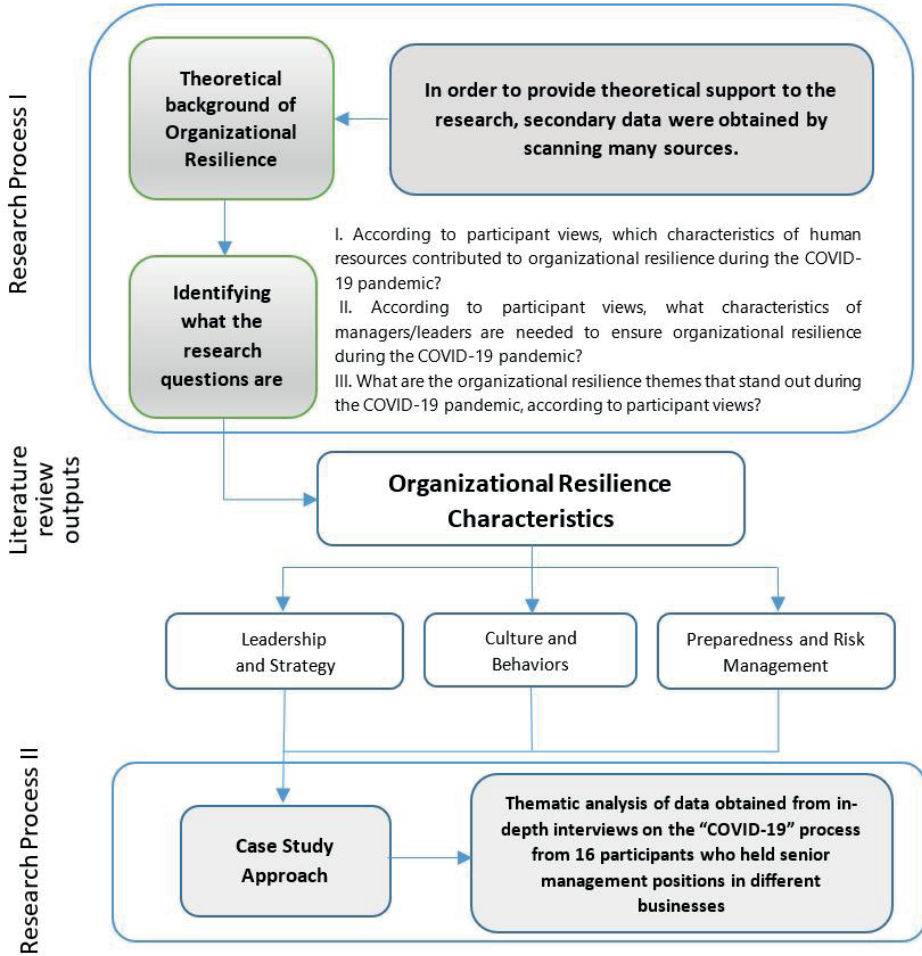


Figure 1: Research Model

Our research is based on the analysis of the organizational resilience concept of businesses under the influence of the COVID-19 outbreak. From this point of view, it is important to reveal the actual "situation" for businesses during the COVID-19 pandemic period.

4.2. Participants

The scope of the study consists of businesses that experienced a shock during the COVID-19 process and successfully continued their activities by fighting this situation. These enterprises have been selected based on the statements of the managers, by looking at the data in their finan-

cial statements and whether they have experienced a loss in the employed workforce in the last year. Intentional (judicial) sampling was preferred as the sampling method. Intentional sampling is a non-probability sampling method in which elements that can best provide the necessary information are selected for sampling (Patton, 1990). Fifteen managers working in these organizations, whose data were found to be positive, were included in the study. Four managers, who were interviewed beforehand, were excluded from the study since the companies they worked for did not fall within the scope of the study. Adhering to the principle of maximum diversity, executives from many different sectors were interviewed.

4.3. Validity and Reliability

In qualitative studies, validity can be considered as internal and external validity, and reliability as internal and external reliability (Erođlu & Bektař, 2016). Perhaps the most well-known and applied approach in increasing the internal validity of a study is triangulation (i.e., multiple methods). Triangulation is the use of more than one method - as much as possible - to investigate, define, and explain the problem in the clearest and most detailed way, and subsequently, the data collected by different methods is compared with each other (Yıldırım, 1999). There are four types of triangulation techniques. These are (Bařkale, 2016); the researcher, data source, method, and theory triangulation. In this study, researcher triangulation was utilized with the participation of more than one researcher in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data, and data-based triangulation was included by interviewing different participants in the same sector. Consistency was tried to be ensured in the analysis process in terms of the perspectives and thoughts of the participants. Furthermore, internal validity was tried to be ensured by making direct quotations in the research. On the other hand, it is an important issue in terms of reliability whether the data in the transcripts obtained from the interviews in qualitative research are the opinions and thoughts of the participant. In this sense, the transcripts of the interview were sent to the participants via e-mail and the participant confirmed it. The data collection tool and process for external validity were explained, and the role of the researcher in the data analysis process was described. Again, information such as the selection of the sampling type, including the validity and reliability criteria, and the explanation of the reason for the selection of the selected research method were presented in the study to ensure external validity.

In order to ensure internal reliability, the interviews were video-recorded, and data loss was prevented. Afterwards, the transcriptions of the data, which were also emphasized by Creswell (2016), were checked by comparing them with the records available (Belkıs, 2016). Besides that, the findings were presented as they were, without including the researcher's comments. The data presented in the findings on external reliability were discussed in the same order, and the researchers agreed on the consistency of the results and findings sections. In general, consistency between the data was observed and theoretical support was received at all stages of the research process.

4.4. Data Collection Tool and Data Analysis

A data collection guide consisting of three parts was created for this research. In the first part, it was aimed to obtain information about the business, the sector, and the country in which it operates (2 questions). The second part focused on the information about the managers participating in the research (2 questions). In the third and last part, it was aimed to obtain opinions on the relationship between the COVID-19 epidemic and organizational resilience (10 questions). A data

collection guide was prepared with 14 questions. The questions were prepared based on the special situations experienced during the COVID-19 period and organizational resilience literature and include the question to assess whether the participant has different views and thoughts. The questions in the data collection guide were checked by two researchers who are experts in their respective areas, in terms of compliance with the literature. An in-depth interview technique was used to collect data. The interviews took place between December 2020 and April 2021. The average interview time was 40 minutes and lasted close to 11 hours in total.

Thematic analysis is a must-know analysis method for researchers using the qualitative method, as it provides essential skills that will be useful for conducting many other forms of qualitative analysis. As a matter of fact, “thematization of meanings”, which is an important stage for qualitative studies, is defined as one of the few general skills required by qualitative analysts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In a sense, thematic analysis can be thought of as content analysis without quantitative expressions. It is the preferred type of analysis because its results are understandable by the reader, it is a quick method, it draws unpredictable results, and it offers the opportunity to describe and summarize the subject effectively. In this context, “thematic analysis” was used in the analysis of the data obtained.

In this study, a inductive coding strategy (from specific to general) was chosen with the concepts extracted from the data. In other words, codes were produced from the data obtained from the interviews, and the coding was carried out with the ready-made codes taken from the literature. In this context, we can say that this study contains inductive elements. For the analysis of the data, the recorded interviews were deciphered, and their transcripts (170 pages) were transferred to the ATLAS.ti software. Subsequently, coding and controls were carried out within the software. The data were arranged in accordance with the thematic analysis, so that they could be accurately conveyed to the reader in a way that does not include the comments of the researcher in the findings section.

4.5. Findings

The findings of organizational resilience in the COVID-19 process have been given according to the research questions. Table 1 contains summary information about the participants and their businesses who agreed to participate in our study.

Table 1: Participants’ Profile

| No | Position | Country | Sector | Worked Firm Size | Experience |
|------|--------------------------|---------|-------------------------|------------------|------------|
| K.1 | CEO | Turkiye | Biomedical Equipment | Middle | >30 years |
| K.2 | CEO | Turkiye | Pharmaceutical | Middle | >15 years |
| K.3 | CEO | Turkiye | Furniture Manufacturing | Middle | >10 years |
| K.4 | Chief of R& D | Turkiye | Railways Manufacturing | Giant | >15 years |
| K.5 | Chief of E-Commerce | Turkiye | Textile | Big | >5 years |
| K.6 | CEO | Turkiye | Food | Big | >20 years |
| K.7 | Purchasing Manager | Germany | Manufacturing | Middle | >25 years |
| K.8 | CEO | U. K. | Manufacturing | Small | >10 years |
| K.9 | Manager | Turkiye | Food | Small | >10 years |
| K.10 | CEO | Turkiye | Financial Reporting | Small | >10 years |
| K.11 | Director of Supply Chain | Turkiye | Furniture Manufacturing | Giant | >15 years |
| K.12 | Purchasing Manager | Turkiye | Energy | Giant | >10 years |
| K.13 | Entrepreneur | Turkiye | Software | Start-Up | >2 years |
| K.14 | CEO Consultant | Turkiye | Manufacturing | Giant | >15 years |
| K.15 | Entrepreneur | Turkiye | E-Commerce | Start-Up | >3 years |

Adhering to the principle of maximum diversity, the participants were selected from the enterprises in the profit zone according to the latest balance sheet (based on the statements of the participants in the preliminary interviews). A business operating in England and Germany, outside of Turkey, was also included in the research.

4.5.1. Research Question I: What Type of Human Resources are Required for Resilient Organizations?

During the in-depth interviews held within the scope of the study, the participants talked about the behavior of human resources, their performance, their contribution to the business and their response to the COVID-19 outbreak, and much more. Some codes (in vivo) for the opinions expressed in this regard are given in Table 2 below.

As you can see in the chart, the employee who generates ideas and contributes to the company for which he or she works with his or her ideas in such a time has often been emphasized. In addition, the experience of human resources and the concern about losing trained human resources were prominent points in the data. A few quotes (in vivo) for experience and generating ideas in the interview data are given below. In addition, the experience of human resources and the concern about losing trained human resources were the prominent points in the data. A few quotes (in vivo) for experience and generating ideas in the interview data are given below.

"...Ideas came from the lower staff, we even evaluated some ideas, but there are risks in this business and we are an institution that doesn't like to take risks. Therefore, there were also ideas that we could not implement, but the willingness of our employees to contribute made us happy." [K-1]

"...The biggest problem during the crisis is to manage uncertainty, so we are a team with experience in how to manage uncertainty." [K-3]

"...Due to the interruption of training and the prohibition of wedding ceremonies, our sales in some items decreased, so we could not increase the number of employees. In this process, the issue we focused more on was not to lose our experienced employees (masters)." [K-9]

"...We realized that we needed to diversify our customer portfolio. Therefore, we hired three highly experienced employees, one of whom is the product group sales director, to the marketing department." [K-8]

"...The experience and opinions of our employees are valuable to us not only in this process, but at all times. We are a company that manufactures complex machines. If there is a suggestion about the size of a screw, for example, from our human resources working on the assembly line, we immediately evaluate it and make the necessary changes if appropriate." [K-7]

Table 2: Selected Codes Regarding Human Resources

| Selected Codes (HR) | K-1 | K-2 | K-3 | K-4 | K-5 | K-6 | K-7 | K-8 | K-9 | K-10 | K-11 | K-12 | K-13 | K-14 | K-15 |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Experience | | | ■ | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ |
| Generating alternative ideas | ■ | | | | ■ | | ■ | | | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ |
| Psychological well-being | ■ | | | | | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | | | ■ | |
| Expertness | | | ■ | | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | | ■ | |
| Deference to Org. Culture | | | | ■ | | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | |
| Technological aptitude | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | | | | | | ■ | |
| Commitment to Organization | ■ | | ■ | | | | | | | | | | | ■ | |
| Self-Discipline | | | | ■ | | | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | |
| Ambidexterity | | | | | | | | | ■ | ■ | | | | | |
| Confidence | | | | | | | | ■ | | | | ■ | | | |

Apart from the above comments, there were points emphasized by fewer participants. Self-discipline, ambidexterity, commitment to the organization, technological aptitude, and adopting the work texture were other codes highlighted in the context of what employees should have.

“...The rate of those who still want to work remotely has also decreased compared to the first period of the pandemic because you know that establishing a working environment at home requires self-discipline and this is a rare capability. Therefore, many of our colleagues who could not establish this environment at home wanted to come to the company on their own. So, they wanted to escape from the chaos at home and come to the company from their homes.” [K-3]

“...generally, although the human resources showed some slack during the first lockdown period due to the pandemic, they were motivated to work again due to various concerns about personal issues such as losing their jobs. Of course, I have made efforts to control this process. [K-8]

“...In such a critical period, we care about an employee profile that strictly obeys the rules set by the management, is more disciplined, and will not cause any negligence. Self-disciplined human resources provide quick adaptation. It keeps the job going without the need for you to put a man on it or put pressure on it. In this period, we understood the importance of this better. If the working system is also designed to be flexible...” [K-11]

In such a process, which has different aspects and is experienced for the first time, a large number of codes for human resources, highlighted by the managers participating in our research, were obtained. As a result of our analysis, the sub-themes and the theme determined based on these codes are shown in Figure 2 below.

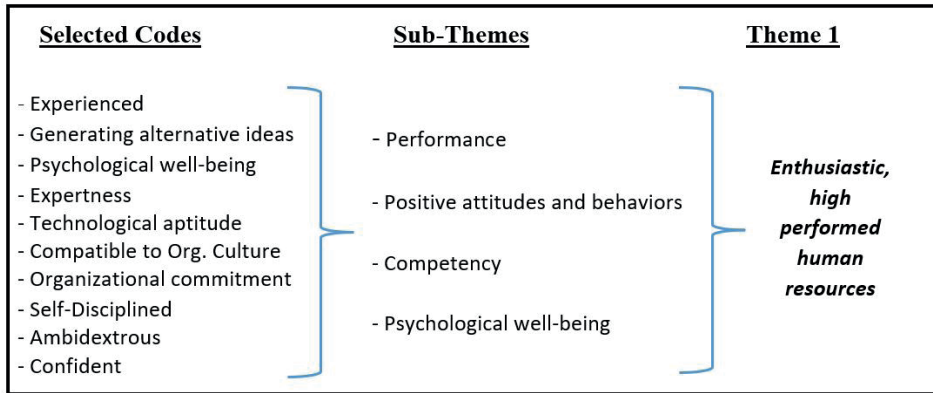


Figure 2: Themes, subthemes, and codes developed through thematic analysis of interview data (Human Resources)

4.5.2. Research Question II: What are the characteristics of a resilient leader?

A pivotal detail that was perceived during the data collection phase in this study was the excess of codes related to leadership. Most participants referred to the leadership characteristics that a leader should have and their perspectives on employees. We saw that some participants emphasized personality factors and experience such as psychological resilience, resilience, and experience. Some of the codes selected from the many codes listed in the leadership axis from the content of the interview are presented in Table 3.

Addressing many issues in the context of leaders' behaviors and abilities, the participants especially emphasized the leader who takes precautions, who is intuitive, able to make quick decisions, and who generates alternatives. Some excerpts from the interview transcripts are given below. Some codes extracted from all the findings are shown in Table 3.

"As a company that is constantly living in a crisis environment, we stand ready for anything." [K-1]

"As a company that produces gynecological drugs, we made a quick decision and diversified our products by producing supplements that strengthen the immune system." [K-2]

"...in such turbulent times, a leader should be able to perceive changes quickly and shape the organizational structure according to these changes." [K-4]

"...as I said, it's about making quick decisions and being open to innovation, and the more you achieve this, the happier we are." [K-5]

"Regular planning plays an important role in financial management. However, the leader should do this planning before the problem occurs, not when the problem arises. The leader should introduce this issue into the routine running of the business. Especially, with the pandemic, the importance of this issue has increased." [K-6]

"When we had some problems with our Chinese suppliers, taking into account the news of the pandemic, we took some precautions by agreeing with alternative domestic suppliers from Germany." [K-7]

"For example, from time to time, we have seen some companies that are late in the trade of products such as ultraviolet lamps, masks, and cologne make losses." [K-13]

"...Some concerns during this period led managers to be more careful." [K-15]

Table 3: Selected Codes Regarding Leadership

| <i>Selected Codes (Leadership)</i> | <i>K-1</i> | <i>K-2</i> | <i>K-3</i> | <i>K-4</i> | <i>K-5</i> | <i>K-6</i> | <i>K-7</i> | <i>K-8</i> | <i>K-9</i> | <i>K-10</i> | <i>K-11</i> | <i>K-12</i> | <i>K-13</i> | <i>K-14</i> | <i>K-15</i> |
|--|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Intuitive</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| <i>Quick decision-maker</i> | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | |
| <i>Generating alternative thought and action</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ |
| <i>Enabling participation</i> | ■ | | | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ |
| <i>Cares about employee health</i> | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ |
| <i>Supportive</i> | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | | | ■ |
| <i>Seeking solutions to employee problems</i> | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | | | ■ |
| <i>Caring about HR's financial situation</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | | | ■ | | | ■ | |
| <i>Perceptive</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ |
| <i>Making employees feel valued</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | |
| <i>Psychological well-being</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | ■ | | | | | ■ | ■ | | |
| <i>Experienced</i> | | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ | | | | ■ |

Other topics that the participants frequently emphasized were how leaders handled the issues related to the employees and from which perspective they viewed the employees, and codes were extracted from these. Here are a few direct quotations (in vivo) on these topics:

“Since we are a company that provides services to hospitals, we have taken very strict measures. We took a sensitive stance on this issue by strictly following the directions of our institution’s medical officer.” [K-1]

“We motivated our employees very well and declared that they would not experience any financial loss. We wanted their families and their own health to be very important, and we wanted them to give importance to their personal and professional development during non-working periods.” [K-2]

“We thought that our company would not cause financial loss to its employees by completing the state’s short-time working allowance support during non-working periods.” [K-3]

“We strengthened communication with our employees and tried to create extra communication platforms. Because the greatest need of people was to be valued and listened to... we also organized trainings on anxiety and stress management.” [K-3]

“We inevitably tolerated our employees who could not perform well during this period. Moreover, we took care of any equipment need (Laptop, VPN access, etc.) of our employees, so that they do not face any issues with working remotely.” [K-4]

“When the pandemic first started in Germany, people had difficulties in the supply of materials such as masks and disinfectants. We bought these products in the most expensive way and distributed them to our employees, we said that they could take them to their homes.” [K-7]

“This period once again showed how devotedly our employees work.” [K-14]

During the interviews that took place within the scope of the study, the managers touched on many issues related to their approaches in detail. We tried to reflect a small part of them with the

direct quotations above. In their answers, the managers focused more on the leaders' quick decision-making, the measures they took, and the alternatives they produced. Another point that drew attention was the extent to which the leader was interested in the health and problems of the employees and the value he placed on them. Factors such as intuition, experience, awareness of the financial situation, and being cautious were among the other topics emphasized in the interviews. Based on the findings obtained in the context of organizational resilience and COVID-19, the leadership-oriented code, sub-theme, and theme relationship were determined as in Figure 3.

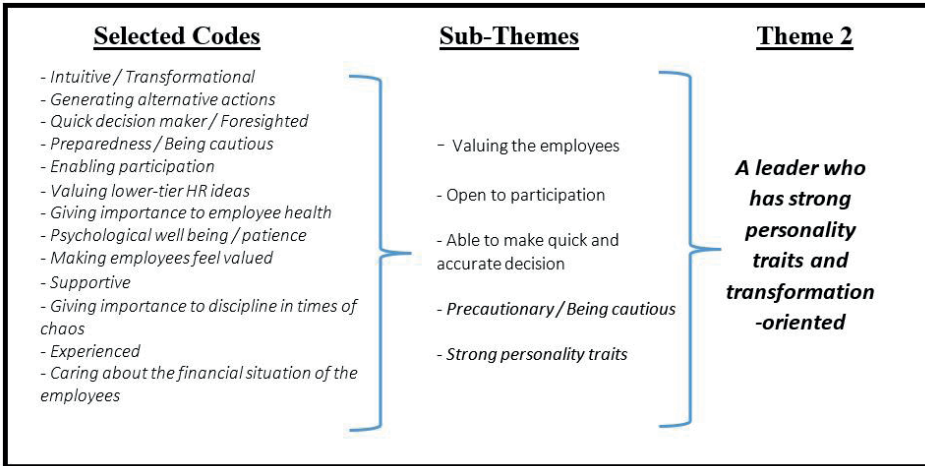


Figure 3: Themes, subthemes, and codes developed through thematic analysis of interview data (Leader)

4.5.3. Research Question III: What are the organizational features for resilient organizations?

In this study, the participants also frequently emphasized the characteristics that businesses should have in relation to organizational resilience. Digitization, infrastructure, and flexibility were the elements that were highlighted as frequently emphasized criteria. Some managers emphasized the importance of some financial ratios such as financial adequacy, and debt-equity ratio. Although most managers emphasized a participatory management structure, it should be noted that there are also managers who emphasized a centralized management structure, especially regarding what should be followed in the pandemic. Table 4 contains the codes of the subjects that the participants emphasized frequently regarding resilience.

Table 4: Selected Codes Regarding Organizational Features

| <i>Selected Codes (Organization)</i> | <i>K-1</i> | <i>K-2</i> | <i>K-3</i> | <i>K-4</i> | <i>K-5</i> | <i>K-6</i> | <i>K-7</i> | <i>K-8</i> | <i>K-9</i> | <i>K-10</i> | <i>K-11</i> | <i>K-12</i> | <i>K-13</i> | <i>K-14</i> | <i>K-15</i> |
|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Focused on alternative solutions</i> | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |
| <i>Low debt ratio / No debt</i> | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | |
| <i>Having Committed Employees</i> | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | |
| <i>Trust-based communication</i> | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ |
| <i>Early awareness of environmental signals. / Quick response to market</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | | ■ |
| <i>Financial adequacy / financial preparedness</i> | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | | ■ |
| <i>Benefiting from government support and cooperation</i> | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | ■ | | | | ■ |
| <i>Focused on training and development</i> | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | | | | | ■ | ■ | | |
| <i>Focused on e-commerce /e-marketing and digital transformation</i> | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | ■ | ■ | | ■ |
| <i>To heed customer relations</i> | | ■ | ■ | | | | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | | ■ |
| <i>Agility</i> | | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | ■ | | | ■ | | ■ | | |
| <i>Centralization</i> | | | ■ | ■ | | ■ | | | ■ | | | | | | ■ |

The opinions of the managers participating in the research on what commercial organizations as a whole should have in order to increase and maintain resilience are given below. In these opinions, in addition to criteria such as the agility of the system and its financial status, codes such as the commitment of the employees to the organization are included in the findings.

The following are the opinions of the participants of the research on ensuring and maintaining resilience in the context of the whole organization. In these opinions, in addition to criteria such as the agility of the system and its financial status, the codes such as the commitment of the employees to the organization are included in the findings.

Another issue that the participants focused on is the performance of businesses in digital transformation, e-commerce, and digital marketing. It has been frequently emphasized that there is a growing trend towards digital business. Again, fast response to the market is among the codes that emphasize adaptability and agility:

“We continued to serve our customers with great devotion; our employees even traveled by road between distances such as Ankara and Erzurum, where they should have traveled by plane to minimize the risk of illness. Also, they even entered the operating rooms during the peak of the disease. If we needed to visit doctors and provide training to them, we went regardless of the risks.” [K-1]

“We always have a state of financial preparedness, as there are frequent economic difficulties due to the fluctuations in the exchange rate” [K-1]

“In this period, we realized the importance of e-commerce and digital marketing a little more. We had preparations regarding this before the pandemic, but we also had some reservations.

But not anymore. We started to work on this issue with the motivation that we should definitely be in this field.” [K-3]

“According to some signals we received from our European suppliers, there are logistical problems that we have noticed. In the meantime, we are working to turn possible breaks in the supply chain into opportunities.” [K-4]

“The only thing that needs to be talked about right now is the necessity of systems that can take quick action and adapt quickly to a new situation (adaptation) in all companies, from the largest to the smallest.” [K-5]

“I think companies will be more careful about finance from now on. No company goes down in a day, and it also doesn’t fail due to a single event. There is an infrastructure for this. You need to strengthen your capital, know what you are spending on, and measure the necessary business metrics in the enterprise. There is a saying, “You don’t manage what you don’t measure”, which I find to be very true, and like as a result.” [K-6]

“With the closure of shopping malls, we have focused on internet sales from our headquarters. Although we are a company that produces sleeping equipment and beds, we have achieved a turnover above our estimates with e-commerce.” [K-11]

“You need to take quick action in times like these anyway. Being a start-up has been a huge advantage in this sense. Rapid transformations can be very time-consuming as the company grows. It should also be noted that it was a period when we saw the extraordinary success of companies that first entered the market and took quick action. Although Biotech is a small company, they have gained an advantage over giant pharmaceutical companies because they started the production process early. It’s a similar situation for the company “Getir”. These achievements strongly tell all businesses that they have to be the first in their area of activity. It’s important not to be late.” [K-13]

In order to ensure resilience, the participants mentioned a large number of elements such as giving importance to customer relations, training employees, trust-based communication, and employees’ commitment. An interesting point in the findings is the emphasis on centralization made by some managers. It has been stated that a centralized management structure can be effective, especially in matters related to financial decisions and the protection of human health. Some excerpts from this topic are presented below.

“In crises, centralism rather than polyphony produces faster solutions. At that time, it was not possible for us to make democratic decisions. Therefore, we made sudden decisions and carried out these processes with somewhat centralized decisions. But then, for example, last week, we had one-on-one meetings with our department mates in all departments. We got their thoughts on what they think about the next process” [K-3]

“There is a centralized structure. However, this is not a situation related to the pandemic in our country. It’s more common in family companies.” [K-6]

“In the early periods when we started working from home, we had problems with motivation and coordination. We have had a clear stance on this issue.” [K-15]

In the findings, the codes, sub-theme, and theme relationship related to organizational resilience and issues concerning the whole organization during the COVID-19 pandemic period were determined as follows.

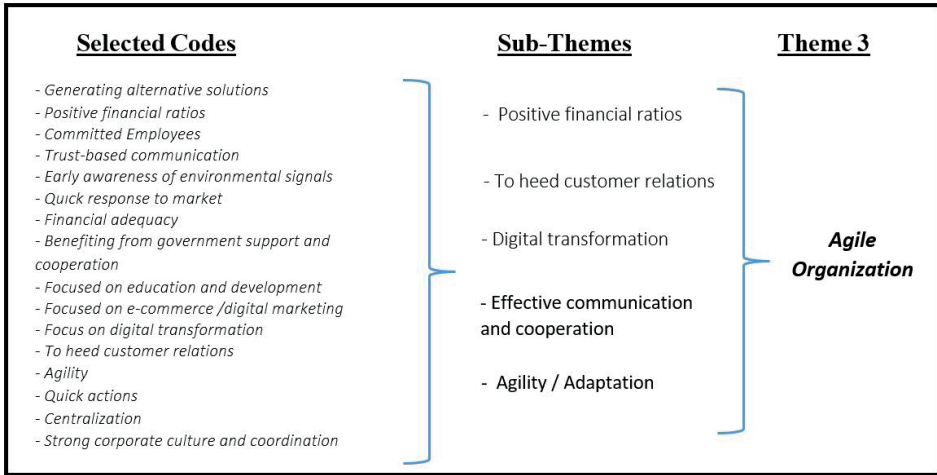


Figure 4: Themes, subthemes, and codes developed through the thematic analysis of the interview data (organization)

5. Results and Discussion

The concept of organizational resilience is a relatively new concept in organizational science and is defined in many studies as the precautionary and recovery capacity of an organization against chaotic work environments. (Kantur & İseri-Say, 2012; Patricia et al., 2018; Börekçi & Gerçek, 2018; Duchek, 2020). In the literature, it is seen that the relationship of this concept with many different variables has been researched. To give a few examples of these; leadership (Karakose et al., 2020), corporate commitment (Paul et al. 2016), and strategic human resources management can be stated as a few examples (Lengnick-Hall & Beck, 2011). It is observed that the literature on the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the economic and managerial issues is growing rapidly, and that the relationship between COVID-19 and its effects on socio-economic conditions, businesses, and SMEs have also been studied. (Chetty, 2020; Seetharaman, 2020; Nicola et al., 2020; Verma & Gustafsson, 2020). In the literature with a focus on the COVID-19 pandemic and resilience, it is seen that the first studies are mostly directed at hospitals, and that especially the psychological resilience of health workers is discussed in these studies (Rangachari & Woods, 2020; Legido-Quigley et al., 2020; Barzilay et al., 2020; Heath et al., 2020; Leszcz et al., 2020). It can be said that recently there have been studies on COVID-19 and organizational resilience, and various literature in this direction have also begun (Kutchkertz et al., 2020; Ivanov, 2020, Mills et al., 2020; Obrenovich et al., 2020; Cheema-Fox, 2021; Sakurai ve Chughtai, 2020; Miles ve Shipway, 2020, Salanova, 2020; Rai et al., 2021).

One of the most affected aspects during the COVID-19 pandemic period has been human resources. In this period, how to protect human resources in the face of this highly contagious disease, and under what conditions human resources can continue to perform their work, took its place on the managers’ agenda as one of the important problems. Furthermore, the continuation of the performance of the human resources without any decrease has been the focus of top management. Seville (2018) stated that having effective human resources and getting the best output from them is always critical for resilience, especially in times of great stress. However, he also

highlighted that the resilience of these employees may not continue in turbulent times, and hence, mentioned that this should be ensured. In this study, the participants frequently emphasized that the experience of their employees is important in terms of organizational resilience. In connection with this view, they stated that they are making an effort not to lose their human resources capability in this complex period. For example, the fact that most businesses pay full wages to human resources during periods of their employees not-working and also that they organize various on-line training sessions that will contribute to their individual and professional development by making extra expenses for them can be an indication of this. Tuna and Çelen (2020) stated that every practice related to health in the COVID-19 period will add value to companies. In addition, Tuna and Çelen pointed out that wage, career planning, morale, and motivation practices are extremely important in retaining a qualified workforce, which is in line with the results of our study.

Another factor in the creation of resilient organizations is to emphasize the importance of human resources, which contribute to management and business by generating ideas in the face of different situations. Human resource participation in management has also been a factor that managers care about in terms of building resilience. This issue is one of the frequently underlined criteria in the organizational resilience literature (Lengnick-Hall & Tall, 2011; Bouaziz & Hachicha, 2018). Elements such as the psychological well-being of human resources, self-confidence, and self-discipline are among the main codes of this study regarding human resources, and they are mostly psychologically-based items. These items are themed under the title of mental well-being. In previous studies, there are results for the positive effect of employees with good psychology on the organizational resilience of the company (Pathak & Joshi, 2020; Prayag et al., 2020). Self-confidence is considered as an important advantage, so that psychological depression is not experienced in the face of changes in socio-economic conditions, as well as due to the differences in working conditions (such as working from home), and uncertainties that disrupt human psychology, especially with the anxiety of catching a disease.

Among the human resource-specific findings of the study, codes such as versatility, technological aptitude, experience, and good job knowledge were frequently emphasized by the participants. These features are related to the performance and competence of the human resources and they are not related to turbulent environmental conditions. Kim (2020) determined the positive effect of some variables on person-organization interaction, performance, and human resources on organizational resilience. The findings of this study on human resources show that having human resources capable of contributing to the organization and protecting this human resource both physically and psychologically are key factors for resilient organizations. It should also be noted that efforts to keep the performance of human resources high in times of crisis are important. Seville (2018) emphasized the continuity of resilience in order to keep the performance high in his study.

When we look at the findings on leadership, the aspect of keeping the level of negative impact caused by COVID-19 as low as possible, as well as the managerial skills of the leader such as being prudent, taking fast and correct decisions, and the aspect of the relationship with the employee, such as valuing the employees and their ideas, and being supportive, were highly appreciated by the participants. In parallel with the organizational resilience literature, features such as taking precautions, making fast and accurate decisions, foresight, and prudence were among the codes and sub-themes. Looking at the studies on both organizational resilience and the COVID-19 period, it is seen that similar results have been achieved (Pal et al., 2014; Linnenluecke, 2017; Duchek, 2020). In his study, Stoller (2020) determined the leadership characteristics for the

COVID-19 period as being proactive, having efficient crisis management, being quick, communicating actively, and being realistic as well as optimistic. Kaul et al. (2020) stated the important issues in their work on COVID-19 leadership as communication, mission, task orientation, decision-making in an environment of uncertainty, as well as effective planning, modesty, and agile leadership. Dirani et al. (2020), in their study on leadership competencies during the COVID-19 period, emphasized that in order for an organization to continue on its path, it should have a leader who ensures the financial health of the institution, shares the leadership, is open to communication, enables the human resources to access technology, prioritizes the emotional state of the employees, and provides organizational resilience. Additionally, Antonakis (2021) stated that charismatic leadership characteristics are important for the management of such a crisis. In this study, it can be stated that there are some characteristics of charismatic leadership in the findings obtained for leadership. It has been stated that strong leadership and institutional support are effective in terms of the continuity of human resources capacity at the desired level during pandemic and crisis periods (Mills et al., 2020). In the current study, many codes for leadership were combined and sub-themes were determined such as valuing the employee, being open to participation, making quick and correct decisions (improvisation), taking precautions/prudence, and strong personality traits (foresight, intuition, analytical thinking, empathy). It can be said that these sub-themes are compatible with the relevant literature.

In the organizational structure findings of this study, it has been observed that the participants mentioned many items, but mostly positive financial status, agility and adaptation, the effectiveness of alternative solutions, digital infrastructure, effective communication, and cooperation as the most mentioned items about organizational resilience. Nevertheless, some participants stressed that “centralized management” is used as an element that is not emphasized in organizational resilience, and that this can lead to issues which affect human health and the financial structure of the company. This can be explained as the adoption of crisis management by the participants of the survey in overcoming the extraordinary situation due to COVID-19. However, some studies indicate that a decentralized structure would be better instead of a hierarchical structure in resilient organizations (Duchek, 2020; Obrenovic et al., 2020).

There has been another argument, which has drawn the attention of the participants, that some financial advantages provided by the governments during such pandemic periods (postponing tax payments, reduction in tax rates, and having short-period working allowance, etc.) contribute to the resilience of businesses. The participant who is on the management staff of a business operating in Germany stated that the government gives assurances to businesses in financial matters. Unlike with previous financial crises, it is seen that other European Union countries provide similar support to companies, especially to SMEs. These are the certain measures taken to protect the economies of the countries (Androniceanu, 2020; European Commission, 2021). This result obtained within the scope of our study is compatible with the development of cooperation, which is a dimension for ensuring resilience in the literature.

The findings obtained in the study reveal that digitalization and “digital transformation are important organizational resilience factors. In some studies, this is emphasized, and it is stated that all management strategies should be transferred to digital and virtual environments, and a new customer profile should be envisioned (Bozkurt, 2020; Çengel et al. 2020; Obrenovic et al., 2020). Granig and Hilgarter (2020) emphasized that digital transformation, which they see as a trend, positively affects the business model and therefore resilience. The increasing importance of platform economies with the 2008 economic crisis continues to increase in the COVID-19 pan-

demic. Boh et al. (2020) stated that digitalization, digital transformation, digital technology, digital infrastructure, even IoT devices and sensors have become important resilience points for businesses. Digital transformation, which the participants have frequently focused on in our study, increases its share in the literature as an important resilience issue.

Although it was not mentioned much nor given much importance in the related literature, it became a sub-theme in this study. It was emphasized that especially the debt/equity ratio was an important indicator before the crisis and that most of the participants provided financial flow with their own resources during the period when their turnover decreased. Prayag et al. (2018) revealed that there is a high-level relationship between financial performance and organizational resilience. Similarly, De Carvalho et al. (2016) in their study on businesses that experienced the 2008 economic crisis, revealed that businesses that produce new ideas and transform them into innovations are more resilient organizations.

The concepts of adaptability and agility are two pivotal factors that are frequently stated in the organizational resilience literature. In our study, the participants emphasized the agility and adaptation ability by talking about direct agility and adaptation, and also by talking about issues such as quick response to changes in the market and the effectiveness of alternative ideas. These two issues are the two elements emphasized in almost all organizational resilience studies (Mc Manus et al., 2007; Denyer, 2017; Andersson et al., 2019). The importance of these concepts is that rapidly changing environmental conditions require fast reactions. Concentrating on customer relations is another important finding of the study. It can be said that resilient organizations establish tighter and more sustainable relations with their customers in times of crisis. Andersson et al. (2019) revealed the positive effects of a long-term relationship with customers on the business in their study on a bank. In the findings of this study, it was stated that delays that may occur due to problems in both the supply chain and logistics processes and production should be well explained to customers. In this context, it should be aimed to establish more communication with customers compared to the time before the crisis, thus minimizing negative effects.

It can be said that the findings obtained from this study generally overlap with the literature related to organizational resilience. According to Burnard et al.'s (2018) classification, it is noticeable that the enterprises participating in the research are mostly talent-based and process-based enterprises. The fact that some managers state that it is not possible to predict a pandemic of this level and to make plans for it differs from the planning strategies in the organizational resilience literature. However, the fact that some managers, especially businesses in Turkey, are naturally prepared for crises due to currency-based crises, coincides with the literature on organizational resilience. It has been observed that the businesses participating in the study provide organizational resilience more reactively and that there is no proactive resilience element at some points. According to Hasanhanoglu (2020), COVID-19 is one of the biggest crises that has emerged after the industrial revolution, and it serves as a test in which businesses will see how effective they are in crisis management. Businesses that are prepared for possible crises with proactive work will more easily overcome this difficult process than businesses that are managed from a reactive perspective. At this point, it is clear that the pre-crisis (proactive) elements such as preparedness, foresight, emergency plans, and risk management mentioned by the participants of this study will increase resilience. Furthermore, as revealed in this research and many studies conducted during the COVID-19 period and the effective use of digital elements is increasingly becoming an important component of resilience. It is an important result of this study that the leader who values the employee and directs the transformation is effective in organizational resilience. In human

resources, it is strongly emphasized in this study that an experienced employee who contributes to the organization with his/her ideas is an important element of resilience.

In this study, the issue of organizational resilience was examined together with the gains from the COVID-19 pandemic, and it is thought that it will contribute to the literature in terms of presenting the gains obtained in such a period, which has never been experienced before. Moreover, it was a study where practitioners could find different business examples for developing resilience. It is suggested that this study, which has a sample of participants from different sector companies, can be carried out in businesses operating in the same sector by researchers who are interested in the subject. Again, by changing the profile of the participants collected from the data (for example, management consultants), it can be possible to achieve different results using different sample selections.

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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

COVID-19 Pandemi Süreci ve Batı Akdeniz'deki Kadın Kooperatiflerini(N) Etkilemesi*

The COVID-19 Pandemic and Its Impact on Women's Cooperatives in the Western Mediterranean

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ÖZ

Covid-19 tüm dünyayı etkisi altına alan küresel bir tehdit olarak karşımıza çıkmış ve sosyo-ekonomik hayatımızda beklenmedik derin etkiler yaratmıştır. Mevcut eşitsizlikler giderek artmaya devam ederken, Covid-19'un etkisine dair ortaya çıkan kanıtlar, kadınların ekonomik ve üretken yaşamlarının orantısız şekilde etkilendiğini göstermiştir. Özellikle kadınların yaşamlarını iyileştirmek üzere iş birliği ve dayanışma yoluyla bir araya geldiği kadın kooperatiflerini finansal açıdan daha da ypratıcı hale getirmiştir. Bu nedenle kadın kooperatifleri Pandemi sürecinde işletme faaliyetlerini yavaşlatmak hatta durdurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu araştırmanın amacı, Covid-19 Pandemisi'nden kadın kooperatiflerinin nasıl etkilendiğini ve aynı zamanda kadın kooperatiflerinin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymaktır. Bu doğrultuda Antalya, Burdur ve Isparta'dan toplamda 9 katılımcı ve 8 kadın kooperatifiyle görüşme yapılmıştır. Çalışmada yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler aracılığıyla elde edilen veriler, MAXQDA 2020 programında analize tabi tutulmuştur ve Pandemi sürecinin kadın kooperatiflerinin en çok finansal yaşamlarını etkilediği bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Ek olarak, kodlanan temaların birbirleriyle olan ilişkileri incelendiğinde, Pandemi nedeniyle evde yaşama geçişin finansal yaşamı etkilemesinin sonucu olarak mali destek alamayanların toplumsal fayda sunmakta zorlandığını göstermiştir. Pandemi süresince kadın kooperatiflerine yönelik finansal destekler ve dayanışma ağları oluşturulmalı, toplumda farkındalıkları artırılmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Covid-19, Kadın Kooperatifi, Görüşme

ABSTRACT

COVID-19 has emerged as a global pandemic affecting the whole world and has had unexpected and profound effects on socioeconomic life. In this situation where existing inequalities continue to increase each day, emerging evidence regarding the effects of COVID-19 indicates women's economic and productive lives to have been disproportionately affected



by the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has had financially devastating effects on women's cooperatives, where women come together through cooperation and solidarity in order to improve their lives. As a result, women's cooperatives have had to slow down or even stop their business activities during the pandemic. This study aims to reveal how and the extent to which women's cooperatives have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Accordingly, interviews were conducted with a total of nine participants at eight women's cooperatives in the Turkish provinces of Antalya, Burdur, and Isparta. The research analyzed the data that had been obtained through semi-structured interviews in the program MAXQDA 2020 and found the pandemic to have affected women's cooperatives financially the most. When examining the relationships the coded themes have with one another, those who were unable to receive financial support as a result of the transition to living at home due to the pandemic were found to have had their financial lives impacted and to have had difficulty accessing social benefits. Financial support and solidarity networks should be created for women's cooperatives during the pandemic, and social awareness toward the issues women's cooperatives experience should be increased.

Keywords: COVID-19, Women's cooperatives, Interviews

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As a result of the COVID-19 outbreak that spread rapidly across the world, many individuals and institutions have been greatly affected at the national, regional, sectoral, and global levels. As in all areas of society, the COVID-19 pandemic has also adversely affected women's cooperatives, which produce value-added products through their own efforts, contributing to both themselves and society. For this reason, most women's cooperatives have had to suspend and even stop their activities. In this context, the aim of this study is to reveal how and to what extent women's cooperatives have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. The limited number of studies on women's cooperatives in Turkey and the lack of studies addressing the effects of the pandemic on women's cooperatives reveal the importance of this study.

Accordingly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine participants from eight women's cooperatives in the Turkish provinces of Antalya, Burdur, and Isparta, all of which are located in the Western Mediterranean. During the interview, the following four questions were asked to the members of the women's cooperatives: "How has the pandemic affected your daily life, how has the pandemic affected your financial status, has your cooperative received any support during the pandemic, and what kind of adverse effects or contributions do you think your cooperative has made in this process?" The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed in MAXQDA 2020, a qualitative analysis program. Due to the pandemic, interviews were carried out by contacting the participants on the phone and social media.

As a result of the study, four themes were formed under the headings of social relations, financial life, financial support, and social benefit as well as eight subcodes comprised of living at home, solidarity, payments to the treasury, accounting payments, equipment support, Ministry of Commerce, face mask production, and social contribution; these were formed using the coding method in line with the answers the nine female participants gave to the four questions within the scope of study. As a result of the coding that was performed through qualitative analysis, expressions were used that correspond with the themes. In this context, the most important finding obtained from the study is that the pandemic has most affected the financial lives of the members involved in the women's cooperatives. In this process, most women's cooperatives were unable to carry out their production activities, and women's cooperatives with a limited production capacity expressed being unable to bring their products to consumers. However, some cooperatives took advantage of the process and were able to produce various

healthy and dry foods based on consumers' requests. During the interviews, the women were additionally determined to have suffered from psychological distress, especially due to the lack of a social life. the transition to living at home as a result of the pandemic was also concluded to have weakened social relations and to have affected product sales due to the cooperatives being unable to establish relations with consumers.

In line with the answers the participants gave to the questions contained within the scope of the study, a MAXMap based on a code co-occurrence model was obtained in MAXQDA in order to determine the relationships the themes have with one another. When examining the relations the coded themes have with one another, those who were unable to receive financial support as a result of the transition to living at home due to the pandemic were determined to have had their financial lives impacted and to have had difficulty accessing social benefits. At the same time, a visualization was made regarding which category was mentioned more frequently in terms of the answers the participants gave to the questions, and a code cloud was created showing the frequencies of the categories and their sub-categories. As a result, the study has revealed the majority of the answers the participants gave to the questions frequently involved the theme of financial life.

In conclusion, the COVID-19 pandemic is found to have adversely affected the social and economic lives of the members in women's cooperatives. Support for women's cooperatives should be increased in order to compensate their losses during or after the pandemic, and social awareness regarding the problems they face should be increased. Supplying the necessary equipment for women's cooperatives that have taken risks during the pandemic and strove to deliver healthy and safe foods to society should be facilitated, and they should be provided with financial and business support.

This study is thought to contribute to the limited literature and will be extremely useful for other studies that will be conducted. Studies to be conducted in the academic world during the pandemic should obviously raise awareness toward women's cooperatives, the number of which has increased in recent years in particular.

1. Giriş

2019 yılında Çin'de ortaya çıkan ve Dünya Sağlık Örgütü tarafından Pandemi olarak ilan edilen Covid-19 virüs salgını, bütün dünyayı etkisi altına alarak küresel düzeyde 4,5 milyondan fazla insanın ölümüne ve 221 milyondan fazla doğrulanmış vaka görülmesine neden olmuştur (WHO, 2021). Oldukça bulaşıcı olan Covid-19 virüsünün ortaya çıkardığı salgın, birçok ülkede benzeri görülmemiş kısıtlamaları beraberinde getirmiştir. Sağlık hizmetleri için artan talep ve ölümler sebebiyle ortaya çıkan giderler ulusal sağlık sistemlerini zorlamakta, küresel tedarik zinciri ve uluslararası ticareti bozmaktadır. Yüze yakın ülkenin sınırlarının kapatılmasıyla insan hareketi ve turizm akışı durmuş ve bu ülkelerdeki milyonlarca işçi, işlerini kaybetme ihtimaliyle karşı karşıya gelmiştir (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), 2020). Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü (ILO) tahminlerine göre, yaklaşık 436 milyon işletme (389 milyon bağımsız işçi dahil) yüksek riskli sektörlerde (imalat, gıda ve konaklama hizmetleri, emlak, toptan ve perakende ticaret) faaliyet göstermektedir. ILO, salgın sebebiyle dünya çapında 305 milyon iş kaybı olacağını tahmin etmektedir (ILO, 2020a, s. 1).

Mevcut kriz, ekonomi ve iş düzeyindeki belirsizlikleri arttırmıştır. Kadınlar, erkekler, girişimciler, işçiler; ailelerini, hayatlarını işlerini ve iş yerlerini tehlikede görmektedir. Ancak bu durum herkesi aynı şekilde etkilememektedir. Kadınlar, göçmenler, zorla yerinden edilmiş insanlar, yerli halklar, engelli bireyler, marjinal topluluklar, gençler, kayıt dışı ekonomide çalışanlar ve güvencesiz iş sözleşmesi olanlar bu durumdan en çok etkilenen grupların başında gelmektedir (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Social and Solidarity Economy (UNTFSSSE), 2020, s. 3). Bununla birlikte özellikle dar gelirli kadınların bir araya gelerek oluşturduğu kadın kooperatifleri de en çok etkilenen gruplar arasındadır. Pandemi sürecinde çoğu kadın kooperatifi faaliyetlerine ara vermek veya iş yerlerini kapatmak zorunda kalmıştır. Hareketlilik kısıtlamaları, tedarik zinciri ve ödemelerde yaşanan aksaklıklar kooperatiflerin finansal açıdan zor durumda kalmasına neden olmuştur. Çoğu kooperatif, yeterli teminata sahip olmaması nedeniyle finansal yapısına uygun krediye erişme imkânı bulamamıştır. Verilen kredilerin uzun vadeli olması da kooperatiflerin ekonomisini olumsuz yönde etkilemektedir. Bu nedenle kooperatifler gelişmemekte diğer işletmelerle rekabet edememekte ve hatta kooperatiflerini kapatmak durumunda kalmaktadır (ACT HUMAN, 2021, s. 13-29). Buna istinaden finansal açıdan yaşanan sıkıntılar nedeniyle Kosta Rika hükümeti kooperatiflere ve öncelikli sektörleri hedefleyen iş projeleri için gençler, kadınlar, yaşlılar, yerli halk dahil olmak üzere nüfusun köylü, göçmen ve engelli insanlara yönelik tüm kredi faiz oranlarını düşürmüştür (UNITED NATIONS, 2020, s. 20).

Kadının İnsan Hakları Yeni Çözümler Derneği'nin Covid-19 salgınının kadınların hayatına etkisini incelediği "Salgında Kadın Olmak" adlı araştırmasında, Pandemi'de kadınların yoksullaştıklarını vurgulamıştır. Raporu göre, katılımcılara Covid-19 salgını öncesindeki ve sonrasındaki ekonomik durumları sorulduğunda, salgın öncesinde ekonomik durumlarını orta halli olarak nitelendiren kadınların oranı %86 iken, salgın sonrası bu oran %66'ya düşmüştür, %20'lik kesim ise salgın sonrası durumlarını yoksul veya çok yoksul olarak tanımlamaya başlamıştır. Araştırmaya katılanların %73'ü Covid-19 salgını başladıktan sonra ekonomik sorun yaşadığını belirtmiştir. %15'inin masraflarını kısarak ekonomik sorunlarla baş etmeye çalıştıklarını ifade ederken, %47'si ise ekonomik sorunlar karşısında çözümsüz kaldığını belirtmiştir. Kısaca, salgın başladıktan sonra her dört kadından en az üçü ekonomik sorun yaşamış ve her üç kadından en az biri de bu konuda çözümsüz kalmıştır (Eroğlu & Gençay, 2020, s. 54-60).

Yaşanan krizin tüm etkilerine rağmen kadınlar Pandemi ile mücadelede ön saflarda yer almıştır. Krizle birlikte kadın kooperatiflerinin çoğu faaliyetlerini durdurmuşsa da bazı kadın ko-

operatifleri bu süreçte dijital olarak faaliyete geçmişlerdir. Üretim yapan ve tarım ürünlerini işleyen kadın kooperatifleri ürünlerini sosyal medya veya web siteleri üzerinden tüketiciye ulaştırmaya çalışmışlardır (Eşit Adımlar, 2020). Ancak Covid-19 sürecinde kadın kooperatiflerinin Instagram hesaplarını nasıl yönettikleri konusunda yapılan bir araştırma sonucunda, kadın kooperatiflerinin Instagram hesaplarını aktif kullanmadıkları ve takipçileriyle kurduğu iletişim dönüsünün yeterli olmadığı bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır (Demircan Yıldırım, 2021, s. 163-164).

Kadın kooperatifleri, Covid-19’la mücadelede faaliyet alanlarından bağımsız olarak maske, dezenfektan, kolonya gibi sağlık malzemelerine yönelik üretim yaparak hem ekonomik gelir elde etmişler hem de topluma fayda sağlamışlardır. Tüketicilerin daha güvenli gıdaya erişimlerini sağlamak amacıyla tarladan toplanan ürünleri doğrudan tüketicilerle buluşturmuşlardır. Evden çıkmak istemeyen tüketiciler için ayrıca isteğe yönelik kuru ve sağlıklı gıdalar üretip evlere teslim ederek hizmet sağlamışlardır.

Sosyal ve dayanışma ekonomisinin en önemli bileşenlerinden biri olan kadın kooperatifleri, Covid-19 salgını sürecinde dayanışmanın başarılı bir örneği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Sosyal ekonominin ve dayanışmanın direği olan kooperatiflere düşen görev, kooperatifçiliğin 7. ilkesi gereği toplumsal sorumluluk noktasında Pandemi sürecinde ön sıralarda yer almaları ve topluma katkıda bulunmalarıdır. Uluslararası Kooperatif Birliği (ICA) Başkanı Ariel Guarco, küresel salgın ile ilgili şu mesajı vermiştir: “2021 geldi ve salgın devam ediyor. Bu virüs bu gezegenin her köşesine ulaştı. Sağlık, ekonomik ve sosyal etki çevremizde çok fazla acıya neden olmaya devam ediyor. Bu nedenle kooperatifler değerlerimizi ve ilkelerimizi hayata geçirmeye devam ederek insanlık tarihinin bu anında harekete geçmenin önemini vurguluyor. Dünyanın her köşesinde iş birliği, dayanışma ve karşılıklı yardımlaşma olduğundan da emin olabiliriz. Salgın, dünya sahnesinde rekabet ve spekülasyon paradigmasının öne çıkması için bir fırsat olmamalıdır. Aksine, kooperatif kimliğini derinleştirmek ve bu küresel krizden çıkış yolunu açmak için tarihi bir fırsat olmalıdır.” (ICA, 2021).

Bu çerçevede çalışmada, Batı Akdeniz Bölgesi’nde, Ticaret Bakanlığı’na bağlı kurulan kadın kooperatiflerinin bu süreçten nasıl etkilendiğini ve aynı zamanda kooperatif olarak bu süreci nasıl etkilediklerini ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla Isparta, Burdur ve Antalya illerinde yer alan Kadın Girişimi Üretim ve İşletme Kooperatifleri ortakları ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

2. COVID-19 Pandemi Süreci

Yeni koronavirus hastalığı (Covid-19), ilk olarak Çin’in Vuhan Eyaleti’nde 2019 yılı Aralık ayı sonlarında görülmüştür. Bir grup hastada yapılan araştırmalar sonucunda 13 Ocak 2020 tarihinde tespit edilen Covid-19 virüsü, solunum yolu ile bulaşan yeni bir virüs türüdür. Salgın başlangıçta bölgedeki deniz ürünleri ve hayvan pazarında bulunanlarda görülürken, daha sonra insandan insana bulaşarak başta Vuhan’a akabinde Çin’in diğer eyaletlerine sonrasında tüm dünya ülkelerine yayılmıştır (Sağlık Bakanlığı, 2020). 30 Ocak 2020 tarihinde Dünya Sağlık Örgütü (DSÖ) Genel Direktörü Dr.Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, yeni Koronavirus salgınını, uluslararası düzeyde acil durum ilan etmiştir. Ancak Çin dışında vaka sayılarında hızla artışların yaşanması, Ghebreyesus tarafından salgının bir Pandemi olarak nitelendirilebileceğini göstermiştir. Bu sürede 114 ülkede 118.000’den fazla vaka rapor edilmiş ve 4291 ölüm kaydedilmiştir (World Health Organization Avrupa, 2020).

Salgının küresel ölçekte ilan edilmesinden sonra tüm ülkeler hızlı bir şekilde önlem almaya başlamıştır. Alınan tedbirler sosyal ve ekonomik faaliyetlerin tamamını etkilemiş olup ekonomi, eğitim, turizm, ulaşım, sağlık sanat gibi alanları durma noktasına getirmiştir. Bu kapsamda, ülke-

lerin virüs yayılımını durdurmak amacıyla ülke hareketliliğine kısıtlama getirilmiştir. Ancak virüs bu sürede birçok insanı enfekte etmekle birlikte ülke ekonomilerini de neredeyse durma noktasına getirmiştir. Salgın, dünyanın yaşadığı en büyük ekonomik şoku temsil etmektedir (Dünya Bankası, 2020). Bu süreçte eğitime ara verilmiş olup akabinde uzaktan eğitim modeline geçilmiştir. Çalışma alanına yeni düzenlemeler getirilmiş bununla birlikte esnek çalışma modeli uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Sokağa çıkma yasakları, karantina gibi tüm dünya ülkelerinde devam eden değişimler insanların yaşamalarını büyük ölçüde etkilemiş ve her alanda değişimi beraberinde getirmiştir.

Covid-19 sürecinde tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye'de de acil durum ilan edilmiştir.11 Mart 2020 tarihinde ülkede ilk vakanın görülmesiyle birlikte eğitimden sağlığa, ulaşımdan çalışma alanlarına yönelik birçok sektörde, hastalığın yayılmasını önlemek amacıyla bir dizi adımlar atılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu önlemler kapsamında Türkiye'de sosyal ve ekonomik yaşam durma noktasına gelmiştir. Bu süreç birçok işyerinin faaliyetlerini durdurmasına ve personelinin geçici veya kalıcı olarak işten çıkarılmasına yol açmıştır.

3,3 milyar insanın oluşturduğu küresel işgücünün toplam %81'i işyerini tamamen veya kısmen kapatmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu kapsamda Pandemi sürecinde yaklaşık 200 milyon insanın işsiz kalması öngörülmektedir (BBC, 2020). Bu durumdan en çok etkilenen grup 25 yaş üstü yetişkin kadınlara göre daha ağır iş kaybı yaşayan 15-24 yaş arasındaki genç kadınlardır. Genç kadınlar, genç erkeklere kıyasla daha çok iş kaybına uğramışlardır (ILO, 2020). Kadınların daha çok hizmet ağırlıklı işler olan emek yoğun sektörlerde istihdam ediliyor olması, Pandemi sürecinde kadınları işlerini kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıya bırakmıştır. Pandemi'nin ortaya çıkardığı iş kayıpları özellikle dar gelirli kadınların bir araya geldiği hem kendisine hem de topluma fayda sağladığı kadın kooperatiflerini de olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. Kıt kaynaklarla üretim yapan kadınlar Pandemi ile birlikte faaliyetlerini yavaşlatmak veya durdurmak zorunda kalmıştır (Aslan, 2020).

3. Kadın Kooperatifleri

Kooperatif kelimesi, ortak bir amaç veya fayda sağlamak için birlikte çalışmak ve birlikte hareket etmek anlamına gelen iş birliği kelimesinden türemiştir. Uluslararası Kooperatif Birliği'ne göre kooperatif (ICA), "müşterek sahip olunan ve demokratik olarak kontrol edilen bir işletme aracılığıyla ortak ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçlarını ve isteklerini karşılamak için gönüllü olarak birleşmiş kişilerin özerk bir birliği anlamına gelir." (ILO, 2017, s. 4). Bu bakımdan kooperatifler insanların sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak amacıyla bir araya geldikleri örgütlenmelerdir. Dünyada kadınlar da kooperatiflerde kendilerine yer bulmuşlardır. 2015 yılında yapılan bir ankete göre katılımcıların %75'i geçtiğimiz 20 yılda kadınların kooperatiflere katılımının arttığını düşünmektedir (COPAC, 2014, s. 1). Türkiye'de de bu durum benzer şekilde görülmektedir. Özellikle girişimci kadınların kurduğu kadın kooperatiflerinin sayısı 2019 yılında 200'e ulaşmıştır. Bugün baktığımızda ise Ticaret Bakanlığı'na bağlı bulunan kadın kooperatifleri sayısı 300'ün üzerindedir (Ticaret Bakanlığı, 2021). Ancak yaşanan bu artışlar kadın kooperatiflerinin niteliğini arttırdığı veya sürdürülebilirliklerini sağladığı anlamına gelmemektedir. "Bunun nedeni kadın kooperatiflerinin finansal, örgütsel, psikolojik açılardan yaşamış oldukları güçlüklerdir. Bu güçlükler kadınların çoğunluğunun ilk kez böyle bir örgütlenmenin içinde olması, kooperatifin ekonomik yönden güçsüz kişilerden oluşması, ürünlerini pazarlama açısından deneyimsiz ve piyasa koşullarını bilmemekten kaynaklanmaktadır. Bunların yanında öz kaynakların ve finansman olanaklarının yetersizliği, kadınların kooperatif bilincinin yetersizliği, devletin kooperatifleri yeterince desteklememesi, örgütlenme motivasyonunun sağlanamaması, popülist politikalar, bencil, bireysel davranışlar diğer güçlükler olarak sıralanabilir" (Günay vd, 2019).

Temel olarak dayanışma ekonomisini güçlendirecek bir model olan (Ardili & Öztürkmen, 2021, s.14) kadın kooperatifleri ülkemizde 1999 depreminden sonra Düzce ve Kocaeli illerinde 2000’li yılların başında ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle dar gelirli kadınların yoksulluğunu azaltma ve kadın işgücünün ekonomiyeye kazandırılması amacıyla tabandan gelen hareketle kurulmaya başlanmıştır. Türkiye’de ilk kadın kooperatifi Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı (KEDV) önderliğinde kurulmuştur. Vakıf, 2001 yılından bu yana 70’den fazla kadın kooperatifi kuruluşuna destek vermiştir. Bu anlayışla birlikte kadın kooperatifleri için finans, eğitim ve danışmanlık sağlamakla birlikte, iletişim ağlarını güçlendirerek iş birlikleri geliştirmektedirler (KEDV, 2021).

Bugün kadın kooperatifleri, kadınlar tarafından kurulan, ortakları ve yönetimi kadınlardan oluşan bir kooperatif türü olarak tanımlanabilmektedir (Demircan Yıldırım, 2020, s. 162). “Kadın kooperatifleri genellikle küçük ölçekli, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleriyle bağıntılı üretim ve hizmet profili olan, yasal yükümlülük ve sorumlulukları yerine getirme bakımından

nitelikli rehberliğe ihtiyacı olan bir profil çizmektedir” (Ardili & Öztürkmen, 2021, s.14). Özellikle de cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlama noktasında ele alındığında yoksulluğun önlenmesi, kadın istihdamının sağlanması, kadınların sosyal ve ekonomik hayatta katılımına imkân oluşturması ve kadının aktörlüğünde gelişen bir model olarak görülmektedir (Kadın Emeği ve İstihdam Girişimi (KEİG), 2015,s.7). Bu kapsamda kadınların sosyal ve ekonomik hayatında dönüşümü sağlamak ve kadın emeğinin kooperatif çatısı altında değerlendirilmesi amacıyla ortakları kadınlardan oluşan ve kadınlara istihdam sağlayan Kadın Girişimi Üretim ve İşletme Kooperatifi” sözleşmesi Ticaret Bakanlığı tarafından yürürlüğe konmuştur (GTB, 2017, s. 23). Sözleşmeye göre kooperatifin amacı şöyle tanımlanmaktadır: “Ortaklarının ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçları ile ekonomik faaliyetleri kapsamında yer alan mal ve hizmet üretimi ile bunların pazarlanmasına yönelik ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak, girişimlerini desteklemek, üretim becerilerini geliştirmek, böylece ortaklarının ekonomik menfaatlerini koruyarak sağlıklı ve gelişmiş bir çevrede yaşamalarını sağlamaktır.” (Ticaret Bakanlığı Kooperatifçilik Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012, s. 3).

Türkiye’de Ticaret Bakanlığı bünyesinde faaliyet gösteren kadın kooperatifleri sayısı örnek ana sözleşmenin yayınlanmasından bu yana artış göstererek 2021 yılı Şubat ayı verisine göre 556 ‘ya ulaşmıştır. Bu çerçevede Kadın Girişimi Üretim ve İşletme Kooperatifi türü (472), İşletme kooperatifi (61), Üretim ve pazarlama kooperatifi (6), Küçük sanat kooperatifi (5), Kalkınma kooperatifi (8), Tüketim kooperatifi(2) Yardımlaşma Kooperatifi(1) ve Bilimsel araştırma ve geliştirme kooperatifi (1) olarak belirlenmiştir (Ceylan, 2021, s.30). Bununla birlikte kadın kooperatiflerinin Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı bünyesinde yer aldığı bilinmektedir. Ancak bu verileri sağlayacak aktif bir bilgi sistemi bulunmamaktadır. Bu veriler doğrudan bakanlıklardan resmi yazışma aracılığıyla talep edilebilmektedir.

Kadın kooperatifleri, ortakları için hem sosyal hem de ekonomik işlevleri yerine getirir; gelir ve istihdam yaratan ekonomik faaliyetleri başlatır ve uygular; bakım ve eğitim hizmetleri sağlar ve kadınları sosyal hayata katılmaya teşvik eden faaliyetleri yürütür (Akçar, 2018). Türkiye’nin pek çok yerinden kadınlar organik tarım, gıda üretimi, el emeği ile üretilen hediyeelik eşyalar, çocuk ve yaşlı bakımı hizmeti gibi çeşitli alanlarda faaliyet göstermektedir. Böylelikle kadın kooperatifleri kadınlara çalışabilecekleri bir iş sahası yaratarak hem kendi ürettikleri ürünlerin değerlendirilmesini hem de aile ekonomisine katkıda bulunmasını sağlamaktadır (Serinikli, 2019, s. 48). Bununla birlikte, kadın kooperatifleri kapasite geliştirme programları ve eğitimleri yoluyla ortaklarının ekonomik girişimlerini yönetme becerilerini iyileştirmeyi sağlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda kadınların bir araya gelerek sosyalleştiği, sorunlarını tartıştığı güvenli bir ortam oluşturmaktadır (Duguid, Durutaş, & Wodzicki, 2015, s. 53). Son olarak, “kadın kooperatifleri-

nin kadınlar açısından yarattığı güçlenme, görünür olma, yönetişime dâhil olma alanı ve kapasitesi toplumsal sermayeyi artırmaktadır. Bir kadın kooperatifi/girişimi kadınların ücretli istihdama erişim, insana yaraşır çalışma ortamına ve koşullarına erişim, finansmana erişim, toplumsal hayata katılım, kendi kimliklerini oluşturma ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği önündeki engelleri ortadan kaldırmak bakımından önemli bir araç/arabulucu niteliğindedir” (Ardili & Öztürkmen, 2021, s.14).

4. COVID-19 Pandemi Sürecinde Kadın Kooperatifleri

Covid-19 salgını hem bireysel hem de toplumsal düzeyde tüm ilişkiler üzerinde küresel bir sosyo-ekonomik etkisi olmuştur. Bu açıdan bakıldığında kooperatif dünyasının da etkilenmiş olması son derece mümkündür. Her ne kadar kooperatif modelinin küresel iş modeline göre daha dirençli olduğu görülmüş olsa da (Cooperatives Europa, 2020, s. 6; Birchall & Ketilson, 2009) Pandemi sürecinin getirdiği finansal kriz, kooperatiflerin çekirdek yapısını sosyal ve ekonomik yönden doğrudan etkilemiştir (ICA, 2020, s. 19). Bu kapsamda, Avrupa kooperatifleri tarafından 14 Eylül'de bir rapor yayınlanmıştır. Rapora göre Covid-19 Pandemisi'nin kooperatiflerin ticari faaliyetleri üzerindeki sosyal ve ekonomik etkisi incelendiğinde, Avrupa'daki tüm kooperatiflerin ticari faaliyetlerinde, cirolarında ve iş gücünde Covid-19'dan etkilendiği görülmüştür (Cooperatives Europa, 2020, s. 5). Bu etkiyi en derinden yaşayan ve Pandemi nedeniyle genellikle faaliyetlerini evden yürütmek ya da durdurmak zorunda kalan kadın kooperatifleri, Covid-19'un getirdiği sosyal ve ekonomik zorluklarla karşı karşıya kalmıştır (UN WOMEN, 2020). Örneğin, Hindistan'da bulunan Serbest Meslek Sahibi Kadınlar Derneği (SEWA)¹, Covid-19'un SEWA kadın kooperatifi üyeleri üzerindeki etkisini şöyle anlatmıştır; Pandemi sürecinde, gerekli temel malzemelerin ve ilaçların temin edilmesinde zorlukların ve dükkanlarda malzeme kıtlığının yaşanması; kırsal alandaki kadınların tarım ürünlerini pazarlara ulaştıramaması; pek çok üyenin günlük ücretlere bağımlı olduğunun ve günlük ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak nakit girişini sağlayamaması; kayıt dışı işgücünün çoğunluğunu oluşturan göçmenlerin kiralarını karşılayamaması ve özellikle sağlık tesislerine erişim, hijyenik pedler ve düzenli devam eden ilaçlar gibi ihtiyaçların giderek artan sıkıntısı etrafında yoğunlaşmaktadır (SEWA, 2020, s. 2).

Kooperatifler, çalışanlarını korumak ve toplumun ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermek amacıyla kriz anında topluluklarına hizmet eden bir model olarak yeteneklerini sergilemektedir. Bu anlamda tüm dünyada Pandemi sürecinde kooperatifler ihtiyaç sahibi insanlara yardımlarda bulunmuştur. Örneğin, Hindistan'da SEWA Kooperatif Federasyonu, kadınlara gıda paketleri, sağlık setleri ve nakit transferler sağlamıştır (ILO, 2020b). Ülkemizde ise kooperatif ortağı olan kadınlar, telefonlarla ihtiyaç sahibi kadınlara ulaşarak destek sağlamıştır. Bununla birlikte Dünyada ve Türkiye'de kooperatifler maske, dezenfektan, kolonya gibi kişisel koruyucu ekipman üretmiştir. Örneğin, çoğunluğu kadın işçilerden oluşan işçi kooperatifi Ipiranga (Assaripi, Brezilya) üyeleri, kendilerini koronavirüsten korumalarına yardımcı olmak için sağlık profesyonelleri tarafından kullanılan Kişisel Koruyucu Ekipmanı (KKD) üretmek için girişimde bulunmuştur (UNISOL, 2020). Ülkemizde Antalya Pamuk ve Narenciye Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri Birliği (ANTBİR-LİK) koronavirüs salgınıyla mücadele kapsamında kampanya başlatarak “önce iki özel firma ile 25 bin cerrahi maske üretimi için anlaşma yapmış ve 25 bin adet de tek kullanımlık eldiven tedarik etmiştir. Gece gündüz çalışarak maske üretimine geçen iki firmanın ürettiği maskeler ile eldivenler Serik Meydanı'na kurulan stant ile halka dağıtılmıştır.” (CNN TÜRK, 2020). Böylelikle

1 SEWA hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek için; <http://www.sewa.org/> , <https://www.sewafederation.org/>

kooperatifçiliğin temel ilkelerinden olan “topluma karşı sorumluluk ilkesi” konusunda toplumunun yararını gözeterek fayda sağladıklarını göstermişlerdir.

Covid-19 salgını Türkiye’de çoğu kadın kooperatifi için diğer küçük ve orta işletmeler gibi zorlayıcı bir durum oluşturmuştur (Türk Girişim ve İş Dünyası Konfederasyonu (TÜRKONFED), 2020, s.5). Bu süreçte kadın kooperatifleri faaliyetlerini (üretim mekanları, atölyeler, kreşler, lokantalar vb) geçicilerde olsa durdurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Karşıyaka, Ödemiş, Bornova, Avukma, Gaziemir gibi kadın kooperatifleri atölyelerini kapatıp bireysel üretimlerine evde devam etmeye başlamıştır. Tarımsal üretim yapan kooperatifler salgın sürecinde kendilerini riske atarak ürünlerini toprakla buluşturmuştur. Gıda üreten, kafe-lokanta işleten Çeşme, Urla, Balçova, Narlıdere, Pagos gibi kadın kooperatifleri üretimlerini ve hizmetlerini durdurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Çoğu kadın kooperatifi ürünlerini satamadığı için gelir kaybı yaşamının yanı sıra kooperatifin kira, vergi, elektrik, su, doğalgaz gibi giderlerinin karşılanması imkânsız hale gelmiştir (Aslan, 2020). Tüm olumsuzluklara rağmen kadın kooperatifleri hem kendisine hem de topluma fayda sağlamak amacıyla dayanışma ve iş birliği içinde hareket etmeye devam etmiştir. Birçok kadın kooperatifi, ortaklarıyla bir araya gelerek maske üretimine başlamıştır. Farklı kıstlıkları nedeniyle evden çıkamayan ortaklar da telefon üzerinden sipariş almaya başlamıştır (Aslan, 2020). Bu da bizlere kooperatifçiliğin dayanışma, birliktelik ve sürdürülebilirliğin Pandemi gibi kriz koşullarında bile ekonomik sürdürülebilirlik ve toplumsal fayda açısından ne kadar önemli olduğunu göstermiştir (TÜRKONFED, 2020, s.6). Bununla birlikte Kadın Emegini Değerlendirme Vakfı (KEDV), Covid-19 ile mücadelede kadın kooperatifleri arasında dayanışma ağlarını güçlendirmeye çalışarak salgının etkilerini azaltmaya yönelik proje ve kampanyalar oluşturarak kadın kooperatiflerine destek sağlamıştır (KEDV, 2020). Bunun yanında KEDV’ye üyü olan ve çalışanlar ilgili alanlara yönelik uzmanları internet uygulaması üzerinden bir araya getirerek afet, göç, gıda güvenliği gibi konularda eğitimler düzenlemiştir. Kooperatiflerden toplu alım yapan şirketlerin ekonomik sıkıntılar yaşaması nedeniyle topku siparişleri iptal edilen kooperatiflerin ürünlerini çeşitli kampanyalar aracılığıyla tüketicilerle buluşturmuştur. Ve kadın kooperatifleri yoğun talepler üzerine ücretsiz ve gönüllük esaslı maske üretmeye devam etmiştir (TÜRKONFED, 2020, s.6).

Pandemi döneminde 15 Temmuz 2020 tarihinden itibaren, Ticaret Bakanlığı’nın Kadın Kooperatiflerini Destekleme Programı (Koop-Des) kapsamında, ortaklarının çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşan ve kadın emeğinin değerlendirilmesine yönelik faaliyette bulunan kadın kooperatiflerine finansman desteği sağlanmıştır (Ticaret Bakanlığı, 2020). Kadın kooperatiflerinin çoğu faaliyetlerini etkili ve verimli bir şekilde devam ettirmek, üretime katkı sağlamak amacıyla teknik ekipman ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yönelik desteklerden faydalanmışlardır. Tüm bu desteklere rağmen Pandemi süreci, kadın emeğini değerlendirme amacı güden kadın kooperatiflerini derinden etkilemiştir. Bu bakımdan çalışma, Covid-19 Pandemi’sinden kadın kooperatiflerinin nasıl etkilendiğini ve aynı zamanda kadın kooperatiflerinin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymaktır.

5. Yöntem

Araştırma Covid-19 Pandemisi’nin kadın kooperatifleri üzerindeki etkilerini inceleyen ilk çalışma olması bakımından oldukça önemlidir.

Bu çalışmada, nitel araştırma desenlerinden fenomenoloji deseni kullanılmıştır. Fenomenoloji deseni amaç, farkında olduğumuz ancak derinlemesine bir fikir ve anlayışa sahip olmadığımız olguların irdelenmesidir (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011, s. 72). Dolayısıyla fenomenoloji deseni de önemli olan bireyin olguya yönelik yaşamındaki tecrübelerini açıklamaktır. Bu doğrultuda

araştırma kapsamında Covid-19 Pandemisi'nin kadın kooperatiflerini ve ortaklarının hayatlarını nasıl etkilediği ve bu süreçten nasıl etkilendikleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde ortaya koyulmuştur. Başka bir deyişle Pandemi sürecini nasıl deneyimledikleri ile ilgili görüşleri anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle fenomenoloji deseninin çalışmanın amacına uygun bir desen olduğu düşünülmüştür.

5.1. Çalışma Grubu

Araştırma örnekleminde rastgele örneklem yöntemi seçilmiştir. Nitel araştırma yönteminde rastgele örneklem, evrendeki bütün öğelerin eşit ve bağımsız belirlenme ihtimalinin olduğu örneklem yöntemidir (Baltacı, 2018, s. 238). Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada çalışma grubu oluşturulurken olguyu açıklayacak bireylere yönelik herhangi bir kriter belirlenmemiştir. Uygulamada bütün bireyler eşittir. Çalışma kapsamında, Antalya, Burdur ve Isparta'dan sekiz kadın kooperatifinden toplam dokuz katılımcı ile görüşme sağlanmıştır. Katılımcıların tamamının kadın kooperatifinde yer almaları sebebiyle erkek ortakları olmayıp hepsi ev kadınıdır ve katılımcılar 25+ yaş grubunda yer almaktadır. Araştırmada katılımcıların isimleri gizli tutulmuştur ve görüşme gerçekleştirilen kadın kooperatifi ortakları Katılımcı 1 (K1), Katılımcı 2 (K2)... şeklinde ifade edilmiştir.

5.2. Araştırmanın Kısıtlılığı

Araştırmanın kısıtlılığı, Covid-19 Pandemisi nedeniyle görüşmelerin telefon ve sosyal medya aracılığıyla iletişime geçilerek gerçekleştirilmiş olmasıdır. Bu durumun avantajlı yönleri bulunmakla birlikte dezavantajlı yönleri de bulunmaktadır. Yazılı görüşmede katılımcının güvenilir cevaplar verme olasılığının düşük olması ile araştırmacının katılımcıların anlık görsel verilerini inceleme imkanına sahip olmaması dezavantaj oluştururken yazılı görüşmede katılımcıların düşüncelerini rahat bir şekilde gözden geçirebilmeleri, istedikleri soruyu yanıtlayabilmeleri ve daha ayrıntılı yanıt verebilmeleri avantaj oluşturmaktadır (Yıkmış, 2019, s. 188–189).

Görüşme soruları katılımcılarla paylaşıldıktan sonra zamansal bağlamda katılımcının ne kadar sürede cevaplayacağı araştırmanın kısıtlılığını oluşturan bir diğer nedendir. Bunun yanında bazı kadın kooperatifleri ile iletişim kurulamamakla birlikte sosyal medya hesaplarını da aktif kullanmamalarından kaynaklı olarak mesajlar taraflarına iletilenmemiştir. Bununla birlikte araştırma, Batı Akdeniz'de yer alan Antalya, Burdur ve Isparta illeriyle sınırlandırılmıştır.

5.3. Veri Toplama Süreci

Verilerin toplanmasına başlamadan önce katılımcılara telefon ve sosyal medya yoluyla ulaşılmış olup çalışmanın konusu ve amacı hakkında bilgiler verilmiştir. Bu bilgiler katılımcılarla paylaşıldıktan sonra gönüllü olan katılımcılara araştırma soruları sosyal medya aracılığıyla yazılı olarak iletilmiştir. Veriler 13 Kasım 2020 ve 15 Kasım 2020 tarihleri arasında toplanmıştır. Katılımcılara eklemek istedikleri başka konular olup olmadığı sorulmuş ve sonrasında araştırma tamamlanmıştır.

Bu araştırmada nitel veri toplama tekniklerinden biri olan görüşme yöntemi seçilmiştir. Görüşme, bir araştırma konusu veya bir soru hakkında derinlemesine bilgi sağlar. Görüşmeler, kaynakların ulaşılabilirliğine ve araştırmada toplanmak istenen verilerin özelliklerine göre; yapılandırılmış, yarı yapılandırılmış, yapılandırılmamış, etnografik ve odak grup görüşmeler olarak sınıflandırılmaktadır (Büyüköztürk vd., 2014, s. 150-152). Bu çalışmada yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme tekniği kullanılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda araştırmanın amacına yönelik sorular seçilmiştir. Katılımcılara öncesinde sorular hakkında genel bilgi verilmiş olup alınan cevaplar doğrultusunda dördüncü soru yeniden düzenlenmiş ve daha anlaşılır hale getirilmiştir. Yarı yapılandırılmış gö-

rüşme sorularında katılımcılara Pandemi'nin kooperatiflerini nasıl etkilediğini ve bu sürece kooperatiflerinin nasıl katkı sağladıklarını değerlendirebilmek amacıyla dört adet soruya yanıt aranmıştır. Bu sorular şunlardır;

- 1) Pandemi süreci günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi?
- 2) Pandemi süreci mali hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi?
- 3) Pandemi sürecinde kooperatifiniz herhangi bir destek aldı mı?
- 4) Kooperatifinizin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini/katkı sunduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

5.4. Verilerin Analizi

Bu araştırmada elde edilen verilerin analizinde betimsel analiz kullanılmıştır. Betimsel analiz, derinlemesine analiz gerektirmeyen verilerin işlenmesinde kullanılmaktadır (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011, s. 89). Betimsel analizde elde edilen veriler betimlenir ve açıklanarak yorumlanması sağlanır. Bu kapsamda araştırma sorularından yola çıkarak araştırmanın kavramsal çerçevesiyle paralel olarak kategoriler oluşturulmuştur. Oluşturulan kategorilere bağlı olarak elde edilen veriler düzenli bir şekilde okunarak bir araya getirilmiş ve düzenlenmiştir. Düzenlenen veriler tanımlanarak doğrudan alıntılarla desteklenmiş ve bulgular kısmında ilişkilendirilerek açıklanmıştır.

Araştırmada kodlama yapılmadan önce veri seti detaylı bir şekilde okunmuş önemli görülen kelime veya kelime grupları belirlenmiş ve kodlanmıştır. Kod olarak belirlenen kelime veya kelime grupları bir araya gelerek kategorileri oluşturmuştur. Sonrasında MAXQDA 2020 programında analize tabi tutulmuştur.

Tablo 1: Kod Sistemi

| Kod Sistemi | 96 |
|------------------------------|----|
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| 1.1 Evde Yaşam | 15 |
| 1.2 Dayanışma | 6 |
| 2 Finansal Yaşam | 29 |
| 2.1 Muhasebe ödemeleri | 3 |
| 2.2 Maliye ödemeleri | 3 |
| 3 Mali Destek | 13 |
| 3.1 Ticaret Bakanlığı | 4 |
| 3.2 Ekipman desteği | 2 |
| 4 Toplumsal Fayda | 13 |
| 4.1 Toplumsal Katkı | 2 |
| 4.2 Maske üretimi | 1 |

Bu çalışmada geçerlik ve güvenilirliği tehdit eden nedenleri ortadan kaldırmak amacıyla bazı önlemler alınmıştır. Bu kapsamda araştırma sorularına cevap alınıp alınmayacağını öğrenmek amacıyla ön bir pilot görüşme yapılmıştır. Bununla birlikte katılımcıların ifadeleri doğrudan alıntılarla desteklenmiştir. Araştırmanın çalışma grubu, yöntem seçimi, veri toplama süreci, veri toplama analizi ve geçerlik ve güvenirliliğin açıklanmasına yer verilmiştir. Aynı zamanda elde edilen bulgular ile araştırmanın sonucu arasında tutarlılık sağlanmıştır.

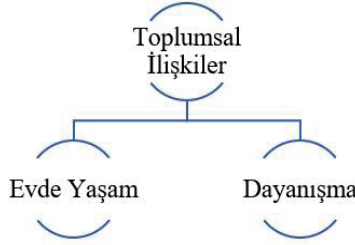
6. Bulgular

Bu bölümde, yapılan analizler sonucunda elde edilen bulgulara yer verilmiştir. Çalışmada, Covid-19 Pandemisi'nden kadın kooperatiflerinin nasıl etkilendiğini ve aynı zamanda kadın kooperatiflerinin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymaya yönelik dokuz kadın katılımcının dört

araştırma sorusuna verdiği cevaplar doğrultusunda dört kategori altında kodlar oluşmuştur. Nitel analiz sonucunda kategorilere ve kodlamalara denk gelen ifade ve yorumlar aşağıda sunulmuştur:

6.1. Toplumsal İlişkiler

Kooperatif katılımcılarına Pandemi sürecinin günlük hayatınızı nasıl etkilediği sorusu sorulduğunda elde edilen cevaplar doğrultusunda toplumsal ilişkiler kategorisi altında “evde yaşam” ve “dayanışma” kodları oluşturulmuştur.



Şekil 1: Toplumsal İlişkiler

Katılımcıların çoğunluğu Pandemi sürecinin kooperatifi ve ortaklarını olumsuz etkilediği ve bu bağlamda sosyal ilişkilerin zayıfladığı yönünü vurgulamıştır. Özellikle ürün satışları nedeniyle birebir insanlarla görüşmek zorunda kalan kooperatif ortaklarının sosyal ilişkiler bakımından maddi ve manevi olarak etkilendikleri görülmektedir. Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşmeler aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Sosyal çevremizi kontrol altına alarak büyük kaygılarla görüşüyoruz.”(K7).

“Pandemi dönemi sosyal hayatımı olumsuz yönde etkiledi. Yüz yüze iletişim kurmaktan korkuyoruz. İletişimde mimikler çok önemlidir benim için. Maskeler yüzünden mimikler yok oldu. Göz teması kurmayı sevmekten karşıdaki kişinin duygularını anlamak için gözlerinin içine bakmak zorunda kalıyorum. Çocuklarıma gönül rahatlığıyla sarılıp onları öpemiyorum. Sürekli tedirginiz huzursuzuz. Pandemi hissettiklerimizin sevgimizi göstermenin ne kadar önemli olduğunu bizlere gösterdi.”(K9).

Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşmede Pandemi ile birlikte evde geçirilen sürenin arttığı ve bu sürecin ürünlerin satışını azaltması sebebiyle olumsuz yönde etkilediği görülmüştür. Aynı zamanda Pandemi sonrası evde daha fazla vakit geçirmek zorunda kalan bazı katılımcıların psikolojik olarak olumsuz etkilendiği tespit edilmiştir. Evde yaşam koduna yönelik görüşmelere aşağıda değinilmiştir:

“Genelde herkes evden çalıştığı ve yaptığı ürünler daha çok özel ürün olduğu için satış alanım çok düştü ve el emeği ürünler yaptığım için pahalı geldi.”(K3).

“Sosyal hayatımda görüştüğüm arkadaşarımla daha az görüşmeye başladım, toplantılarımızı ve konferanslarımızı ertelemek zorunda kaldık. Akrabalarımı ve arkadaşarımla aramıza mesafe koyup uzaktan görüşmek zorunda kaldık. Buda bizi psikolojik olarak olumsuz etkiledi.”(K4).

Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşme sonucunda Pandemi sürecinde kadınların hayatları pa-

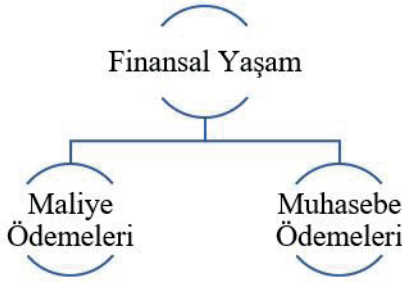
hasına bir araya gelerek süreci birlikte atlamaya çalıştığı görülmektedir. Dayanışma koduna vurgulayan görüşler aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Biz bu süreçte ortaklarımızdan para toplayıp binamıza ürün yaptık. Binaya geçince oradan satmayı düşünmüyorduk Pandemi’den dolayı o da yapılmadı bitmedi hava soğuk olunca pazarımızda bitti.” (K6).

“Sosyal hayatların kısıtlamaya girdiği bir dönem kadınların, işe gider gibi kooperatife gelmesi hem psikolojik hem de maddi olarak hızır gibi yetişti.”(K9).

6.2. Finansal Yaşam

Kooperatif katılımcılarına Pandemi sürecinin mali hayatını nasıl etkilediği sorulduğunda elde edilen cevaplar doğrultusunda finansal yaşam kategorisi altında “maliye ödemeleri” ve “muhasebe ödemeleri” kodlar oluşturulmuştur.



Şekil 2: Finansal Yaşam

Katılımcıların çoğunluğu Pandemi sürecinde finansal yaşamlarının olumsuz etkilendiğini vurgulamıştır. Bu nedenle ürün satışı yapamadıklarını ve vergi, resim, harç gibi devlete ödenen borçları ödeyemediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşmelerde finansal yaşam kategorisi altında maliye ödemeleri koduna yönelik görüşler aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Pandemi sürecinde kooperatif olarak zor dönemler geçirdik maliye ödemeleri muhasebe ödemeleri devam ettiğinden sıkıntılar oluştu. (K1)

“Pandemi’den dolayı satış yapamayınca yatması gereken borçlarımızı yatıramadık, ürünlerimizi yaptık hazırladık ama elimizdeki bazı ürünleri satamadık şu anda satılmasını bekliyoruz.”(K6).

Ancak Pandemi sürecinin getirdiği krizi fırsata çeviren bir katılımcı, mali yaşamı olumlu yönde etkilediği görüşünde bulunmuştur. Pandemi sürecinde kooperatife olan ilginin arttığı ve mali durumlarını olumlu yönde etkilediği vurgulanmıştır. Katılımcıdan elde edilen görüş aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Pandemi dönemi kooperatife olan ilgiden dolayı etkilendiğimiz söylenemez, tam tersine insanlar doğal ve organik ürünlerin tüketimini çoğalttı, bu durum kooperatifimizin maddi durumunu destekledi.”(K9).

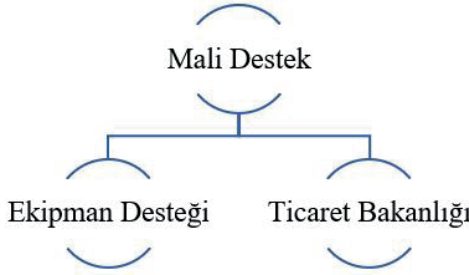
Pandemi’yle birlikte maddi zorluk çeken kooperatiflerin çoğunluğu ürün satışlarını gerçekleştiremediği için kooperatifin devlete yapılan ödemeler dışında kalan giderlerini geciktirmiştir

veya ödeyememiştir. Özellikle muhasebe gideri ön plana çıkmıştır. Finansal yaşam kategorisi altında bulunan muhasebe ödemelerine yönelik görüş aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Ekonomik krize girdik. Ürünlerimizi satamadık. Vergi ve muhasebe anca karşılandı.”(K5).

6.3. Mali Destek

Kooperatif katılımcılarına Pandemi sürecinde kooperatifiniz herhangi bir destek aldı mı sorusu sorulduğunda elde edilen cevaplar doğrultusunda mali destek kategorisi altında “Ekipman desteği” ve “Ticaret Bakanlığı” kodlar oluşturulmuştur.



Şekil 3: Mali Destek

Katılımcıların çoğunluğu Pandemi sürecinde herhangi bir destek almadığını vurgularken, destek alan veya destek almak için başvuruda bulunan kadın kooperatifleri Ticaret Bakanlığı'nın Koop-Des programından faydalandığı veya başvuruda bulunduğu üzerinde durmuşlardır. Bu desteğin makine ekipman alımına yönelik hibe desteği olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak destek almak için başvuruda bulunan ve desteğin çıkmaması durumunda kooperatifin kapatılacağı noktasına değinilen görüşler de bulunmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda katılımcıların görüşlerine aşağıda yer verilmiştir:

“Biz çocuğu engelli olduğu için ya da başka sebepten evden iş yapan kadınları sektörle buluşturmak için yola çıktık. Bunu da alışveriş şenlikleri ile yaptık ve çok başarılı olduk. Hibe çıkmazsa kapatacağız.”(K2).

“Kooperatifimiz mali destek almadı. Elimizdeki ürünlerin satışını bile yapamadık. Arabama yükleyip ürünleri satmaya çalıştım ama kooperatifin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yetmedi tatbiki.”(K8).

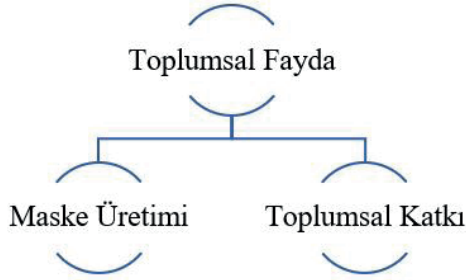
Pandemi'den önce veya sonra destek almak amacıyla başvuruda bulunan kooperatiflerin çoğunluğu ihtiyaçları noktasında üretim kapasitesini arttırmak ve ürünlerine katma değer yaratmak amacıyla makine ekipmana ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Bu bakımdan yapılan başvuruların çoğunluğunun ekipman desteğine yönelik olması önemlidir. Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşme sonucunda mali destek kategorisi altında kodlanan ekipman desteği ve Ticaret Bakanlığı kodlarına yönelik görüşler aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Kooperatif olarak 3 ay öncesine kadar hiçbir destek alamadık. Ticaret Bakanlığı Hanımefendinin kadın kooperatifleri için çıkardığı %75 Hibe projesinde makine teçhizat aldık ve üretime başladık.”(K1).

“Mali destek almak üzereyiz. Ticaret Bakanlığının makine ve ekipman hibe projesine başvurduk kabul edildi ödeme yapılmak üzere.”(K9).

6.4. Toplumsal Fayda

Kooperatif katılımcılarına Pandemi sürecinde kooperatifinizin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini/katkı sunduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz sorusu sorulduğunda elde edilen cevaplar doğrultusunda toplumsal fayda kategorisi altında “maske üretimi” ve “topluma katkı” kodları oluşturulmuştur.



Şekil 4: Toplumsal Fayda

Katılımcılardan elde edilen görüşmeler sonucunda, Pandemi sürecinde kooperatiflerinin herhangi bir fayda üretmediğini söyleyen görüşlere ulaşılmıştır. Pandemi sürecinde özellikle yeni üretim alanları belirleyen; maske, dezenfektan, kolonya üretiminde bulunan kooperatifler olduğu gibi Pandemi'nin getirdiği zorluklarla mücadele edemeyen hatta kooperatiflerini kapatmayı düşünen görüşler de bulunmaktadır. Bu görüşler aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Bu süreçte yaptığımız hiçbir şey yok kooperatifi uyuttuk kendi işimizle ilgileniyoruz.”(K2).

“Hiçbir katkı sağlayacağımızı düşünmüyorum çünkü önümüzde engeller var kapatmayı düşünüyoruz.” (K5).

“Hiçbir faaliyette bulunamadık üyelerle oturup planlarımızı uygulayamadık. Fuarlar iptal olunca ürünlerimizi pazarlayamadık.” (K6).

Katılımcıların toplumsal fayda teması altında Pandemi sürecinde topluma katkı sağladığı görüşlerde aşağıdaki şekilde belirtilmiştir:

“Elimizden geldiğinde gıda üretimine devam edip topluma faydalı olmaya çalıştık. İnsanların temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya devam ettik.”(K4).

“Bu dönemde daha sağlıklı beslenme noktasında (katkısız, doğal, organik) insanlara katkı sağladığımız söylenebilir. Etkileme noktasına gelince bolca reklam, satış fiyatlarının makul olması ve ürün yelpazesini geniş tutmamız insanları etkilediğimizi düşünüyoruz.(K9).

Kooperatiflerin topluma fayda sağlamak amacıyla Pandemi sürecinde maske üretimi yaptığı görüşü de önemli noktadır. Maske üretimi teması altında katılımcıların görüşü aşağıdaki gibidir:

“Maske satışlarına başladık hiç aklımızda olmayan bir iş alanydı.”(K1).

Şekil 6’da kategori ve alt kategorilerden oluşan frekansların kod bulutu gösterilmektedir. Bu gösterimde katılımcılara sorulan sorulara verilen yanıtların hangi kategoride daha sıklıkla değiştiğine yönelik görselleştirme yapılmıştır. Şekil 6’daki görselleştirme, frekanslar arasında göreceli farklılıklara vurgu yapmaktadır (Rädiker & Kuckartz, 2020, s. 24). Dolayısıyla kod bulutu, katılımcıların sorulara yönelik verdiği yanıtların büyük çoğunluğunun finansal yaşam temasına sıklıkla değinildiğini göstermiştir.

8. Sonuç

Covid-19 salgının etkisiyle pek çok insan sosyal ve ekonomik durumlarına bakılmaksızın zarara uğramıştır. Bir gecede insanlar işsiz kalmış ve çoğu küçük ve orta ölçekli işletmeler kapanmıştır. Ekonomik zarara uğrayan işletmeler arasında kadın kooperatiflerinin de yer aldığını söylemek mümkündür. Çoğu ihtiyaç sahibi, geçimini kıt kaynaklarla sağlayan kadınlardan oluşan kadın kooperatifleri, Pandemi’nin etkisiyle faaliyetlerini durdurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bu sürecin yıkıcı etkileri kadın kooperatiflerinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamayı kısıtlamıştır. Kooperatifler için ödenecek borçlar katlanarak artmıştır. Ancak tüm zorluklara rağmen hayatta kalmaya çalışan kooperatifler dayanışma yoluyla mal ve hizmet üretmeye devam etmiştir. Aslan (2020) “Kriz bizlere yeniden dayanışmanın ve bunun en önemli unsuru olan yerel örgütlenmelerin ve işletmelerin önemini bir kez daha göstermiştir. Pandemi sonrası yeniden yapılanma sürecinde, kooperatifler kritik bir rol üstlenecek gibi görünmektedir.” ifadesini kullanmıştır.

Bu kapsamda çalışmanın temel amacı, Covid-19 Pandemisi’nden kadın kooperatiflerinin nasıl etkilendiğini ve aynı zamanda kadın kooperatiflerinin bu süreci nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktır. Araştırma sonucunda, Covid-19 sürecinin kadın kooperatiflerini finansal yaşam açısından genel olarak olumsuz yönde etkilediği bulgulanmıştır. Pandemi sürecinde faaliyetlerin kısıtlanması sebebiyle kadın kooperatifleri ürünlerini doğrudan tüketiciye ulaştıramamışlardır. Genelde pazar alanlarında ve kooperatif dükkanlarında ürünlerin satışını sağlayan kadınlar, Pandemi ile birlikte stantların kurulmamasından dolayı ürünlerinin satışını gerçekleştirememişlerdir. Araştırmanın bir diğer sonucu olarak Pandemi süreci, kadın kooperatiflerini toplumsal ilişkiler açısından olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. Pandemi ile birlikte evde yaşama geçen kooperatifteki kadınlar yüzyüze iletişim kuramadıklarından dolayı psikolojik olarak olumsuz etkilendiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Kooperatifin dayanışmacı ve birlikte hareket eden yapısıyla bir arada olan kadınların Pandemi sürecinde birbirlerinden uzakta kalmaları kadınların motivasyonlarında düşüş yaşanmasına sebep olmuştur. Aynı zamanda kadınların tüketiciyle birebir iletişim sağlamak yerine sosyal medya üzerinden veya telefon yoluyla görüşme yapmak zorunda kalması toplumsal ilişkilerin zayıflamasına yol açmıştır. Çalışmada, Pandemi sürecinin kadın kooperatiflerini toplumsal fayda sağlaması açısından olumsuz yönde etkilediği görülmüştür. Pandemi nedeniyle ürün satışı sağlayamayan kadın kooperatifleri kooperatifin ve ortaklarının ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktan muzdariptir. Bu nedenle salgının olumsuz etkileri kooperatiflerin fayda sağlamakta zorlanmasına sebep olduğu bulgulanmıştır. Ancak dikkat çekici bir bulgu da krizi fırsata çeviren kadın kooperatifleri de bulunmasıdır. Bu kooperatifler Pandemi sürecinde toplumun güvenli gıdaya ihtiyaç duyması ve talep etmesi noktasında ihtiyaca göre sağlıklı ve katkısız gıda maddesi üretmiştir. Aynı zamanda sosyal medyanın gücünden faydalanarak ürünleri farklı şehirlerde tüketicilerle buluşturmuştur. Önemli bir sonuç da Pandemi süreci kadın kooperatiflerini mali destek açısından genel olarak olumlu yönde etkilemiştir. Bu süreçte Ticaret Bakanlığı bünyesinde kadın kooperatiflerine yönelik bir destek paketi (Koop-Des) açıklanmıştır. Kadın kooperatiflerinin bir çoğu destek paketine başvuruda bulunmuştur. Hibe kapsamında kadın kooperatiflerinin

üretim sürecine katkı sağlayacak makine teçhizat alımı yaptığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak destek paketinin kadın kooperatiflerinin genel giderlerini (kira, doğalgaz, su vb.) karşılamasından uzak olduğu görülmektedir.

Katılımcıların araştırma sorularına yönelik verdiği cevaplar sonucunda temaların birbirleriyle olan ilişkileri tespit edilmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda, kadın kooperatiflerinin Pandemi sürecinde faaliyetlerini durdurmaları veya yavaşlatmaları sonucunda evde yaşama geçtiği ve bu durumun finansal yaşamda olumsuz etki yarattığı görülmüştür. Finansal yaşamın yarattığı bu etkiyle mali destek alamayan kadın kooperatiflerinin toplumsal fayda üretme noktasında olumsuz etkilenmiştir.

Sonuç olarak kadın kooperatiflerinin Pandemi sonucu ortaya çıkan krizle baş etmede zorlandığı gözlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla Batı Akdeniz'deki destekten faydalanamayan kadın kooperatiflerinin sorunlarına çözüm sağlayacak, ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak kamu ve özel sektör finansmanlarına kolay ulaşmaları sağlanmalıdır. Destekler konusunda bilgisi olmayan kadın kooperatifleri kalkınma ajansları veya yerel yönetimler aracılığıyla bilgilendirilmelidir. Batı Akdeniz'deki kadın kooperatiflerinin, toplumsal ilişkiler açısından özellikle dayanışma açısından kuvvetlendirilmesi için dijital ortamların yaratılması sağlanmalıdır. Kooperatif ürünlerini hem daha geniş kitlelere ulaştırılmasını sağlamak hem de kadın kooperatiflerinin diğer kadın kooperatifleriyle olan ilişkilerini güçlendirmek amacıyla Pandemi sürecinde kooperatifler arasında dayanışma ağı oluşturmak önemlidir. Bununla birlikte toplumda kadın kooperatiflerinin farkındalığı artırılarak, kooperatif ürünlerinin satışlarının arttırmasına destek olunmalıdır.

Son olarak kadın kooperatiflerinin mevcut sorunları Pandemi'nin etkisiyle giderek artış göstermiştir. Bu sorunların çözümüne yönelik çalışmaların kapsamlı olarak ele alınması ve kadın kooperatifçiliğine yönelik güncel verilerin ortaya konulması bu alanda çalışma yapacak araştırmacılar için yeni öneriler geliştirmeye katkıda bulunacaktır.

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Research Article

Traditional Treatment of Tuju Disease (Rheumatism) in Lontar Usada Based on Bali Local Wisdom

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ABSTRACT

Traditional medicine is a nation's culture that needs to be preserved. Globalization has caused some people to use traditional medicine as alternative medicine, especially in the province of Bali, Indonesia, which is familiar with the term usada. This study aims to identify the traditional treatment of tuju (Rheumatic) diseases in lontar usada based on the local Wisdom of Bali. Literature studies were used in the study. Identification was made by analyzing lontar, books, and journals discussing related diseases. The results obtained by traditional medicine have become a cultural heritage reflected in the existence of lontar (*Hindu* cultural records), which contain types of diseases, medicines from diseases, traditional materials, and procedures for making and presenting traditional medicine. There are thirteen types of diseases and characteristics of diseases in lontar usada. There are four ways traditional health workers acquire their expertise, including *Balian Kapican*, *Balian Katakson*, *Balian Usada*, and *Balian Campuran*. In traditional medicine practice, rheumatic diseases have three treatment techniques, namely massage (*uut*), inner energy, and the provision of medicinal herbs. The species of herbs used are Tangerine (*Citrus nobilis*), *Awar-awar* (*Ficus septica*), *Jeruju* or *daruju* (*Acanthus icifolius* L.), *Buu* Plant, Ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Roxb), *Ki Encok* (*Plumbago zeylanica* L.), *Tri Ketuka* (*kesuna*, *Jangu*, *mesui*), and *Sindrong Jangkep* (spices). Usada needs to be preserved as a local culture that can be utilized as a world cultural heritage.

Keywords: Lontar, Usada, Rheumatic disease (*tuju*), Local wisdom, Bali



1. Introduction

Language, technical systems, livelihood systems, social structures, knowledge systems, religion, and art are part of the culture. Bali's cultural heritage is reflected in the social phenomenon of society (Koentjaraningrat, 1997; Mahanta, 1995). Balinese culture is rich in information covering all aspects of life. Ancient lontar leaf scrolls include traditional Balinese healing knowledge. The text of Balinese medicine is divided into two types: *usada* and the word (Nala, 2001). *Lontar's* (*tatwa*) speech includes the teachings of anatomy, physiology, philosophy of health and suffering, *pade-wasaan* healing the sick, *sesana Balian*, and diagnostic (forecasting disease). The *Lontar Usada* provides information on how to examine patients, diagnose diseases, make drugs, treat (therapy), prognosis, and perform rituals related to preventive and curative problems (Chabib et al., 2016).

The Balian technique used to cure this condition is related to the source of the disease. According to Nala (1992) the disease is caused by two types of causation: visible, actual, and agreed-on pain and *Niskala Kausa* (pain that is invisible, real, or agreed upon). Anderson (1986) noted that diseases (etiology) can be categorized into two categories: naturalistic and personalistic in traditional societies. The human body has a delicate balance of elements called *Tri-Dosha*, which causes weakness and disease when irritated. In comparison, the causes of personalistic forms are non-human and supernatural. Bali adheres to the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, which promotes peace between man and God, man and fellow man, and man and environment (Japa, 2008). The intellectual mind, *manah*, and creativity are influenced by the religion and culture of its environment. Disruption of the spiritual and physical interactions of the universe causes sadness (Nala, 1994).

Traditional associations, especially in Bali Province, have obtained legalization through issuing government regulation Number 103 of 2014 on traditional health services and Regulation of the Governor of Bali Number 55 of 2019 concerning Traditional Balinese Health Services (Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2020; Dinas Kesehatan Provinsi Bali, 2019). This increases the flexibility of providing complementary practices in the community, maintaining the cultural heritage based on local wisdom, and improving the traditional health care system in the community (Pranskuniene, Dauliute, Pranskunas, & Bernatoniene, 2018). The concept of healthy pain is applied to this case, and pain is closely related to imbalances in the body that need to be treated, neutralized, and balanced, one of which is the disease (rheumatic). Rheumatism is synonymous with the accumulation of concoctions or toxins in the body called *ama* due to the metabolism between imperfect bones resulting in pain (Bhargwan & Suhasini, 2006). Rheumatic disease is one of the autoimmune diseases in the form of inflammatory arthritis in adult patients (Pranskuniene et al., 2018; Singh, Kaushik, Badal, & Sahoo, 2020). Pain in people with rheumatism in the synovial joints, tendons, holsters, and bursa will experience thickening due to inflammation followed by bone erosion and bone destruction around the joints to cause disability (Fraenkel et al., 2021; Yazici & Simsek, 2010). So, it needs to be overcome so as not to cause death (Karthikeyan & Guilherme, 2018).

Efforts that can be made using traditional medicine because it has low side effects and is easy to obtain and present (Mertha Adnyana, Sudaryati, & Sitepu, 2021). The high incidence of rheumatoid diseases in the community is significant to identifying the methods (Mediastari, 2020), ways of treatment, and materials used as a cure for the disease by identifying these in lontar and literature studies. In Balinese society, the treatment of rheumatic generally uses traditional medicine (Suatama, 2021). This study aimed to identify the traditional treatment of *tuju* (Rheumatic) diseases in lontar *usada* based on local Balinese wisdom. This research provides scientific information to the public and complementary health workers in handling diseases based on local wisdom.

2. Method

This research used observational studies with a qualitative approach (Darwin et al., 2021). The research was conducted by analyzing the manuscripts of *usada tuju* and other *usada lontar* related to traditional medicine for rheumatic diseases. The *lontar* data used has been translated into Balinese characters. The ethnomedicine approach is used to trace the procedures for disease treatment, disease history, disease cause, treatment method, materials used, and length of use. Furthermore, the finding data are supported by literature studies that discuss traditional medicine related to the traditional treatment of *tuju* disease (rheumatism). Data was collected from databases such as PubMed, Scencedirect, Emerald, Nature, and Goggle Scholars. The keywords used were “*tuju*”, “*rheumatic*”, “*traditional medicine*”, “*lontar*”, “*usada*” and “*local wisdom*”, “*Bali*”. The data that was collected was analyzed descriptively qualitatively and presented in a narrative, table, and material documentation.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Folk medicinal agents of *tuju* (rheumatic) diseases

Natural substances that have been treated in traditional ways are inherited and are based on prior knowledge, customs, beliefs, or local customs. A previous study proved that traditional medicine could produce therapeutic results comparable to modern drugs. Currently, traditional medicines are being researched more extensively, and their use is increasing due to their lower cost and greater accessibility (Febryantono, Siswanto, Santosa, & Hartono, 2020; Muchid, 2006). Traditional medicine is still used today since it has few side effects and can be metabolized by the body. Traditional medicine uses plant roots, rhizomes, stems, fruits, leaves, and flowers (Cahyaningrum, Yuliari, & Mediastari, 2020). Modern science has not diminished the Balinese people’s faith in traditional medicine. Bali gave birth to the *usada* system of traditional medicine. *Usada* is derived from the Sanskrit term “*ausadhi*,” meaning “healing plants”. Adiputra (2011) claims Bali inherited the *Taru Pramana lontar*’s scientific herbology. This *lontar* listed hundreds of plant species and their medicinal virtues. This study emphasized conventional medicine in treating rheumatic illnesses (*tuju*). Some *lontar-lontar usada* members refer to the disease (rheumatism) and its symptoms (Sutomo & Iryadi, 2019). Each disease has distinct characteristics, demanding a distinct medicine and therapy. There are various texts of *usada lontar* that explain the therapy of *tuju* (rheumatism). According to searches of *Lontar* manuscripts, there were several *Usada Tuju*, *Usada Taru Pramana*, *Usada Tiwang*, *Usada Pamupug Guna-guna*, *Usada Aserep*, *Usada Pangeraksa Jiwa*, and *Usada Dalem Jawi* that discussed the treatment of *Tuju* (Arsana, 2019; Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 2012; Dinas Kesehatan Provinsi Bali, 2009; Suryadarma, 2005).

The types of rheumatic diseases (*tuju*) and their characteristics that were found there include: *Tuju Ayan* (It aches and tingles throughout the body); *Tuju Desti* (Aching and swollen body); *Tuju Gatal* (Itching at the swollen site); *Tuju Moro* (Swelling for no apparent reason and reappearing abruptly); *Tuju ngulet* (Swelling accompanied by stomach pain and a sense of being encircled around); *Tuju perut* (Swelling of the joints associated with stomach pain and discomfort); *Tuju ucing-ucing* (The body feels terrible and frequently forgets and suffers from the joints and bones); *Tuju windu* (Pain in the bones is accompanied by headaches and a constant need to sleep); *Tuju Brahma* (The body aches as if pierced, and the skin is hot and crimson); *Tuju Bengang* (Diseases that strike abruptly occur occasionally at sandikala (nightfall), rerainan (kajeng kliwon), and certain holy days); *Tuju lintah* (Bone ache accompanied by body pain); *Tuju gerah meluang* (All joints are swollen, uncomfortable, and shaking with pain); *Tuju pemali* (Human actions induce

pain that stings, stabs in the stomach, and causes constant pain sensations) (Ardiyasa, n.d.; Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1990; Muderawan, Budiawan, Giri, & Atmaja, 2020; Sutomo & Iryadi, 2019; Wyber et al., 2020).

There are thirteen types of diseases caused by various factors. *Tuju* disease is generally caused by others' acts (*sandikala*, *rerainan*, and specific holy days and destinations), and rheumatic (*tuju*) symptoms appear suddenly. Diseases are linked to *Desti's* concept of disease during *rerainan*. In Nala (1992), *Usada Bali*, *desti* is a mystical element that can cause illness using infected people's hair, nails, dirt, old clothes, and jewelry as a medium. Empowered eggs, water, wind, paper, and stone with magical images relating to the desired disease. It usually manifests during *Rerainan*. This shows that internal and exterior variables (scale sources) induce the targeted disease (*Niskala* factors). Unbalanced macrocosmic and microcosmic forces produce the ailment, says *Kecapi Buddhist lontar*. This sickness is classified as pain *panes*, cold, heat, or both. *Panes* (heat), *sbaha* or *nyem* (cool), or *sbaha-jampi* symptoms are used to describe diseases (*hot-cold*). Proper form (rough) *Brahma* is a flaming fire (rough), *Vishnu* is icy water, and *Iswara's* true nature is icy air. A healthy person's body temperature is in tune with *Brahma* (heat), *Vishnu* (cold), and *Iswara* (hot-cold) (Nala, 1992). People get sick when one dominates. A water-heat imbalance causes *tuju* illness (*sebha* or *nyem*). Maintaining homeostasis by supplying therapeutic herbs with *panes* (heat) characteristics is crucial. They are drawn from *God's Sang Hyang Tiga Manifestations: Brahma, Vishnu, and Iswara. Sanghyang Tiga* collects harmful and healthy substances. Triadic principles (*dukkha telu*), which include spiritual, mental, and natural causes (*adhidaiwika dukkha*), can also be used to figure out how a disease started (Nala, 2001; Suatama, 2021; Yazici & Simsek, 2010).

Ayurvedic medicine, which predates Balinese *usada*, says that the human body comprises three elements known as *Tri-Dosha*. They are *Vayu*, *pitta*, and *Kapha*. *Vayu* is intricately tied to the body's tools for respiration, sound production, digestion, farting, and other bodily tools. *Pitta* is the vital force that propels the heart, liver, spleen, and eyes. The body's water-emitting apparatus produces *Kapha* as fluids, water, mucus, and solutions. The equilibrium of the *Tri Dosha* elements affects the degree of health in the human body; when disturbed, pain occurs (Nala, 1994). In *tuju* (rheumatic) disorders, an imbalance of *Tri Dosha* elements occurs, causing an increase in fluid and air (*Vata* and *Kapha* elements) and a decrease in body temperature (*pitta* element). *Usada* uses plants in the form of medicinal herbs as part of its therapy. *Anget* (hot) and *dumelada* (medium) are *Taru Pramana lontar's* medicinal plants (Arsana, 2019; Gabriel, 1955; Nala, 2001; Suryadarma, 2005).

Humans have a vital ingredient known as *prana*, described in *Ayurvedic*, one of the *Hindu* religions (public health). It awakens the body and mind in the same way *prana* does by pumping blood and directing the body's organs (*dathus*) (Andrašević et al., 2009). If the body's energy is out of whack, the organs will malfunction, causing sickness. A Hindu calendar incorporates astronomical knowledge. Weather forecasts using *sasih* are possible in *Hinduism* (month). Every year between mid-June and mid-July, the wind is very fierce and the air quite frigid. This *sasih* usually brings back *nyem* rheumatic diseases. Also, because *Sasih Kepitu* occurs in January, *Hinduism* requires a regular ceremony such as *mecaru* to prevent disease propagation. Furthermore, in Bali, it is referred to as *Butha Yadnya*. *Mecaru* rites are also regularly done in response to adverse events. In the *Tri Hita Karana* worldview, to foster harmony in human interactions with *Sang Hyang Widhi (Parahyangan)*, fellow humans (*Pawongan*), and environment (*Palemahan*). This *Mecaru* ceremony is meant to impart moral and spiritual values to people and keep nature, the

environment, and its contents in balance (insight into the universe). This devotion to nature conservation is equated to *God's* body in understanding the universe and its contents. Furthermore, pray to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* for an irregular and *Niskala* existence for all humanity (Fransiska, 2020)

Adnyana (2020) claims that paying attention to the times may help diagnose the sickness. Afflictions or external manifestations reflect the times. While *dengen* is the bathin or magical power that accompanies a *Balian*. Thus, a Balinese can quickly discover a person's ailment using these three methods, both incidental and the *Niskala*. The approach also examines the body aura, eye rays, nails, skin, pulse, tongue and mouth, urine, and feces using chakras, *Kanda pat*, and *tenung*. With the help of *Hindu* cosmic wisdom known as *wariga*, the *tenung* technique predicts ailments emerging in the body. Scientific time (*dauh*) is believed to significantly impact species' existence, particularly humans. As a result, many variables are thought to play a role in illness.

3.2. Rheumatic illness treatment in traditional medicine (*tuju*)

In general, the proposer or *Balian*, who possesses significant knowledge of traditional medicine, practices in Bali. The *Balian* possesses the ability to heal the ill. The capability to address this condition is acquired in various ways (heredity, *taksu*, *pica*, learning or *nyastra*, and various other means). A *Balian* is classified into three ranks, according to Wolfgang, (1937), namely *Balian Usada*, *Balian Katakson*, and *Tukang* (assistant) healers, including *Balian Manak* and *Balian uut*. Nala (2001) claimed that a *Balian* was classified into two groups based on purpose, namely *Balian Panengen* and *Balian Pangiwa*. *Balians* are divided into four groups based on training.

1. *Balian Katakson* is a Balinese master in *taksu*. *Taksu* is a supernatural entity that infiltrates a person and alters his manner of thinking, speaking, and acting. *Taksu's* admission enables the individual to treat ailing individuals.
2. *Balian Kapican* is a person who obtains fortunate artifacts capable of healing the sick. This good creature is referred to as *pica*. By utilizing *pica*, a *Balian* can treat sickness.
3. *Balian Usada* is someone who learns about medicine intentionally, either through *waktra* teachers, on *Balian*, or through *lontar usada*.
4. *Balian Campuran* is composed of *Balian Tatakson* and *Balian pica* interested in studying *usada*. In Bali, the *Pangusada* or *balian practice tamba* therapy (*ubad*).

Two factors must be considered when manufacturing medicines through *Balian*: *Tamba* and *Serana*. *Tamba* is everything utilized to heal the sick, and *Serana* is the link between the *balian's* strength and the source of the patient's disease. *Tamba* and *serana* act as a unit to ensure that the healing process of the ill is as effective as possible. In traditional medicine, numerous therapeutic strategies for rheumatic disorders are available, including massage techniques (*uut*), inner energy, and the provision of medicinal plants (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1990).

1. *Uut* or massage

Uut or massage is a type of treatment that involves pressing, striking, or bordering the outermost layer of the skin to obtain purposes that aid in the healing process. The massage technique begins with a certificate on the painful area and its organ. The affected area's sensitive pain points/nerve node points are accelerated to empty and facilitate blood circulation.

2. Inner Energy

The goal of deep energy therapy is to distribute heat or fire energy throughout the patient's body to burn the disease both intermittently and permanently. Inner power can be implemented in various ways, including touching or not touching, and can be funneled from head to foot or vice versa. Dewi, Warditiani, & Leliqia (2009) and Nala (2001) showed how to eradicate disease using venom and poison using the Sang hyang Dasa aksara pronunciations of *sang*, *bang*, *tang*, *ang*, *ing*, *nang*, *mang*, *sang*, *wang*, and *yang*.

3. Medicinal Herbs

Generally, medicinal plants (*ubad*) are administered orally. The medications used to treat rheumatic disease may be derived from a single type of plant or a combination of plants. This is characterized by medicine that combines several different potions and is believed to exert multiple effects to overcome the ailment. In the case of rheumatic medications (*tuju*), the drugs employed are anti-rheumatic and necessary for the removal of toxins that contribute to the onset of this rheumatic disease. A potion that encourages water production is required to remove this poison, as the body's toxins dissolve in water. Thus, rheumatism must be coupled with a diuretic herb to increase urine output. Additionally, a herb that reduces inflammation, warms the body, and improves blood circulation is required. Thus, it is anticipated that each element in this mixture would operate synergistically to enhance the effects of the others and provide the maximum efficacy in curing ailments.

3.3 Plants that are used as traditional medicinal agents

Lontar Usada Tuju (rheumatism) can be treated with medicinal herbs from various plants or chemicals (Chabib et al., 2016). To treat rheumatism, it can be swallowed or drunk, evaporated or upset, or affixed, like *boreh* or *parem*. *Parem* is a traditional medicine spread on the feet, hands, or other regions of the body. In the form of *loloh*, a drink prepared from plant starch that is filtered and drunk. *Boreh* or *parem* is a fine powder combined with liquids like water, vinegar, wine, or alcohol before use. There is also steam and *urap*. For example, steam is formed by vaporizing a liquid, but *Sembur* Medicine is created by chewing, pulverizing, and spraying it on a sick person. Various herbs are used for disease therapy, according to *Lontar Usada Taru Pramana* (Arsana, 2019), *Lontar Usada Tiwang* (Arsana et al., 2020) and *Usada Sasah Bebai* (Adnyana, 2020). Table 1 and Figure 1 summarizes the varieties, plant parts, and content of plants used as traditional medicinal agents.

Table 1: Types, plant parts, and content of plants used as traditional medicinal agents

| Types of Plants | Efficacy | Source |
|---|---|---|
| <i>Jeruk keprok</i> (<i>Citrus nobilis</i>) | Tangerines have heated leaves and roots, a medium sap, and are used to treat rheumatic discomfort (<i>tuju</i>). All parts of the plant used for <i>boreh</i> are mixed with vinegar water and three slices of ginger and applied to the afflicted area of the body. | (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1990, 2012) |
| <i>Awar-awar</i> (<i>Ficus septica</i>). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pain relief for <i>Tuju Brahma</i> is achieved by combining awar-awar bark with honey and water <i>asaban</i> (rub) sandalwood. The bark (<i>babakan</i>) is hot, the sap is heated, and the roots are cool. It is used to treat <i>Tuju Brahma</i> by rubbing it with honey and sandalwood water. Compared to <i>Lontar Darma Usada Cemeng</i> • Awar-awar contains <i>Pangi</i> bark, awar-awar roots, and kitchen ash water and can be used to treat patients' feet with discomfort and swell reddened (<i>baah</i>). • <i>Tuju</i> is a herb made from aged awar-awar leaves, tobacco leaves, <i>Sundanese biaung</i> tubers, red sulfur (<i>walirang</i>), and <i>lempuyang</i>. The method involves acceptable scraping and a little water, and it is for the diseased area. • In <i>Lontar Usada Dalem</i>, awar-awar leaves treat <i>tuju</i> (joint pain) alongside yellowed awar-awar leaves, carpet tobacco leaves, <i>Sunda biawung</i> thorns, <i>galuga</i>, red sulfur, and <i>lempuyang</i> (<i>kedis gamongan</i>). | (Dinas Kesehatan Provinsi Bali, 1982, 2009) |
| <i>Jeruju or daruju</i> (<i>Acanthus icifolius</i> L.) | <i>Jeruju</i> roots and leaves are anti-inflammatory and anti-rheumatic (<i>tuju</i>). Onions and fennel are mixed to make the herb. For rheumatism, <i>berambang</i> and fennel leaves are said to be put to root decoctions and <i>jeruju</i> leaves. The surface is gently scraped before adding <i>boreh</i> water. The anti-swelling or anti-inflammatory properties of <i>jeruju</i> flavonoids (Anti-phlogistic) make it a helpful medication and a fever-reducing agent (Anti-pyretic). | (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 2007; Nala, 1992) |
| <i>Buu plant</i> | <i>Taru Pramana</i> writes in <i>Lontar Usada</i> that the bark of the buu tree has a mild effect on the roots and leaves. <i>Tuju Bengang</i> illness can be cured using the skin. Eleven slices of buu tree bark are added to the herb, thick coconut milk (Coconut Milk Kene), and lime. | (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1990; Suryadarma, 2005) |
| Ginger (<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Roxb) | Ginger, particularly the rhizome, has a spicy/warm flavor. Ginger essential oils contain the anti-inflammatory chemicals zingiberene, chamfer, lemonin, and zingiberol. The herb combines galangal rhizomes, turmeric rhizomes, and bangle rhizomes, which are chewed and combined with spices (<i>sindrong jangkep</i>), then crushed and combined with water to make <i>boreh</i> . | (Redi Aryanta, 2019) |
| <i>Ki Encok</i> (<i>Plumbago Zeylanica</i> L.) | According to <i>lontar usada Taru Pramana</i> , <i>ki encok</i> leaves have heat qualities. <i>Ki Encok</i> leaves are used to treat rheumatism. | (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1990) |
| <i>Tri Ketuka</i> (<i>kesuna</i> , <i>Jangu</i> , <i>mesui</i>) | <i>Tri ketuka</i> is made up of three different types of plants: garlic, or <i>kesuna</i> in Bali (<i>Allium sativum</i> L.), <i>jangu</i> (<i>Acorus calamus</i>), and <i>mesui</i> (<i>Cryptocarya massoy</i> (oken) Kosterm). The application of trichotillos to the affected area alleviates rheumatism. | (Dinas Kebudayaan dan pariwisata, 1998, 2012) |

- Sindrong Jangkep (rempah-rempah)
- Sindrong is a mixture of plants and other elements. Ingredients in *Jangkep Sindrong*: *ilut* (*Helicteres isora* L.), *jebugarum* (*Myristica fragrans* Hout.), *katumbah* (*Coriandrum sativum* L.), *mes* (*piper ningrum* L.), *Musi* (*Carum capsicum* Benth), *samparwantu* (*sindora sumatrana* Miq), *sidowayah* (*Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) (*Styrax benzoin*). *Boreh* is a cikep *sindrong*.
 - *Usada* uses plants in the form of medicinal herbs as one of its therapeutic methods. *Taru Pramana lontar* plants are *tis* (cold), *anget* (hot), and *dumelada* (medium). Ayurveda divides plants into four types: *Vanaspati* (fruit), *Vanaspatya* (flowers and fruits), *Virudh* (spreading stems), and *Ausadhi* (fruit that dries and dies). The plant material used for *ausadha* comprises roots, rhizomes, buds, stems, bark, leaves, flowers, fruit, seeds, thorns, fluids, sap, and oil.
 - Unlike modern medicine, traditional medicine has not discovered a specific dose or composition of the herb's ingredients: mentioned abstinence, its effects, and contraindications. However, when utilized for drugs other than medicinal herbs, the number is more significant but still odd for the same reason that we make or combine veggies or lawar in Bali, relying on our feelings and never utilizing regular doses. Odd numbers are believed to have divine power; they are an excellent number capable of neutralizing the ailment. Even numbers are always divided into two equal-sized fighting groups. The medicine has magical properties to balance the body's state when it is out of whack due to ailments.
 - Rheumatic medicine (*tuju*) includes medical and non-medical components such as spells. We go three times, extinct pupug puzzle, melting gesong colony. The mantras and abstract aspects of cleansing facilities and rituals are meant to protect the patient psychologically and encourage bathin resistance. Anti-depressant, promoter, and rehabilitator Mantras are deeply rooted in Hindu culture and revered by the community. The uniqueness of the spell in healing is believed when all medicines are spoken holy spells drawn from religious literature. *Mantras* are considered supernatural powers because they can build trust in the patient, speeding up the healing process. Numerous studies have shown that patients heal faster if they trust their treatment.
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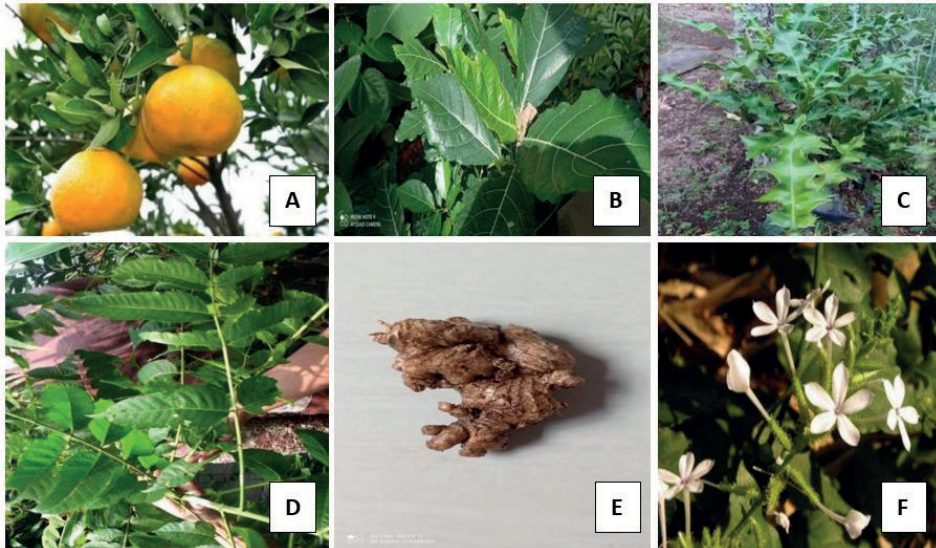


Figure 1: Plants used as traditional medicinal agents of rheumatic diseases (*tuju*)

Information: (A) Tangerines (*Citrus nobilis*); (B) Awar-awar (*Ficus septica*); (C) Jeruju or daruju (*Acanthus icifolius* L.); (D) Buu Plant; (E) Ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Roxb); (F) Ki Encok (*Plumbago zeylanica* L.).

3.4. Application of traditional rheumatic illness treatment (*Tuju*) in the medical field

Traditional medicine is used for health maintenance and prevention, diagnosis, repair, and treatment of physical and mental diseases (Mertha Adnyana, Sudiartawan, & Sudaryati, 2022; Pranskuniene et al., 2018). In traditional medicine, patients believe that health is a delicate equilibrium of specific aspects of the human body and its surroundings. Illness occurs when the bodily, emotional, mental, and spiritual selves fail to connect. Second, conventional medicine treats the whole person rather than focusing on specific organs. Third, traditional medicine is customized (Haris Jauhari, Sofiaty Utami, & Padmawati, 2008). Table 2 shows how *lontar usada* classified symptoms, diagnosis, causes, treatment approach, and kind of medicine used to treat rheumatic disease (*tuju*) into current (medical) and traditional.

Table 2: Summary of modern and traditional models of medicine in rheumatism (*tuju*)

| Characteristic | Medical prognosis of rheumatic diseases (<i>Tuju</i>) | Traditional treatment of rheumatic diseases (<i>Tuju</i>) |
|----------------|--|--|
| Symptom | Pain and stiffness in the joints, muscles, and bones Swelling and reddened skin tone | The pain is not limited to the joints and is often accompanied by headaches; it affects the entire body. Mapper abruptly and ilang abruptly, and some emerge during rerainan (<i>kajeng kliwon</i> and other holidays) |
| Diagnosis | In the morning, stiff joints and surroundings that remain longer than an hour swelling of the hand joints. Above-normal levels of rheumatoid factor (FR) Tests of the blood to confirm the diagnosis | Physical examination and observation of the patient, including the aura, eye rays, nails, skin, pulse, tongue, mouth, urine, and feces. |

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| Cause | Diet, activity patterns, night baths, alcohol consumption, illnesses, and inheritance contribute to this condition. | The factors and Niskala factors are to blame. Natural diseases are caused by causes such as temperature changes, physical impacts, and food, whereas Niskala diseases are caused by supernatural entities such as desti, spirits, ghosts, and magical abilities. |
| Treatment Methods | Corticosteroid therapy, analgesic pain medication therapy, mind-body therapy (<i>yoga</i>), surgical therapy, and physiotherapy | Massage (<i>uut</i>), acupuncture, heat therapy (warm bath, steam bath, etc.), cold therapy (cold water compresses, ice, herbs from medicinal herbs (<i>tangerines, ginger, awar-awar, jeruju, tri ketuka, syndrong jangkep</i>), religious rituals and spells |
| The form of the drug used | Capsules, tablets, balms | Boreh or parem, oil, loloh, steam |

Symptoms, diagnosis, causes, treatment processes, and drugs used to treat and detect rheumatic illnesses (*tuju*) have changed over time. Balinese medicine has traditionally developed from previous generations' awareness of ailments and health. Since learning occurs in a range of cultural environments each Indonesian tribe has its concept of diseases, symptoms, causes, treatment procedures, and types of medicine. Currently, modern medicine is a treatment that has been scientifically examined or tried preclinically and clinically, and the outcomes have been accounted for. Arsana (2019) stated that the Balinese people believe in the dualistic philosophy of separating causes and symptoms (*rwa bhinedha*). That is, healthy and sick, good and evil are mutually exclusive universal attitudes (*unreal*).

According to Notoadmojo (2014) health behavior is classified into two categories: healthy behavior (maintaining or improving one's health) and health-seeking behavior (trying to enhance one's health). This is the action taken by sick persons who have been exposed to health issues to heal or resolve. Also, the popularity of the treatment, whether modern or traditional, is impacted by many factors. These factors influence whether a person chooses a particular treatment. Influences include economic, religious, cultural, social, demographic, regional, and personal. Both traditional and modern medicine are influenced by society, but culture also shapes these behaviors and beliefs (Muderawan et al., 2020; Rodrigues et al., 2020). Also, because medicine's tradition is intricately related to indigenous peoples' perceptions and beliefs, people who live in remote areas are more likely to interpret health and illness through their understanding and experience of traditional disease treatment methods (Pranskuniene et al., 2018; Rodrigues et al., 2020).

One of Bali's indigenous medical knowledge systems evolved the *usada* treatment method. The use of spells, amulets, and therapeutic items was well-known (Wolfgang, 1937). Also, traditional Balinese medicine treats diseases holistically, addressing the body, mind, and spirit (soul). Bali's healing activities are based on traditional wisdom and rooted in the community's culture (Haris Jauhari et al., 2008; Muchid, 2006). The study of why people use traditional medicine to manage rheumatic illnesses (*tuju*) (Mediastari, 2020; Redi Aryanta, 2019).

1. *Trust and suggestions*, in this scenario, the aspect of trust or suggestion may persuade an individual to choose conventional medicine. The existence of solid ideas passed down through generations and suggestions from outsiders convince him of his views and optimistic assumptions and enhance his belief in traditional medicine, influencing a person to utilize traditional medicine.

2. *Affordable in general*, traditional healers do not charge a fee for treatment. Particularly in Bali, medical charges to a Balian are frequently referred to as *punia* or voluntary contributions from patients seeking treatment. This is why traditional healers are in greater demand among indigenous people, particularly those from lower-middle-income levels.
3. *Cure Rate*, traditional medicine's efficacy has been thoroughly demonstrated and even recognized. Several disorders can be cured through traditional medicine, and this traditional medicine is not limited to physical ailments but also psychic ones. This is directly tied to developing an individualized source of pain within the local community.
4. *There are minor adverse consequences*. By and large, traditional medicine has fewer adverse effects than modern medicine. Medicinal plants and traditional medicine are beneficial and safe when used appropriately, including dose, timing, method of administration, ingredient selection, and adaptations for specific conditions.

4. Conclusions

Rheumatic illnesses (*Tuju*) have their nomenclature, features, and treatments in Bali. The local inhabitants' severity and degree of presentation are divided into thirteen aspects. Traditional medicine is based on hereditary traditions, experiences, and talents that have been documented and passed down through centuries. Massage (*uut*), inner energy, and herbal remedies are all used in conjunction with spells. *Awar-awar* (*Ficus septica*), *Jeruju* or *Daruju* (*Acanthus icifolius* L.), *Buu Plant*, *Ginger* (*Zingiber officinale* Roxb.), *Ki Encok* (*Plumbago zeylanica* L.), *Tri Ketuka* (*kesuna, jangu, mesui*), and *Sindrong Jangkep* (*spices*) are all traditional medicinal agents. Symptoms, diagnosis, causes, treatment methods, and drugs used to treat and detect rheumatic illnesses vary between medical and traditional remedies. Traditional medicine is popular in Bali because it is affordable, effective, and has few adverse effects. The community's role in building and preserving indigenous Balinese wisdom for disease treatment is expected to be studied in the future, along with the importance of identifying plants used by indigenous ethnobotanists and ethnomedicine in Bali.

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Research Article

Understanding of Tourists' Memorable Local Food Experiences: A Netnography Study

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ABSTRACT

Memorable food experiences are an important factor in both the tourism business and destination marketers and managers attracting not only current tourists but also potential tourists. Recently, several studies have been performed to explore or understand memorable food experiences, as food experiences are a crucial indicator of tourist behavioural intentions and satisfaction. Thus, the purpose of the current study is to understand tourists' memorable local food experiences, food experience satisfaction, and behavioural intentions. Accordingly, data was collected through online reviews (424) posted about tourists' memorable local food experiences in Gaziantep between 9 April 2021 and 29 May 2021. A phenomenological approach and content analysis technique were used to analyse the data. In the results of the present study, a theoretical model of memorable local food experiences (MLFEs) was developed with six key components: novelty, hospitality and services, taste and food attributes, togetherness and local interactions, ambience and setting, and local culture. In addition, tourists' food experience satisfaction and behavioural intentions were found to be positive while experiencing regional local food. Based on the results of this study, practical and managerial implications are discussed, and future research recommendations are proposed.

Keywords: Memorable local food experience, netnography, food satisfaction, behavioural intentions, Gaziantep



1. Introduction

Local food experience has been widely investigated in the tourism and gastronomy literature. Local food has been an important marketing tool for tourism destinations because it provides an experience that is memorable, unique, and authentic, and therefore helps destinations gain a competitive advantage over rival destinations. Tourism provides a great opportunity for food producers, as it enhances the value of the products by generating a tourist experience, and in a similar way, gastronomic experiences enrich tourism by enabling tourists to have an experience of local food and culture (Hjalager & Richards, 2002). Gastronomic tourism or food tourism is becoming more popular every day, and more and more tourists are inclined to become travellers due to food-related events and activities (Lacap, 2019). According to Kivela and Crofts (2006), there is a symbiotic relationship between a destination and gastronomy, because gastronomy becomes a consumption product for tourists through the destination supplying all of the ingredients required for gastronomy. Gastronomy is both a substantial constituent of the tourism experience (Kivela & Crofts, 2006) and very essential for small touristic destinations due to its contributions to the advancement of small and rural areas (Zengin & Işkın, 2017). Furthermore, countries use gastrodiplomacy to advance progressive international relations by promoting their local cuisine (White, Barreda, & Hein, 2019).

Reviewing the existing literature for food experience shows that there is a rich body of food experience studies conducted with both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Although food experience has been widely investigated, there are limited studies exploring memorable (local) food experience (Adongo, Anuga, & Dayour, 2015; Sthapit, 2017; Stone, Soulard, Migacz, & Wolf, 2018; Sthapit, Piramanayagam, & Björk, 2020a). One of these studies was conducted by Sthapit et al. (2020a) using qualitative research methods. The authors aimed to explore dimensions of memorable local food experiences, which was one of purposes of their study. They collected data using an open-ended questionnaire and revealed that memorable local food experiences are classified as taste, socializing with friends and family members, novelty, authenticity, ambience, affordable price, and interacting with locals.

Despite the considerable number of studies focusing on food/gastronomy/dining experiences in tourism and gastronomy literature, few researchers have focused on memorable local food experiences. Further studies need to be performed to provide a broader understanding of tourist memorable local food experiences (MLFEs) and to advance understanding of MLFEs in a gastronomy tourism context. In this context, this study was designed to explore underlying dimensions of memorable local food experiences (MLFEs) using a netnography technique, which offers rich data. Thus, the main purpose of the current study is to determine the components which constitute a MLFE. Additional purposes of this study are understanding the visitor's food experience satisfaction and tourists' behaviour intentions, such as their revisit intention and recommending the destination to others due to their experience of local food. To augment the literature, this current study contributes to the literature by exploring dimensions of memorable local food experience in depth and presents the managerial and practical implications for service providers to develop strategies regarding experience design.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Tourism Experience

Experience has become a significant component of the tourism industry. Experience is a result of an encounter with an object of interest, and it may include the results of services/events at

the destination whose consumption is occasioned by customers of the actual object (Adongo, et al., 2015). In tourism and hospitality, experience is a crucial issue for both business and tourist. From a consumer standpoint, consumers are prone to perceiving experiences as credible and rewarding sources of information (Chandralal & Valenzuela, 2013).

Tourism experience has grown into a popular subject lately, and a considerable number of researchers have studied it (Quan & Wang, 2004; Tung & Ritchie 2011; Kim, Ritchie, & McCormick, 2012; Mak, Lumbers, Eves, & Chang, 2013; Kim & Ritchie, 2014; Stone, Soulard, Migacz, & Wolf, 2018; Sthapit, Coudounaris, & Björk, 2019; Sthapit, et al., 2020a; Sthapit, Björk, & Barreto, 2020b). Although there are a lot of studies on tourism experience, there have been a few confusing issues, such as what components form the tourism experience, and whether the tourist experience is multi-dimensional or not (Quan & Wang, 2004). Marketing and social science approaches handle the subject of tourism experience from different point of views (Quan & Wang, 2004; Kodaş & Özel, 2019; Aksoy & Kodaş, 2021). Tourism experience can be defined as an individual interactive connection with the outside world. Though different approaches consider tourism experience from different angles, tourism experience is becoming a very important element of the tourism sector (Ding & Lee, 2017).

2.2. Memorable Tourism Experience

Tourists have diverse explications of a single tourist product due to the fact that each tourist has different backgrounds and interests (Kim, et al., 2012). Tourists gain different experiences even though they practice the same thing in the same destination, since their perceptions of the experiences are influenced by their individual feelings and moods (Kim, et al., 2012). Tourists are supposed to attribute their memories if they need to write about their vacations (Sthapit, et al., 2019). Thus, building up a memorable experience is crucial for tourism businesses and destination managers because a memorable destination providing exceptional and remarkable experiences will have certain competitive advantages (Stone, et al., 2018). Kim et al. (2012) described memorable tourism experience (MTE) *as a tourism experience that is favourably remembered and recalled after the event has occurred*. Furthermore, some experiences might become memorable while others might not, and the experiences stored in the memory can affect existing and future behaviour (Björk, & Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2014). On the other hand, the memorability of an event can be enhanced by several factors, such as authentic events, cognitive assessments, and affective feelings, and the recalling of a memory can be increased by an individual's cognitive assessments, such as challenge and meaningfulness (Kim, et al., 2012).

Offering MTEs to tourists is an important factor in being competitive in the tourism industry (Sthapit, et al., 2019). Memorable experiences exemplify a new criterion, which tourism businesses and destination managers are supposed to seek to present, and these experiences are crucial to be competitive and maintaining it in the marketplace (Sthapit, 2017). Though tourists seek satisfying, unique, and different experiences on their vacations, destination marketing neglects the growing demand for distinctive and memorable experiences and is still driven mainly by the presentation of quality services (Chandralal & Valenzuela, 2015). On the other hand, researchers are paying considerable attention to exploring the main dimensions and elements enabling the formation of MTE (Kim & Ritchie, 2014). Tung and Ritchie (2011) tried to investigate the essence of memorable experiences based on research from the field of psychology, with the goal of perceiving the cognitive processes preventing individuals from noticing their experiences. Four key elements of memorable experiences were found: expectations, recall, consequentiality, and effect.

Sthapit et al. (2020b) aimed to analyse the components of a negative memorable Airbnb experience. Aydın and Omuris (2020) investigated the predictive relationship between meaning in life, MTE, and subjective well-being. Coelho and Gosling (2018) aimed to develop and test a scale to evaluate MTEs, and they developed an MTE scale consisting of 10 dimensions and 35 items. It is clear that making tourists' experiences memorable is a very important issue in destination management, as a memorable destination will be advantageous in attracting other tourists.

2.3. Memorability and Local Food Experience

Food consumption during travel is considered both an important driver of travel motivation and an integral part of visitor experiences, and these experiences are related to memory (Quan and Wang, 2004; Okumus, Okumus, & McKercher, 2007; Sthapit, et al., 2020a). Perception of memories of tourists' food experiences is very important, since food may have a key role in destination choice and can assist in shaping tourists' entire impression of a destination (Sthapit, 2017). Memorability is defined as *the quality or state of being easy to remember or worth remembering* (Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2021). Memorability is related to novelty, exceptionality, spontaneity, and unexpectedness, and it can be increased by attention, interaction, and active attendance (Campos, Mendes, Valle, & Scott, 2016). Local food is an inseparable element of tourism because it is perceived as a source evaluated by destinations in the marketing (Lacap, 2019). The memorability of tourists' local food experiences is influenced by what food is served, how the food is served, with whom the food is served, and where the food is consumed (Sthapit, 2017).

As a very significant element of tourism, food has a substantial part in tourism activities (Ding & Lee, 2017), and plays several roles during a trip (Hendijani, 2016). Local food can be one of the main travel motivations for tourists (Quan & Wang, 2004), and it is perceived as one of the basic attractions for a destination (Sims, 2009). Some tourists see local food as a point of access into the intangible heritage of a destination, and they tend to perceive places where they eat as a pleasant part of their travel experience (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2014). According to Tsai (2016), local foods and cuisines can carry local histories and cultures and conjure up memories of pleasure, as they can largely mirror local features. Thus, local foods and cuisines can be an irreplaceable factor of a memorable tourism experience (Tsai, 2016). Tourists can become sentimentally connected to the destination by the memories related to the food and ultimately the revisit intentions of the tourists can be affected by these memories (Sthapit, 2017). Local foods have been included in tourism products by destinations with the purpose of attracting more tourists and boosting local welfare (Robinson & Getz, 2014). Local foods have psychological, social, cultural, and experiential meanings, and by experiencing local foods, visitors can gratify their needs, such as escape, relaxation, status, excitement, and lifestyle (Okumus & Cetin, 2018). In addition to this, tourists taking part in events involving local cuisines experience delicious local foods to gratify their physiological functions while gaining a large amount of information about local cultures and a sense of belonging at the destination (Tsai, 2016). A destination's food culture and culinary products are perceived as main strategic resources that cannot be imitated by other destinations, and as a defining social marker, food often represents the region and its local citizens (Okumus & Cetin, 2018).

Memorable food experience has been studied extensively by researchers due to its strong impact on destination choice. Adongo et al. (2015) studied international tourists' experiences relating to local foods in Ghana, and they found that local food experience has various dimensions, such as educational, hedonism–meaningfulness, cultural, novelty, and adverse experience, and

tourists' local food experiences have an important impact on their willingness to recommend. Stone et al. (2018) determined the factors leading to memorable food, drink, or culinary experiences and they found that there are five general factors leading to memorable food travel experiences: location/setting, companions, food or drink consumed, touristic factors, and occasion. Sthapit et al. (2020a) intended to investigate tourists' general local food preferences, the feelings they linked with the experience, whether experiencing local food was one of their main motivations, and what generated a memorable local food experience. The relevant literature shows that the studies conducted on memorable food experience are mainly about issues such as the dimensions of food experience, the components leading to memorable food experience, and tourists' local food preferences.

2.4. Food Experience Satisfaction

Satisfaction is constituted when consumers make a comparison between their former anticipations and their perceptions (Widjaja, Wijaya, Jokom, & Kristanti, 2018). Satisfaction is a somewhat sentimental state conveying the customers' assessment of the interaction (Westbrook, 1980), and customer satisfaction is an important indication of the quality transmitted to customers (Vavra, 1997). Researchers describe satisfaction as customers' fulfilment reaction (Kim, 2017). Satisfaction influences intentional behaviour, where the tourist would predicate a positive attitude towards the destination visited. Indeed, it is anticipated that a satisfied tourist would indicate a tendency to come back to the visited destination repeatedly (Toudert & Bringas-Rábago, 2019).

Food has an apparent existence on the tourist travel programme even if there are no explicit intentions (Agyeiwaah, Otoo, Suntikul, & Huang, 2018). Food experiences supply tourists with uniterable and unique experiences, and in this context, food experiences grow into key and illustrative variables of tourist satisfaction (Rodríguez-Gutiérrez, González Santa Cruz, Pemberthy Gallo, & López-Guzmán, 2020). Food experience satisfaction has been studied by numerous researchers recently. Vad Andersen and Hyldig (2015) aimed to find out the differences in sensory satisfaction in a case study, and the factors related to food satisfaction. Agyeiwaah et al. (2018) investigated the relationships between antecedents and results of culinary tourist attendance in cooking classes, and they found that the culinary tourist experience is positively associated with both culinary tourist satisfaction and loyalty. Rodríguez-Gutiérrez et al. (2020) tried to investigate the role of tourist attitudes towards culinary experience in gastronomy satisfaction, and how food experiences can be a crucial factor in making decisions regarding visiting a particular destination.

2.5. Behavioural Intentions

Behaviour intention is the involvement of a consumer in certain behaviours that are based on the outcome of individual attitudes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), and consists of sentimental, conative, and cognitive elements (Engel, Blackwell, & Miniard, 1995). People's behavioural intentions are considerably connected with behaviour, and tourists' intentions to visit a destination uncover their decision-making process (Tsai, 2016).

Consumer behaviour has been formed by consuming processes, in which the consumers prefer products or services based on former experiences or ideas, and it is also constituted together with intention (Hua, 2015). It has been emphasised that modern consumers are characterised by seeking nostalgic experiences (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2014). Customer satisfaction is one of the most important antecedents of revisit customer intentions, and it has gained a considerable amount of attention (Bae, Slevitch, & Tomas, 2018). Customer satisfaction and revisit intention

are highly associated with each other, and accordingly, restaurant managers seek to perceive the elements of consumer revisit intention, as maintaining current customers is more convenient than attracting new customers in terms of cost effectiveness (Rajput & Gahfoor, 2020). In addition, loyal customers are very important, as they tend to behave like word-of-mouth advertising agents by suggesting a service or product to others (Shoemaker & Lewis, 1999).

Scientists and marketing practitioners have begun to notice the main impact of the comprehended value on consumer behaviour (Lu & Shiu, 2009), and there have been some studies related to tourist or consumers' behavioural intentions. Song, You, Reisinger, Lee, and Lee (2014) investigated tourists' behavioural intention at a Korean Oriental medicine festival. Hua (2015) examined the impact of irritation, informativeness, entertainment, and content credibility on consumers' behavioural intention to buy mobile content services in Malaysia.

3. Methodology

A phenomenological approach was applied to explore the dimensions of memorable local food experiences and to examine visitors' food experience satisfaction and behavioural intentions of food experience using a netnography method. Phenomenology as a methodological approach aims to gain deep understanding of direct experiences that are based on conscious actions (Ziakas & Boukas, 2013; 97), and it is widely used in hospitality and tourism research (Ziakas & Boukas, 2013; Kladou & Mavragani, 2015; Cetin & Bilgihan, 2016; Yilmaz, Sezerel & Uzuner, 2020). More specifically, content analysis is one of the most applied data analysis techniques in the netnography method (Tavakoli and Wijesinghe, 2019) and user-generated content based on tourists' reviews on TripAdvisor.com were used for data analysis. The TripAdvisor.com website was chosen for data collection, as it has met five criteria which were suggested by Kozinet (2002:63) to identify suitable online communities in netnography research: (1) a more focused and research question-relevant segment, topic, or group; (2) higher "traffic" of postings; (3) larger numbers of discrete message posters; (4) more detailed or descriptively rich data; and (5) more between-member interactions of the type required by the research question. TripAdvisor is a website where users post comments, reviews, and ratings on a destination (Miguéns, et al., 2008). Using these comments and reviews in research is not considered human-related research, as TripAdvisor is open to the public. Therefore, neither ethical approval nor consent from subjects is required for this research (Kozinets, 2010). The user generated content (UGC) is used very often in social media, and the information that UGC provides is perceived as supporting information for tourists due to the fact that it is seen as a trustworthy method in searching for credible information (Kao-siri, Callarisa Fiol, Tena, Artola, & Garcia, 2017). Tourists who experienced a tourism product can post reviews about their experience on social media applications not only after short time but also later. Hence, tourists may talk about their memorable local food experience after a long time through social media if they have a memory of local food. Therefore, netnography approach also can be utilised to determine memorable local food experiences. The top 15 restaurants that serve local foods in Gaziantep and are featured on one of travel websites where tourists post reviews were chosen as the sample of the study. In this study, a purposive sampling method was used, and the city of Gaziantep was used in the sampling selection since it was awarded the title of World City of Gastronomy by UNESCO in 2015. In netnography, three types of data are suggested by Kozinet (2010): archival data, elicited data, fieldnotes. In this study, archival data were selected to analyse online reviews, as it comprises anything the researcher can collect from the Web that is not a product of his or her involvement to create or prompt the creation of data (Kozinet, Dolbec

& Earley, 2014: 266). In this context, the data were collected from English-language reviews posted on TripAdvisor (n = 424), and the dates of the reviews were between 9 April 2011 and 29 May 2021. 424 reviews were available at the end of this process.

Table 1. Open coding (line-by-line coding) example

| Participants views (extracted from transcripts) | Open coding (line-by-line coding) |
|---|--|
| <p><i>“They have the best food along with the best customer service in Antep. The food is extremely delicious, we tried everything on the menu during our 3 days stay (we came here about 4 times). This was by far the most tourist friendly restaurant I have ever seen in Anatolia, they were absolutely lovely and made great recommendations about the area. The staff is very well trained and the quality of both the service and the food is very high standard, especially for the about of money you pay. I would say this place is a MUST in Antep.”</i></p> | <p>Best customer service, the most tourist friendly restaurant, absolutely lovely, the staff is very well trained, the quality of service,</p> |

All of the reviews collected were conveyed to a Microsoft Word document to be analysed. During the process of analysing the collected data, three steps were conducted. In the first step, the collected data were scanned to get an in-depth understanding of them. The second step included reading the interviews and listing categories of MLFEs. In the third step, the coding work was done. Finally, as suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990), three types of coding were conducted: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

Table 2. Example of the coding process in practice

| Open coding (line-by-line coding) | Subthemes (axial coding) | Main themes (selective coding) |
|---|------------------------------|---|
| <p>Waiters are kind people; the employees were really nice; you have very helpful staff there; The waiter was also very friendly; service was good; very friendly atmosphere; Service was fast and excellent; generosity and kindness; staff were super friendly; The staff were welcoming and helpful; such a polite owner; kind workers; the staffs is very courteous; staff were nice; Service was efficient and friendly; Great service; the owner Halil Usta is just too friendly!; so friendly to foreigners; we were served speedily; a sign of the traditional hospitality,</p> | <p>Hospitality, services</p> | <p>Hospitality and services as a component of MLFEs</p> |

Every line of each transcript of the reviews was elaborately analysed to extract specific information. 254 codes that summarised the data were identified by the researchers. This process of data analysis led to axial coding of the data. The axial coding process limited the database to a small set of themes. Via axial coding, defining the components of MLFEs became possible. The axial phase of coding was followed by selective coding. This coding process included integrating the categories which were derived from the open and axial coding processes.

4. Results

4.1. Memorable local food experience components

As a result of the netnographic examination of tourists' memorable local food experiences, six sub-themes were revealed: (1) novelty, (2) hospitality and services, (3) taste and food attributes, (4) togetherness and local interactions, (5) ambience and setting, and (6) local culture. In addition, short quotations from the data were presented to support sub-themes (Figure 1).

Novelty

The findings demonstrate that novelty is a very important component of MLFEs. In most of the reviews, tourists' culinary–gastronomic experiences of novelty were linked to quality. Interpretive codes such as “I never tasted this before!”, “different alternatives”, “different taste”, “different dishes”, and “really different” are all indicative of the significance of novelty. Tourists' search for novelty is highlighted by the given reviews:

“You will find delicious local food, different alternatives of lamb and cow meat. Küşleme is very good a special part of the lamb. Also advise local dessert ‘katmer’”.

“Salad is the best with unique taste. Different kind of meats coming with small portions. Each has different taste and flavour. If you are in Gaziantep do not miss.”

“Visited this restaurant with 5 friends on a business trip to Gaziantep in February 2019. We wanted to try a very ‘traditional’ restaurant and found this one in the old town. It was a fascinating experience, with a host of different dishes all being brought in short succession. We started off with a white onion soup with pearl barley and tiny morsels of lamb...very tasty. Then lots of dishes in which the region specialises...mostly lamb or chicken kebabs, meatballs, veg, fairly potent chilli peppers and rice, and of course, the ubiquitous flatbread which most Turks here use instead of cutlery...We didn't get any knives in any case, just forks and spoons.”

Food memory is tuned to perceiving change and novelty, rather than to noticing a food previously tasted (Morin-Audebrand et al., 2011). Eating novel foods during a trip is a sign of an authentic experience, and it is something most tourists want to do (Wijaya, King, Nguyen, & Morrison, 2013). Although tourists' food choices might vary during a destination visit, tasting authentic foods is generally ranked as one of the most coveted activities for tourists (Okumus & Cetin, 2018). In some studies, it is pointed out that unusual, distinctive, or untypical events are better remembered than “typical” events (Sthapit, 2017).

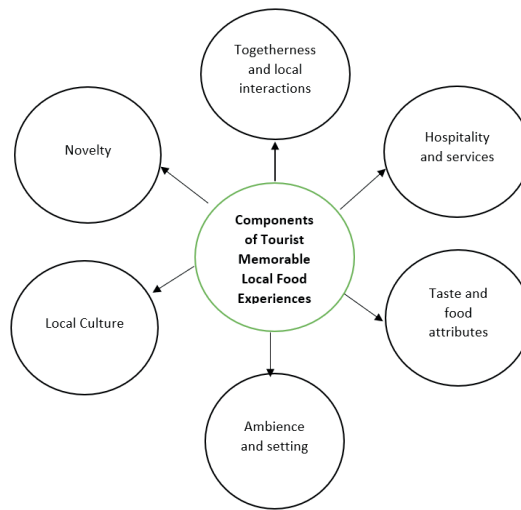


Figure 1: The theoretical framework of tourists’ memorable local food experiences.

Hospitality and services

A great number of reviews demonstrate that hospitality and services are very significant elements of tourists’ MLFEs. In most reviews, restaurant owners, waiters, and chefs were seen as hospitable and helpful people. Codes such as “waiters are kind people”, “helpful staff”, “service was good”, “hospitality was amazing”, and “great, friendly service” are indicative of the significance of hospitality and services when it comes to visitors’ local food experiences. This is demonstrated by the given reviews:

“They have the best food along with the best customer service in Antep. The food is extremely delicious, we tried everything on the menu during our 3 days stay (we came here about 4 times). This was by far the most tourist friendly restaurant I have ever seen in Anatolia, they were absolutely lovely and made great recommendations about the area. The staff is very well trained and the quality of both the service and the food is very high standard, especially for the about of money you pay. I would say this place is a MUST in Antep.”

“We heard about this kebab place in other Turkish cities, and as it is close to the Zeugma Museum it seemed perfect for lunch. What to say? It was full of hungry people who were clearly enjoying both the food and the ambience. The staff were welcoming and helpful. The food was great. We urge you to check it out.”

Hospitality is described as hosting acts motivated by the ambition to please and genuine regard for the guest as an individual to have a memorable experience (Ariffin, 2013). In recent studies, it is pointed out that perceived hospitality during a holiday makes contributions to the tourists’ memorable experiences (Chandralal & Valenzuela, 2013). Having quality services is a required strategy for the success of any company, so more staff training in efficiency, complaints management, and customer service are necessary to achieve a high level of customer satisfaction (Kuhn, Benetti, Dos Anjos, & Limberger, 2018).

Taste and food attributes

A majority of reviews show that tourists' local food experiences were linked to qualities like taste and food attributes. Most visitors mentioned issues such as the taste of the food, the freshness and quality of the ingredients, and the cooking methods of the food in the reviews they posted. This is illustrated by the following reviews.

"The most delicious activity should be done is taste a portion of Beyran soup in breakfast, in Gaziantep. Probably the best place for this activity is Metanet Restaurant. The harmony of meat, rice, garlic and hot is wonderful and the common taste of these leaving a trace on palate and makes you feel happy. We have decided to try the hot kind and we have satisfied. There is no decline in their quality level although it has a great popularity. Congratulations."

"This place offers outstanding taste for such a reasonable price. I am glad I don't live near here or I would gain 10 pounds each week. I have never eaten such a good eggplant kebab in my life, oh my. It was beautifully made."

Kauppinen-Räisänen, Gummerus, and Lehtola (2013) found that the features of the food influenced how a particular experience was comprehended as memorable, and the food had an influence on the recalled experiences when it was food that the visitor had not tasted before. Chandralal and Valenzuela (2013) pointed out that visitors' memories were linked with culinary experiences and local food at foreign destinations, and visitors' memories were strongly related with the deliciousness of local foods. These findings are parallel to the findings of previous studies (Chandralal & Valenzuela, 2013; Kauppinen-Räisänen, et al., 2013; Sthapit, 2017).

Togetherness and local interactions

Family togetherness and socialisation were highlighted in some of the reviews, and the codes elicited from these reviews, such as "family diner", "join people at a table", "sit next to strangers", "a fine opportunity to mingle with locals", and "a place to meet new people", emphasise the significance of togetherness and local interactions. This is demonstrated by the reviews below:

"We went with family (and kids!) and had an awesome dinner. The "spoon salad" was excellent-like a mix of salsa and thinly sliced salad with spices. Then the mini-Turkish pizzas....and the tender, flavorful lamb.... Wish I could go back again soon. If you're in Gaziantep, stop by and treat yourself!"

"Me and my family had a great meal in this restaurant and the meal was excellent we loved it so much we find the location easily."

"What about having a traditional Gaziantep specialty for breakfast? let's skip the breakfast in your hotel and do what locals do: have beyran for breakfast! It is a lamb-based broth with garlic. Locals eat this soup in the morning as breakfast. The meat is so nice you barely have to chew! if you can't eat spicy tell the waiter when you give your order, they'll serve you a plain beyran but I personally like the red color the spice and it's great taste. It's up to you to add lemon juice, I did and loved the whole thing. It is not a fancy place and really what counts more? I say the taste:) you can watch how the cook prepares it, all the flame and smoke is just nice to watch and a fine opportunity to mingle with locals and the price is affordable too. So go for it:)"

The significance of "togetherness" in tourists' culinary experiences has been acknowledged in many studies (Tung & Ritchie 2011; Mynttinen, Logren, Särkkä-Tirkkonen, & Rautiainen, 2015; Sthapit 2017). Experiences which have a social origin are likely to be more influential, and

the influence of the social origin of experiences is related with social pleasure and supports social functions (Björk, & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2014).

Ambience and setting

In this study, the key elements linked with the physical environment of the restaurants that contributed to the memorability of food experiences consist of the ambience and setting. Interpretive codes such as “very elegant ambience”, “authentic experience”, “tastefully decorated restaurant”, “perfect atmosphere”, “authentic architecture”, and “the setting makes the visit worth it” are all indicative of the significance of ambience and setting. Tourists’ search for ambience and setting is highlighted by the following reviews:

“It is one of the must go to places ... Beautiful setting in heart of the city Service okay ... Waiters do not speak English and often confuse the order. Food also good but fairly Standard but the setting makes the visit worth it”

“Great meat. I strongly recommend küşleme and antep lahmacun but be careful it’s spicy. Me and my wife visited their new place 200m before the old one. It’s very classy and the ambience is relaxing.”

Physical features, employees’ characteristics, level of service quality, and ambience of restaurant predominantly affect guest satisfaction (Kala & Barthwal, 2020). Introducing tourists to a variety of authentic local experiences will increase the memorability of a particular destination or tour (Chandralal & Valenzuela, 2013). Liu and Jang (2009), in the study they conducted, pointed out that interior design, service reliability, cleanliness in surroundings, and employees with pleasant appearance influenced guest satisfaction.

Local culture

The findings demonstrate that local culture is an important element of MLFEs. In some of the reviews, tourists’ culinary–gastronomic experiences were linked to quality, like local culture. Interpretive codes such as “local ingredients”, “local gem”, “local dish”, “local recipes”, “local fabrics”, and “local atmosphere” are all indicative of the significance of local culture. Tourists’ search for local culture is highlighted by the given reviews:

“If you want to eat and something to drink in authentic place definitely need to see. An old caravan palace renovated nicely. You can find Restaurant, pub and small shops. You can buy local fabrics and silver jewellery.”

“Bayazhan is a large restaurant with some shops (tobacco, local handicraft) with a lovely inner yard and a terrace on the roof. I came to Bayazhan on Thursday evening and it was almost full with local people and tourists. The food is fantastic: I should admit that the Antep styled shish kebab was the best one I have ever had in Turkey including the best restaurants in Istanbul or Izmir. This shashlik is made with tenderloin lamb meat slightly marinated in local herbs: I still remember that taste :) Even Bayazhan is one of the most expensive places in Antep, it is still very affordable: my dinner with one starter (aubergine sote), that fantastic shashlik, a big glass of shalgam drink, two pieces of their world famous baklava and a cup of local coffee was around USD 12.”

Local culture is a significant component of tourists’ experience, especially cultural tourist experiences (Cetin & Bilgihan, 2016). Tsai (2016) pointed out that visitors experiencing local food

showed a much higher level of attachment to the destination, because food unites travellers with a local culture. Kim (2013) emphasised that being in contact with the local culture was a significant factor to create memories. Drinking and eating a particular local food and beverage in the course of vacations implies participating in the local culture of the people (Wijaya et al., 2013).

4.2. Food experience satisfaction

Some of the reviews show that food experience satisfaction plays an important role in tourists' MLFEs. This is illustrated by the codes elicited from the reviews, such as "meat lovers' paradise", "soup was great", "excellent", "irresistible", "meat heaven", and "unbelievable". Tourists' food experience satisfaction is emphasised by the following reviews:

"This is probably the most original kebab place in Gaziantep, and some would say in the whole of Turkey, whether this is true or not, the quality of the ingredients they use speaks volumes. A meat lovers paradise, do your taste buds a favour. Great service and delicious ayran."

"I can hear you say, what is this salad comment when there is meat. I have to say that the 'küsleme' was good, but I liked it much better in Imam Cagdas. But the salad was absolutely legendary. They have their own mix with tomato and a local 'nar eksisi' and its very liquidish. charming & elegant"

Tourist satisfaction can be affected by culinary experiences. (Kala & Barthwal, 2020). Culinary aspects contribute to an exciting travel experience, and food experiences can increase tourist satisfaction (Gross & Brown, 2008). Food-related experiences are the main factors that affect tourists' satisfaction. (Kala & Barthwal, 2020). Hendijani (2016) pointed out that healthy and fresh ingredients and the cultural heritage of the cuisine were important elements in overall tourist satisfaction.

4.3. Behavioural intentions

In several reviews, behavioural intentions of the tourists were highlighted via interpretive codes such as "this is my second visit", "I'll definitely visit again", "my 10th visit to this restaurant", "visited many times", and "my third visit". Visitors' behavioural intentions regarding a particular destination or restaurant are illustrated in the reviews below:

"We went there with some friends and have a very nice light dinner. One of my friends is a local so she knows what to order and we order selection of appetisers, and it was amazing... For sure, if I have a chance to go to Gaziantep next time, I will visit this restaurant again."

"I didn't ask for menu and let the waiter to bring his recommendations. It started with salad which might be the best salad I have ever had. Even, I started to use some garlic and "sumak" in my salads at home. After the salad, they served small lahmacun than the meat plate which was a mix of küşleme and other kebabs. All of them was wonderful. I'll definitely visit again in my next trip."

Food-related experiences are the main elements influencing tourists' revisit intention to a destination. (Kala & Barthwal, 2020). Heung, Wong, and Qu (2002) emphasised that physical features, employee attributes, and reliability contributed to visitors' revisit and recommendation intentions. Acting as a distinguishing element for destinations, memorable food experiences expand the tourist yield, make contributions to the image of the destination, and prompt potential visits (Kala & Barthwal, 2020).

5. Conclusion and implications

Exploring and understanding the components of tourism experiences is crucial for destination promotion and provides opportunities to the destination manager and marketer to develop differential strategies between rival destination. In addition, experiences are widely investigated in the gastronomy tourism context because they are a basic component of the tourism experience. Despite numerous studies on food experiences in the tourism literature (Sthapit, 2017; Sthapit, et al., 2020a; Atsız, Cifci & Low, 2022; Atsız, Cifci & Rasoolimanesh 2022), the relevant literature on tourists' memorable food experiences in the context of locality is still largely in its infancy. Because of limited number of studies exploring memorable local food experiences, the fundamental aim of the present study is to understand the unexplored dimensions of memorable local food experience using netnography analyses. Thus, findings of this study contribute to an advanced understanding of MLFEs and extend gastronomic tourism literature by MLFEs through online reviews. Another contribution of this study is providing new insights into the understanding of memorable local food experience via the netnography approach, since the netnography method has not yet been utilised to examine the MLFEs. Thus, the findings of this study in the current literature are original in terms of contributions.

The findings of this study comply with the relevant literature, and they demonstrate that local food experiences contribute to the memorability of tourists' experiences and their total holiday experience (Quan & Wang, 2004; Henderson, 2009; Sthapit, 2017; Seyfi, Hall, & Rasoolimanesh, 2020). Although previous studies described the relations between food and memorable experience, this study identifies the different aspects of MLFEs, which provide in-depth knowledge of tourists' local food experience. In other words, the current study determines the components of MLFEs: novelty, hospitality, and services, taste and food attributes, togetherness and local interactions, ambience and setting, and local culture. The identified components of MLFEs contribute to existing studies that have provided similar results (Kauppinen-Räsänen, et al., 2013; Sthapit, 2017). This study also focused on tourists' experience satisfaction and behavioural intentions after local food experiences. The results indicated that experience satisfaction was found mostly positive and influences tourist behavioural intentions, such as recommendation behaviour and revisit intention. These results are parallel to the findings of Seyitoğlu's study (2021).

In terms of theoretical implications, the current study used a netnography technique to reveal the components of memorable local food experiences. This is the first attempt to understand MLFEs using netnography technique. Additionally, this study adds some dimensions to the existing literature on dimension of MLFEs. In the study by Sthapit et al. (2020a) memorable local food experiences were explored using a self-administered open-ended questionnaire, but this study used a netnography technique to understand key dimensions of MLFEs and some dimensions were found to be different, such as local culture.

From a practical perspective, the current study contributes to a better understanding of the role of local food experience in memorable tourism experience and has managerial implications for destination marketers and managers and food service providers. The results of this study are important to destination marketers and managers in order to sustain destinations' local food attractions. The results of the study suggest that information about the tourists' memorable local food experience is crucial to design an experience to satisfy visitors and influence their intentions regarding local food consumption. Specifically, according to results of this study, service providers should be more traditional and authentic when they prepare local foods to serve tourists, as many people seek

new and different food tastes (Richards, 2002; Sthapit, et al., 2019). As tourists' food consumption integrates an important aspect of the holiday experience, the result of this study emphasises the value of local food experiences gained at destinations for food service providers. Local food consumption has very significant influences on the memorability of the local food experience. Furthermore, these influences get stronger when the local food is authentic, novel, traditional, delicious, and has not been tasted before, and the service personnel, chefs and restaurant owners are helpful and hospitable. In general, the findings of the study emphasise the importance of novelty, authenticity, social interaction, being traditional, the quality of the service, and hospitality of the personnel. Thus, this study indicates that restaurants should offer more traditional foods to provide distinctive flavour, novelty and authenticity, and they should constitute a family ambience by increasing the social interaction between visitors and service providers. In addition to this, all staff should be kind and hospitable in the service setting and focus on service quality.

In terms of the limitations of the study, as this study was performed using online reviews about memorable local food experiences in Gaziantep, the findings cannot be generalised in other destinations. Thus, further research can be conducted in the context of other gastronomy cities in Turkey with a similar approach. The other limitation is the method of the study; future studies should utilise a quantitative research method to examine the relationship between MLFEs, food experience satisfaction, and behavioural intentions. Finally, reviews posted regarding tourists' memorable local food experiences on Tripadvisor.com were investigated, so other travel websites such as Eatwith and Withlocals.com could be utilised to understand MLFEs to make further important contributions to the relevant literature.

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b) Book Translated into Turkish

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* [Mindsets] (A. Kotil, Trans.). İstanbul, Türkiye: İletişim Yayınları.

c) Edited Book

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d) Turkish Book with Multiple Authors

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Türkiye: Total Bilişim.

e) Book in English

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

f) Chapter in an Edited Book

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Chapter in an Edited Book in Turkish

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Türkiye: Dora Basım Yayın.

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American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

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b) English Article

de Cillia, R., Reisingl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society*, 10(2), 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002>

c) Journal Article with DOI and More Than Seven Authors

Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 372, 2087–2096. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184>

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 35(3), 26–38. Retrieved from <http://cjinr.mcgill.ca>

e) Journal Article with DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly*, 27, 261–278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910>

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867>

g) Article in a Magazine

Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time*, 135, 28–31.

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding

a) Dissertation/Thesis from a Commercial Database

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

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Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the political, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: <http://library.iyte.edu.tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali>

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Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from <http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html>

d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering*, 65(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions*. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

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h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree: Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology* (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources

a) Newspaper Article

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald*, *45*.

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure. (1993, July 15). *The Washington Post*, p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepf: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/>

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In *Oxford English online dictionary* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from <http://dictionary.oed.com>
Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/>

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *in Fact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com/>

f) Single Episode in a Television Series

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House*; New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

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