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THE US AND IRAQİ KURDS¹
RELATIONS BETWEEN 1945 AND 2011: AN INTEREST-BASED POLICY
1945 VE 2011 YILLARI ARASINDA ABD VE IRAKLI KÜRTLERİN İLİŞKİLERİ: ÇIKAR
EKSENİLİ BİR POLİTİKA

Sefa MERTEK¹

1. Arş. Gör., Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, sefamertek@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4046-2248>

Abstract

Although the US and Iraq relations have vital importance for the Middle East, little is known about relations between the US and Iraqı Kurds. Iraqı Kurds live in the Northern area of Iraq and throughout history, they have had an impact on both Iraq and the region. This article focuses on the US and Iraqı Kurds' relations from the beginning to Arab Spring with the perspective of realism. Relations between the US and Iraqı Kurds were examined within three time periods, characterized by touchstone events in history, namely the Second World War, the Gulf War and the Iraq War. The relations between the US and Iraqı Kurds contribute considerably to our understanding of the balance of politics at the micro level in Iraq and the macro level in the region. This study investigates whether Iraqı Kurds can be gainful or the US. As a result, because of the US' interest-based realism, the US is always gainful.

Keywords: *The US, Iraqı Kurds, Northern Iraq, Realism, Interest-Based Policy,*

Öz

ABD ve Irak arasındaki ilişkiler, Ortadoğu için hayati bir öneme sahip olmasına rağmen, ABD ve Iraklı Kürtler arasındaki ilişkilerin çok azı bilinmektedir. Iraklı Kürtler, Irak'ın kuzey bölgesinde yaşamaktadır ve tarih boyunca, hem Irak hem de bölge üzerinde bir etkiye sahip olmuşlardır. Bu makale, başlangıcından Arap Baharı'na kadar realizm perspektifinden ABD ve Irak Kürtlerinin ilişkilerine odaklanmaktadır. ABD ve Iraklı Kürtler arasındaki ilişkiler, İkinci Dünya Savaşı, Körfez Savaşı ve Irak Savaşı gibi tarihi olaylarla karakterize edilen üç zaman aralığında incelenmiştir. ABD ve Iraklı Kürtler arasındaki ilişkiler, mikro düzeyde Irak'taki ve makro düzeyde bölgedeki siyasi dengeyi anlamamıza büyük katkı sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, Iraklı Kürtlerin, mi yoksa ABD'nin mi kazançlı çıktığını incelemektedir. Sonuç olarak, ABD'nin çıkar eksenli realizmi nedeniyle ABD, her zaman kazançlı çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *ABD, Iraklı Kürtler, Kuzey Irak, Realizm, Çıkar Eksenli Politika,*

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¹ The term 'Iraqı Kurds' will be used to define Iraqı people whose ethnicity is Kurd and who lives in the northern area of Iraq.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışma, ABD ve Iraklı Kürtlerin ilişkilerini ne tür bir zeminde inşa ettiklerini araştırmaktadır.

Araştırma Soruları

ABD ve Iraklı Kürtlerin ilişkileri dostane bir ilişki midir? ABD'nin Iraklı Kürtler ile ilişkisi Irak Merkezi Yönetimi arasındaki ilişkilerden etkilenmekte midir? ABD ve Iraklı Kürtlerin ilişkiler bölgesel düzeyde ne gibi etkilere neden olmaktadır? İsrail, ABD ve Iraklı Kürtlerin arasındaki ilişkide nasıl bir etkiye sahiptir? ABD, Iraklı Kürtlerin bağımsız bir devlet olmalarını istemekte midir? Iraklı Kürtler, ABD ile niçin devamlı ortak hareket etmek istemektedir? Uzun süren ilişkilere rağmen kim kazançlıdır?

Literatür Araştırması

Gerek ulusal gerekse de uluslararası literatüre bakıldığında genellikle devletler arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen çalışmalar mevcuttur. Devletlerin herhangi bir etnik grupla olan ilişkisini inceleyen çalışmalar yok denecek kadar azdır. Devletlerin etnik gruplarla olan ilişkilerini inceleyen çalışmalar, çoğunlukla düşünce kuruluşları tarafından hazırlanan raporlardan oluşmaktadır. ABD ile Iraklı Kürtlerin ilişkisinde de benzer bir durum söz konusudur. Dolayısıyla ABD'nin tüm Orta Doğu ülkeleriyle ilişkilerini inceleyen çok sayıda çalışma olmasına rağmen Iraklı Kürtlerle ilişkilerini inceleyen çalışmalar her zaman ihmal edilmiştir. Oysa bölgeyi anlayabilmek için bu ilişkiyi bilmek oldukça elzemdir.

Yöntem

Uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri, genellikle devletler üzerine olan çalışmalarda başvurulmaktadır. Örneğin, ABD ile Irak'ın ilişkilerini inceleyen teorik çalışmalar mevcuttur ve bir devletin diğer bir devletle olan ilişkisini incelemek için tercih edilir. Ancak bu çalışmada bir devletin, yani ABD'nin, bir etnik grupla, yani Iraklı Kürtler ile, ilişkileri realizme dayanılarak incelenmektedir. Buradaki tehlike doğal olarak devlet olduğu için ABD'nin Iraklı Kürtlerle ilişkisinde daima hegemon konumda olarak hareket etmesidir. Zaten ABD'nin hegemon bir konumda hareket etmesi, kendi çıkarlarından taviz vermemesine ve tam bir çıkar eksenli politikalar gütmesine neden olmuştur. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın teorik zemini realizme dayandırılmıştır. Teorik zeminin ardından ise çalışma ABD ve Iraklı Kürtlerin 1945-2011 yılları arasındaki ilişkilerini üç döneme ayırarak ele almaktadır. İlk dönem, Soğuk Savaş dönemini, ikinci dönem, Körfez Savaşı ile Irak Savaşı arasındaki dönemi, üçüncü dönem ise Irak Savaşı ile Arap baharı arasındaki dönemi ele almaktadır. Arap Baharı'ndan sonraki süreç, çalışmanın boyutunu aşacağından dolayı kasıtlı olarak dışarıda tutulmuştur. Zira Arap Baharı'ndan sonraki süreç ayrı bir çalışmanın konusu olarak incelenmelidir.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Bulgu, hissedar aktivizmi ile KSS katılımı arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu göstermektedir. Bir başka hipotez, oy haklarının gücü ve hissedarlar ve şirketler arasındaki kurumsal diyalog, şirketlerin KSS gündeminde yer almasında etkili yöntemler olarak görülmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Realism is one of the most frequently used theories to explain international relations. It is also pointless to talk about other theories without realism. Realism is a theory that goes back to Thucydides and Sun Tzu as philosophical thought. Realism, which is carried to modern times by Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, is based on the idea that human nature is selfish, self-interested and evil in its essence (Hobbes, 1987: 24). As a result of human nature being selfish, beneficent and evil, the state of nature characterizes a situation in which people are at war with each other (Hobbes, 2016: 101). In realism, with the moving from human nature, it is believed that states have also this nature.

When talking about realism, three meanings, in general, are described. First one is realism as a broad tradition; the second one is the realism which is divided into schools such as classical realism and neorealism; the third one is the realism which is specific theories such as the balance of power, the security dilemma (Wohlforth, 2008: 131.). So to speak, there is no single realism. In this study, the US and Iraqi Kurds relations will be examined with the perspective of general realist thought and specific realist theories like the balance of power and hegemonic stability theory.

Realism is “a combination of an often loosely related set of beliefs, a way of thinking and responding, a sometimes desperate desire to preach to the uncomprehending heathen, and a pantheon of canonical exemplars or saints whose very diverse intellectual and practical lives are seen to embody the virtues of the religion” (Coady, 2005: 122). There is also other definition of realism. But it has to be mentioned that four basic points which all realism schools or definitions of realism have in common. First one is groupism. Because “politics takes place within and between groups” (Wohlforth, 2008: 133). People have established states only because they can survive in the group. Although realism is generally a theory that is sought among states, this study will also be used to explain the relationship between a state and an ethnic group. Second one is egoism. As mentioned earlier, human nature is moving in the direction of interest and is selfish in this sense. Because the groups are also people-managed, human nature also manifests itself in the group and in the state (Wohlforth, 2008: 133). Third one is anarchy. The absence of any authority in international relations causes anarchy. (Wohlforth, 2008: 133). Because all states and groups use their power to maximize their own interests. Fourth one is power politics. “The intersection of groupism and egoism in an environment of anarchy makes international relations, regrettably, largely a politics of power and security” (Wohlforth, 2008: 133). States or groups use their power either make social influence or control resources (Wohlforth, 2008: 133). Some of the realist schools bring anarchy to the fore, while others bring power to the fore. Some are highlighting the group while others are highlighting the interest. In other words, points pointed out from the four mentioned subjects vary according to the realistic schools. This study suggests that four points must be taken into account in order to explain the relations of the US and Iraqi Kurds. However if we have to include it in a realistic school, this will be classical realism. Because the relations of the US and Iraqi Kurds are predominantly in the direction of power and interest. In particular, this relations is shaped by balance of

power theory and hegemonic stability theory. The US sees the Iraqi Kurds as an element of balance that they can use whenever they want by using their power. In addition, the US wants to dominate the resources in the region by using the hegemonic dominance in the international system.

Realism has risen to the position of a theory often used to explain relations between states after the Second World War. While issues of national security in realism are called high politics, other issues such as commercial are called low politics (Keohane & Nye, 2012: 19). Today, states apply to realism as a low political tool in the direction of their national interests. For this reason, low policies based on the interests are particularly adapted to penetrate commercial areas.

Relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds can be examined within three periods. The first period is between the 1950s and 1990 when the Gulf War started. The second period is between 1990 and 2003 when the US - Iraq War broke out. The third period is from 2003 to Arab Spring. Although the time spanning the Arab Spring and ISIS actions can be considered a fourth period during which to examine the US-Iraqi Kurd relations, this article focuses mainly on general developments between the US and Iraqi Kurds, rather than on current issues following the Arab Spring.

Since the beginning of the Cold War, Middle East has been one of the most important issue of US foreign policy due to economic, military, geostrategic and political considerations (Dodge, 2012: 198-205). While the USA is an independent state, the decision-making mechanisms have been influenced by various actors in the historical process. The United States has been highly influenced by lobbying and regional countries in determining its policy towards the Middle East in general and its policy towards the Iraqi Kurds in particular. In this context, it is necessary to mention Israel which is engaged in the most effective lobbying on the Middle East. Israel, as a result of its powerful lobbying activities, is very effective in determining the US policy towards the Middle East and thus Iraqi Kurds.

¹ In fact, Israel's relations with Iraqi Kurds have historical ties. Jews and Iraqi Kurds lived together in the northern Iraq region, but after the establishment of Israel, the majority of Jews went to Israel. (Minasian, 2007: 16-19). In addition, when determining policy towards the Middle East and Iraqi Kurds, the US has to take into account Turkey, Iran and Iraq Central Government (ICG).

The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the US and Iraqi Kurds between the Second World War to the Arab Spring from the perspective of realism. The research question of this work is that "how have the relations between the Iraqi Kurds and the U.S. evolved from the Cold War up until Arab Spring?" While searching for the answer to this question, the ups and downs in their relations and landmark events between these two actors are mentioned.

¹ John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt's famous book *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* clearly illustrates this situation. However, Israel's role in the US decision-making mechanism is discussed in a superficial manner, as it may be the subject of a separate article. For more information see: Mearsheimer J. J. and Walt S. M. (2007), *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

2. THE US – IRAQI KURDS RELATIONS DURING COLD WAR

Relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds date back to the end of the Second World War. After the First World War, the US returned to an isolation policy. By adopting this policy, the US chose not to involve themselves in any conflict outside of the homeland, especially in Europe and the Middle East. However, things changed after Second World War when the US abandoned this isolation policy and became actively involved in world affairs, a move which made it clear that the US would indeed be an active player in world affairs, especially in the Middle East. Before this point, the US was not a major actor in Europe and the Middle East. After the Second World War, however, the US began to fill the vacuum of power created by the departure of England from the Middle East. So, the period after the Second World War marked the beginning of relations between the US and Iraq, along with Iraqi Kurds. The Middle East policy of the US during this period was formed by the effect of the Cold War.

After the Second World War, the US adopted new foreign policies that significantly affected the Middle East. These policies were adopted for a number of reasons. First, the rich oil reserves of Middle Eastern countries, especially Iraq caught the attention of the US (Jones, 2012: 208). Second, given its pivotal role in the Second World War, the Middle East had proven to be of considerable geostrategic importance (Persson, 1998: 71). The third and most important reason for the US' active involvement in international affairs involved the need to limit USSR expansionism (Salep, 2012: 337-338; also see, Erkan, 2010: 183-194). For these reasons, the US approached world affairs on a general level in the Middle East, and on a specific level in Iraq and with Iraqi Kurds. General explanations of the US policies and its approaches to the events were mentioned above. During this period, two significant developments influenced the US policy in the Middle East. The first development was a vacuum of power caused by the departure of England from Iraq. The US started to fill this vacuum of power. The second development was Iraq's liberation from the British mandate. So, the US began to establish relations with the Iraqi Central Government (ICG) during the Cold War.

With the beginning of the Cold War, the US had no direct involvement with the Kurdish movement until after the 1958 coup in Iraq' – or something to that effect (Erkmen, 2008: 74). There were three main reasons for this. Firstly, the US did not want to risk losing its allies, such as Turkey and Iran. If the US had had relations with Iraqi Kurds, it would most probably have lost its allies at the beginning of the Cold War. Secondly, at the beginning of the Cold War, the US did not want to lose Iraq and its administration, for Iraq was very important to the US in the region. It was too risky for the US to advocate any threat to the integrity of Iraq (see, Hahn, 2012). Thirdly, the US regarded Kurdish movements as pro-USSR because of the Mahabad Kurdish Republic in Iran and Mullah Mustafa Barzani's actions in Northern Iraq (Kutschera, 2001: 232; also see, Westermann, 1946: 675-686). The US confirmed the accuracy of its assessment about Kurds when Mullah Mustafa Barzani escaped to the USSR after the collapse of the Mahabad Kurdish Republic (Eller, 1999: 166). In light of these developments, the US considered the Kurdish movement to be a pro-USSR one. However, Kurds were

willing to work with the US and other Western countries because of the USSR's indifference to Kurds following the collapse of the Mahabad Kurdish Republic. Nevertheless, since the US did not want to lose its allies or its position in Iraq, and considering the conclusion that the Kurds represented a pro-USSR movement, the US did not establish any relations with Iraqi Kurds until the 1958 coup in Iraq. So, we can say that the 1958 coup is the first turning point in relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds.

In 1958, the monarchy in Iraq collapsed as a result of the coup. While few changes were made in domestic politics, much was changed in foreign politics. With the establishment of a republic in Iraq and the accompanying new government, Iraq left the Baghdad Pact, started to establish close relations with the USSR, nationalized petrol companies, etc. In general, the US-Iraq relations started to deteriorate. To prevent further deterioration, the US made a number of operational initiatives (Becker, 2003: 20-21). Until 1975, when Iraq and Iran made an agreement about Shatt al-Arab, the US and Iran's relations with Iraq were not good and Iraqi Kurds were just a pawn for the US and Iran.

Although relations between the US and Iraq worsened following the 1958 coup, the US did not want to support Iraqi Kurds (Erkmen, 2008: 80) because of the three previously mentioned reasons. Also, reports about Iraq and Iraqi Kurds made by the US officials advised against supporting Iraqi Kurds since it was believed that supporting Iraqi Kurds would lead to the collapse of Iraq's integrity, along with that of other the US allies, such as Turkey and Iran. Another crucial reason for the American reluctance to support Iraqi Kurds was that Iraq would most likely have established closer relations with the USSR (Office of the Historian, 1963), a move which would work directly against the US attempts to limit Soviet expansion. Also, reports suggested that the problems between Iraq and Iraqi Kurds were domestic ones, in which the US should not intervene (Office of the Historian, 1966). In light of these reports, the US did not intervene in relations between Iraq and Iraqi Kurds until the late 1960s.

In 1969, however, the US indirectly intervened in relations between Iraq and Iraqi Kurds, a decision that was hugely influenced by Israel and Iran. Israel directly supported Iraqi Kurds' attempts to weaken Iraq, its main rival in the region. Iran also supported Iraqi Kurds because, after the 1958 coup, relations between Iraq and Iran had deteriorated because of the Shatt al-Arab issue. Specifically, Iraq had suspended the Shatt al-Arab agreement, while Iran's main aim was to regain the privileges related to Shatt al-Arab. So, Iran acted like Israel and supported the Iraqi Kurds' attempt to weaken Iraq in order to compel Iraq into a new agreement on Shatt al-Arab. Iran had the strongest influence on the US' decision to support Iraqi Kurds. Moreover, there were a number of coups in the 1960s in Iraq and the balance of relations changed. Still, though, the US kept its decisive policy of non-intervention, since the US assessments of the situation lead to the conclusion that any intervention would result in closer relations between Iraq and the USSR.

Contrary to the US' hesitance to establish relations, the Iraqi Kurds were eager to enter into close relations with the US. Moreover, Iraqi Kurds wanted to be a strategic ally to the US. The leader of the Iraqi Kurds, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, attempted a number of initiatives aimed at establishing direct or indirect relations with the US. It was clear that the Iraqi Kurds were willing to do whatever the US

wanted, including providing intelligence, returning to the Baghdad Pact, and promising the US' using of Iraq's oil reserves (Kıran, 2006: 44). In spite of all of the Iraqi Kurds' efforts, the US did not abandon its policies of non-intervention until the late 1960s.

The changing conditions in Basra Bay in 1969 necessitated direct cooperation between the US and Iraqi Kurds along with the involvement of Iran in that area. This was the first instance in which the US provided direct aid to Iraqi Kurds, which involved just sending advisers to the Iraqi Kurds (Yavuz, 1993: 95). In 1972, Iraq and the USSR signed the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement. This agreement was the second turning point for the US because, after this agreement, the US started to give arms and money to Iraqi Kurds. There were two main reasons why the US changed its policies towards Iraqi Kurds. Firstly, the US concluded that Iraq was moving in the direction of establishing a USSR base/satellite (Pelletiere, 1984: 167). Secondly, after the 1958 coup, Iraq nationalized oil companies and adopted parallel policies with the USSR on energy (Pelletiere, 1984: 166). Additionally, Iran's encouragement of the US dealings with the Iraqi Kurds and Barzani's willingness to have good relations with the US affected these policy changes. It is important to note, however, that all of these negotiations, and all cooperation and aid involving these parties, were secretly conducted (see Kissinger, 1999: 576-596).

Between 1972 and 1975, the US adopted parallel policies with Iran. In this period, the US and Iraqi Kurds had close relations. Barzani stated that Iraqi Kurds were willing to become the 51st State of the US and provide the US with access to Iraq's oil reserves (Meho & Nehme, 2004: 22). Iraqi Kurds had blind confidence in the US' promises that they would not be abandoned by the US or by Iran (Meho & Nehme, 2004: 22). Henry Kissinger, who was Secretary of State between 1973 and 1977, "worked closely with Israel and Iran to arrange for the Kurds a large shipment of weapons, including antiaircraft and antitank missiles" (Gibson, 2015: 177). In 1975, Iran and Iraq signed the 1975 Algiers Agreement which ended many disputes and conflicts between the two states, including the Shatt al-Arab issue. After signing this agreement, Iran and stopped supporting Iraqi Kurds against the Iraqi government. According to CIA reports, with the withdrawal of support from Iran and also Israel, Iraqi Kurds would have little chance against the ICG (CIA Report, 1975: 2). The US had prepared itself for this situation because nearly all intelligence reports forecasted this outcome. So, the US also changed its policy about Iraqi Kurds to parallel that of Iran. Both the US and Iran utilized Iraqi Kurds as a pawn against the ICG. In fact, the main aim of the US in supporting Iraqi Kurds was to distance the Iraqi government from the USSR and solve the region's problems (Erkmen, 2008: 89). In light of these developments, the ICG started to gain the upper hand in the war against the Iraqi Kurds. The Iraqi Kurds sent messages to the US for help and demanded the US fulfill their pledges. But the US neither replied to these messages nor sent their support to the Iraqi Kurds. Later, when asked about this policy, Henry Kissinger, just replied "covert action should not be confused with missionary work" (Gibson, 2011). So, we can conclude that the US applied a realist theory which is balance of power theory between the years of 1969 and 1975

against Iraqi Kurds. In this period, the US had good relations with Iraqi Kurds in order to weaken the ICG. The US wanted to balance the ICG with Iraqi Kurds.

After the 1975 Algiers Agreement, the new situation was the US's close relations with the ICG and poor relations with Iraqi Kurds. The US and the ICG started to cooperate after signing this agreement. But this new situation did not last long. There were three important developments that changed the balance of power in the Middle East. Two of them, i.e., the Iranian Revolution and the USSR invasion of Afghanistan, occurred in 1979, and the third, namely the Iraqi-Iranian War, started in 1980. These three important developments changed the US policy towards the ICG and Iraqi Kurds. With the Iranian Revolution, the US lost one of its loyal allies, Iran, and this situation brought the US closer to the ICG. During the invasion of Afghanistan, the US supported the Afghan mujahedin against the USSR (Şahin, 2008: 45). In retaliation for this US policy, the USSR supported the Iraqi Kurds against the Iraqi government and the US. Additionally, with the Iraqi-Iranian War, Iran started to support Iraqi Kurds just like they had done before the 1975 Algiers Agreement (Pelletiere, 1984: 182-185). In this period, the US did not support Iraqi Kurds because the US did not want to lose the ICG. The main development affecting the US policy towards northern Iraq was the start of the Iraq-Iran War. This is because after their revolution, Iran declared, the US to be Great Satan, a force that threatens regimes in the Middle East, and became a much greater threat than Iraq, which was ruled by the Baath party. So, the US swiftly mended relations with the ICG which had started to fight against the Iranian threat. Thus, Washington-Baghdad relations improved in the face of a common enemy, Iran, and, in a sense, an alliance was formed.

The US' support of the ICG took various forms, including cooperation, selling food, and later, providing arms and intelligence. Furthermore, the US was indifferent to the ICG's use of chemical weapons and voted against a proposal that says the ICG used chemical weapons against Iraqi Kurds, at the United Nations Security Council (King, 2003). Later, however, the US changed its policy towards the region. The new US policies emphasized protecting oil reserves, becoming more powerful and active in the region and providing stability in the region (Erkmen, 2008: 92). This policy changes can be explained by hegemonic stability theory and basic classical realism thought such as interest. The US uses her hegemonic power to dominate in the Middle East. The result of this US' action is to get benefit and control resources in Iraq.

In the mid-1970s, there were two Kurdish parties. One of them was the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the other one was the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). During the Iraqi-Iranian War, the KDP supported Iran and the PUK supported the ICG. But later, when Iran seized the lead in the war, the KDP and PUK joined forces and supported Iran. The US did not approve of the Iraqi Kurds' approaches to warfare. Since the US and Iran were no longer allies after the Iranian Revolution, the US became indifferent to any actions made by the ICG against Iraqi Kurds. Towards the end of the Iraq-Iran war, Saddam Hussein started the Anfal Operation, which involved systematic attacks that mainly targeted Iraqi Kurds in Northern Iraq. During the Anfal Operation, many villages in Northern Iraq were

destroyed. The Halabja Massacre, which was a part of the Anfal Operation, took place on 16 March 1988 and caused many deaths (Ciment, 1996: 161). This conflict continued until the outbreak of the Gulf War in 1990. Relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds remained acrimonious until that time. The US followed dominantly the ICG and even stayed silent on the genocide of Iraqi Kurds, considering them only as a backup plan for achieving their goals in the region.

It is necessary to open a separate paragraph to Israel. Israel has tried to establish effective cooperation with non-Arab groups in the Middle East region with the “peripheral strategy” adopted since the late 1950s (Minasian, 2003: 309). In this context, Israel tried to disrupt the Arab unity by making Iraq and the Arab countries in the region engage with the Kurds. Until the 1975 Algiers Agreement, Israel has consistently provided assistance to Iraqi Kurds, particularly in the military and intelligence fields. However, with this treaty, Israel's aid to Iraqi Kurds via Iran was hampered as it had no direct border with Iraq. With the revolution that took place in Iran, Israel started to use the Iraqi Kurds against Iran in addition to the internal conflicts in Iraq.

3. THE US – IRAQI KURDS RELATIONS FROM THE GULF WAR TO THE IRAQ WAR

After the Iraq-Iran War, relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds were not close. In these years, another turning point came to the fore. That turning point was the Gulf War which started with the Iraqi attacks on Kuwait on 2 August 1990. After this war began, the United Nations (UN) started to take actions against Iraq, and the US was the leading actor in these kinds of decisions.

At the beginning of the war, the US wanted the Iraqi Kurds to act against the Iraqi army in Northern Iraq. However, the Iraqi Kurds did not act or rise up against the ICG because they were afraid of the ICG's use of chemical weapons, as in the Anfal Operation against Iraqi Kurds (Entessar, 1992: 50). But, when Iraq was defeated in 1991, Iraqi Kurds rose up against the ICG at the instigation of CIA by a radio channel in Saudi Arabia (Kılıç, 2010: 230). During the uprising, many Jewish organizations engaged in propaganda and lobbying to prevent Iraqi Kurds from being harmed (Minasian, 2007: 25). With the invasion of Kuwait, the good relations between the US and the ICG, which were created during the Iraq-Iran War, deteriorated. The US changed its policy towards the ICG for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Cold War had ended and there was no longer any strong power supporting these states like the USSR did in the Cold War. Secondly, it was no longer possible for the US to use Iraq against Iran after the Iraq-Iran War. Thirdly, the US was troubled by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, a move which threatened oil-rich countries in the Gulf which were in close cooperation with the US. So, unlike in the 1980s, Washington saw Saddam's Government as a new threat in the Middle East and started to cooperate with some of the actors in the region against this government. During this process, Northern Iraq, and more specifically, the Iraqi Kurds, was rediscovered by the US. This US action can be explained by hegemonic stability theory. The US used her international power to protect her situation in the region. So the US acted against ICG.

In a short time during the Gulf War, the Iraqi Kurds seized control of some cities in Northern Iraq. With this accomplishment, Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani made speeches proclaiming that they had won the war (Gunter, 1993: 50). But, these speeches were premature because, at the end of the war, Saddam Hussein sent Iraqi troops to Northern Iraq to punish the Iraqi Kurds for their uprising. The US, which encouraged the Iraqi Kurds' uprising, did not take any action against Saddam for this move. The Iraqi Kurds were defeated by Iraqi forces and were once again used by the US as a pawn.

There were at least four factors that contributed to the US' decision not to defend the Iraqi Kurds. Firstly, the US administration feared that any kind of intervention could lead to harmful consequences in domestic politics (Gunter, 2001: 97). Secondly, the US administration thought that if not Saddam won the war, it could lose Iraq entirely (Gunter, 2011: 97). Thirdly, the US concluded that the success of Iraqi Kurds could threaten regional allies of the US such as Turkey and Syria. Since there is also a high Kurdish population in these countries, the US was concerned that this population would rise up against its allies (Gunter, 2011: 97). Fourthly, the US did not want to damage Iraq's integrity because the US believed that if Iraq collapsed, Iran would benefit from this outcome. For these reasons, the US left the Iraqi Kurds to fend for themselves against Saddam. Again the US policy can be explained by the balance of power theory. The US used Iraqi Kurds as a balancing tool in Iraq and region and wanted to protect the balance of power in the region.

Based on the initiatives of the President of Turkey, Turgut Özal, and the Prime Minister of England, John Major, safe heavens were created (Gunter, 1993: 56). The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) intervened in the crisis and approved Resolution 687 which passed on 3 April 1991 and contained an armistice. On 5 April 1991, the UNSC also approved Resolution 688, which contained humanitarian aid especially to the people on the borders of Turkey and Syria. Resolution 688 was very important for Iraqi Kurds because once it was adopted, it became possible for Iraqi Kurds to survive in war conditions and to go back home unharmed. Additionally, with Resolution 688, no-fly zones were established in Northern Iraq to protect Iraqi Kurds and also in Southern Iraq to protect the Shiite people. These Resolutions were enacted with Operation Provide Comfort I and II (Ministry of Defense, 2009). The no-fly zones are shown below (Beauchamp, Fisher & Matthews, 2014):

Figure 1. No-Fly Zone of Iraq



Source: Beauchamp, Z.; Fisher, M. & Matthews, D. (2014). 27 maps that explain the crisis in Iraq. <http://www.vox.com/a/maps-explain-crisis-iraq>. (16.08.2016).

The US undertook guardianship of the Iraqi Kurds by means of Operation Provide Comfort placed Turkey to protect safe haven. Thus, the effect of the US in northern Iraq began increasing. This was the first time in history that the Iraqi Kurds had protection against Saddam's government. As a result, relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds started to institutionalize and Iraqi Kurds became the closest ally of the US among all ethnic groups in Iraq. These situations also led Iraqi Kurds, especially the KDP and PUK, to institutionalize their own controlled area in northern Iraq (Uzgel, 2006: 263).

After the war, Saddam removed all official institutions from Northern Iraq and left the Iraqi Kurds to fend for themselves (Stansfield, 2003: 181). Saddam's aim was to punish the Iraqi Kurds for what they had done during wartime. But this goal was frustrated by the fact that western powers supported the Iraqi Kurds in the establishment of their own system of government. So Saddam's aim to punish Iraqi Kurds by removing official institution led to Iraqi Kurds' building their own system of government and this result was just a coincidence (Anderson & Stansfield, 2004: 172).

After the war, the US adopted a Dual Containment Policy aimed at isolating Iraq and Iran from the world (Demir, 2007: 198). The policy was foregrounded by Martin Indyk on 18 May 1993, who emphasized that the US policy was to eliminate the Iraqi regime, in other words, Saddam's government (Özdağ, 1999: 110). In actuality, though, the US did not want to damage Iraq's integrity. Their aim was to design a less powerful and less dangerous Iraq. The Iraqi Kurds, however, had the specific aim of separating from Iraq. Although the aims of the US and Iraqi Kurds were different, *de facto* situation in

Iraq was acceptable for both sides at the time. With the adoption of the Dual Containment policy, the importance of Iraqi Kurds increased in the eyes of the US, who used every minority and actor in Iraq and Iran to weaken the central government of these two states. In Iraq, the Iraqi Kurds were the most powerful of these actors. Many states, with encouragement from the US, began implementing an embargo against Iraq. However, Turkey and Syria worked against this embargo because of the numerous trade agreements that existed between these countries and Iraq. So, Turkey, Syria, and Iran wanted to reintegrate Iraq into the international community because of their economic loss and *de facto* situation in northern Iraq (Sever, 2000: 350). Upon pressure from the international community, the US eased embargo conditions in 1996 and later, the international community wanted the embargo to be lifted entirely (Sever, 2000: 350). These points highlight some of the key obstacles to this embargo. Firstly, states which had trade relations with Iraq wanted the embargo to be lifted because of the economic loss they faced. Secondly, neighboring states, especially those that were not satisfied with Saddam losing power over Iraqi Kurds and the subsequent strengthening of Iraqi Kurds, wanted to reintegrate Iraq into the international community. Thirdly, the cooperation of Baghdad and the KDP in 1996 showed the impossibility of the Dual Containment policy (Sever, 2000: 354). So, in 1996, this policy was steadily moving closer to abandonment.

Some disputes and clashes arose between the KDP and PUK which greatly concerned the US, which wanted to use the Iraqi Kurds against Saddam's government within the framework of the Dual Containment policy. To reconcile the KDP and PUK, the US tried to mediate between both sides on 27 July 1995 in Lisbon, but an agreement could not be reached. Following this attempt, the US again brought the KDP and PUK together, this time in Dublin in August 1995. One of the neighboring states, Turkey, participated as an observer in the Dublin process. Despite the US efforts to reconcile the KDP and PUK, terms acceptable to both parties could not be established (Uzgel, 2006: 264). There were similar kinds of meetings in the following months, each unsuccessful. However, on 11 October 1995, the KDP and PUK announced that they had reached an agreement on some points (Özdağ, 1996: 100). While these negotiations were going on, clashes erupted from time to time and Iran began strengthening its position in northern Iraq.

In August 1996, with support from Iran, the PUK took control of Erbil. In September 1996, the KDP and Saddam acted together in retaliation. The KDP gave many supporters of the PUK to Saddam's forces in Erbil (Kutschera, 1996: 8). The US, who at that time was bombing the southern area of Iraq, did not intervene in this development (Arı, 2007: 474) because they wanted to prevent Iran from strengthening in northern Iraq. With the help of Saddam's forces, the KDP took control of Erbil, and soon after, they took control of Sulaymaniyah which was a known PUK stronghold. Many PUK supporters fled to Iran. In the meantime, 6700 Iraqi Kurds were sent to Guam, a Pacific island belonging to the US (Uzgel, 2006: 265). These Iraqi Kurds had been working for the US, i.e., the CIA in northern Iraq.

After ongoing negotiations and with the Iranian threat weakened, the US wanted to ensure continued unity between the KDP and PUK and to use this unity against Saddam. So, the Ankara process began in October 1996, when Turkey, the US, England, the KDP, the PUK and the Turkmens came together in Ankara. Four meetings were held in there between October 1996 and May 1997. Unfortunately, though, these parties could not establish any agreements. The US was not satisfied with this outcome, so, they kept these initiatives going. In September 1998, the KDP and PUK met in Washington and agreed on some issues (Shenon, 1998) and signed the Washington Agreement on 17 October 1998. The Washington Agreement aimed to stop clashes, start a normalization period, establish elections etc. (Özkan, 2004: 310-311). The main goal of the US was to reunite the Iraqi Kurds against Saddam Hussein, but the US could not achieve this goal at all because after signing the Washington Agreement, the KDP started to establish their own government in Erbil and PUK started to establish their own government in Sulaymaniyah. The US and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) helped this institutionalization process. The NGOs were very helpful in introducing Iraqi Kurds to the international arena (Natali, 2004: 111). This situation continued until the 2003 Iraq War which changed the situation in the region. It has to be mentioned that the US used Iraqi Kurds as a balancing tool again. The US wanted to protect the balance of power and her hegemonic power in Iraq and the region. The map below shows the areas controlled by the KDP and PUK (University of Texas Libraries, 2003):

Figure 2. Kurdish Areas of Northern Iraq



Source: The University of Texas Libraries. Map of Iraqi Kurdish Areas. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iraq_kurdish_areas_2003.jpg. (17.08.2016).

The reasons for these disagreements and fragmentations between the KDP and PUK should be noted. The first reason involved the sociological and ideological distinctions between the KDP and PUK, which were influenced by Northern Iraq's two regions. One of these regions is called the Bahtinan region, where people speak the Kırmanci dialect of Kurdish and support Barzani; the other is called Soran, where people speak the Sorani dialect of Kurdish and support Talabani (Özmen, 1996: 50). These two regions also differ in that they support a different kind of sheik and Tariq, so, we can say that even their way of Islamic life is different. The second reason for the conflicts between the KDP and PUK was the rivalry between their respective leaders, Barzani and Talabani. Massoud Barzani was the son of Mullah Mustafa Barzani, leader of the most powerful tribe in the region and leader of the KDP (Anderson & Stansfield, 2004: 173). Jalal Talabani was a well-known person in the Kurdish movement for many years, a very talented politician and a favorite of the urban people (Anderson & Stansfield, 2004: 173). While people live in mainly urban areas support Talabani, others live in mainly rural areas support Barzani. The third reason for the problem between the KDP and PUK was the disproportionate allocation of resources among the Kurds in Northern Iraq, especially where oil income was concerned. Since the KDP controlled oil-rich areas, they received the lion's share of the income from this resource (Kılıç, 2010: 231). These three main reasons can be seen as the root of the problem between the KDP and PUK.

When George W. Bush was elected President of the US, Barzani, and Talabani wrote him a letter that made clear Iraqi Kurds' willingness to cooperate with the US. In this letter, Barzani and Talabani first mentioned their appreciation of the aid to Iraqi Kurds which the US had been providing since the First Gulf War (Şahin, 2006: 284). Secondly, they expressed their willingness to be part of any intervention against Saddam (Attar, 2004, 292, cited in Şahin, 2006: 285). Thirdly, they requested U.S. protection especially in safe havens (Attar, 2004, 292-293, cited in Şahin, 2006: 285). Fourthly, they wanted some amount of oil income to be sent to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) (Attar, 2004: 292-293, cited in Şahin, 2006: 285). Lastly, they reaffirmed their commitment to the Washington Agreement (Attar, 2004: 292-293, cited in Şahin, 2006: 285). The aims of the Iraqi Kurds were to protect the gains that they had made following the First Gulf War and to take advantage of the opportunity to become a natural and mutual ally of the most powerful actor in the world, the US.

In this period, the Iraqi Kurds made two important gains. The first was the establishment of their own institutions, and the second one was to meet governing experience of these institutions through the first gain. Iraqi Kurds achieved from these two gains by means of international support, especially from the US. As previously mentioned, by using the Iraqi Kurds against Saddam's government, labeled by the US as a rogue state, the aim of the US was to render Saddam's government dysfunctional, powerless and harmless. There was a win-win situation in this case. Both sides, Iraqi Kurds, and the US needed each other even though they had different aims. Both of them acted in the direction of their interest.

4. THE US – IRAQI KURDS RELATIONS AFTER THE IRAQ WAR

After the 9/11 attack, which took place on 11 September 2001, the US changed its Middle East policy and adopted a Preventive War policy. So, we can say that 9/11 was the fourth turning point in relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds. In Iraq, the US wanted to remove Saddam Hussein, so they started making allies on both the international and regional levels (Şahin, 2006: 284). With this policy, the Iraqi Kurds started to become a natural ally of the US, who needed to gain the support of dissidents of Saddam's government, especially the Iraqi Kurds. The strategic necessity of dissenters' coming together was undeniable, as this would serve to protect them from possible attacks by Saddam and ensure their survival.

Additionally, the Iraqi Kurds wanted some guarantees as they had twice been betrayed after becoming allies with the US, first after signing the 1975 Algiers Agreement and then again during the Gulf War in 1991. During these periods, Iraqi Kurds were used as a pawn by the US and they wanted to avoid this in the upcoming war. So, the Iraqi Kurds wanted some guarantees from the US. Barzani said in a newspaper interview, "First of all, we have to know who the alternative is if there is one. Of course, so far there is no alternative . . . and we don't see one," (Schneider, 2002) and, during an appearance on a TV show Talabani said, "We do not know what will happen . . . we will not enter adventures whose end is unclear" (Schneider, 2002). These statements made by two powerful leaders in northern Iraq show that the Iraqi Kurds were very wary of being deceived for the third time. However, the US and Iraqi Kurds needed each other, since the US wanted to overthrow Saddam and the Iraqi Kurds aimed to protect its de facto situation in northern Iraq. So, talks between the US and Iraqi Kurds continued for some time. During this process, the US sent aid to many of Saddam's dissidents, not just the Iraqi Kurds. When the Iraqi Kurds were convinced of the US commitment to their agreement, they started to trust the US again and actively participated in the US actions in the region. The US had achieved their goal of restoring unity among the Iraqi Kurds, who then established their parliament.

With the establishment of their parliament, the Iraqi Kurds officially reunited on 4 October 2002 and declared unity among Iraqi Kurds, promised not to act against each other, not to aim an independent state etc. (Hürriyet, 2002). The US expected to benefit in a number of ways from bringing Iraqi Kurds together. Firstly, in Iraq, the peshmerga forces of the Iraqi Kurds were well organized and could be used by the US in pursuit of their own interests. Secondly, the US wanted to use the peshmerga and other Kurds as a means of obtaining intelligence in the region. Thirdly, because of Saddam's actions against Iraqi Kurds, the US could use the Iraqi Kurds to legitimize any possible interventions on their part in the region. At the same time, Iraqi Kurds made some demands in return. Firstly, the main aim of the Iraqi Kurds had been, for many years, to establish an independent state. In the past, and now, there have been many obstacles to the achievement of this aim. Conditions in the region are very fickle and many states have had a number of different allies over the years. Still, though, many states wanted to protect the integrity of Iraq including the US, Turkey, Iran, and Syria. Secondly, the Iraqi Kurds wanted to get

rid of Saddam's government. To achieve this aim, it was necessary to be allied with the US. Thirdly, Iraqi Kurds wanted to get revenue from oil resources in the region. This income was necessary to meet the needs of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Meanwhile, a key decision taken by Turkey impacted the US and Iraqi Kurds' need for each other. Specifically, on 1 March 2003, Turkey did not send their troops to fight in the Iraq War, making the Iraqi Kurds the only ally of the US in the northern area of Iraq.

On 20 March 2003, the US-led coalition declared war on Iraq and began to invade Iraq. The US named this war Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) (Katzman, 2009: 7), also known as the Iraq War and the Second Gulf War. In the Iraq War, the US and Iraqi Kurds acted together in the northern area of Iraq. With the support of the Iraqi Kurds, the US opened the northern front in Iraq (Şahin, 2006: 297). The US sent troops to Northern Iraq with the help of air forces. These troops acted with the Peshmerga and captured Kirkuk in a short time. The Iraqi Kurds plundered Kirkuk and took many actions against the people of the city, especially Turkmens and Arabs, which were fiercely condemned by the regional and international communities. Turkey, a neighboring state of Iraq, was especially vocal in their disapproval of the Iraqi Kurds' actions in the region and started initiatives to end the violence. With these initiatives, Turkey managed to expel the Iraqi Kurds from Kirkuk. The main reason why Kirkuk is important is that it is very rich in oil. According to the 1957 census, the population distribution of Kirkuk consists of 39.8% Turkmens, 35.1% Kurds and 23.8% Arabs (Gunter, 2008: 46). However, especially after the Iraq War, the Kurds pursued an ethnic cleansing policy, especially against the Turkmens and secondly against the Arabs (Gunter, 2008: 45-49). In the 1960s and 1970s, the ICG predicted that Kirkuk's occupy of the Kurds meant that the United States, Israel, and pro-western Iran had taken over the city (Gunter, 2008: 46). The ICG was just wrong at one point in this prediction: Iran's exiting from the Western orbit with the revolution. But it was right about the US and Israel. Also in 2004, Israeli media reported that there was a meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Masud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, and that the relations were good (Minasian, 2007: 26).

After Saddam's collapse, the US started to establish a new governmental system in Iraq. During this transition process, Iraqi Kurds received many privileges because of their alliance with the US. Iraqi Kurds' goal of overthrowing Saddam and his government was achieved. These developments were especially significant for Iraqi Kurds because of Saddam's actions against them in the past. The Iraqi Kurds became one of the most powerful actors in Iraq. They strengthened their position in Northern Iraq and started to be part of the central government. Being an ally of the US during Iraq War had brought much to the Iraqi Kurds.

During the transition process, the US tasked Jay Gayner, a retired the US General, to reconstruct Iraq. But, at the same time, the US wanted to give authority to the Iraqi people and establish elections as soon as possible. To this end, the Transnational Administration Law (TAL) was adopted on 8 March 2004. The aims of the TAL were to hold elections on 31 January 2005 for a 275 seat transitional National Assembly, to draft a permanent constitution on 15 August 2005 and to hold national elections for a

permanent government on 15 December 2005 (Katzman, 2009: 10). With the TAL, the Iraqi Kurds had finally gained their autonomy. However, it should be noted that although the Iraqi Kurds' main aim was to be an independent state, the US did not support any destabilizing action in Iraq (Katzman & Humud, 2016: 19). During the transitional election, Iraqi Kurds won 75 of the 275 seats in January 2005 and won 53 seats in December 2005, i.e., during the full term election. The terms of the TAL were implemented in 2005, including a constitutional referendum and full-term election. The next full term election was held in 2009. In the following years, relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds continued along the same lines.

On 7 April 2009, Barrack Obama, president of the US, stated that "It is time for us to transition to the Iraqis. They need to take responsibility for their country and for their sovereignty" (The White House, 2009). While establishing new governmental system was taking place in Iraq, the intention of the US was not to leave Iraq to its people. The US wanted to control oil rich areas of Iraq.

The Maliki government acted against the Sunni community, which led to Sunni unrest in Iraq. In the meantime, The Islamic State of Iraq and The Levant (ISIL) also known as ISIS or Daesh rose up against the ICG. ISIS is the so-called Islamic group whose goal is the establishment of a caliphate in Iraq and Syria. In late 2013, ISIS started to capture some of the Iraqi cities. The US did not want to leave Iraq to ISIS and supported the ICG and Iraqi Kurds in their campaigns to stop ISIS from capturing cities.²

To do so, the US gave support to the Iraqi Kurds by advising and training the Peshmerga, conducting air strikes against ISIS and giving weapons to the Peshmerga to fight ISIS (Katzman & Humud, 2016: 31). However, it should be noted that the weapons owned by ISIS were produced by Western countries, mainly the US, UK, Russia, China, Germany and France (Amnesty International UK, 2018). When ISIS was in control of the region, it came into its possession. However, at a later date, the necessary weapons were provided to ISIS, especially by the US and Saudi Arabia, and even the EU stated that it should be paid attention to the sale of weapons (O'Connor, 2018).

After the Iraq War, the US and Iraqi Kurds became key partners in Iraq and this partnership was crucial to the success of campaigns against ISIS. In dealing with ISIS, the US gave huge support to the Iraqi Kurds, making them more powerful than ever before. Fight of Turkey, which is one of the major power in the region, against ISIS also needs to be mentioned. According to the UN, Turkey has hosted 3.6 million Syrian refugees and 142 thousand Iraqi refugees (UNHCR, 2019). In order to end terrorism and return these people to their homes, Zeytindali and Peace Spring Operation is organized in Syria (TRT Haber, 2019). Turkey's main purpose here is to create a safe zone in Syria (TRT Haber, 2019).

It should be mentioned once again that all official announcements made by the US reinforced their commitment to protecting Iraq's integrity. So, the independent state which the Iraqi Kurds have been striving for does not seem to be possible at the time being. Also, states in the region, especially

² For more information on ISIS and the US Policy, Christopher M. Blanchard and Carla E. Humud, The Islamic State and the US Policy, CRS Report for Congress, 27.07.2016

Turkey, oppose the Kurdish independent state and want to protect Iraq's integrity (Hürriyet, 2015). In this period, the US and Iraqi Kurds acted in direction of their interest again. For them, there is a win-win situation again. But when there is no win-win situation, the winner was always the US.

5. CONCLUSION

Although relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds date back to the end of the Second World War, this relationship has largely been ignored in attempts to understand the region's issues. It is essential to consider all the factors that have an impact on the issues of the region. In order to understand the regional dynamics of today, the Iraqi Kurds' past and current relations with other states, especially with the US, need to receive more careful attention.

Throughout history, the US and Iraqi Kurds have had fluctuating relations, which were influenced by four turning points, mentioned in the above. These were the 1958 Coup in Iraq, the Iraqi government's approach with the USSR in the 1960s, the First Gulf War, and the 9/11 attack. These developments initiated changes in the US policies towards Iraq and Iraqi Kurds. Based on their own interests, at times, the US established alliances with Iraq, and at other times with Iraqi Kurds. Additionally, relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds were also were influenced by the perspective of other states in the region, such as Turkey, Iran, Syria and the ICG. The US tried to balance its relations with the Iraqi Kurds with its relation with Ankara and Baghdad. Between the years of 1945 and 2011, the US' policy can be explained by arguments of classical realism. The US used her power to protect her interest. Specifically, it should be applied two theories which are a balance of power and hegemonic stability. Firstly, the US always wanted to protect the balance of the region. If relations with Iraqi Kurds threatened this balance, the US abandoned Iraqi Kurds. Because the balance of the region makes the US gainful. Secondly, the US wanted to protect her hegemonic power in the region. With this aim, the US, sometimes, used international power and acted with another state to intervene in Iraq. By doing so, the US always protected her interest and became gainful.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the Arab Spring changed the balance of politics in the whole region. So, then, it may be possible to add a fifth turning point in the relationship between the US and Iraqi Kurds, namely ISIS affect. Following ISIS's attacks on cities in Iraq, the US intervened in Iraq and needed the Iraqi Kurds to assist in the fight against ISIS. Their mutual cooperation is now observable even in the modern world and is likely to continue along these lines in the future. The historical relations between the US and Iraqi Kurds shed light on the understanding of the alliances that occurred in today's world. The relations after the spring of Arab were not taken into account because of exceeding the size of the study.

The main aim/dream of the Iraqi Kurds has been to establish an independent state. Today, with the help of the US, they are gaining territory in both Iraq and Syria. They want to create a Kurdish corridor to the Mediterranean through the northern border of Iraq and Syria. This territory, which is south of Turkey, is of great interest to Turkey who opposes Kurdish independence. Relations in the

region are very complicated at the moment and, as always, they are very fragile and fickle. To understand what was, and is currently, going on in the region, it is essential to examine the relations among all groups involved in the region. Relations between Iraqi Kurds and the US are a big part of this and should not be overlooked.

To sum up, the answer to the research question is the relations between the two actors have been quite fluctuating. While the US pursues a policy of interest, the Iraqi Kurds have chosen to consent to the US. The Iraqi Kurds have succumbed to the hegemony of the United States. In addition, Israel is quite effective in the relationship between the US and Iraqi Kurds, both with lobbying activities in the US decision-making process and direct military, intelligence, technical etc. support to Iraqi Kurds. Iraqi Kurds see the US as their only chance to survive in the region. However, the US' main aim is to protect its own interest in the region.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXTERNAL DEBT, INTERNAL DEBT AND
ECONOMIC GROWTH: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS ON BRICS-TM COUNTRIES
DIŞ BORÇ, İÇ BORÇ VE EKONOMİK BÜYÜME ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: BRICS-TM
ÜLKELERİ ÜZERİNE AMPİRİK BİR ANALİZ

Mehmet Vahit EREN¹

1. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Kilis 7 Aralık Üniversitesi,
İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, İktisat
Bölümü, mvahiteren@gmail.com,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0348-0137>

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Abstract

Private sector deficit, budget deficit and current account deficit can be counted among the main reasons for external and internal borrowing. In reducing the developmental differences of countries, governments can intervene in the market by borrowing. Therefore, it is important to investigate the existence of external and internal borrowing in the BRICS-TM countries, which have high growth rates. The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between external and internal debts and economic growth in the BRICS-TM countries by data from the period 2000-2016. For the empirical analysis of the research, panel data analysis method is used. According to the findings obtained from the analysis, no co-integration and causality relationship are found between external and internal debts and economic growth. These results indicate that the high growth rates do not supported by the external and internal debts in the BRICS-TM countries.

Keywords: *External and Internal Debt, Economic Growth, Development, BRICS-TM Countries,*

Öz

Özel kesim açığı, bütçe açığı ve cari açık, iç ve dış borçlanmanın temel nedenleri arasında yer almaktadır. Ülkelerin gelişmişlik farklarının azaltılmasında devlet piyasaya müdahale ederek, borçlanma yoluna gidebilmektedir. Bu nedenle, BRICS-TM ülkelerinin yüksek büyüme hızlarına sahip olmasında dış ve iç borçlanmanın varlığının araştırılması önem arz etmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, BRICS-TM ülkelerinde 2000-2016 dönemine ait verilerle dış ve iç borç ile ekonomik büyüme arasındaki ilişkinin araştırılmasıdır. Araştırmanın ampirik analizi için panel veri analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Analizden elde edilen bulgulara göre, dış ve iç borç ile ekonomik büyüme arasında eşbütünleşme ve nedensellik ilişkisi bulunamamıştır. Bu sonuçlar, BRICS-TM ülkelerinin yüksek büyüme oranlarına sahip olmasının iç ve dış borçlanma ile desteklenmediğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Dış ve İç Borç, Ekonomik Büyüme, Kalkınma, BRICS-TM Ülkeleri,*

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Brezilya, Rusya, Hindistan, Çin, Güney Afrika, Türkiye ve Meksika ülkelerinin son dönemde yüksek büyüme hızları ve sahip olduğu genç nüfus yapısıyla uzun vadede dünya ekonomisinde önemli bir yeri olacağı düşünülmektedir. Yüksek büyüme hızlarına sahip olan BRICS-TM ülkelerinin gelişmelerinde, kamunun iç ve dış borçlarının etkisi, araştırmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, BRICS-TM ülkelerinde 2000-2016 yıllarına ait yıllık frekansta veriler kullanılarak iç ve dış borç ile ekonomik büyüme arasındaki ilişki ekonometrik yöntemlerle analiz edilmektedir.

Araştırma Soruları

Ekonomik büyümenin finansmanında borçlanmanın önemi nedir? BRICS-TM ülkelerinin ekonomik büyüme performansı üzerinde iç ve dış borçlanmanın etkisi var mıdır? Literatürdeki çalışmalardan elde edilen bulgular borçlanma ile ekonomik büyüme arasında bir ilişkinin var olduğunu göstermekte midir?

Bulgular

Yatay kesit bağımlılığı testi sonucuna göre ülkeler arasında yatay kesit bağımlılığı bulunmaktadır. Ülkelerden birine gelen bir birimlik şok diğer ülkeleri de etkilemektedir. Yatay kesit bağımlılığı tespit edildiği için ikinci nesil birim kök testlerinden MADF testi kullanılmıştır. EXT değişkeni düzey değerinde, lnGDP ve EXT değişkenleri ise birinci farkı alındığında durağandır. Değişkenlerin eğim katsayılarının birimler arasında değişip değişmediğini tespit etmek amacıyla heterojenlik testi uygulanmış, test sonucunda uzun dönemde birimler arasında eğim katsayılarının değişmediği tespit edilmiştir. Durbin-Hausman eşbütünleşme testinden elde edilen bulgulara göre değişkenler arasında uzun dönemli bir ilişkinin olmadığı görülmektedir. Dumitrescu-Hurlin nedensellik testi sonuçları ise değişkenler arasında herhangi bir nedensellik ilişkisinin olmadığını belirtmektedir. Elde edilen bu sonuçlar, Ademola vd. (2018) ve Daud (2016)'un çalışmalarıyla benzerlik gösterirken, Onakoya ve Ogunade (2017); Burhanudin vd. (2017); Nantwi ve Erickson (2016); Lau ve Kon (2014); Brini vd. (2016); Favour vd. (2017); Stauskas (2017)'ın eserleriyle çelişmektedir. Söz konusu çelişkilerin oluşmasında kullanılan değişkenlerin yapısı, uygulanan yöntemin, ülke ya da ülke grubunun ve veri setinin farklı olmasının etkili olduğu belirtilebilir.

Yöntem

Çalışmanın analizinde panel veri analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Son yıllarda panel veri analizlerinde birimler arasındaki bağımlılığın test edilmesi, sonuçların daha tutarlı olması için önem arz etmektedir. Çalışmanın, hem panel veri analizi yöntemiyle daha çok ülkenin verilerinin kullanılması hem de yatay kesit bağımlılığı dikkate alınarak hazırlanması nedeniyle literatürdeki diğer çalışmalardan farklı olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu kapsamda, analizde ilk önce, değişkenlerin yatay kesitleri arasında bağımlılığın varlığı Pesaran vd. (2008)'nin LMadj testi ile araştırılmış, serilerin durağanlığı ise Taylor ve Sarno (1998)'nin MADF birim kök testi ile analiz edilmiştir. Eğim katsayılarının birimler arasında

değişip değişmediğini tespit edebilmek amacıyla Pesaran ve Yagamata (2008) Delta testi uygulanmıştır. Değişkenler arasında uzun dönemli ilişkinin tespiti için ise Durbin-Hausman (2008) eşbütünleşme testi kullanılmış, nedensellik testi için ise Dumitrescu-Hurlin (2012) panel nedensellik testi yapılmıştır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

BRICS-TM ülkelerinde ele alınan dönemde dış ve iç borçların boyutu ekonomik büyümeyi olumlu ya da olumsuz etkileyecek boyutta değildir. Başka bir ifadeyle, BRICS-TM ülkelerinin borçlarla büyüyen ülkeler olmadığı görülmektedir. Bu sebeple değişkenler arasında herhangi bir eşbütünleşme ve nedensellik ilişkilerinin tespit edilemediği belirtilebilir. Bu çalışmanın, BRICS-TM ülkelerinin elde ettiği ekonomik büyüme performansının gerçekleştirilmesinde farklı değişkenlerin ele alındığı, farklı yöntemlerin uygulandığı başka çalışmalara örnek olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Today, when the global competition is increasing continuously, accelerating economic activities cause emerging developmental differences among countries. Governments have a significant role in eliminating these developmental differences. States endeavour to activate the economic activities by intervening in the economy via the public finance policies. Lack of savings and fiscal deficit out of the current deficit are the most significant reasons for borrowing. Public expenditures cannot be met by the public revenues through expansionary policies. Thus, borrowing becomes an important fiscal policy tool in public deficit financing. Borrowing which is an ordinary intervention tool of governments to the economy via Keynesian policies affects the economy negatively or positively as an internal or external debt. The money borrowed should be used in proper areas to enable a positive impact on the economy. Otherwise, the principal and interest payments put the national economy in a difficult situation as well as the removal of debt sustainability. Therefore, the success of debt management becomes more of an issue.

It is thought that Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, Turkey and Mexico will have a remarkable place in the world economy in the long run due to their high rates of growth and young population. ‘BRICS-TM’ expression in the literature is composed of the English initials of the countries mentioned. The effect of internal and external debts of the public in the development process of these countries is the subject of current study. This study analyzed the relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth by econometrical methods through using the data in annual frequency regarding the period of 2000-2016 in BRICS-TM countries. Panel data analysis was utilized in the analysis of the data. Testing the dependency between the units in panel data analyses is significant to provide more consistent results.

The relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth in BRICS-TM has not been researched so far, which brings originality to this study. Moreover, the analysis in this study was conducted via new generation tests by testing the cross-sectional dependence. Our survey differs from other studies due to these reasons. It is seen in previous studies that the hypothesis of “there is a relationship between the internal debt, external debt and the economic growth” is valid. In the study, we first present a theoretical and conceptual framework relating to the issue; later, a literature review is provided. Findings obtained from the analyses are discussed in the last section.

2. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL BORROWING IN FINANCING OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Internal debt is defined as “obtained finance from domestic sources by the government through issuing domestic government bonds”. In other words, a part of the national income is transferred from individuals and public enterprises to the governments. Governments prefer internal borrowing because of reasons such as paying the maturing liability, removing the imbalances in the economy, public

deficits, economic and social difficulties arising from new taxes and increasing tax rates (Bayraktar, 2011:2). Keynesian view mentions that internal debt will stimulate investments, and productivity will increase when governments reserve the sources that have come from internal borrowing for the investments that support private sector investments. The positive effect of internal debt on the private sector investments via public expenditures is known as the “crowding-in effect” in the literature (Çevik and Cural, 2013:117). Using the sources obtained through internal borrowing so as to contribute to the economic growth is important in paying the debts.

There is not an addition to the available sources of a country via the internal borrowing; however, a transfer is actualized in the economy. Especially the internal borrowing which aims to enable bringing nonexpendable funds in the economy contributes to economic growth. Internal borrowing may cause negative outputs in economy in an environment in which productivity and general economic structure are not considered (Çiçek et al., 2010:143). The size of an internal debt stock is effective on inflation and income distribution. Since an increasing internal debt brings along high interests which will be paid for the savings, it creates a destructive effect on price stability. High inflation will affect the purchasing power of the society, notably the fixed-income employees negatively. Moreover, since the high-interest rates will decrease the private sector investments, the “crowding out effect” will emerge. It is also known that this high internal borrowing rate will increase interest rates and rollover risk by shaking the confidence in the economy (Çoban et al., 2008:249; Berkay and Ağcakaya, 2017:3). The level of internal borrowing is significant in the financing of economic growth. While internal borrowing contributes to economic growth up to a certain point, it may damage economic growth after exceeding that certain point.

External debt is defined as “the debts that are borrowed by a country from external resources under the condition of repaying them with the capital and interests at the end of a given period” (Egeli, 2003:124). External borrowing is preferred due to reasons such as closing the current deficit, lack of domestic savings, budget deficits, global interest rates, lack of financial sources for development thrusts, paying off the external debts by the external debts, lack of enough foreign currency reserve (Peker and Bölükbaş, 2013:289-290). Since external borrowing provides an input entrance into the borrowing country, the investments will be stimulated, and this will contribute to economic growth. Marginal proceeds of the investments which are realized by the external debts need to be higher than the cost of the external debts. An increase in national income can be observed after increasing the production capacity if this condition is guaranteed (Çiçek et al., 2010:143).

The credibility score of the countries in external borrowing is highly important. Problems such as borrowing at a higher interest and unavailability of new sources may occur when confidence to that country is lost. External debts are discharged by the foreign currency, which differentiates external debt from internal debt. Any changes that occur on the exchange rate will cause more effect on external debt in comparison to internal debt. In addition to this, while a country can pay off its internal debts by

seigniorage revenues, there should be practical policies to increase the amount of foreign currency because there is no possibility of making foreign money in a similar way (Esener, 2013:14).

The most important advantage of external borrowing is that there is a lower “crowding out effect” risk in comparison with internal borrowing. Moreover, governments decrease their real debt burden by external borrowing without having inflation problem stemming from internal borrowing. In the inflationary environment, external borrowing enables long term debt due to its lower interest rates in comparison with the higher interest rates of internal borrowing. The disadvantage of external debt is that it creates a “crowding out effect” on private investments by the nominal exchange rate effect. Meanwhile, external borrowing increases the sensitivity to the developments in other countries (Berkay and Ağcakaya, 2017: 4).

Expansionary policies that are applied in underdeveloped and developing countries to increase the rate of capacity utilization provide a positive contribution to the economic output in the short term. However, economic growth will occur in the long term via the policies that can increase production capacity. The factors that affect economic growth are as follows; technology, human and real capital, and political and economic stability. An increase in the level of these factors cannot affect the long-term economic growth at the level desired. This is because borrowing may appeal to countries to stimulate investments and economic growth.

3. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF BRICS-TM COUNTRIES

Definition of BRIC was first used by an economist, Jim O’Neill, in 2001. These countries are accepted as the fastest-growing “emerging markets” in the world economy. BRIC countries have common characteristics such as large square measure, overpopulation, high economic growth, a large number of consumers, and the possibility of collaborating in several areas (O’Neill, 2001; Ağır and Yıldırım, 2015:41).

South Africa, which started its efforts to participate in BRIC group in 2010, became a member of the group on 24 December 2010. The group was called as BRICS. With reference to the World Bank Statistics, BRICS countries have more than 40% of the world population and also occupy the one-fourth of the world area. In conclusion, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are important economic forces (Nistor, 2015:982). Long term estimations show that South Africa will grow with an average of 3.5% in the next 50 years. As the population growth rate decreases, there will be a faster increase in per capita income. It is estimated in the light of these projections that South African economy will be smaller than the economy of BRIC (US \$1.2 billion for Russia in comparison with the US \$5.9); however, the per capita income will be higher (Wilson and Purushothaman, 2003:11).

Turkey and Mexico have become the locomotive of the world economy due to their high economic growth rates and young population structures. Therefore, Turkey and Mexico have been added to BRICS countries and they are now called “BRICS-TM” countries. While Turkey got involved in this group by means of 9.2% and 8.8% developmental performance obtained in the years of 2010 and 2011

respectively, Mexico was attached to this group by 5% of growth rate obtained in the same years (Dam and Yıldız, 2016:224). Positive demographic structure of Mexico refers that it can be officially accepted as a BRIC country until 2050 in terms of the economic size (O'Neill et al., 2005:4). Table 1 and 2 show the data about per income capita, population and debt structures of BRICS-TM countries.

Table 1. The Socio-Economic Structure of BRICS-TM Countries

Country	Variable	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
<i>Brazil</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	8320.208	9539.999	10150.35
	Population Growth Rate (%)	1.635639	1.205671	0.791628
<i>China</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	1172.141	2771.699	5268.692
	Population Growth Rate (%)	1.132066	0.607967	0.4509
<i>India</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	616.5344	964.2851	1446.38
	Population Growth Rate (%)	1.93808	1.601871	1.087938
<i>Mexico</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	8005.34	9013.989	8455.85
	Population Growth Rate (%)	1.809577	1.411443	1.241795
<i>Russia</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	6833.749	8713.775	10117.5
	Population Growth Rate (%)	-0.03435	-0.30548	0.132253
<i>South Africa</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	5628.043	6544.358	6657.954
	Population Growth Rate (%)	2.040776	1.232855	1.186927
<i>Turkey</i>	Per Capita Real Income (\$)	7396.995	9236.978	11504.08
	Population Growth Rate (%)	1.616089	1.356878	1.376117

Source: World Bank

As seen in the data of per capita income, the highest values based on the averages of the years of 2010-2017 belong to Turkey, and Brazil is on the second rank. The country that has the lowest income is India with 1446 dollars, and China is on the second rank with 5268 dollars. According to 1990-2017 data, China has the highest increase by 8.3% as the income level, and India has the second highest increase by 4.7% as the income level. Regressing the population growth in China and India is one of the most important reasons for the high growth rate in spite of their low-income level. The population growth takes positive value in all the countries except for Russia. In other words, the population has decreased in Russia though it continues to increase in other countries.

Table 2. The Ratio of Internal and External Debt to Gross Domestic Product in BRICS-TM Countries (%)

Country	Variable	2000-2009	2010-2016
<i>Brazil</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	68.38	65.72
	External Debt/GDP	28.71	21.71
<i>China</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	26.75	37.71
	External Debt/GDP	11.50	13.73
<i>India</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	78.19	68.72
	External Debt/GDP	18.88	20.81
<i>Mexico</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	40.48	47.42

	External Debt/GDP	20.17	31.18
<i>Russia</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	23.64	13.26
	External Debt/GDP	37.67	30.21
<i>South Africa</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	33.82	43.70
	External Debt/GDP	22.25	37.83
<i>Turkey</i>	Internal Debt/GDP	53.88	32.20
	External Debt/GDP	43.17	41.67

Source: World Bank and IMF.

The debt structures of BRICS-TM countries reveal that the share of the internal and external debt from the gross domestic product has increased in China, Mexico and South Africa while the same share has decreased in Brazil, Russia and Turkey. Even though India has reduced its internal debt, it is still in the position with the highest debt. The country which has the lowest debt is Russia. While the country which has the highest ratio in terms of the external debt is Turkey, the country that has the lowest ratio about the same issue is China. The internal debt is more than the external debt in all the countries except for Russia and Turkey. The reason of high external debt in comparison with the internal debt in Russia and Turkey is that the cost of the external borrowing is lower than the cost of the internal borrowing in these countries.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between economic growth and public debt, which is the sum of internal and external debts, is the leading issue that has been researched for many years. Debt crises that emerged in Latin American countries in the 1980s affected the economic performances of those countries. It is pointed out that meeting the financing demands of countries by internal and external borrowing will negatively affect economic growth. The relationship between internal and external debt was analyzed in the literature by considering underdeveloped and developing countries or country groups. Besides, the literature includes studies that survey the relationship of public debt with respect to internal and external debt.

Schclarek and Ballester (2005), Erataş and Nur (2013), Zouhaier and Fatma (2014), Shkolnyk and Koilo (2018) and Kharusi and Ada (2018) researched the relationship between external debt and economic growth by analysing a specific group of countries. While these researchers found a negative relationship between the variables, Mensah et al., (2018) found a positive relationship between them. Lau and Kon (2014) pointed out that there was a unidirectional causality relationship from the external debt to the national income. Malik et al., (2010), Ezeabasili et al. (2011), Çöğürçü and Çoban (2011), Nwannebuike (2016) and Ademola et al. (2018) surveyed only one country and found a negative relationship between external debt and economic growth. Ijirshar et al. (2016), Uchenna et al. (2017) and Öztürk and Çınar (2018) identified a positive relationship between the same variables. Saad (2012)

conducted a study and expressed that there was a bidirectional causality between external debt and economic growth.

Simic and Mustra (2012) tried to explain the relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth by a group of countries. With reference to their research findings, it can be argued that external and internal debt negatively affect the economic growth. Atique and Malik (2012), Anning (2016) and Favour et al. (2017) researched the relationship between these variables by analysing only a single country, and they found out that there was a negative relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth. According to Çevik and Cural (2013), there is not a causality relation between internal debt and national income when there is a unidirectional causality from external debt to national income. Aminu et al. (2013) argue that there is not a causality between internal debt and economic growth when there is a bidirectional causality between external debt and economic growth. In addition, while external debt negatively affects growth, internal debt affects the growth in a positive direction. Ntshakala (2015) mentioned that while there was not a relationship between external debt and national income, internal debt positively affected national income. Onakoya and Ogunade (2017) found a unidirectional relationship from the external debt to national income and a bidirectional causality relation between internal debt and national income. Sheikh et al. (2010) pointed out that internal debt positively affected national income. According to Pegkas (2018), the effect of internal debt on national income is negative.

Afonso and Alves (2015), Mıynat and Bostan (2015) and Stauskas (2017) tried to explain the relationship between public debt and economic growth and found a negative relationship between the variables. Juarez and Almada (2016), Spilioti (2015) and Jakobo and Jalile (2017) researched the same relationship and found a positive relationship between the variables mentioned. Mohanty et al. (2016) expressed that there was a bidirectional causality relation between public debt and economic growth. Burhanudin et al. (2017), Belguith and Omrane (2017), Nantwi and Erickson (2016), Brini et al. (2016) and Daud (2016) surveyed the relationship between these variables for only a single country and determined that public debt positively affected economic growth. According to Balassone et al. (2011), the effect of public debt on economic growth is negative.

The other studies which found a causality relation between external debt, internal debt or public debt and economic growth include Onakoya and Ogunade (2017), Burhanudin et al. (2017), Nantwi and Erickson (2016), Lau and Kon (2014), Brini et al. (2016), Favour et al. (2017) and Stauskas (2017). On the other hand, there are also studies that could not determine a causality relationship between these variables (Ezeabasili et al., 2011; Ademola et al., 2018; Daud, 2016).

Much as there are different results about the direction of the relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth; it is pointed out that internal and external debt negatively affect economic growth. We see that the general run of the studies was employed time series methods, OLS, and the first-generation tests by considering the data of a single country. Only one of the studies (Erataş

and Nur, 2013) was performed by panel data analysis methods which considers the cross-sectional dependence.

It can be thought that our research study differs from the other studies in literature due to using data from more countries and considering the cross-sectional dependence.

5. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

5.1. Data Set and Model

This research study included the data of 2000-2016 period by reaching the equal number of observations regarding the BRICS-TM countries. The ratio of per capita real income (GDP) and the ratio of external debt to gross domestic product (EXT) were obtained from the World Bank database. The ratio of internal debt to the gross domestic product (INT) was obtained from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since the GDP data prevent the changes in variance and do not allow extreme values to affect the estimators, the GDP data were attached to the analysis in a logarithmic form. Other variables are the ratios because they were used in the analysis by their level values. The model below which shows the relationship between internal debt, external debt and economic growth was established based on the studies of Onakoya and Ogunade (2017), Çevik and Cural (2013), Simic and Mustra (2012) and Schclarek and Ballaster (2005):

$$\ln GDP_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 INT_{it} + \beta_2 EXT_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

$i=1, 2, 3, \dots, N$ shows the cross-section data in the equation, $t=1, 2, 3, \dots, T$ refers to the time dimension, and ε shows the error term.

5.2. Method

The panel data analysis was used to investigate the relationships between the internal-external debts and the economic growth in BRICS-TM countries. The existence of the dependence between the cross sections of the variables was scrutinized by the LM_{adj} test of Pesaran et al. (2008). The stationarity of the series was analyzed by the MADF unit root test of Taylor and Sarno (1998). The Delta test of Pesaran and Yagamata (2008) was utilized to determine whether the slope coefficient changes between the units. The Durbin-Hausman (2008) cointegration test specified the long-term relationship between the variables. The Dumitrescu-Hurlin (2012) panel causality test was used to find the causality between the variables.

5.2.1. The Cross-Sectional Dependence

In the cross-sectional dependence (CD), it is determined whether the panel units are affected by the shock at the same degree when a specific shock comes to the variables in the panel data analysis. The cross-sectional dependence should be tested in studies because it is a determinant in the reliability of estimations or selection of estimation methods (Ün, 2018: 88). Researching the cross-sectional dependence in the panel data analysis contributes to the results of studies to be more consistent. It is assumed that the units are not affected by each other in the tests which do not consider the cross-sectional

dependence. Countries/regions are integrated with each other and they are also involved in an interaction because of the globalization process. Therefore, researching the cross-sectional dependence enables analyses to give more reliable results.

The presence of the cross-sectional dependence between the series is controlled by the Breusch-Pagan (1980) CD_{lm1} test if the time dimension is bigger than the cross-section dimension ($T > N$). The presence of the cross-sectional dependence between the series is controlled by the Pesaran (2004) CD_{lm2} test when the time dimension is equal to the cross-section dimension ($T = N$). The presence of the cross-sectional dependence between the series is controlled by the Pesaran (2004) CD test when the time dimension is smaller than the cross-section dimension ($T < N$). The Breusch-Pagan (1980) LM test becomes biased when the group average is zero, but the individual average is different from zero. Pesaran et al. (2008) corrected this deviance by adding variance and mean to the test statistics. Therefore, the name of the test was corrected, and it is now called the LM test (LM_{adj}) today (Yıldırım et al., 2013: 86-87).

While the main hypothesis shows that there is no cross-sectional dependence, the alternative hypothesis proves the presence of the cross-sectional dependence. If the test statistics computed are smaller than 0.1 at 10% significance level; 0.05 at 5% significance level; and 0.01 at 1% significance level, the main hypothesis is rejected. Accordingly, the alternative hypothesis that accepts the presence of the cross-sectional dependence is accepted.

5.2.2. The MADF Unit Root Test

Spurious regression problems may occur when the analyses are applied in nonstationary panel data models. Therefore, it is important to test the stationarity of variables before the estimation and analyzing the presence of the relationships between the variables when the time dimension increases in the panel data (Tatoğlu, 2017: 4). Since there may be a correlation (dependence) between the units in panel series, different unit root tests have been developed based on the presence of the correlation between the units. The unit root tests applied are called as the first-generation tests if there is no correlation between the units; the unit root tests applied are called as the second-generation tests if there is a correlation between the units (Şak, 2018: 262).

One of the second-generation unit root tests used in case of CD is the broadened ADF (MADF) unit root test, developed by Taylor and Sarno (1998). It estimates the system by an approach that recalls the ADF equations and establishes test statistics for the whole panel. It can also be used when the time dimension is bigger than the cross-section.

While the main hypothesis shows that the variable has a unit root, which means it is nonstationary, the alternative hypothesis assumes that the variable does not have a unit root, which means it is stationary. If the t statistics are bigger than the critical value at 5% significance level, the main hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted assuming that the variable is stationary. If the t statistics are smaller than the critical value, the main hypothesis cannot be rejected because the variable is not stationary.

5.2.3. The Homogeneity Test

Before researching the long-term relationship between the variables, it should be determined whether the slope coefficients are homogeneous or heterogeneous to provide consistent results. While the homogeneity shows that the slope coefficients are the same for all units, heterogeneity proves that slope coefficients of at least one of the units are different. To this end, the homogeneity test which was developed by Pesaran and Yamagata (2008) was applied. Two results were obtained from this test. Delta_tilde statistics are offered for big samples, and Delta_tilde_adj statistics are offered for small samples (Küçükaksoy and Akalın, 2017: 27).

While the main hypothesis shows that the slope coefficients are homogeneous, the alternative hypothesis assumes that the slope coefficients are heterogeneous. The main hypothesis is rejected if t statistics computed are smaller than 0.1 at 10% significance level; 0.05 at 5% significance level; 0.01 at 1% significance level. Accordingly, the alternative hypothesis is accepted, which means that the slope coefficients are heterogeneous.

5.2.4. The Durbin-Hausman Cointegration Test

The Durbin-Hausman cointegration test, which was developed by Westerlund (2008), was utilized to carry out the analysis of cointegration relation between the variables. This method enables the cointegration analysis to be realized in cases when the explanatory variables are stationary at the level value or the first degree on condition that the dependent variable is stationary at the first degree [I(1)]. Moreover, this test is a second-generation test, and it considers the cross-sectional dependence. Two test statistics are obtained from the Durbin-Hausman cointegration test. The Durbin-H Group Statistics show that the autoregressive variables are different (heterogeneous) between the groups, and the Durbin-H Panel Statistics show that the autoregressive variables are not different (homogeneous) (Topal, 2017: 195-196).

While the main hypothesis indicates that there is no cointegration relation between the variables, the alternative hypothesis accepts the presence of the cointegration relation between the variables. The main hypothesis is rejected if t statistics computed are smaller than 0.1 at 10% significance level; 0.05 at 5% significance level; 0.01 at 1% significance level. So, the alternative hypothesis is accepted, which means that there is a cointegration relation between the variables.

5.2.5. The Dumitrescu-Hurlin Causality Test

The Dumitrescu-Hurlin causality test is one of the causality tests that gives effective results if there is a cross-sectional dependence or cross-sectional independence. Moreover, it can also be used in circumstances in which there is a cointegration relation or in which there is not such a relation. The main hypothesis shows that there is not a causality relationship from the first variable to the second variable in this causality test in which the Z-bar and Z-bar tilde statistics are calculated (Dumitrescu and Hurlin, 2012). The Z-bar tilde statistics are more powerful when the Z-bar and Z-bar tilde statistics give different results. Therefore, it is important to interpret the results by considering the Z-bar tilde statistics. In this

method, the stationarity of variables is essential. If they are not stationary, they must be turned into stationary variables. The stationary variables should be used when researching the causality relationship.

While the main hypothesis shows that there is no causality relation between the variables, the alternative hypothesis accepts the causality relationship between them. The main hypothesis is rejected if t statistics computed are smaller than 0.1 at 10% significance level; 0.05 at 5% significance level; 0.01 at 1% significance level. So, the alternative hypothesis is accepted, which means that there is a causality relationship between the variables.

5.3. Findings

This research study decided which unit root tests would be used in stationarity tests based on whether there were dependencies between the sections. The table below shows the cross-sectional dependence test results.

Table 3. The Cross-Sectional Dependence Test Results

Variables <i>CD Tests</i>	lnGDP		INT		EXT	
	<i>T Statistics</i>	<i>Prob. Value</i>	<i>T Statistics</i>	<i>Prob. Value</i>	<i>T Statistics</i>	<i>Prob. Value</i>
CD _{lm1} (BP, 1980)	290.0162	0.0000	106.7627	0.0000	76.17094	0.0000
CD _{lm2} (Pesaran, 2004)	41.51009	0.0000	13.23347	0.0000	8.513060	0.0000
CD (Pesaran, 2004)	16.93386	0.0000	2.216475	0.0267	6.235343	0.0000
LM _{adj} (Pesaran et al., 2008)	41.29134	0.0000	13.01472	0.0000	8.294310	0.0000

As given in Table 3, the probability values of CD tests are smaller than 0.01. Since T is bigger than N in the research, the CD_{lm1} and LM_{adj} results can be read. Since the CD_{lm1} test gives biased results, the LM_{adj} test results are considered. Accordingly, the hypothesis of “there is no dependency between the sections” is denied. There is a cross-sectional dependence between the countries in the panel data, and a one-unit shock affects other countries as well. The interaction between the countries is quite high by the effect of the globalization. Accordingly, the policymakers have to consider the economy policies of other countries at the same time.

Table 4. The MADF Unit Root Test Results

Variables	Level		
	lnGDP	INT	EXT
MADF Statistics	43.434(1)	153.878(1)*	63.916(4)
Critical Value (%5)	55.310	55.310	86.328
First Difference			
MADF Statistics	144.793(1)*	-	119.248(2)*
Critical Value (%5)	62.766	-	72.726

Note: The numbers are in brackets in the test statistical values show the lag length based on the smallest AIC information criteria. Since the data of the research were the annual data, the maximum lag length was accepted as 4.

Table 4 shows the MADF unit root test results that reveals whether the overall panel has a unit root or not. It is seen based on the test results that the MADF test statistics are smaller than the critical value at 5% significance level, and the lnGDP and EXT variables have unit roots at the level values. They become stationary when the first difference is computed. Since the test statistics value is bigger than the critical value, the INT series are stationary at the level value.

Table 5. Homogeneity Test Results

Test Statistics	T Statistics	Probability Value
Delta_tilde	-1.176	0.880
Delta_tilde_adj	-1.334	0.909

The Delta homogeneity test is applied to determine whether the slope coefficients change between the units (Table 5). With reference to these test results, since the probability values of both test statistics are bigger than 0.1, the slope coefficients do not change between the units in the long term; in other words, they are homogeneous. Therefore, the panel statistics should be used instead of the group statistics to examine the relations between the variables.

Table 6. The Durbin-Hausman Cointegration Test Results

Test Statistics	T Statistics	Probability Value
Durbin-H Statistics Group	2.597	0.005
Durbin-H Statistics Panel	-0.313	0.623

Table 6 shows the test results that reveal whether there is a cointegration relation under the assumption of both homogeneity and heterogeneity. When the results of the homogeneity test are analyzed, it is determined that using panel statistics is more suitable. To this end, the Durbin-H Panel statistics are considered. Therefore, since the probability value of the Durbin-H Panel statistics is bigger than 0.1, there is not a long-term relationship between the variables.

Table 7. The Dumitrescu-Hurlin Causality Test Results

<i>The Direction of Causality</i>	<i>Test Statistics</i>	<i>T Statistics</i>	<i>Probability Value (%5)</i>
lnGDP \nrightarrow INT	Z-bar	4.3294	0.1229
	Z-bar tilde	0.9654	0.1965
INT \nrightarrow lnGDP	Z-bar	7.9390	0.0697
	Z-bar tilde	2.2517	0.0697
lnGDP \nrightarrow EXT	Z-bar	-0.5044	0.6857
	Z-bar tilde	-0.6243	0.5234
EXT \nrightarrow lnGDP	Z-bar	3.9460	0.1318
	Z-bar tilde	0.8288	0.2649
Note: The \nrightarrow icon indicates the direction of causality. The test statistics were obtained with 789 iterations.			

Table 7 investigates the causality relations between internal debt, external debt, and economic growth. Since the probability values of test statistics are bigger than 0.05, there is not a causality relation between the variables. This result shows that the BRICS-TM countries discussed in the study do not have an economic growth based on their debts.

6. CONCLUSION

The welfare levels of societies can be increased by borrowing when there are no sufficient opportunities for realizing economic growth and developmental goals. This borrowing can be actualized in two ways which are internal and external borrowings. One of the most important reasons for appealing to external borrowing is the lack of resources. Another important reason is the lack of foreign currency as an instrument of payment to buy the goods and services that public needs. Countries can also appeal to internal borrowing if the public revenues cannot meet the expenses and if the domestic sources are sufficient. Internal and external borrowings positively affect the economic activities of countries. That's why some countries may prefer borrowing from time to time. The money borrowed will create an increasing effect for the national income when it is used in productive areas by increasing the capital accumulation. Interest payments except for the capital need to be made in repayment process. The size of the interest payments may create a reducing effect on the gross domestic product in the long-term.

The relationship between internal debt and external debt in BRICS-TM countries was analyzed by the panel data analysis in this study. The data belong to 2000-2016 period based on the availability of the data. First, the cross-sectional dependence test was applied for more consistent estimations. According to the cross-sectional dependence test results, there is a cross-sectional dependence between the countries. A one-unit shock that comes to one of the countries affects the other countries as well. The MADF test was utilized because the cross-sectional dependence was determined. The INT variable is steady at the level value, and the lnGDP and EXT values are stationary when their first differences are computed. The Heterogeneity test was applied to determine whether the slope coefficients change

between the units. It was found at the end of the test that the slope coefficients did not change between the units in the long-term. The Durbin-Hausman cointegration test results show that there is no long-term relationship between the variables. According to the Dumitrescu-Hurlin causality test results, there is no causality relation between the variables. While these results share similarities with the results of studies such as Ademola et al. (2018) and Daud (2016), the same results conflict with a number of studies including Onakoya and Ogunade (2017), Burhanudin et al. (2017), Nantwi and Erickson (2016), Lau and Kon (2014), Brini et al. (2016), Favour et al. (2017) and Stauskas (2017). The structures of the variables, which include being a different country, country groups and having a different data set, are effective on the conflicts.

To sum up, the results of the current study put forth that the size of internal and external debts does not have a dimension that can negatively or positively affect the economic growth in BRICS-TM countries. In other words, the BRICS-TM countries are not growing through debts. That's why, the cointegration and causality relationships between the variables could not be found.

While there are positive developments in the economic performances of the BRICS-TM countries, the share of the internal and external debts in the gross domestic product increases in China, Mexico and South Africa. These countries need to avoid from the negative effects of internal and external debts to ensure a sustainable economic growth. They should extend their debts to long-term loans and utilise the debts in areas with high added value that positively contribute to the national economy.

It is thought that our study can be a model for future studies in which different variables in actualizing the economic performances achieved by the BRICS-TM countries may be considered and different methods may be applied.

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INVESTIGATION OF CONSUMERS 'ORGANIC FOOD PURCHASES IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF PERSONAL VALUES AND INDIVIDUAL FACTORS*

TÜKETİCİLERİN ORGANİK GIDA SATIN ALMA NİYETLERİNİN KİŞİSEL DEĞERLER
İLE BİREYSEL FAKTÖRLER İLİŞKİSİ BAĞLAMINDA ARAŞTIRILMASI**

Aysel ERCİŞ¹, Tuğba YILDIZ², F. Görgün DEVECİ³

1. Professor, Atatürk University, Faculty of Business Administration and Economics, Department of Business, Production Management and Marketing, Erzurum, Turkey, ayselercis@atauni.edu.tr
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9835-8574>
2. Lecturer, Bayburt University, Demirözü Vocation School, Department of Transportation Services, Civil Aviation Management Programme, Bayburt, Turkey, tugbayildiz@bayburt.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0260-0555>
3. Research Assistant, PhD., Atatürk University, Faculty of Business Administration and Economics, Department of Business, Production Management and Marketing, Erzurum, Turkey, gorgun.deveci@atauni.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8987-2478>

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Abstract

In this study, it was aimed to determine the factors affecting consumers organic food purchase intention. In this direction; individual factors of personal values, attitude towards purchasing organic food of individual factors, and the effect of this variable on the organic food purchase intention was investigated. The role of moderator in the relationship between subjective norms' organic food purchasing attitude and organic food purchase intention is discussed. According to the results of the research, while personal values affect individual factors; while health and environmental consciousness have an impact on the attitude towards purchasing organic food, price consciousness has no effect. In addition, the findings show that the attitude towards purchasing organic food has an impact on the purchase intention. Finally, the subjective norm has a moderator effect between the organic food purchase intention and the attitude towards purchasing organic food.

Keywords: *Organic Product, Personal Values, Individual Factors, Subjective Norm, Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product, Organic Product Purchase Intention,*

Öz

Bu çalışmada tüketicilerin organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerinde etkili olan faktörlerin belirlenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu doğrultuda kişisel değerlerin bireysel faktörler, bireysel faktörlerin organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum ve bu değişkenin ise organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerindeki etkisi araştırılmıştır. Özel normların organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum ve niyet arasındaki ilişkide moderatör rolü de tartışılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre kişisel değerler bireysel faktörler üzerinde etkili iken; organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum üzerinde bireysel faktörlerden sağlık ve çevre bilincinin etkisi varken fiyat bilincinin ise etkisi bulunmamaktadır. Ek olarak bulgular organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutumun satın alma niyeti üzerinde etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir. Son olarak organik gıda satın alma niyeti ve organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum arasında özel normun moderatör etkisi bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Organik Gıda, Kişisel Değerler, Bireysel Faktörler, Özel Norm, Organik Gıda Satın Almaya Yönelik Tutum, Organik Gıda Satın Alma Niyeti,*

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmada bireylerin sahip olduğu değerlerin, bireysel faktörler olan çevre, fiyat ve sağlık bilinci, söz konusu değişkenin ise organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum üzerindeki etkisine bakılarak, bu değişkenlerin çıktı değişken olan organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerindeki etkisi ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca çalışmada organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutumun organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerindeki etkisi ve öznel normun moderatör etkisi de ele alınmıştır.

Araştırma Soruları

Çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda ele alınan sorular şu şekildedir: Kişisel değerler bireysel faktörler üzerinde etkili mi? Bireysel faktörler organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum üzerinde etkili mi? Organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerinde etkili mi? Öznel normların organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum ve organik gıda satın alma niyeti arasında moderatör etkisi var mı?.

Literatür Araştırması

İlgili literatür incelendiğinde, özellikle organik ürün pazarını tanımlayarak ve belirginleştirerek doğru stratejilerin geliştirilmesini amaçlayan kişisel değerleri ve çevreye, sağlığına ve fiyata olan duyarlılığı araştıran çalışmalara rastlamak mümkündür (Worsley ve Lea, 2008; Hedlund, 2011; Lee, 2011; Magnusson vd., 2011). Ayrıca organik ürünlere yönelik tutum üzerinde fiyat algısı, sağlık ve çevre endişesi (Michaelidou ve Hassan, 2008; Smith ve Paladino 2010; Lee ve Yun, 2015) organik ürün satın alma niyeti üzerinde ise tutumun (Tarkiainen ve Sundqvist, 2005) etkisini inceleyen çalışmalarda mevcuttur. Öte yandan organik pazarda öznel normların tutum ve niyet arasındaki moderatör etkisini tespit etmeye yönelik çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (Fu vd., 2010; Al-Swidi vd., 2014;). Ancak bireylerin sağlık, fiyat ve çevre bilincini bireysel faktör olarak ele alan ve bu değişkenler üzerinde kişisel değerlerin etkisini inceleyen sınırlı sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Araştırma ile kişisel değerlerin, bireysel faktörler üzerindeki etkisi irdelenecek ve bireyin sahip olduğu kişisel değerler doğrultusunda hangi bireysel faktörü daha çok önemsendiği belirlenebilecektir. Bireysel özellikler üzerinde etkili olduğu düşünülen, değerlerin belirlenmesiyle birlikte organik gıda tüketicileri daha iyi anlaşılabilir ve bu doğrultuda literatüre katkı sağlanabilecektir. Araştırma modeli doğrultusunda bireysel faktörlerin organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum ve organik gıda satın alma niyeti üzerindeki etkinin tartışılacak olması ve bu yönde organik gıda pazarı literatürüne katkı sağlanabileceği çalışmanın çıktıları açısından önemli bir noktadır.

Yöntem

Örnekleme yöntemi olarak tesadüfi olmayan örnekleme yöntemlerinden kolayda örnekleme kullanılmıştır. Anket sürecinde yaşanabilecek aksaklıklar, anketin eksik doldurulması gibi sorunlar göz önünde bulundurularak toplamda 500 anket dağıtılmıştır. Hatalı ve eksik doldurulan anketler elendikten sonra 420 adet anket değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. 420 anket için verilerin standardizasyonu yapıldıktan

sonra 352 anket değerlendirilmeye tabi tutulmuştur. Çalışmanın uygulama kısmında yüz yüze anket uygulaması yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Anket çalışması Erzurum’ da 18 yaş ve üstü organik gıda satın alan tüketicilere uygulanmıştır. Çalışma örneklemini organik gıda tüketicileri oluşturmaktadır. Bununla birlikte çalışma sadece Erzurum ilini kapsamaktadır. Dolayısıyla araştırma organik ürün tercihinde bulunmayan tüketiciler, tüm ürün grupları ve Türkiye için genellenemez.

Çalışma kapsamında kullanılan ölçekler; kişisel değerlere yönelik ifadeler Yıldırım (2013), bireysel faktörlerin içinde yer alan çevre bilincine ilişkin ifadeler Huang vd., (2014), sağlık bilincine ilişkin ifadeler Cheung vd., (2015), fiyat bilincine ilişkin ifadeler Lichtenstein vd., (1988), organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum, organik gıda satın alma niyeti ve öznel norma ilişkin ifadeler Al-Swidi (2014)’den uyarlanarak Türkçeye çevrilmiş, daha sonra ters çeviri-backtranslation yöntemiyle ifadeler kontrol edilmiştir. Verilerin analizinde SPSS 20.0 ve AMOS 20 paket istatistik programlarından faydalanılmıştır. Verilere tanımlayıcı istatistikler, güvenilirlik analizi, doğrulayıcı faktör analizi, kanonik koreasyon ve regresyon analizleri uygulanmıştır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Araştırma sonuçlarına göre kişisel değerler bireysel faktörler üzerinde etkilidir. Bireysel faktörler arasında yer alan sağlık ve çevre bilinci ise organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutum üzerinde etkilidir. Bununla birlikte, fiyat bilinci boyutunun organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutumu etkilemediği görülmektedir. Ayrıca, bulgular organik gıda satın alma konusundaki tutumun organik gıda satın alma niyetini etkilediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Son olarak, öznel norm, organik gıda satın alma niyeti ile organik gıda satın almaya yönelik tutumu arasında moderatör bir etkiye sahiptir. Çalışma sonucunda organik gıda pazarı için önemli olan sağlık, çevre ve fiyat bilincinin oluşmasında bireyin hayatında yol gösteren ilkeler olarak da ifade edilebilen kişisel değerlerin önem kazandığı görülmüştür. Organik gıda satın alma niyetine giden süreçte anahtar rol oynayan tutuma etki edebilmek için hem bireylerin sağlığını hem de doğaya ilişkin bireysel faktörlerini göz önünde bulundurmaları gerekmektedir. Bu etkinin gücünü ve yönünü etkileyebilecek değişkenlerin belirlenmesi sektörün harekete geçirilmesi için önemli imkanlar sunacaktır. Organik gıda için ise bu etki toplumun düşünceleri yani öznel normun moderatör etkisinin araştırılmasından geçmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Organic food market is significantly developing throughout the world. This results from the positive perceptions of consumers towards organic foods. Consumers consider organic products as environmentally and animal friendly products that are not produced with antibiotics or hormones (Hutchins and Greenhalgh, 1997; González et al., 2019; Popa et al., 2019). In the studies carried out on organic products, organic products of consumers are generally; see it as healthy, sensory appeal, food safety, taste, quality, proenvironment (Hill and Lynchehaun, 2012; Chekima et al., 2017; Golob et al., 2018; Curl, 2019; Pham et al., 2019). According to consumers, organic products are healthy in many aspects (Manzi and Duraz-zo, 2017; Hsu et al., 2016). In addition, the tendency of consuming organic products is widely adopted in many industrialized countries. Therefore, both producers and marketers attempt to learn the motivations affecting the consumption of these products (Janssen, 2018; Rock et al., 2017; Massey et al., 2018).

Today, consumers behave more consciously about nature. Therefore, they gravitate towards environmentally-friendly products and prefer the companies that are sensitive to the environment (Nasir and Karakaya, 2014: 295). It is observed that the production and consumption of organic foods significantly increase in the above-mentioned process. When organic products are approached from a marketing perspective, understanding the knowledge of consumers towards these products is crucial in terms of developing appropriate marketing strategies (Nasir and Karakaya, 2014). Organic agriculture, which attracts attention in the world substantially, is accepted as one of the sectors having a promising future (Eti, 2017). Organic production can be defined as an ecological production management system. The minimum use of non-agricultural inputs as well as ensuring, protecting and developing the ecological balance depend on the relevant managerial processes (Winter and Davis, 2006:117). Another factor directing the behaviors of consumers and playing a significant role in the decision-making process regarding organic foods is personal values (Winter, 2010:26). Also individuals who are worried that they will lose their health turn to organic foods because of this anxiety. Thus, knowing organic foods in a healthy way reduces the cognitive discrepancy experienced in individuals (Bilgen, 2017: 678-679). According to Wang et al., (2020) environmental consciousness enhances consumers' intention to purchase organic food. Also, attitude, subjective norm and environmental concern significant positive effect on organic food purchase intention (Saleki et al., 2019). With the consciousness of the society in recent years, the demand for organic products (Keskin et al., 2017) as well as awareness about the the harmful effects of chemicals in foods has been increasing. In this context, the tendency to purchase organic food also increases. The gradual development of attitudes towards the origin of consumed food and food purchasing behavior have not been adequately addressed in the marketing literature. At this point, the study to determine the motivations of consumers to purchase organic food becomes important. When the related literature is examined, personal values aiming to develop correct strategies by defining and defining the organic product market in particular; There are a limited number of studies dealing with

the impact on individual factors. With the research, the effect of personal values, which reveal what is important for the individual, on individual factors will be examined and which individual factor will be determined more in line with the personal values of the individual. The increasing environmental problems and the health problems of individuals have brought organic food to the fore. In this context, it is important to raise the consciousness of the consumer for the development of the organic food market. However, one of the issues that needs to be emphasized is what can be done in order to raise consciousness effectively. Organic food consumers will be more clearly understood with the determination of values, which can affect the individual characteristics of people. There are a limited number of studies on this variable group in the literature. Finally, it is important that the attitudes of potential buyers towards organic food become organic food purchase intentions in order to make the organic food market more vivid. Today, consumers no longer care about themselves, besides what you did for me, other individuals, society, environment, etc. What are they doing for? to the enterprises. In light of the explanations above and the findings obtained after the study, it is aimed to fill in the gaps in the related literature and contribute to the literature.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Personal Values

Schwartz (1994) defines values as the objectives with varying degrees of importance that act as guiding principles in the life of a human or an individual in a society. Values are the criteria used for choosing and legitimating actions as well as evaluating humans, events and personality (Grunert and Juhl, 1995). Personal values are the principles that guide how an individual should behave (Parks and Guay, 2009). Personal values affect the preferences of consumers in addition to guiding their behaviors (Candan and Yıldırım, 2013). Schwartz's system of personal values was developed by considering the physical, psychological and social needs of individuals. Therefore, it is frequently used for analyzing consumer behaviors since it offers a comprehensive evaluation (Ünal et.al., 2008). Schwartz discusses this system under two dimensions. The first dimension includes the approach of Openness to change/Conservation while the second dimension consists of Self-transcendence/Self-enhancement. In the dimension of Openness to Change, there is the self-direction and stimulation value types while security, conformity and tradition value types are included in the dimension of Conservation. The dimension of hedonism includes the elements of both Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement value groups among the ten value types in the system (Harcar, 2005:180). It is critical to understand the values lying behind the food purchase preferences in order to obtain more perceptible information regarding the individuals purchasing organic foods (Finch, 2006). The research examining the relationship between values and environmentalist behavior has primarily focused on two of the value categories of Schwarz. These value categories are self-transcendence and self-enhancement (Schultz et.al., 2005: 459). The values of power, achievement and hedonism are included in the dimension of self-enhancement while universalism and benevolence are included in the dimension of self-transcendence

(Schwartz, 1992). Moreover, the latter values were identified as the determinants of the general concern about the environment. The dimension of self-transcendence had a positive impact on the concern about the environment while the dimension of self-enhancement affected it negatively (Schultz et.al., 2005). In their study conducted on sustainability, Şener and Hazer (2007) focused on five value types (Universalism, Benevolence, Power, Achievement, Hedonism) that are included in Schwarz's self-transcendence and self-enhancement dimensions. In this female-focused study, the value of universalism had the highest mean score while hedonism had the lowest mean score. The value of power represents to be able to gain social status and prestige, control or dominate humans and resources. The value of achievement represents the success of the individuals demonstrating competence with respect to social standards. Hedonism, which is another value, refers to sensory fulfillment and personal pleasure received from life. Universalism reflects an appreciation of value, being tolerant and protecting the nature and welfare of all people. Benevolence is to focus on the welfare of others in daily interaction (Schwartz, 1992). Hence, the five dimensions of personal values, which are power, achievement, universalism, hedonism and benevolence, were discussed in this research.

2.2. Individual Factors (Environmental Consciousness, Price Consciousness, Health Consciousness)

In the study carried out on organic products, Lee (2016) examined three consciousness elements to measure individual factors. These elements are environmental, health and price consciousness. Lea and Worsley (2005) stated that organic products were more delicious and healthier compared to conventional foods. Gök (2008) also specified that the prices of organic products were higher compared to conventional products. Furthermore, the concern about the environment and health of consumers has increased in parallel with the attention paid on the consumption of organic foods. In this context, especially the marketing sector has been directed to analyzing the motivations behind the purchase of organic products by consumers (Smith and Paladino, 2010).

Environmental consciousness is to exhibit strong emotions for environmental responsibility. In other words, environmental consciousness is the protection of the environment as well as raising awareness about this issue (Alsmadi, 2007). In the organic food sector, consumers demand higher security and quality as well as the sustainability of the activities by showing sensitivity to the environment. This means that the logical use of natural resources and the concern about the environment are critical for this sector (Achilleas and Anastasios, 2008; Kusumaningsih et al., 2019). According to Ueasangkomsate and Santiteerakul (2016) environment and health are also correlated to buying intention organic foods. Health consciousness is regarding to what extent an individual adapts the concern about his own health to his daily activities (Jayanti and Burns, 1988). Consumers, which have health consciousness, increasingly prefer organic products rather than conventional foods. In other words, the increase in diseases like heart problems and depression is very effective on the preference of organic foods by consumers. In this context, the retail, distribution and marketing departments of enterprises will be effective at the point of meeting the needs of consumers preferring organic foods

with an aim to increase their standards of living (Rana and Paul, 2017). Prakas et al., (2018) stated that health and environmental consciousness significantly influence the consumer's intention to purchase organic food. If a consumer has sensitivity in terms of price such as low price sensitivity, etc., it is possible to specify that this consumer has price awareness for a specific product group (Lichtenstein et.al., 1988:244). In their study, Kranjac et al. (2017) stated that high price was an important obstacle to the purchase of organic products. Türk and Erciş (2017) emphasized that low reachability and high price issues should be discussed for the development of the organic market. Raising awareness in society is of significance for providing sustainability and increasing environmental consciousness. In addition, if the environmental consciousness gains importance in the value system of a society, certain positive steps can be taken regarding environmental consciousness (Kaya and Gündoğdu, 2007). Lee (2011) examined environmental knowledge, concern and behavior as environmental consciousness. In this study, a relationship between the value (value for fashion) and environmental consciousness was detected. In their study, Karalar and Kiracı (2010) concluded that there was a positive relationship between the frequency of exhibiting sustainable consumption behavior of the universalism and benevolence value types. Furthermore, they found a positive effect on the frequency of exhibiting sustainable consumption behavior of individuals with respect to the value of "universalism". In his study, Hedlund (2011) found that universalism had a positive effect on environmental concern. Worsley and Lea (2008) expressed that personal values were strong predictors for estimating the concerns of individuals about foods and health. Worsley et al. (2013) argued that there was a positive relationship between the concern about the security of foods and the values of conformity and universalism included in the value system of Schwartz. In their study, Potocan et al. (2016) concluded that there was a significant effect on managers' personal values on their attitudes towards the concern about the environment. Accordingly, the following hypotheses were developed;

H₁: Personal values have statistically significant effect on individual factors,

H₁₁: Personal values have statistically significant effect on health consciousness

H₁₂: Personal values have statistically significant effect on price consciousness

H₁₃: Personal values have statistically significant effect on environmental consciousness.

2.3. Attitude and Intention

In line with the concerns about the potential effects of intensive agricultural practices on human health and environment, the interest in organic products increases throughout the world (Yin et.al., 2010). The theory of planned behavior suggests that the intention of individuals to exhibit a certain behavior is affected by the attitude, perceived behavior control and subjective norm (Al-Swidi et.al., 2014:1563). In addition, the theory of value is one of the theories used for better understanding the organic food preferences of consumers like the theory of planned behavior (Aertsens et.al., 2009). Attitude towards behavior can be defined as the positive or negative evaluation of a certain behavior by an individual or the degree of evaluation. According to Michaelidou and Hassan (2008), health

consciousness can positively affect the attitude towards organic products. Besides Yadav ve Pathak (2016) health consciousness positively influences the consumer's intention to purchase organic food.

In the study conducted on organic products, Lee (2016) found out that health and environmental consciousness of individuals positively increased in line with the increase in their attitudes towards purchasing organic products. According to the opinion of Magnusson et al. (2011), high prices are important obstacles to the purchase of organic products. Because of many reasons, certified organic foods are generally more expensive than traditional products. Therefore, price gains importance in the marketing of organic food (Singh and Verma, 2017). According to the study conducted by Smith and Paladino (2010), the attitude towards organic foods is affected by knowledge, environmental concern and subjective norm while health consciousness, quality, subjective norm and familiarity affect organic food purchase intention. In addition, Tarkiainen and Sundqvist (2005) suggested in their study conducted on organic products that the positive attitude of consumers towards purchase positively affected their organic food purchase intentions. In line with the information given above, the following hypotheses were developed;

H2: Individual factors have statistically significant effect on the attitude towards purchasing organic food.

H2₁: Health consciousness has statistically significant effect on the attitude towards purchasing organic food.

H2₂: Price consciousness has statistically significant effect on the attitude towards purchasing organic food.

H2₃: Environmental consciousness has statistically significant effect on the attitude towards purchasing organic food.

H3: The attitude towards purchasing organic food has statistically significant effect on the organic food purchase intention.

2.4. Subjective Norm

The theory of reasoned action suggests that the attitude towards behavior and subjective norm reveals the intention towards behavior. Attitude reflects the subjective evaluation of an individual's behavior. Subjective norm is related to the social pressure perception created by the people that an individual attaches importance to (Wan et.al., 2017). Ajzen (1991) defines subjective norm as an individual's perception of social pressures to perform or not to perform the behavior. Kim et al. (2009) explain subjective norm as the effect of other individuals on the behaviors of an individual. In other words, subjective norms, which are premises of the behavioral intention, represent the individual motivations directing a person to behave according to the opinions of other people in the environment. If consumers believe that the attitudes and opinions of other people towards organic products are positive, their purchase intentions to purchase such products will increase in line with this positive effect (Teng and Wang, 2015:1069).

In their study, Han and Chung (2014) specified that subjective norm had a positive effect on the attitude towards purchasing organic cotton clothes. According to Asif et al., (2017) subjective norms have a positive impact on intention to purchase of organic food. In the study conducted by Al-Swidi et al (2014), it was stated that subjective norm had a positive effect on the attitude toward buying organic food and buying intention toward organic food. Moreover, this study also reveals that subjective norm has a moderator effect between the purchase intention and attitude towards buying organic foods. According to the study of Fu et al. (2010) which examined the moderator effect of subjective norm, the subjective norm has a negative moderator effect between attitude and intention. In line with this information, the following hypothesis was presented;

H4: Subjective norm has a moderation effect on the relationship between attitude towards purchasing organic food and organic food purchase intention.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

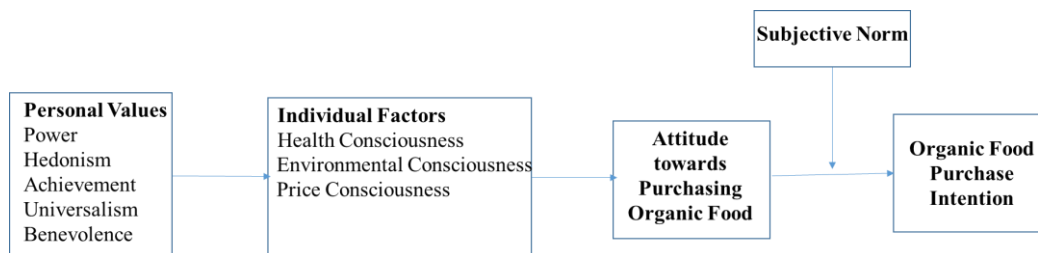
3.1. The Purpose, Scope and Limitations of the Research

The purposes of the research are as follows: Analyzing and revealing the important issues necessary for creating purchase intention towards purchasing organic foods, examining the multiple interactions between personal values and individual factors adopted by individuals, determining the effect of environmental, health and price consciousness on the attitude towards purchasing organic foods and putting forward the effect of the attitude towards purchase on organic product purchase intention. In addition, revealing the effect of the attitude towards a organic product purchase on organic product purchase intention and analyzing the moderator effect of the subjective norm is also among the purposes. In the implementation part of the research, face-to-face survey method was used. The survey was conducted on the consumers at the age of 18 and over in Erzurum and purchasing organic foods. Organic food consumers constitute the study sample. Consumers who do not prefer organic products are not included in the research. Besides, the study covers only the province of Erzurum. It can not be generalized for all product groups and Turkey.

3.2. Research Model

Research Model is as shown in figure 1.

Figure 1. Research Model



3.3. Sampling Process

As the sampling method, the convenience sampling method, which is one of the non-probability sampling methods, was used. In total, 500 surveys were conducted by considering the potential inconveniences that could occur during the survey process. 420 survey forms were obtained after the incorrect or missing answers of the conducted survey were eliminated. After performing the standardization of the data for 420 surveys, 352 surveys were subjected to evaluation. Data Standardization is to make the test or scale safe to be applied safely for "a certain period" and "in certain main masses or samples" So it is associated with reliability and validity. Standardization was applied in order to increase the reliability and validity of the study (Şencan, 2005).

3.4. Data Collection Method and Tool

Information on the research scales is presented below

Table1. Information of Research Scale

Scales	Quoted Articles	Variables Items
Personal Vales	Yıldırım (2013)	27 items
Individual Factors		
-Environmental Consciousness	Huang et al., (2014)	8 items
-Health Consciousness	Cheung et al., (2015)	5 items
-Price Consciousness	Lichtenstein et al., (1988)	3 items
Attitude towards Organic Purchasing	Al-Swidi (2014)	8 items
Food		
Subjective Norm	Al-Swidi (2014)	4 items
Organic Food Purchase Intention	Al-Swidi (2014)	4 items

So, sixty-seven questions about demographic, preliminary questions and research variables were asked to the participants. The scales were first translation into Turkish and then the expressions were checked with the back-translation method again. Individual factors (health, environment and price consciousness), attitude towards purchasing, purchase intent and subjective norm questions were measured with the 5-point Likert scale (5 = Totally Agree, 1 = Strongly Disagree). To measure personal values, a scale scored between the ranges of -1 and 7 (1: inverse to my values, 0: unimportant; 3: important, 6: very important and 7: absolute important) was used. As a preliminary question to the participants," Do you buy organic foods?" was asked. Thus, consumers who are knowledgeable about organic food are included in the study. The data were obtained by using the convenience sample method, which includes closed-ended questions as a first-hand data collection tool, and the questions were prepared in advance, and by making face-to-face interviews with individuals who purchase organic food living in Erzurum.

Analysis of the data, SPSS 20.0 and AMOS 20 package statistics programs were used. Descriptive statistics, reliability analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, canonical correlation and regression analysis were applied to the data.

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1. Demographics and Descriptive Statistics

Firstly, the respondents were asked whether you are buying organic food, and the participants who answered no to this question were asked to end the questionnaire. The majority of the participants are male (%47,7), between 29 and 39 (%50,3), married (% 56,3), bachelor degree (% 36,9), public servants (%36,4) and private sector employees (% 26,4) and 3000-4000 (%23,6) Turkish Liras. Besides this mean and standard deviation about the research scale are in Appendix.

4.2. Reliability and Model Fit Values

The confirmatory factor analysis was performed with an aim to test whether the scales used in the research show adaptation to the sampling. In addition, the reliability results were shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Acceptable Index Values in Model Compatibility

Fit Indices	Acceptable Compliance
X ² / sd	X ² / sd ≤ 5
NFI	0,90 ≤ NFI
CFI	0,95 ≤ CFI
RMSEA	RMSEA ≤ 0,08
GFI	0,85 ≤ GFI
AGFI	0,85 ≤ AGFI
RMR	0 < RMR ≤ 0,008

Reference: Karagöz (2016), SPSS ve AMOS 23 Uygulamalı İstatiksel Analizler

Table 3. Reliability Results, Model Adaptive Values, CR and AVE values of the scales*

	Cronbach Alpha (α)	X ² /sd	NFI	CFI	RMSEA	GFI	AGFI	RMR	CR	AVE
Personal Values	0.87	2.378	0.840	0.899	0.063	0.872	0.835	0.060	0,988	0,983
Individual Factors	0.82	2.806	0.875	0.915	0.072	0.911	0.877	0.052	0,992	0,989
Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product	0.81	1.782	0.960	0.982	0.047	0.976	0.955	0.024	0,978	0,976
Subjective Norm	0.74	2.005	0.993	0.997	0.054	0.997	0.972	0.011	0,990	0,987
Organic Product Purchase Intention	0.77	0.489	0,997	1,000	0,000	0,999	0,993	0,006	0,994	0,994

*CR and AVE Scores formulation in Hair et al., 1998: 624

4.3. Canonical Anaysis

In line with the purpose of the research, whether there was a significant relationship between personal values and individual factors was analyzed. For this purpose, the Canonical Correlation Analysis was performed. The canonical correlation analysis is a type of analysis aiming at determining the correlation between two variable sets. In order to see the mutual and multiple relationships between variable sets, the canonical correlation analysis is performed (Karagöz, 2016:919). As a result of the canonical correlation analysis, three functions were obtained since the lowest variable number in the personal values and individual factors variables set. The research model is a cause-effect relationship model. Canonical correlation analysis is seen as a complement to “multiple regression analysis” (Shiker, 2012). In the analysis, it is thought that the change in dependent variables, which are assumed by

independent variables, is the square of the multiple regression coefficient (Alpert and Peterson, 1972). So it is very similar to multiple regression, which is an impact analysis. The point where the two analyzes differ from each other is that canonical correlation is performed between sets (Marcoulides and Hershberger, 2014). In this sense, canonical correlation analysis was preferred in order to analyze the effect of personal values on individual factors in order to adapt to the research objectives.

Table 4. The Functions Obtained with the Canonical Correlation Analysis between the Personal Values and the Individual Factors

Canonical Functional	Canonical Correlation Coefficient (Rc)	Canonical Roots	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	df.	Sig.
1	0,522	0,272	0,561	200,389	15,000	0,000
2	0,456	0,208	0,771	90,028	8,000	0,000
3	0,162	0,026	0,974	9,181	3,000	0,027

It is seen when Table 4 is examined that there are three functions where the correlation coefficient is significant for the personal values and the individual factors. The significance level was found as “ $p=0,00$; $p<0,05$ ” for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd functions; thus, it can be put forward that the canonical correlation coefficients between the data sets in these functions are significant. The canonical correlation coefficient was determined as 0.522 for the variable pair “personal values and individual factors in the first function, and the canonical correlation coefficient was obtained as 0.456 for the variable pair “personal values and individual factors” in the second function. The canonical correlation coefficient is 0.162 for the variable pair “personal values and individual factors” in the third function. When the explained variance ratios of the variables set are examined it is observed that the first functions explain a greater part of the relationships set.

Table 5. The Correlation Matrix between the Dependent and Independent Variables

	Health Consciousness	Environmental Consciousness	PriceConsciousness
Power	0,3584	0,2222	0,4037
Universalism	-0,0117	0,3815	0,0661
Hedonism	0,1826	0,1907	0,3136
Achievement	0,1300	0,4033	0,1000
Benevolence	0,3623	0,3017	0,3565

In Table 5, the correlation values between the personal values data sets (independent variable) and the individual factors data sets (dependent) are shown. Accordingly, the strongest relationships can be mentioned as present between the data sets of “power-price consciousness (0.40)”, “achievement value and environmental consciousness (0.40)” and “universalism value and environmental consciousness (0.38)”.

Table 6. Canonical and Cross Loads belonging to Personal Value

Personal Values	Canonical Loads			Cross Loads		
	1. Function	2. Function	3. Function	1. Function	2. Function	3. Function
Power	0,917	-0,064	0,184	0,479	-0,029	0,030
Universalism	0,196	0,873	0,204	0,102	0,398	0,033
Hedonism	0,619	0,096	0,613	0,323	0,044	0,099
Achievement	0,390	0,754	-0,341	0,204	0,344	-0,055
Benevolence	0,894	0,140	-0,122	0,467	0,064	-0,020

As seen in Table 6, “power” (0.917) became the first, “benevolence” (0.894) the second, “hedonism” (0.619) the third, “achievement” (0.390) the fourth and “universalism” (0.196) the fifth in the canonical loads of the first function obtained. The value with the highest coefficient is “power” (0.479) when the cross-relationships between the variable sets are viewed. “Benevolence” (0.467) is the value with the second highest coefficient; “hedonism” (0.323) has the third highest coefficient and “achievement” (0.204) comes the fourth. Thus, the variable, which has the highest importance for the first function among the independent variables, is power. The value of power, which built the highest amount of relationships with its own set, also established the strongest relationship with the dependent variable. In the canonical loads of the second function, “universalism” (0.873) came the first, “achievement” (0.754) the second, “benevolence” (0.140), the third, “hedonism” (0.096) the fourth and “power” (0.064) the fifth. The value with the highest coefficient is “universalism” (0.398) when the cross-relationships between the variable sets are viewed. “Achievement” (0.344) is the value with the second highest coefficient; “benevolence” (0.064) has the third highest coefficient, “achievement” (0.044) comes the fourth and “power” (-0.029) follows it as the fifth. Therefore, the variable, which has the highest importance for the second function among the independent variables, is the universalism. The value of universalism, which built the highest amount of relationships with its own set, also established the strongest relation with the dependent variable. In the canonical loads of the third function, “hedonism” (0.613) came the first, “achievement” (-0.341) the second, “universalism” (0.204) the third, “power” (0.184) the fourth and “benevolence” (-0.122) the fifth. The value with the highest coefficient is “hedonism” (0.099) when the cross-relationships between the variable sets are viewed. “Achievement” (-0.055) is the value with the second highest coefficient; “universalism” (0.033) has the third highest coefficient, “power” (0.030) comes the fourth and “benevolence” (-0.020) follows it as the fifth. For this reason, the variable, which has the highest importance for the third function among the independent variables, is hedonism. The value of hedonism, which built the highest amount of relationships with its own set, also established the strongest relation with the dependent variable.

Table 7. Canonical and Cross Loads belonging to Individual Factors

Individual Factors	Canonical Loads			Cross Loads		
	1. Function	2. Function	3. Function	1. Function	2. Function	3. Function
Health Consciousness	0,775	-0,179	0,606	0,405	-0,082	-0,098
Environmental Consciousness	0,525	0,836	-0,159	0,274	0,381	-0,026
Price Consciousness	0,801	-0,089	0,592	0,418	-0,041	-0,096

In Table 7, canonical and cross loads belonging to individual factors are shown. The value, which has the highest canonical load among the individual factors, is “price consciousness” (0.801). Respectively, “health consciousness” (0.775) and “environmental consciousness” (0.525) follow the price consciousness. It is seen that the highest value is “price consciousness” (0.418) in terms of the cross loads. Health consciousness (0.405) was observed to have the second highest cross value. The value, which has the highest canonical load among the individual factors, is “price consciousness” (0.801). Respectively, “health consciousness” (0.775) and “environmental consciousness” (0.525) follow the price consciousness. It is seen that the highest value is “price consciousness” (0.418) in terms of the cross loads. Health consciousness (0.405) was observed to have the second highest cross value.

Table 8. The Relationship between the First Dependent Canonical Variable Set and the First Independent Canonical Set

First Dependent Canonical Variable	First Independent Canonical Variable
Power	Health Consciousness 0,775
Universalism	Environmental Consciousness 0,525
Hedonism	Price Consciousness 0,801
Achievement	0,390
Benevolence	0,894

It is possible to state in relation with the cross loads between the personal values and the individual factors in Table 8 that the participants with high price consciousness in the first function are the individuals who have a high perception of power (0.917) and benevolence (0.894) values and whose hedonism dimension (0.619) comes into prominence. In other words, there is a positive relationship between the dimensions of power, benevolence, hedonism and price consciousness. Hence, it was observed that the participants who had the desire of being a rich, socially strong and respected person with a position in the society had the price consciousness. Similarly, it was concluded that the individuals who returned the favors, worked for the benevolence of the others, acted to have real friendships, had the sense of responsibility, were sensitive to public issues, were moderate and honest acted with the price consciousness. Lastly, price consciousness also outweighs in the individuals who think that life has enjoyable aspects, want to enjoy their lives, try to have an entertaining life and are fond of their own desires.

Table 9. The Relationship between the Second Dependent Canonical Variable Set and the Second Independent Canonical Set

Second Dependent Canonical Variable		Second Independent Canonical Set	
Power	-0,064	Health Consciousness	-0,179
Universalism	0,873	Environmental Consciousness	0,836
Hedonism	0,096	Price Consciousness	-0,089
Achievement	0,754		
Benevolence	0,140		

As seen in Table 9, it is possible to express considering the second function that universalism (0.873) and achievement (0.754) dimensions have a positive relationship with the environmental consciousness in terms of the participants with high environmental consciousness, and it is very prominent. This can be interpreted as follows; the individuals who are inclined to protect the environment, live in peace with nature, desire a peaceful and serene world, aim at justice for everyone, want to live without damaging the environment and are open to new ideas have the environmental consciousness. In addition to the aforementioned universalism dimension, another dimension coming to the forefront in terms of the environmental consciousness is the achievement. At this point, it is possible to mention that the individuals who want to be the best in everything they do, aim at becoming an important person in their work life, want to be successful and are ambitious, have developed environmental consciousness as well.

Table 10. The Relationship between the Third Dependent Canonical Variable Set and the Third Independent Canonical Set

Third Dependent Canonical Variable		Third Independent Canonical Variable	
Power	0,184	Health Consciousness	0,606
Universalism	0,204	Environmental Consciousness	-0,159
Hedonism	0,613	Price Consciousness	0,592
Achievement	-0,341		
Benevolence	-0,122		

Lastly, hedonism (0.613) and achievement (-0.341) dimensions can be said to be prominent in the participants with high health consciousness. However, there is a negative relationship with the achievement value whereas a positive relationship is visible between the health consciousness and the hedonism value. Lastly, the individuals who think that life has enjoyable aspects, want to enjoy their lives, try to have a colorful life and are fond of their own desires, also have the health consciousness. In this case, the negative relationship of the achievement value can be interpreted as follows: the health consciousness stays in the background in the individuals who consider the achievement primary.

According to the results of the canonical correlation analysis, the hypotheses H1, H1₁, H1₂ and H1₃ were accepted.

4.4. The Effect of the Individual Factors on the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product

Table 11. The Effect of the Individual Factors on the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product

	R	R²	Adjusted R²	Std.Error of the Estimate	
	0,565	0,319	0,313	0,43966	
ANOVA Values	Sum of Squares	Sd	Mean Squares	F	Sig.
Regression	31,520	3	10,507	54,355	0,000
Residual	67,268	348	0,193		
Total	98,788	351			

As stated in Table 11, the dimensions expressing the individual factors explain 31.9% of the variable of the attitude towards purchasing organic product. The model is significant according to the ANOVA values.

Table 12. The Beta Values Related to the Effect of the Individual Factors on the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	B		
Health Consciousness	0,112	0,037	0,147	3,045	0,003
Environmental Consciousness	0,464	0,045	0,500	10,416	0,000
Price Consciousness	-0,009	0,030	-0,015	-0,315	0,753

Pursuant to the result of the regression analysis, the dimensions of health consciousness and environmental consciousness are effective on the attitude whereas the dimension of price consciousness is not. Therefore, the hypothesis H2 was accepted partially. The effect of the health consciousness on the attitude towards purchase H2₁ and the effect of the environmental consciousness on the attitude towards purchase H2₃ were accepted. However, the hypothesis related to the effect of the price consciousness on the attitude towards the purchase (H2₂) was not accepted.

4.5. The Effect of the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product on the Organic Product Purchase Intention

Table 13. The Effect of the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product on the Organic Product Purchase Intention

	R	R²	Adjusted R²	Std. Error of the Estimated	
	0,616	0,379	0,377	0,48794	
ANOVA Values	Sum of Squares	Sd	Mean Squares	F	Sig.
Regression	50,889	1	50,889	213,744	0,000
Residual	83,329	350	0,238		
Total	134,217	351			

As stated in Table 13, attitude towards purchasing organic product explains 37.9% of the variable of the organic product purchase intention. The model is significant according to the ANOVA values.

Table 14. The Beta Values Related to the Effect of the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product on the Organic Product Purchase Intention

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	B		
Attitude towards Purchase	0,718	0,049	0,616	14,620	0,000

According to the result of the regression analysis, attitude towards purchasing organic product is effective on the organic product purchase intention. Therefore, the hypothesis H3 was accepted.

4.6. The Moderator Effect of the Subjective Norm between the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product and the Organic Product Purchase Intention

Table 15. The Moderator Effect of the Subjective Norm between the Attitude towards Purchasing Organic Product and Organic Product Purchase Intention

Model		B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig
1	Attitude towards Purchase					
		0,517	0,044	0,527	11,877	0,000
1	Subjective Norm					
		0,263	0,041	0,282	6,363	0,000
		R²=0,52		Adjusted. R²=0,52	F=190,701	p=0,000
2	Attitude towards Purchase	0,488	0,045	0,497	10,767	0,000
	Subjective Norm	0,261	0,041	0,279	6,328	0,000
	Attitude towards Purchase*Subjective Norm	-0,101	0,046	-0,087	-2,199	0,029
		R²=0,53		Adjusted. R²=0,53	F=130,143	p=0,000

According to the research, the subjective norm (moderator variable) is thought to be the variable which affects the direction and the power of the relationship between the organic product purchase intention (dependent variable) and the attitude towards purchasing organic product (independent variable). It is necessary to check the effect of the engaged effects of the attitude and the subjective norm on the organic product purchase intention in order to research whether the subject norm has an effect on the relationship between the attitude towards the organic product purchase and the organic product purchase intention. Moreover, no interaction must exist between the attitude towards the purchase and the subjective norm while discovering the moderator effect. The reason is that this leads to the problem of multicollinearity. In other words, if the moderator term that signifies the engaged effect of the attitude towards the purchase and the subjective norm (the attitude towards purchase*the subjective norm) has a significant effect on the organic product purchase intention, it shows that the relationship between the dependent and independent variables is set by the moderator (Baron and Kenny, 1986; Erciş and Türk, 2016). Although the effect is not that big, it caused a 1% increase in the R² value of the first model. Furthermore, it is seen that the model is generally significant. Therefore, the hypothesis H4 was accepted.

5.DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

It was discovered that the personal values had statistically significant effect on the individual factors. While the effect of the environmental and health consciousness on the attitude towards purchasing organic food was found, price appeared with no effect regarding the individual factors.

In terms of canonical correlation between personal values and individual factor participants with a high price consciousness in terms of first function were found to have price consciousness who were rich, socially powered, positioned and desire to be respected in the society. Similarly, it was seen that the individuals who returned the favors, worked for the benevolence of the others, acted to have real friendships, had the sense of responsibility, were sensitive to public issues, were moderate and honest acted with the price consciousness. Lastly, price consciousness also outweighs in the individuals who think that life has enjoyable aspects, want to enjoy their lives, try to have a colorful life and are fond of their own desires. A market-related approach can be imposed on the consumers who have the desire to be considered as a rich, socially strong and respected person with an important position in the society via the perception supporting that the organic products are a sign of social status and carry a symbolic value in addition to the price perception in purchasing these products. In terms of organic products, the perception of these products as expensive must be eliminated and the perception must be formed regarding that healthier organic consumptions and the resulting consumptions of different brands will differentiate them. At the same time, thinking that the consumers with high perception of power will affect their environment, different strategies must be developed to support that they will introduce new things to their environment, create a trend and might become leaders through their consumption of organic products. Besides, it was observed that the price consciousness came into prominence in terms of the consumers who were named as the benevolence. Positive from-mouth-to-mouth communication gains significance for the organic products. Thus, the elimination or at least the diminishment of the price perception or sensitivity can be ensured thanks to the benevolents who share their positive experiences with people in their environment. Awareness must be raised so that the consumers can focus on the beneficent aspects of the organic products that may directly affect their health rather than their price. Business can consider the expert recommendations to address the emotions of the consumers, gift them additional products to let them feel that they are more beneficent or concentrate on sample product distribution for them to test the product. Another dimension that appears for the price consciousness is the hedonism. It is believed that the hedonist individuals' perception of hedonic consumption is higher. Fairs and various familiarization days can be organized in relation with the organic products in order to eliminate the price sensitivity. And the localness of these products can be made attractive to increase the attention. Festivals can be arranged for the organic products which grow in a specific locality.

When the second function is considered that the dimensions of universalism and achievement come to prominence in terms of the participants with high environmental consciousness. Jaini et al., (2019) stated that altruistic and hedonic values have a positive effect on green cosmetics consumers'

proenvironmental beliefs. In addition, as stated in the literature section, Potocan et al. (2016) personal values significantly influence attitudes toward the concern for natural environment. This can be interpreted as follows; it can be said that the individuals who are inclined to protect the environment, live in peace with the nature, desire a peaceful and serene world, aim at justice for everyone, want to live without damaging the environment and are open to new ideas have the environmental consciousness. This consumer group can be interpreted as the potential buyer for the organic product market. Thus, it will be logical for the businesses to organize promotion activities which will reinforce the maximum benefit and the values owned in the messages that will be given by the businesses when it is thought that the convincing process of the aforementioned group will be easier. Hence, potential buyers can be transformed into continuous customers. In this sense, the value of lifelong customer can be formed in the long run via the relational marketing. Businesses can give importance to acting together in recycling activities to influence the consumers who have the value of universalism and become the sponsors of the programs explaining the significance of participating in environmental activities (planting trees, reducing the usage of plastic products and nylon bags). In addition to the aforementioned universalism dimension, another dimension that appears for the environmental consciousness is the achievement. At this point, it is possible to mention that the individuals who want to be the best in everything they do, aim at becoming an important person in their work life, want to be successful and are ambitious, have developed environmental consciousness as well. Businesses can help the individuals whose desires of achievement are prominent to be opinion leaders, send the prototypes of their products to these people and learn their opinions by introducing the new products that will be put on the market firstly to them. Meanwhile, these people can be encouraged to share videos reflecting their satisfaction regarding the products via the social media applications. With these applications, these people, who have the achievement tendency, can be supported and helped to share more. This will create an area that will expand the organic product market. Another result of the research conducted for environmental consciousness is the effect on the attitude towards purchase. To enliven the sector, the consumers need to be more interested in purchasing or approach the organic products with positive thoughts. Therefore, the positive effects of the organic production on the environment can be explained by the experts and the businesses can support their nature-friendly production sustainably.

Lastly, it can be said that the dimensions of hedonism and achievement are prominent in the participants with high health consciousness. According to Chang (2019) conservation values and self-transcendence values are positively associated with health consciousness. In addition, as stated in the literature section, Worsley and Lea (2008) expressed that personal values were strong predictors for estimating the health concern. According to the results, health consciousness increases as the hedonism level rises. For this reason, an individual's level of hedonism will increase when the businesses act in a way specially to lay emphasis on health while marketing the organic products and it is specified that the active substances, they contain are not unhealthy. In addition, it is possible to say that the health consciousness is not effective on the individuals who want to be the best in everything they do, aim at

becoming an important person in their work life, want to be successful and are ambitious. Instead of healthy living, different variable groups can be used to influence this group. The attitude towards purchase can be increased through product placement in health-related TV programs and commercials or various social media tools via the vloggers, who are the experts of the topic. Meanwhile, product placements can be supported with the expert recommendations or other consumers who use the product.

Considering the literature in the light of these results as stated in the literature section Lee (2016) found out that health and environmental consciousness of individuals positively increased in line with the increase in their attitudes towards purchasing organic products. Testa et al., (2018) stated that health belief has a positive effect on attitude towards buying organic food. According to Mesnage et al., 2019 consumers believe are healthier as they are less contaminated with pesticides. Nguyen et al., (2019) Consumers' environmental concern has a positive impact on their attitudes towards buying organic food. This aspect of the study has similar results with Lee (2016), Testa et al., (2018), Mesnage et al., (2019), Nguyen et al., (2019) research.

The effect of the attitude towards organic purchasing food on the organic food purchase intention is another result and the subjective norms were found to have a negative moderating effect in this relationship. Alswidi (2014) attitude has a positive effect on organic food buying intention. Similarly, Fu et al. (2010) which examined the moderator effect of subjective norm, the subjective norm has a negative moderator effect between attitude and intention. In order to influence the attitude that plays a key role in the process leading to purchasing intention, it is necessary to consider both the health of individuals and the individual factors related to nature. Determining the variables that may affect the power and direction of this impact will provide important opportunities for mobilizing the sector. Turning positive attitudes towards purchasing into intent will contribute to the growth of the market and thus to economic prosperity. Personal values of an individual may influence the individual factors; however, it becomes more important at this point to what extent the individual factors affect the attitude and whether this effect results in the purchase decision. The reason is that an individual may be affected by the value variables of power, universalism, hedonism, achievement and benevolence and reflect it on health, environmental and price consciousness, but these factors may not be given much importance while turning into the attitude, and therefore, the purchase decision may be postponed. For this reason, sustainability must be supported by developing active strategies during this process. This situation has great importance for not only today but also next generations. Consumption of the organic food must be adopted as a way of life, not temporarily. Its adoption is directly affected by the approach of the business to the organic food. It is believed that the businesses which support the organic production and agriculture with this viewpoint will be the winners of the future.

APPENDIX

Table 16. Mean and Standard Deviation Values for Personal Values Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Being respected in the society	5,6905	1,60084
Being rich (possessing tangible assets and money)	4,9000	2,09318
Having image in the society	5,2857	1,92069
To be able to have social power (The power to manage others, the power to influence others)	5,0786	2,16084
Having a position	5,2571	2,00609
Protect the environment	6,0286	1,35356
Living in integrity with nature	5,9095	1,35259
Living in a peaceful world	6,3310	1,00476
Living in a tranquility world	6,4286	,91247
Providing justice for everyone in the community	6,4452	,94192
Living without harming the environment	6,2571	1,10567
Being open-minded (tolerant of diverse and beliefs)	5,8714	1,59134
Having fun things in life (Eating, drinking, having fun, music, etc.)	5,5905	1,68495
Enjoying life	5,5500	1,65810
Having a fun life	5,4262	1,81660
Being fond of their enthusiasm (doing things that give them pleasure)	5,0714	2,10911
To be the best in everything I do (at work, in sports, at school, etc.)	5,6190	1,68883
Have influence in business life	5,5952	1,57788
Being successful	5,9429	1,37540
Being ambitious (To be hardworking and eager)	5,6119	1,73806
Responding to goodness (avoiding being owed to someone else)	6,1881	1,16240
Being helpful (working for the good of others)	6,1190	1,16640
Being able to make true friendships	6,1810	1,22255
Living as a responsible	6,2310	1,14216
Being sensitive to social problems	6,2214	1,12299
Being Moderate	6,0929	1,26960
Being Honest	6,5333	,86366

Table 17. Mean and Standard Deviation Values for Individual Factors

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I consider myself very health-conscious.	3,9571	,87559
I think that I take health into account a lot in my life.	3,6429	,99693
My health is so valuable to me that I am prepared to sacrifice many things for it.	3,9238	,90288
I think that I pay more attention to health than other people.	3,6071	1,05931
I often think about whether everything I do is healthy.	3,7690	,97535
I hate firms that conduct business by polluting the environment.	4,3238	,79371
When two products are similar, I tend to select the one that harms the environment less, even though it is more expensive.	4,0262	,94061
If the products sold by the firms seriously damage the environment, I will refuse to purchase them.	4,0643	,93878
When purchasing products, I always select the ones with environmental certification, even though they are more expensive.	3,8952	,94401
I follow the key points of recycling and classify recycled waste at home.	3,6476	1,17841
Although the product harms the environment, I purchase it.	2,9476	1,32792
I am concerned about my actions to improve the environment.	4,2000	,83366
I am concerned about environmental programs information.	4,0214	,96824
I usually buy products when they are on sale.	3,9476	1,04875
When choosing products, I rely heavily on price.	4,0095	1,01770
I buy the products with the lowest price that suits my need .	3,9024	1,13209

Table 18. Mean and Standard Deviation Values Regarding Subjective Norms

	Mean	Std. Deviation
The trend of buying organic food among people around me is increasing.	4,0024	,92563
People around me generally believe that it is better for health to use organic food.	4,1333	,85811
My close friends and family members would appreciate if I buy organic food.	3,8024	1,00903
I would get all the required support (money, time, information related) from friends and family to.	4,0238	,91365

Table 19. Mean and Standard Deviation Values for Attitudes towards Purchasing Organic Food

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I prefer organic food because it is processed without any chemicals.	4,1333	,87464
I prefer organic food because it tastes better than non-organic food.	4,0738	,98280
I prefer organic food because it is more nutritious than conventional non-organic food.	4,1929	,91053
I prefer organic food as it causes less diseases than conventional food.	4,2095	,88418
I prefer organic food because it is environment friendly.	4,1071	,98942
I prefer organic food as no preservatives are used to enhance its shelf life.	4,0833	,95992
I believe that price of organic food is quite justified.	3,4524	1,35037
It is exciting for me to buy organic food.	3,7048	,96649

Table 20. Mean and Standard Deviation Values Regarding the Organic Food Purchase Intention

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I would look for specialty shops to buy organic food.	3,6333	1,12419
I am willing to buy organic food in future.	4,0571	,98513
I am willing to buy organic food on regular basis.	4,0476	,93850
I would also recommend others to buy organic food.	3,9857	1,02930

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EXAMINATIONS OF IMPACTS OF EMPOWERING LEADERSHIP ON INNOVATION
ACTIVITIES IN SERVICE SECTOR AND EMPLOYEES
GÜÇLENDİRİCİ LİDERLİĞİN, HİZMET SEKTÖRÜNDEKİ YENİLİK FAALİYETLERİNE
VE ÇALIŞANLARA ETKİLERİNİN İNCELENMESİ

Zafer ADIGÜZEL¹, Yeliz CAYAN²

1. Asst. Prof. Dr., İstanbul Medipol University, zadiguzel@medipol.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8743-356X>
2. Bahçesehir University, yeliz.cayan@bahcesehir.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7393-2808>

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Abstract

The organizations in service sector in intense competition environment fall behind as a result of not showing performance in desired level and have to leave from the sector. In terms of leadership styles, it is necessary to manage the satisfaction and team management with the right understanding in the superior-subordinate relationship hierarchy of the organizations. By managing and guiding employees correctly, organizations can achieve their goals that they set. The research model examines how institutions in the service sector affect employees and innovation through the empowering influence of leadership. When the findings are analyzed, it was found that empowering leadership and proactive personality variables had positive effects on career satisfaction, innovation and creativity activities. Within the scope of the study, survey were conducted with 483 white-collar employees (administrative personnel) who work in the service sector (banking sector). SPSS 25 Program was used to make analysis. Since there were 5-point Likert-scale questions in the study, factor analysis was conducted. After factor analysis, reliability analysis, correlation analysis, regression analysis, and sobel test and hayes process were made for the analysis of mediation variable effect.

Keywords: Proactive Personality, Service Innovation, Career Satisfaction, Empowering Leadership, Team Creativity,

Öz

Yoğun rekabet ortamında hizmet sektöründe bulunan kurumlar istenilen seviyede performans sergileyememeleri sonucunda yarışta geriye düşmekte ve sektörden çıkmak zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Özellikle liderlik açısından örgütlerin ast-üst hiyerarşisinde memnuniyet ve ekip yönetiminin doğru bir anlayışla yönetilmesi gerekmektedir. Çalışanların doğru yönetilmesi ve yönlendirilmesiyle, örgütler belirledikleri hedeflere ulaşmaları mümkün olabilmektedir. Hizmet sektöründe bulunan kurumların, liderliğin güçlendirici etkisiyle çalışanları ve yeniliği nasıl etkilediği araştırma modeli kapsamında incelenmektedir. Elde edilen bulgular analiz edildiğinde, Güçlendirici liderlik ve proaktif kişilik değişkenlerinin, kariyer memnuniyetine, takım yaratıcılığına ve yenilik faaliyetlerine olumlu yönde etkisinin olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Araştırmanın amacı kapsamında hizmet sektöründe (bankacılık sektöründe) bulunan 483 beyaz yakalı (idari personel)'dan veriler toplanmıştır. SPSS 25 Programı kullanılarak Analizler yapılmıştır. Anket çalışmasında 5'li Likert ölçekli sorular olduğu için faktör analizi yapılmış, faktör analizinden sonra güvenilirlik analizi, korelasyon analizi, regresyon analizi, ve aracı değişken etkisi için sobel testi ve hayes process yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Proaktif Kişilik, Hizmet Yeniliği, Kariyer Memnuniyeti, Güçlendirici Liderlik, Takım Yaratıcılığı,

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Liderliğin karar vermede yüksek özerkliğe ve yetki gücüne odaklanmasına yol açmasından dolayı görev belirsizliğini artırabileceği ve dolayısıyla performansın düşmesine neden olabileceği öne sürülmektedir (Martin et al., 2013). Bununla birlikte örgütlerde başarı unsuru olarak liderlik tarzlarının haricinde, aynı zamanda çalışanların sahip olduğu proaktif kişilik yapısında, yaşanan sorunlar karşısında yaptıkları işin kalitesini ve yaptıkları işte ne ölçüde destek gördüklerine ilişkin kendi algılarının ve kendi inançlarının bulunduğu dikkat çekilmektedir (Liang & Gong, 2013). Çalışmada, güçlendirici liderlik ve proaktif kişilik özelliklerinin hizmet sektöründe bulunan firmaların sundukları yeniliğe etkilerinin incelenmesiyle birlikte, bu yeniliğin gerçekleşmesinde önemli rol olan takım yaratıcılığı ve çalışanların kariyer memnuniyeti değişkenleri üzerindeki etkileri incelenmektedir.

Araştırma Soruları

Bu araştırmada, bankacılık sektöründe faaliyet gösteren firmalarda çalışan beyaz yakalıları üzerinde; güçlendirici liderlik ve proaktif kişilik değişkenlerinin; hizmet yeniliği, takım yaratıcılığı ve kariyer değişkenleri üzerindeki etkilerini analiz etmek amacıyla önerilen hipotezler test edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Güçlendirici liderlik bağımsız değişkeninin ve proaktif kişilik aracı değişkeninin, bağımlı değişkenler; takım yaratıcılığı, hizmet yeniliği ve kariyer memnuniyeti arasında pozitif yönde anlamlı ilişki olduğu görülmektedir. Değişkenler arasında olumlu yöndeki bu ilişki aralarındaki ilişkinin önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Bağımsız değişkenin, bağımlı değişkenler üzerindeki etkisinin ölçüldüğü regresyon analizler sonucunda, hipotezler desteklenmiştir. Regresyon analizi sonucunda değişkenler arasındaki ilişkiler istatistiksel olarak anlamlıdır. Proaktif kişilik aracı değişken etkisinin ölçüldüğü araştırma modelimizde, proaktif kişilik aracı değişken etkisi olarak güçlendirici liderlik ile hizmet yeniliği, kariyer memnuniyeti ve takım yaratıcılığı arasındaki ilişkide etkisinin olduğu analizler sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır.

Yöntem

Araştırmanın amacı kapsamında bankacılık sektöründe bulunan 483 beyaz yakalı çalışan (idari personel) ile anket çalışması yürütülmüştür. Toplanan verilerin analizinde; SPSS 25 Programı kullanılmıştır. Faktör analizi ve güvenilirlik analizlerinden sonra, korelasyon analizi, regresyon analizi ve aracı değişken analizi için sobel testi ve hayes process yapılmıştır. Anket soruları beş değişkeni temsil eden sorulardan oluşmaktadır. Güçlendirici Liderlik Ölçeğinde; Ahearne ve arkadaşları (2005) (Güvenirlilik değeri 0.87'dir) ve Arnold ve arkadaşlarının (2000) (Güvenirlilik değeri 0.88'dir) yapmış olduğu çalışmadaki sorulardan faydalanılmıştır. Bateman ve Crant'ın (1993) ve Seibert ve arkadaşlarının (1999) (Güvenirlilik değeri 0.87'dir) yapmış olduğu çalışmalardaki proaktif kişilik ölçeğinden faydalanılmıştır. Tierney ve Farmer'ın 2002 yılında yapmış olduğu araştırmadaki Takım Yaratıcılığı ölçeğinden faydalanılmıştır. Swink'in 2003 yılında yapmış olduğu araştırmadaki hizmet yeniliği

ölçeğindeki sorular kullanılmıştır. Greenhaus ve arkadaşları'nın 1990 yılında (Güvenirlilik değeri 0.84' dür) yapmış oldukları çalışmadaki kariyer memnuniyeti ölçeğindeki sorulardan faydalanılmıştır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Yapılan araştırmalarda çalışan performansını olumlu yönde etkilemede güçlendirici liderliğin belirgin bir rolünün olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Yapılan bazı araştırmalarda, çalışan çıktılarıyla liderliğin güçlendirici etkisi arasında karmaşık sonuçların olduğu vurgulanmaktayken (Ahearne et al., 2005; Fineman, 2006), Zhan ve Bartol'un 2010 yılında yapmış olduğu çalışmada, Çalışanların yaratıcılığı ve liderliğin güçlendirici etkisi arasında olumlu yönde bir ilişki olduğu savunulmaktadır. Güçlendirici liderliğin, proaktif kişilik yapısına sahip çalışanlarda ve özellikle yaratıcılığa yatkınlığı olmayan çalışanlarda yaratıcı faaliyetleri arttırmada etkili olabileceği önerilmektedir. Yoğun çalışma ortamlarında, liderlik tarzının, çalışanların tutumlarını, motivasyonlarını ve davranışlarını olumlu yönde etkileyebilmesi için pozitif bir liderlik tarzının olması gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle güçlendirici liderlik tarzı, yoğun çalışma ortamında, örgüt içinde olumlu bir iklim yaratacak özelliğe sahiptir. Bu özellik, örgütlerin buldukları sektörlerde rekabetçi pozisyonları elde etmede ve sürdürmede avantajlar sağlayabilir. Güçlendirici liderliğin olduğu örgütlerde, çalışanlar, biçimsel çalışma rollerinin ötesinde davranışlar sergilerler, anlamlı ve bağımsız olarak çalışma eğilimindedirler (Martin et al., 2013). Araştırma modeli kapsamında elde edilen analiz bulgularıda bu yöndedir. Aynı zamanda, bazı çalışmalar, bazı astların çalışma çıktıları üzerinde güçlendirici liderliğin olumlu etkilerini göstermektedir (Seibert et al., 2011).Araştırma modelinde, değişkenler arasındaki ilişkilere bakıldığında, örgütlerin sahip olduğu en önemli özelliklerin lider-çalışanlar arasındaki uyumun olmasında yattığı görülmektedir. Lider-çalışanlar arasındaki ilişkiler pozitif yönde olduğu müddetçe, örgütsel performansında olumlu yönde ilerlediği savunabilmektedir. Örnek kitlemizde bulunan çalışanların, buldukları kurumlarda pozitif yönde ilişkinin olduğu görülmektedir. Hizmet sektöründe yapılan araştırma sonucunda, takım yaratıcılığına ve hizmet yeniliğine, güçlendirici liderlik ve proaktif kişilik yapısının olumlu yönde etkilediğini görebilmekteyiz. Bununla birlikte kariyer memnuniyeti açısından çalışanların sahip oldukları proaktif kişilik yapısıyla birlikte örgütte daha çok başarılı oldukları ve güçlendirici liderlik tarzında kariyer memnuniyeti açısından çalışanların kendilerini geliştirebilmeleri ve başarılı olmalarında önemli bir liderlik tarzı olduğu sonucuna varabilmekteyiz.

1. INTRODUCTION

Empowering leaders adopt a high-participation management approach by granting authority and responsibility to their employees (Leach et al., 2003). Conceptually, empowerment leadership has a broad definition, because it involves more than making employees participate in the decision-making process. This leadership style consists of the ability to give its subordinates a strong feeling of self-determination, trust, goal setting and self-confidence (Konczak et al., 2000). Empowering leadership creates intrinsic motivation in employee behavior and thus, positive results such as job satisfaction, participation, creativity, job performance and extra role behaviors can be obtained (Humborstad et al., 2014). However, some studies do not have positive results about empowering leadership. It is suggested that leadership can increase the ambiguity of the task due to its focus on high autonomy and power of authority in decision-making, and thus decrease performance (Martin et al., 2013). However, apart from their leadership style as an element of success in organizations, it is also pointed out that the Proactive personality structure of employees also has their own perceptions and beliefs as response to how well they do the job and how much support they receive in the job they do (Liang and Gong, 2013). Employees must be able to use their talents to engage in creative activities. In this, employees need to be supported by the management in their organizations. Employees with proactive personality traits can fulfill their responsibilities when they receive positive support, as they have the ability to solve problems and use resources most effectively (Fuller et al., 2006). Employees with a proactive personality structure can positively effect the individual creativity of their colleagues as an important member of the team for jobs in team spirit. Therefore, the individual creativity of the employees is the building block for team creativity (Drazin et al., 1999). Gong et al. (2013) state that Empowering leadership has an important feature that promotes and supports creativity in the team and encourage a creative culture. According to Schumpeter (1934), innovation is a radical activity that creates a new object. It is also a source of competitive advantage and survival for companies (Merrilees et al., 2011). Salunke et al. (2013) discussed service innovation from interactive and supportive perspectives and it is explained that an interactive innovation among employees within the organization is the place where value creation is started in service concept and design. Supportive innovation is defined as supporting the new value proposition developed within the organization. These conceptualizations show that service innovation turns around process and service. In this respect, Gadrey et al. (1995) classified service innovation as innovations in processes. In this study, the effects of empowering leadership and proactive personality traits on the innovation offered by the firms in the service sector are examined, and the effects on team creativity and career satisfaction variables that play an important role in realizing this innovation are examined.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Empowering Leadership

Empowering leadership is defined as leadership behavior that includes giving employees authority, self-management and decision-making of them, coaching and sharing information with them (Sharma and Kirkman, 2015). For many organizations, the creation of conditions enabling the psychological empowerment of employees is considered important for success. The meaning of the empowering effect of leaders on employees; Reducing procedures by trusting employees' abilities means taking positive responsibilities and providing feedback to employees (Zhang and Bartol, 2010). In the literature, when the researches about employee creativity are examined, an approach that assumes that the creativity activity emerges as a result of the interactions of the characteristics of employees is adopted (Woodman et al., 1993). An important factor that enables this creativity to emerge in existing organizations is empowering leadership (Fineman, 2006). This emphasis has led to an effort to understand how empowering leadership improves the creativity of employees. In the world where the uncertainty and complexity for the future increases with the increasing competition in the service sector, empowering leadership is effective in organizations that have the potential to increase creativity. There are both opportunities and challenges for employees to demonstrate their creativity in being beneficial to organizations (Zhang and Bartol, 2014). However, in order for empowering leadership to be effective on employees, employees must also rely on their own abilities (Ahearne et al., 2005).

To effectively promote the creativity of employees, leaders need to be aware of the individual differences between employees. At the same time, there is a need for both sectoral and cultural evidence about how they influence and empower employees (Forrester, 2000). The interactive perspective of creativity shows that employees avoid uncertainty about trust in leaders and empowering leadership is critical to encourage creativity (Fineman, 2006). Leadership has an important effect on employees' engagement in creative activities (Tierney, 2008). Employees must rely on the leaders decisions and support in order to manage the risks and uncertainties they face (Rousseau et al., 1998). When employees have confidence based on the influence of their leaders, they are more likely to feel truly empowered by their leaders. With the trust of employees in their leaders, creativity activities begin to increase and uncertainty environment begins to decrease. If there is no trust in organizations, that is, when leaders cannot create trust, creativity may begin to decrease in case of high uncertainty avoidance. When considered together, our aim in this research is to investigate how proactive staffing variables in empowering leadership and mediating role are affected by service innovation, team creativity, and career satisfaction.

2.2. Proactive Personality

Proactive personality is the pioneer of encouraging constructive change (Gong et al., 2012) and individual creativity (Fuller and Marler, 2009). Although there are studies in the literature about the positive effects of proactive personality structure, it is emphasized that more studies should be done on

the effects of both creativity and changes (Bateman and Crant, 1993). Barrick and Mount (2005) suggested that “the basic tools that affect behaviors in the working environment are expected to be realized in a positive way with motivation”. Although some studies in the literature examined the mediation variable effect of proactive personality in order to evaluate the importance of trust and knowledge variables (Fuller and Marler, 2009), they have ignored the process of motivation of proactive personality into creativity. Individuals tend to exhibit proactive behaviors after a conscious decision-making process (Bindl et al., 2012). In other words, proactive behaviors should be supported and strengthened by leaders in order to have positive developments in employees' individual behaviors. When its importance is considered, there are few studies with proactive personality structure that examine employee outcomes in explaining the relationship between proactive personality and proactive behaviors (Crant, 2000; Li et al., 2010).

Proactive employees are change-oriented, predicting the consequences that may occur and take action to make constructive changes (Gong et al., 2012). Therefore, the responsibility of change emerges, which is defined as the belief that the individual makes it mandatory (Choi, 2007). However, it should be noted that having a proactive personality structure can be risky. Employees need to consider possible outcomes and consider the next step before engaging in proactive behavior (Grant and Ashford, 2008). It is stated that proactive behaviors and perceptions of employees are encouraged in case of leadership style which has positive effects in organizations (Raub and Liao, 2012). Therefore, it can be explained that developmental feedback positively affects the proactive personality relationship and makes employees feel the responsibility of the change. This study analyzes the effects of both independent and mediation variable effect of proactive personality on team creativity, service innovation and career satisfaction.

2.3. Team Creativity

As a result of the ability of employees or teams to produce new and useful ideas, successful implementation by organizations is called creativity (Gumusluoglu and Ilsev, 2009). The creativity feature may not be available to all individuals because creativity occurs when individuals use their skills (Shalley et al., 2004). Therefore, when the concept of team creativity cannot be used in organizations, it emerges as a problem. In order for organizations to give importance to the concept of team creativity, individuals should be able to use their talents and creativity together (Shalley and Gilson, 2004). Because, if organizations cannot bring together the employees and create an atmosphere of team creativity, it may not be possible to come up with new and useful ideas. Moreover, this situation may prevent the development of new products and / or services (Klijn and Tomic, 2010). The discovery of a product / service does not have to be new to the world, however, it is stated that it should add potential value to an organization and its applicability (Zhou and Ren, 2012). An important step in team creativity activities is the value given to the organization.

As a result of environmental impacts, organizational structures are open to continuous development and change, employees to be active in creativity (Shalley et al., 2004). Employees who

will provide the organization with a competitive advantage and ultimately contribute to their survival will fully support these creative activities. Therefore, it has become a driving force in organizations in terms of the importance of creativity and its effects on team creativity (Anderson et al., 2004). A study by Scott and Bruce in 1994 argues that leadership styles influence creativity; in other words, when leaders lead their employees to develop their creativity skills, they play an important role in team creativity in terms of their knowledge and skills. This type of behavior of leaders increases productivity and innovative behaviors (Owens and Hekman, 2012). If leaders ensure that creativity activities are shared by all employees within the organization, alternative perspectives are developed and employees are included in the decision-making process positive feedback can be obtained in team creativity activities (Amabile et al., 2004). For this purpose, the effects of empowering leadership and proactive personality on team creativity are examined within the framework of the model of research.

2.4. Service Innovation

In the service sector, where intense competition is experienced, the innovation approach of the institutions is effective both in competition and in terms of economic growth (Chesbrough, 2010). In the study of Chesbrough (2003), the need for institutions to innovation; not being behind the technological developments, argues that it comes from the idea of evaluating both environmental changes and internal factors. Service innovation according to a different perspective; is to gain benefits by developing new business models and making improvements in process management (Enz, 2012). In this regard, meeting the demands and needs of stakeholders with the innovation of service, gaining new customers constantly, and gaining competitive advantage with innovations are considered as important factors (West and Bogers, 2014). In the study by Chesbrough et al. (2006), they talked about the importance of innovation in the service sector and why they should use the information capital used in the field of innovation (Kelleher et al., 2012). The transfer of information gained through innovation and changes to innovation can bring a competitive advantage to institutions. Service innovation is important to provide benefits to organizations that implement and develop them, to keep the organization in a dynamic structure and to gain an important advantage in the competitive environment (Toivonen and Tuominen, 2009).

Similarly, In order to be successful in the competitive environment by offering value to stakeholders, organizations need to consider service innovation both in process management and in the successful implementation of business models (Ostrom et al., 2010). Service innovation is described as a complex process consisting of four stages proposed by Edvardsson and Olsson (1996); These are the idea generation phase, the project creation phase of planning to turn thought into reality, the design phase and implementation phase of the new service. These four stages are consistent with Sundbo's (2008) study, which provides a three-stage model for service innovation; The first stage is involvement of actors in service innovation is the stage of developing the idea of service innovation and the third stage is the service is the stage of the market. De Jong et al. (2003) state that successful innovation practice in service organizations should be initiated as idea generation, evaluation, development, testing

and basic activities. To some extent, researchers recommend that service innovation development phases overlap, while others are discussing a more sequential model (Gebauer et al., 2008). In this direction, service innovation is accepted as an organizational mechanism capable of bringing together and mobilizing new and existing resources (Yen et al., 2012). Within the framework of the research model, the effects of empowering leadership and proactive personality structure of the employees on service innovation are analyzed with the findings.

2.5. Career

Career opportunities (preferment, promotion) affect job satisfaction intensively. As a result of the research, it is revealed that the job satisfaction is low and promotion absenteeism of employees who believe that they deserve to be promoted (Savery, 1996; Orpen, 1994). Therefore, organizations need to introduce policies and practices to improve individual career effectiveness of employees. In addition to increasing the material income obtained from the job done, promotion raises the social status of the employees and positively changes their place in the society. If the employees of each level has the opportunity to promote when they are successful, their satisfaction will increase. If all promotion levels in the organization are full, even if the employees succeed, job satisfaction will start to decrease when they cannot find an opportunity to promote (Erdoğan, 1996). Promotion is the assignment of the employee to a higher position, and thus to a more difficult duty. As the employees climb the career ladder, their duties and responsibilities will increase. In other words, employees will begin to gain experience in every new task and responsibility they take. In this way, employees will want to work with new authority and responsibility whenever they gain experience. Employees whose progression and promotion paths are blocked will decrease their efforts and pleasure. In short, promotion decisions are reward decisions with financial and psychological awards. These decisions are vital decisions for the future of the employee, and promotion above all indicates the success of the personnel.

The availability of promotion opportunities affects employee behavior, and as the higher the self-improvement, the more self-confidence of the personnel (Boies and Rothstein, 2002). Promotion is a psychological reward because it provides both strong prestige and opportunity to those who want to have more voice in matters concerning them. The promotion which means more important work, more responsibility and higher social respectability, increases the job satisfaction level of personnel. Especially because there is an increase in wages in promotions at the manager level, job satisfaction is higher in managers than in employees (Luthans, 1973). The social status achieved as a result of the promotion, higher responsibility and higher salary increase is a situation that managers want to achieve. As promotion is a rare occurrence, it increases job satisfaction further. Employees' career options, decisions to move from one job to another, ability to see their future and make specific career choices affect their reactions to their work. Meeting career expectations contributes to low labor turnover, high satisfaction and commitment. Therefore, the needs of individuals within the organization need to be well understood (Igarria et al., 1999). Within this framework, it is aimed to make analyzes based on the

findings obtained in terms of the effects of proactive personality structure and career style on career satisfaction.

2.6. Relations Between Variables

The empowering leadership and service innovation relationship is vital for organizations in the service industry, where competition is intense and highly volatile. Because the organization has to create the psychological infrastructure necessary for the employees to be innovative. In other words, in order for the employees to exhibit innovative behaviors, they need to provide them with a movement area (Amabile et al., 2004).

Employees with proactive personality; They work more actively by taking authority and responsibility, by adopting the work they do, by making sense of the work, by trusting themselves, by feeling competent in the work they do. With the contribution of leadership in the positive direction, proactive employees who are psychologically stronger contribute more to the organization in terms of innovation (Slåtten et al., 2011).

Empowering leaders encourage employees to contribute to improving their business processes by ensuring that they take responsibility for their work. Leaders who can meet these conditions contribute to the emergence of team creativity features in environments where employees are together (Zhang & Bartol, 2010). Empowering leaders have a positive effect on providing career satisfaction for employees by supporting training and development programs for continuous improvement in the organization (Greco et al., 2006).

The ability of leaders to meet the expectations of the employees is of great importance in increasing the performance of the employees and establishing positive relationships with the employees (Chang & Chiang, 2007).

In Kanter's (1988) study, the characteristics of proactive individuals; He states as “anticipating future opportunities and threats, making constructive and profitable decisions in this direction, defending the ideas that are true or believed, and benefiting from the ideas and suggestions of his friends”. Therefore, proactivity; It can be explained that it has a positive effect on innovative behavior, creativity and performance.

Parker and Collins (2010) state that proactive individuals participate positively and statistically in improvement efforts within the company. Based on these, it can be explained that proactive personality causes innovative behavior (Seibert et al., 2001).

In evaluating the contribution of proactivity to performance; It is explained that the best performers in the realization of the goals of the business and the organization are the employees with a proactive personality structure (Thomas et al., 2010).

3. METHODOLOGY

Within the scope of the study, survey were conducted with 483 white-collar employees (administrative personnel) who work in the banking sector. SPSS 25 Program was used to analyze the data. In addition, sobel test and hayes process were performed in mediation variable analysis.

The sample of the research was determined by "easy sampling" and therefore public and private bank employees operating in the marmara region were sampled. A questionnaire was sent online to all administrative staff determined for the purpose of the research and 497 returns were provided. The data of 14 participants who were not filled in as desired in the answers given were not included in the analysis and 483 questionnaires were processed. Since this 483 unit sample has a sufficient sample size for analysis, the data has been analyzed. It was tested whether there was a difference between the answers given by the public and private sector participants and the data could be combined since there was no significant difference between the answers given at the level of 0.05 significance. In fact, if there was a difference between the answers given by the public and private sector employees, the model could be analyzed in two stages with these conditions. The absence of discrepancy was made to make the data stronger by combining it.

The survey questions consists of questions represent five variables. The questions developed by Aheame et al. (2005) and Arnold et.al (2000) (Cronbach's alpha value is 0.87 in the current study) (Cronbach's alpha value is 0.88 in the current study) were used in *empowering leadership scale*. In the *proactive personality scale*, the questions developed by Bateman and Crant (1993) and Seibert et al. (1999) (Cronbach's alpha value is 0.87 in the current study) were used. In *team creativity scale*, the questions in study of Tierney and Farmer in 2002 were used. In *service innovation scale*, questions developed by Swink (2003) were used. In the *career satisfaction scale*, questions developed by Greenhaus et al. (1990) (Cronbach alpha value is 0.84 in the present study) were used.

3.1. Research Aim

In this research, we aim to determine the effects of empowering leadership and proactive personality variables on service innovation, team creativity and career variables on white collar employees working in service sector. The selection of the service sector is the more specific proactive personality and service innovation activities. The reason why the sample group is selected from white-collar employees is that they have a role in proactivity, creativity and innovation. Therefore, our research objective is to evaluate and analyze service companies both for leadership and employees. To test the propositions, a field survey was conducted using the survey.

3.2. Findings

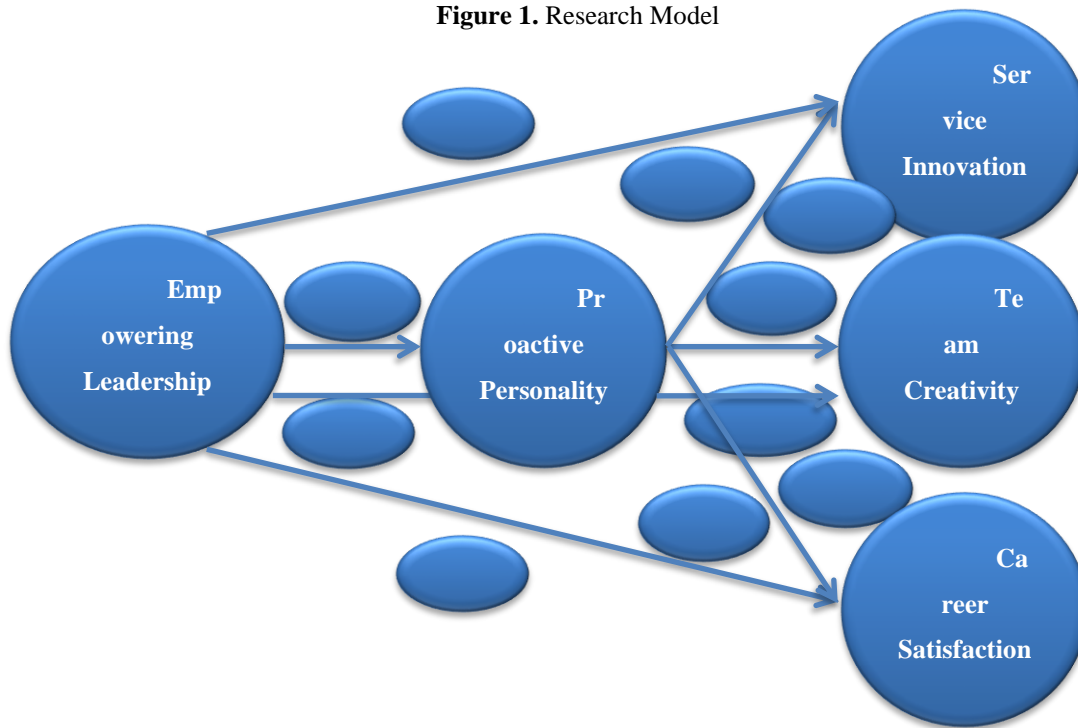
The survey was conducted with total of 483 employees from Public (232) and Private Sector (251) in the Marmara Region. 223 female and 260 male white-collars answered to our survey. 8.7% (42 Participants) of the participants had Vocational School/Associate Degree, 67.5% (326 Participants) of them had Bachelor, 23.8% of them had (115 Participants) Graduate Degrees. Areas of activity of the

institutions where the participants work are, 122 participants work in the “National”, 223 participants work in the “Regional” and, 138 participants work in the “International” activities. In terms of the level of achieving the goals they set in their professional careers; it is stated that 52 Employees “Very Low”; 55 Employees “Low”; 168 Employees “Moderate”; 146 Employees “High”; 62 employees “Very High”.

3.3. Research Framework

In the research model determined as a result of literature research, independent variable is empowering leadership, mediation variable is proactive personality, dependent variables are service innovation, team creativity and career was applied. In the research, since the quantitative approach is adopted as a statistical method, the data obtained are analyzed. The analyzes were made according to the relationships between the variables in the research model (Thomas et al., 2015).

Figure 1. Research Model



Hypotheses;

H1: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on proactive personality.

H2: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on service innovation.

H3: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on career satisfaction.

H4: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on team creativity.

H5: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on service innovation.

H6: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on career satisfaction.

H7: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on team creativity.

H8: In organizations, the relationship between empowerment leadership and service innovation has a medaiton variable effect of proactive personality.

H9: In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and career satisfaction has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.

H10: In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and team creativity has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.

4. ANALYSES

Factor Analysis is used to provide clues about the structure of the relationship between many variables which are thought to be related (İslamoğlu, 2011). Three methods are used to determine whether the data set is suitable for factor analysis. These are the formation of correlation matrix, Bartlett test and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) tests (Ural and Kılıç, 2013). If KMO test sample size is 0.7-0.8 good, 0.5-0.7 medium and should be at least 0.5, if less than 0.5, more data should be collected. Since KMO value; 0.921, exceeds 0.50 and Bartlett's test Sig. value is significant 0.000, the data set was found suitable for factor analysis.

In our study, the variables prepared according to the 5-point Likert scale were measured with a 32-question survey. Variables, were subjected to factor analysis of proactive personality, service innovation, career satisfaction, empowering leadership, team creativity. As a result of factor analysis 8 questions do not show factor distribution, the remaining 24 questions are distributed to 5 factors:

Table 1. Rotated Component Matrix^a

Rotated Component Matrix ^a					
	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
PP16. I am very good at turning problems into opportunities.	0.834				
PP15. I like to challenge the status quo.	0.810				
PP14. If I believe in an idea, it can not prevent me.	0.774				
PP13. I love being a champion for my ideas even for others' opposition.	0.762				
PP12. I tend to allow others to take the initiative to start new projects.	0.741				
PP11. I try to create a difference in my community and perhaps in the world.	0.711				
SI1. At the Institution where I work, we develop our current services.		0.756			
SI2. At the Institution where I work, we develop our new services.		0.728			
SI3. At the Institution where I work, we take the services of other companies as examples to improve our new services.		0.646			
SI4. At the institution where I work, our new services are developed according to customer requirements.		0.597			
CS4. I am pleased with my progress towards achieving my development goals.			0.679		
CS5. I am pleased with my progress in achieving my goals for the development of new skills.			0.652		
CS3. I am pleased with my progress towards achieving my income goals.			0.580		
CS1. I am pleased with the success of my career.			0.555		
CS2. I am pleased with my progress towards achieving my overall career goals.			0.507		

EL3. My manager believes that I can undertake challenging tasks.				0.783	
EL1. My manager helps me understand how my goals relate to the Company's.				0.781	
EL2. My manager makes many decisions with me.				0.774	
EL4. My agent makes me do my own way.				0.743	
EL5. They listen my working group's ideas and suggestions.				0.651	
TC2. At the institution where I work, I think that I am good at producing new ideas.					0.766
TC3. I think that I am a master at developing the ideas of others at the institution where I work.					0.750
TC4. At the institution where I work, I am good at finding creative ways to solve problems.					0.706
TC1. At the institution where I work, I am confident about my ability to solve problems in a creative way.					0.659
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.					
a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.					

PP: Proactive Personality, SI: Service Innovation, CS: Career Satisfaction, EL: Empowering Leadership, TC: Team Creativity

Reliability analyses for reliability and validity of scale developed in order to determine whether survey questions ensure integrity to explain or to query to a homogeneous structure and Cronbach alpha value, reliability coefficient, must be greater than $\alpha=0,70$ for social sciences (Hair et al., 2014; Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994).

Table 2. Reliability Analysis

Variables	Number of Questions	Cronbach Alfa (α) Values
Empowering Leadership	5	.893
Proactive Personality	6	.915
Team Creativity	4	.832
Career Satisfaction	5	.857
Service Innovation	4	.838

When the reliability table was examined, it was found that the values of Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient were highly reliable for all factors. Since the reliability coefficients are very high, there is no need to cancel any survey questions.

Before regression analysis, correlation analysis is carried out to test the direction and strength of the relationships among the variables in the research model (Kalaycı, 2006). It is carried out to explain and interpret the relationships between variables statistically. The feature of the correlation analysis is that there are values between -1 and +1 among the variables and analysis is made according to these values.

Table 3. Correlations

Correlations						
		Proaktif Personality	Empowering Leadership	Service Innovation	Career Satisfaction	Team Creativity
Proaktif Personality	Pearson Correlation	1	,587**	,498**	,514**	,464**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	301,830	174,132	136,820	139,187	120,342
	Covariance	0,909	0,524	0,412	0,419	0,362
	N	483	483	483	483	483
Empowering Leadership	Pearson Correlation	,587**	1	,570**	,488**	,486**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000		0,000	0,000	0,000
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	174,132	291,996	154,052	130,084	123,875
	Covariance	0,524	0,880	0,464	0,392	0,373
	N	483	483	483	483	483
Service Innovation	Pearson Correlation	,498**	,570**	1	,702**	,597**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000		0,000	0,000
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	136,820	154,052	250,291	173,065	140,802
	Covariance	0,412	0,464	0,754	0,521	0,424
	N	483	483	483	483	483
Career Satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	,514**	,488**	,702**	1	,696**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000		0,000
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	139,187	130,084	173,065	242,873	161,777
	Covariance	0,419	0,392	0,521	0,732	0,487
	N	483	483	483	483	483
Team Creativity	Pearson Correlation	,464**	,486**	,597**	,696**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	120,342	123,875	140,802	161,777	222,436
	Covariance	0,362	0,373	0,424	0,487	0,670
	N	483	483	483	483	483

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

As a result of the correlation analysis, it can be explained that the relationships between the variables are positive and they affect each other positively. After the correlation analysis, regression analysis was performed to test and analyze the hypotheses. The regression analysis results showing the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable except for the mediation variable effect are shown in table 4.

Table 4. Results of Regression Analysis of the Effect of Independent Variables (IV) on Dependent Variables (DV)

IV	DV	Standart β	Sig.	Adjusted R ²	F Value
Empowering Leadership	Proactive Personality	.587***	000	.342	173.609
Empowering Leadership	Service Innovation	.570***	000	.323	159.169
Empowering Leadership	Career Satisfaction	.488***	000	.236	103.732
Empowering Leadership	Team Creativity	.486***	000	.234	102.393
Proactive Personality	Service Innovation	.498***	000	.246	109.039
Proactive Personality	Career Satisfaction	.514***	000	.262	118.897
Proactive Personality	Team Creativity	.464***	000	.213	91.037

*: p<0.05

** : p<0.01

***: p<0.001

As a result of regression analysis, it is seen that effects of empowering leadership and proactive personality variables are positive and significant by sig. values.

As can be seen in Table 4, as a result of the regression analysis, it can be explained that the independent variables have a positive effect on the dependent variables. Table 5 describes whether hypotheses are supported according to regression analysis results.

Table 5. Hypotheses Results

Hypotheses	Supported / Unsupported	Significance Level (Sig.)
H1: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on proactive personality.	Supported	P<0.001
H2: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on service innovation.	Supported	P<0.001
H3: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on career satisfaction.	Supported	P<0.001
H4: Empowering leadership in organizations has an impact on team creativity.	Supported	P<0.001
H5: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on service innovation.	Supported	P<0.001
H6: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on career satisfaction.	Supported	P<0.001
H7: Proactive personality in organizations has effect on team creativity.	Supported	P<0.001

As a result of the hypothesis tests performed among the variables mentioned in research model, apart from the effect of mediation variable, hypotheses were supported by regression analysis. The relationships between the variables were statistically significant after regression analysis.

Mediation Variable Effect in Research Model: In research model, in order to determine the effect of the mediation variable (MV), especially proactive personality has an mediation variable effect on relationship between empowering leadership independent variable (IV) and team creativity, service

innovation, career satisfaction dependent variables (DV); whether it has effect on the hypothesis established as a result of the analyzes.

Table 6. Results of Regression Analysis of Mediation Variable (MV) Effect

Regression	IV	DV	Standart β	Sig.	Adjusted R ²	F Value
IV	Empowering Leadership	Service Innovation	.424***	.000	.323	159.169
MV	Proactive Personality		.249***	.000	.362	95.046
IV	Empowering Leadership	Career Satisfaction	.285***	.000	.236	103.732
MV	Proactive Personality		.347***	.000	.313	76.778
IV	Empowering Leadership	Team Creativity	.326***	.000	.234	102.393
MV	Proactive Personality		.273***	.000	.281	65.863

*: p<0.05

** :p<0.01

***:p<0.001

In order to explain the effect of the mediation variable, the variable between the independent variable and the dependent variable must be a measured variable. One of the tests measuring the effect of this mediation variable is the sobel (1982) test. Analyzing the effect of the mediation variable with Sobel test is calculated using the uncorrected regression coefficients and standard error values of the related variables. In 1995, MacKinnon, Warsi, and Dwyer spread statistical methods to evaluate the effect of mediation variables. There are two main versions of the sobel test as Aroian (1944/1947) and Goodman (1960).

Table 7. Mediation Variable (MV) Effect Analysis with Sobel Test

Independent Variable	Empowering Leadership		Input:		Test statistic:	Std. Error:	p-value:
		a	0.458	Sobel test:	4.37286702	0.03093897	0.00001226
Mediation Variable	Proactive Personality	b	0.333	Aroian test:	4.36180356	0.03101744	0.0000129
Dependent Variable	Service Innovation	Sa	0.109	Goodman test:	4.3840151	0.0308603	0.00001165
		Sb	0.029				
Mediation variable; If the p value is less than <0.05, we can explain that there is an effect between the variables							
Independent Variable	Empowering Leadership		Input:		Test statistic:	Std. Error:	p-value:
		a	0.458	Sobel test:	4.02083258	0.03127611	0.00005799
Mediation Variable	Proactive Personality	b	0.381	Aroian test:	4.01046819	0.03135694	0.0000606
Dependent Variable	Career Satisfaction	Sa	0.109	Goodman test:	4.03127774	0.03119507	0.00005547
		Sb	0.034				
Mediation variable; If the p value is less than <0.05, we can explain that there is an effect between the variables.							
Independent Variable	Empowering Leadership		Input:		Test statistic:	Std. Error:	p-value:
		a	0.547	Sobel test:	4.50938201	0.03105969	0.0000065
Mediation Variable	Proactive Personality	b	0.338	Aroian test:	4.49806134	0.03113786	0.00000686
Dependent Variable	Team Creativity	Sa	0.039	Goodman test:	4.52078859	0.03098132	0.00000616
		Sb	0.035				
Mediation variable; If the p value is less than <0.05, we can explain that there is an effect between the variables.							

The effect of the mediation variable was tested with the hayes process macro program developed by Hayes (2017). In his researches, Hayes (2017) made a SPSS program through a macro; has developed a data analysis method that examines the effects of mediation variables.

Table 8. Mediation Analysis with Hayes Process

H8 Hayes Process Analysis; In organizations, the relationship between empowerment leadership and service innovation has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.	H9 Hayes Process Analysis; In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and career satisfaction has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.
PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.4	PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.4
Model : 4	Model : 4
Y : Service_	Y : Team_Cre
X : Empoweri	X : Empoweri
M : Proactiv	M : Proactiv
Sample	Sample
Size: 333	Size: 333
Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI
Proactiv ,1354 ,0343 ,0664 ,2007	Proactiv ,1400 ,0331 ,0741 ,2041
Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI
Proactiv ,1559 ,0390 ,0776 ,2299	Proactiv ,1710 ,0399 ,0907 ,2469
Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI
Proactiv ,1462 ,0374 ,0710 ,2169	Proactiv ,1604 ,0382 ,0833 ,2327
H10 Hayes Process Analysis; In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and team creativity has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.	
PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.4	
Model : 4	
Y : Career_S	
X : Empoweri	
M : Proactiv	
Sample	
Size: 333	
Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	
Proactiv ,1856 ,0349 ,1163 ,2538	
Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	
Proactiv ,2170 ,0400 ,1386 ,2942	
Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:	
Effect BootSE BootLLCI BootULCI	
Proactiv ,2035 ,0384 ,1269 ,2773	

If the Hayes process analysis has a value of “0” between BootLLCI and BootULCI, the mediation effect cannot be mentioned. As a result of the analysis, it is confirmed that the proactive personality mediation variable has a significant effect on the hayes process test as well as the sobel test.

Hypothesis results;

Table 9. Supported / Unsupported Status of Research Hypotheses Representing Mediation Variable Effect

Hypotheses	Supported / Unsupported	Significance Level (Sig.)
<i>H8: In organizations, the relationship between empowerment leadership and service innovation has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.</i>	Supported	<i>P<0.001</i>
<i>H9: In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and career satisfaction has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.</i>	Supported	<i>P<0.001</i>
<i>H10: In organizations, the relationship between empowering leadership and team creativity has a mediation variable effect of proactive personality.</i>	Supported	<i>P<0.001</i>

In our research model, where the effect of the proactive personality variable was measured, it was found that the effect of the proactive personality variable was the relationship between empowering leadership and service innovation, career satisfaction and team creativity.

5. DISCUSSION

In some studies, it is emphasized that there are complex results between employee outcomes and the empowering effect of leadership (Ahearne et al., 2005; Fineman, 2006). In 2010, Zhan and Bartol argued that there is a positive relationship between the creativity of employees and the empowering effect of leadership. It is suggested that empowerment leadership can be effective in increasing creative activities in employees with proactive personality structure and especially in employees who do not tend to creativity. In intensive working environments, a positive leadership style is required for the leadership style to positively affect employees' attitudes, motivations and behaviors. For this reason, empowering leadership style has the characteristics to create a positive climate within the organization in an intensive working environment. This feature can provide advantages for organizations to maintain and maintain competitive positions in their sectors. In organizations with empowering leadership, employees exhibit behaviors beyond formal working roles and tend to work meaningfully and independently (Martin et al., 2013). The analysis findings obtained within the scope of our research model are also in this direction. Also, some studies show positive effects of empowering leadership on the work outcomes of some subordinates (Seibert et al., 2011).

The importance of leadership role to creativity will also be important in making team creativity effective. Then, creativity can be perceived as an important role and status for employees, as the leadership role places on creativity. In individuals with a proactive personality structure, creativity activities become more active. Therefore, the proactive personality structure manifests itself in the works that are acted as a team and the importance of team activities in obtaining positive results emerges. Gong et al. (2013) state that supportive leadership style is positively associated with team creativity in the success of innovation. As a result of the analysis of the findings obtained within the scope of the research model, it is concluded in this direction. In the organizational environments where creativity activities are supported, the development of new forms of work facilitates their work within the organization

(West and Farr, 1990). Chen et al. (2011) argue that service innovation is not only related to the creation of new service processes, but also that there is intense competition due to the widespread use of innovation in research. For this reason, leadership style and participation of employees in innovation are important in organizational structure.

In the research model, when the relations between the variables are examined, it is seen that the most important characteristics of organizations lie in the harmony between the leader and the employees. As long as the relations between the leader and the employees are positive, they can argue that their organizational performance is progressing positively. It is seen that the employees in our sample group have a positive relationship in their institutions. In the intense competition environment, there is the fact that the procedures that organizations set out in order to ensure the continuity of the organization are defined correctly. This situation can make an advantageous position in the competitive environment in terms of the sustainability principle of institutions. Because ordering in an institution where the procedures are always welcomed by employees is important for the institutions.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the study conducted in the service sector within the scope of the research model, previous studies are supported to explain the relationship between the outputs of the employees and the strengthening effect of leadership. As the research on the effects of the empowering effect of leadership on employees and the organization is at an early stage, it is aimed to guide future studies. A leader who is interested in individual characteristics and differences needs to learn the creativity skills of the employees and coordinate them by combining different abilities to contribute to team creativity (Basadur, 2004). When the results of the analysis are considered, it can be accepted that empowering leadership style is an important leadership in bringing together different talents.

Both the proactive personality structure and the creative behaviors of the employees are important for the innovation activities of the service sector institutions (Reynoso et al., 2015). Because the organizational structures that do not attach importance to the performance and development of the employees within the organization, they fall back without adapting to the conditions in the competitive environment and have to leave the sector. Organizational structures that attach importance to the development of employees and provide opportunities to discover their talents can be more active in adapting to the competitive conditions in the sector. Particularly, providing career opportunities that employees attach importance to their own future within the framework of transparent and fair rules connects employees more to the organization and can engage in activities that positively reflect the organization's performance.

As a result of the research conducted in the service sector, we can see that strengthening leadership and proactive personality structure positively affect team creativity and service innovation. In addition, we can conclude that employees are more successful in the organization with their proactive personality structure in terms of career satisfaction and empowering leadership is important in terms of

career satisfaction in self-development of employees and to be successful and in terms of career satisfaction. In order for future studies to be better and to create qualitative studies and to create new theoretical concepts, it is necessary to focus more on the different effects of leadership styles on employees. In particular, it will be possible to obtain new concepts that may arise due to cultural differences between regions, especially in the field of management and organization, but also in the field of social sciences. The problems that arise in working life help to create new leadership and management styles as well as academically new concepts. By examining the problems experienced in working life more academically and with priority, it will be possible to gain new concepts in terms of theoretical and analysis that may contribute to the world literature in future studies.

7. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

With the technological developments in the world are experiencing huge and rapid changes. Globalization is one of the most important consequences of this change. Global change has affected the world as well as business life and has increased in competition among companies. Companies have started to show interest in new management approaches in order to survive in this competitive environment. Personnel empowerment, one of these new management approaches, emerged in the 80s and was quickly accepted. Thanks to empowering, it is possible to increase productivity, reduce costs, shorten the decision-making process and adapt more easily to rapidly changing environmental conditions. In the work environment where personnel empowerment management is applied, there are practices that will make employees feel more valuable. Thanks to these practices, both employee and organization achieve significant gains.

When the sectoral weight in the world economy is analyzed, it is seen that the share of the service sector is increasing. In this study, the importance of proactive personality structure, team creativity and service innovation is emphasized. However, it is useful to examine the effects of proactive personality structure and team creativity on different working groups in different sectors together with empowering leadership style. At the same time, meta analysis should be given importance. Because cultural and sectoral differences can be identified more easily by analyzing similar studies in different countries. With the success of service innovation with changing market conditions, it will be possible to gain competitive advantage and provide a higher quality service. Therefore, there is a need for studies in various institutions in the field of service innovation.

As a result, the good performance of employees in the success of an organization in the service sector stands out. In order to perform well in their employees, they should see themselves as the owners of the workplace. The way to achieve this is to provide a working environment in which employees feel competent and initiative and can influence output. It is also possible for leaders to achieve such an environment by applying empowering leadership behaviors.

8. MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

It is an indisputable fact that there is a need for individuals who have high intrinsic motivations, who are emotionally committed to their organization, are satisfied with their work, share their knowledge with their colleagues, and work with creative and high performance. Therefore, in order to achieve the desired employee behavior and high employee performance, business managers should be more examples of their employees, coaching them, sharing their knowledge with them, interacting with them, paying attention to them and making them participate in decisions. In other words, managers should make efforts to increase empowering leader behaviors.

Employees with a proactive personality structure and the leaders responsible for this implementation process have important roles in strengthening team creativity. The help and support of the leaders in this regard is very important. Leaders will be able to focus on top-level issues that are vital rather than dealing with detail-demanding work, as they do not perceive empowerment of employees as a threat to themselves, as opposed to giving them the power to make decisions. It is necessary to establish an organizational culture in which employees can always feel strong, participate in the decision-making process, obtain high-level information about the goals and vision of the business and receive unconditional support from their superiors at all times.

Achieving the expected positive results by successfully applying the reinforcing leadership style is possible by adapting subordinates, managers and organizational structure accordingly. Establishing an appropriate organizational climate for the implementation of empowering leader behaviors in organizations, providing continuous training to employees, the establishment of an information system that allows information sharing and open communication channels in all directions, providing the necessary resources to the employees for their work, creating an atmosphere of trust in the organization, performance evaluation, feedback and development of reward systems and failure to be seen as an opportunity to learn should be paid attention.

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THE DYNAMIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN US AND EUROPEAN ECONOMIC POLICY
UNCERTAINTIES AND SELECTED MACROECONOMIC VARIABLES IN TURKEY

ABD VE AVRUPA'NIN EKONOMİK POLİTİKA BELİRSİZLİKLERİ İLE TÜRKİYE'DE
SEÇİLMİŞ MAKROEKONOMİK DEĞİŞKENLER ARASINDAKİ DİNAMİK
ETKİLEŞİMLERİN ANALİZİ

Mustafa ÖZER¹, Merve KOCAMAN²

1. Professor Dr., Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, Turkey, muozer@anadolu.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9852-8441>
2. Research Assistant, Department of Economics, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, Turkey, mervvealtin@anadolu.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5708-6242>

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of economic policy uncertainties of EU (EPUEU) and US (EPUUS) on selected macroeconomic variables of Turkey, such as interest rate, stock prices, consumer price index, industrial production index, exchange rate by using ARDL bounds testing approach and monthly data over the period of 2002 January to 2015 December. According to results of the study, an increase in EPUUS causes a statistically significant decrease in industrial production in the long-run and an increase in consumer prices. On the other hand, an increase in EPUEU leads to increase in industrial production. Furthermore, the results show that no matter what the source of the policy uncertainties are, financial indicators of the Turkish economy are not significantly affected by changes in economic policy uncertainties of both EU and US. The results of the Granger causality tests indicate presence of both short-run and long-run causal relations between variables, particularly short-run causalities from EPUEU and EPUUS to industrial production reinforcing the results of ARDL estimates. Thus, Turkish policymakers should take into account of rising EU and US policy uncertainties when forming economic policies.

Keywords: *Economic Policy Uncertainty, Macroeconomic Performance, Time Series Analysis,*

Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Avrupa Birliği (EPUEU) ve ABD (EPUUS) iktisadi politika belirsizliklerinin, Türkiye'nin, faiz oranı, hisse senedi fiyatı, tüketici fiyat endeksi, sanai üretim endeksi, döviz kuru gibi seçilmiş makroekonomik değişkenleri üzerindeki etkilerini; 2002 Ocak-2015 Aralık dönemine ait aylık veriler ve ARDL sınır testi yaklaşımını kullanarak incelemektir. Çalışmadan elde edilen ampirik sonuçlara göre, EPUUS, uzun dönemde, Türkiye'de ekonomik faaliyetin ölçülmesinde bir gösterge olan sanai üretimini azaltırken, tüketici fiyatlarında artışa neden olmaktadır. Öte yandan, EPUEU'daki artış, sanayi üretiminde artışa neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca, sonuçlar, Türkiye ekonomisinin finansal göstergelerinin, politika belirsizliğinin kaynağı ne olursa olsun, politika belirsizliklerinden önemli ölçüde etkilenmediğini göstermektedir. Granger nedensellik test sonuçları ise hem kısa hem de uzun dönemde, değişkenler arasında nedensellik ilişkilerinin varlığına işaret etmektedir. Özellikle EPUEU ve EPUUS'tan endüstriyel üretime kısa dönemde nedenselliklerin olması ARDL modelinin tahmin sonuçlarını da desteklemektedir. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'de politika yapıcılarının politika oluştururken, AB ve ABD politika belirsizliklerini dikkate almaları uygulanacak politikaların başarısı açısından önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Ekonomi Politika Belirsizliği, Makroekonomik Performans, Zaman Serisi Analizi,*

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of economic policy uncertainties of EU (EPUEU) and US (EPUUS) on selected macroeconomic variables of Turkey, such as interest rate, stock exchange, consumer price index, industrial production index, exchange rate.

Method

Firstly, to test the stationarity of variables, we carry out Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF), Philips Perron (PP) and breakpoint unit root tests. After seeing that except for the economic policy uncertainty variables, all the variables are stationary at their first differences, we used Pesaran's (2001) ARDL approach to investigate the existence of long run relationships among variables and whether the variables are integrated or not. Then we used Engle Granger (1987)'s ECM based Granger causality test to detect the existence of short and long run causality.

Findings and Conclusions

ARDL long run coefficients indicate that an increase in EPUUS causes a statistically significant decrease in industrial production, which is a proxy to measure of economic activity, in Turkey. Also, it causes an increase in consumer prices. On the other hand, an increase in EPUEU brings about to increase in industrial production. Furthermore, the results show that no matter what the source of the policy uncertainties are, financial indicators of the Turkish economy are not significantly affected by changes in economic policy uncertainties of both EU and US. The results of the Granger causality tests in both short-run and long-run indicate presence of causal relations between variables, particularly short-run causalities from EPUEU and EPUUS to industrial production reinforcing the results of ARDL estimates. Thus, both ARDL and Granger causality test results show that rising uncertainties in EU and USA creating effects on economic activities in Turkey, which is Turkish policymakers should be aware of.

1. INTRODUCTION

To increase the investment and accelerate the growth, macroeconomic policies at the “right” levels are not enough. Uncertainty about the future policies should also be minimized (Aizenman and Marion, 1993: 1). As indicated in Sum (2012), since EPU affects the perception and behavior of market participants in the goods and capital markets, examining the effects of policy uncertainties on real economic indicators has a great deal of crucial implications. Especially, if we examine the issue from the perspective of the emerging market economies such as Turkey, it can be more interesting because of the fact that they are affected not only by their own policy uncertainties but also by economic policy uncertainties of other countries, especially of USA and European Union.

Starting from the early 1980s and accelerated with the liberalization of foreign capital accounts in 1989, Turkey’s economy has been almost fully integrated into global markets, especially financial markets. This increased integration of Turkey’s economy has made the Turkey’s economy vulnerable to different type of external shocks including foreign economic policy uncertainty (hereafter, EPU). Turkey’s interaction with major developed economies in terms of exchanging the goods and services and involving heavy financial transactions and heavy reliance of Turkey’s industrial sector to imports has created a perception among the academics, policy maker and market professional that ‘when USA and Europe sneeze Turkey catches a cold’. Thus, the potential negative effect of external EPU shocks on domestic economic activity is an important issue for countries like Turkey.

The latest global crises has proven that this impact especially becomes the main concern of policy makers, market professionals and academics during turmoil times renewing interest in the economic impact of policy uncertainty and leading to a number of empirical investigations to examine the effect of policy uncertainty shocks on a large set of economic variables such growth, employment and inflation (Arouri et al., 2016: 136).

It is true that because of the nature of policy decision-making and implementation processes, economic policies typically can create a significant amount of uncertainty which has high power of imposing profound impacts on the financial markets and real economy. As is indicated in Gilchrist et al. (2014) and Caldara et al. (2016), the economic uncertainty can also affect financial conditions and hence the real economy. Moreover, as it is found it in Gilchrist et al. (2010) and Pastor and Veronesi (2012), the policy uncertainty can cause an increase in the cost of finance, lowering investment and intensifying economic contraction.

Adverse effects of uncertainty on economic growth first brought up by Bernanke (1983). Bernanke (1983) indicated that in case of facing with uncertainty, firms prefer to reduce investments and wait for further information since investment costs are irreversible. The construction of EPU index by Baker et al. (2012) has accelerated the studies investigating the effects of EPU such as Sum and Fanta (2012), Antonakakis et al. (2013), Balcilar et al. (2013), Kang and Ratti (2013), Lam and Zhang (2014), Johnson and Lee (2014), Karnizova and Li (2014), Amengual and Xiu (2014), Klößner and Sekkel

(2014), Bloom (2014), Wang et al. (2015) and Brogaard and Detzel (2015). Lastly, Baker et al. (2015) argued, recent global financial crisis has proven that the uncertainties about US and European fiscal, regulatory and monetary policies contributed to steep economic decline, especially causing significant decline in the growth rates of emerging markets.

With this study, we aim to contribute this growing literature by researching the impacts of EPU of US and EU on Turkish economy, particularly selected macroeconomic variables, by using ARDL Bounds testing approach. Since the Turkish economy is an open economy, external shocks including EPU originating from US and EU may affect the country's economy. Furthermore, any increase in EPUEU may affect imports from Turkey, since it is affecting member countries' consumption and investment decisions and EU is the most important market for Turkish exporters (44.5% of the Turkey's exports are consist of exports to EU). Thus, we expect that Turkey's production, employment and other macroeconomic variables would be affected by changes in EPUEU and EPUUS.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 explains how foreign EPU shocks transmitted into domestic economy. Section 3 presents the brief literature review. Section 4 explains the methodology used in the study. Section 5 presents empirical data of the study. Section 6 presents discussions based on the empirical results. Finally, section 7 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2. THE CHANNELS OF TRANSMISSION OF ECONOMIC POLICY UNCERTAINTY SHOCKS INTO DOMESTIC ECONOMY

To understand the channels of transmission of external EPU shocks of US and EU on Turkish economy, we have to first explain how heightened uncertainty in US and EU will transmitted to domestic economies through their effects on key macroeconomic variables such as employment, consumption, investment and growth. According to Ndou et al. (2017), rise in economic policy uncertainties should be considered one of the key factors responsible for the decline in global trade and economic growth. Even IMF sources suggest that EPU spillovers occur through trade channel and can have potential adverse effects on economic activity and import demand. When macroeconomic uncertainty disappears, we should expect recovery in investment and consumption of durable goods. On the other hand, heightened uncertainty can cause a significant rise in unemployment and a decrease in inflation which implies that uncertainty shocks affects the economy via the aggregate demand channel. Thus, decline in the demand for imports resulted from adverse foreign aggregate demand shocks can deteriorate economic activity of the exporting countries. Besides these effects of EPU shocks, it can cause depreciation of the exchange rate of the Turkish Lira to the US dollar and Euro which causes an extra cost for import-based producers that leads cost inflation in the country.

EPU also has a potential to increase global risk aversion and can be the major source of sudden booms and deeps in financial markets, on the strength of sudden and significant increase in capital outflows from emerging market economies such as Turkey and Brazil. As a result, we can expect temporary reduction in investment spending which negatively affects output. EPU shocks can also tighten the credit and financial conditions. Moreover, the composition of capital flows is affected by EPU. We know that the important one for the credit and financial condition is the composition of capital flows. External EPU shocks are inversely related to equity inflows. That is, heightened EPU deters equity flows into the domestic economy. Moreover, other countries' economic policy uncertainties can have negative effects on capital inflows (Ndou et al, 2017: 42). Thus, heightened EPU can cause a significant fall in the capital flows into Turkish financial markets creating adverse effect on economic growth. Obviously, this also negatively affects domestic price and financial stability.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to the neoclassical growth theory, the policy uncertainty should not have any impact on the long run growth rate of per capita output implying that the policy shocks only create short term temporary effects on the economy. However, the endogenous growth theory concludes that the policies and policy disturbances can create permanent effect on the growth (Aizenman and Marion, 1993:2).

Empirical studies of the policy uncertainty's effects on the economy is dating back to the eighties with Bernanke (1983). With the onset of the global financial crisis on 2008, the interest of such effect has reemerged (Dakhlaoui and Aloui, 2016: 143).

Aizenman and Marion (1993) and Hassett and Metcalf (1999) searched the effect of fiscal policy uncertainty on investment decision. To represent the fiscal policy uncertainty, they used tax policy uncertainty and they concluded that increasing uncertainty retards firm-level investment and leads to lower levels of investments and growth. By using simulated method of moments and firm level data, Bloom (2009) also concluded that higher uncertainty brings about firms to temporarily pause their investment and hiring.

Byrne and Davis (2004) estimated the impacts of monetary policy uncertainties on non-residential fixed investment by decomposing the uncertainty as permanent and temporary inflation uncertainty. They concluded that temporary component of inflation uncertainty has larger negative effect on investment than the permanent one has.

By using 25 less developed countries' data, Lopez (1989) found that investment and real income growth are negatively affected by real exchange rate instability (Rodrik, 1991: 19). Also, by using monthly data between January 1973 and September 2008 and 926 firm, Gilchrist et al (2009) found that an anticipated increase in uncertainty generates a cyclical downturn by raising the price of credit risk that also lowers aggregate investment spending.

With using two state regime switching model, Ozoguz (2009) found a negative relationship between EPU and stock returns. Also, Dzielinski (2012) constructed a special uncertainty index and

found that high degree of uncertainty results with decline in stock returns in US. Pastor and Veronesi (2012) found that government policy uncertainty has negative effect on stock prices. Kang and Ratti (2013) found that an increase in EPU reduces real stock returns in Canada and in Europe. With constructing a dynamic conditional correlation (DCC) model, Antonakakis et al. (2013) found that increased EPU causes lower stock returns and increases stock market volatility in US. Brogaard and Detzel (2015) found that EPU is an crucial risk factor for the US equities.

Also, the effect of one specific countries' EPU's (especially EPUUS) on other countries macroeconomic indicators is one of the widely searched topics. Colombo (2013) concludes that EPUUS influences European aggregates more than Euro-area policy uncertainty does. Klößner and Sekkel (2014) demonstrates that EPUUS spills over to influence other developed countries.

Sum's (2012a) study investigates whether there is an effect of EPUUS on the returns on stock markets in the BRIC countries. With using Granger causality test, he concluded that the EPUUS statistically significantly and negatively affect stock market returns in Brazil, India and Russia. However, although stock returns in China are negatively affected by the EPUUS, this effect is not statistically significant.

For Turkey, one of the first studies that examines the effects of policy uncertainties is done by Conway (1988) for the period of 1962-1986. His findings indicate that uncertainty causes a negative effect on transport, manufacturing, and housing sectors. The stronger effect is observed in manufacturing investment (Rodrik, 1991: 20).

One of the recent studies for Turkey is done by Sum (2012b). He researched the effect of EPUEU on selected developed and developing countries' stock market performance including Turkey. He concluded that EPUEU negatively affects all stock market returns in the EU, Croatia, Norway, Russia, Switzerland, Ukraine and Turkey.

4. METHODOLOGY

To see the cointegration relationship between the variables, many approaches has been developed like Engle and Granger's (1987) methodology which depends on the residuals, Phillips and Hansen's (1990) methodology that based on modified ordinary least square procedures and Johansen's (1996) multivariate cointegration analysis and Johansen and Juselius's (1990) maximum likelihood methods. These techniques require that all series have same ordered integrations. On the other hand, recently developed Pesaran et al.'s (2001) autoregressive-distributed lag (ARDL) approach allows that regressors may be stationary in levels (I(0)) or the first differenced (I(1)). Besides, ARDL Bounds testing approach provides super consistent results even in a small sample case and not suffering from endogeneity problem. Therefore, in this study, to obtain the long run relationship among the series, Pesaran's (2001) ARDL Bounds testing approach is used.

Firstly, both traditional unit root tests of ADF and PP as well as Breakpoint unit root test are used to see that variables have a mix of degree of integration and none of them are integrated of order

greater than one. Knowing the fact that variables have different degree of integration of one and zero, adopting the ARDL Bounds testing approach is decided to examine the dynamic relations among the variables. After carrying out this cointegration test, Granger causality test taking into account of short and long run relations among the variables is performed.

To implement ARDL Bounds testing approach, first the unrestricted error correction models are formed (UECM) as follow:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LIPI_SA_t = & \beta_{11} + \sum_{i=1}^{n1} \alpha_{1i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n2} \alpha_{2i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n3} \alpha_{3i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n4} \alpha_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n5} \alpha_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n6} \alpha_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n7} \alpha_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \theta_{11} IPI_SA_{t-1} + \theta_{21} INT_{t-1} + \\ & \theta_{31} LBIST_{t-1} + \theta_{41} LEXC_{t-1} + \theta_{51} LIPI_SA_{t-1} + \theta_{61} LUS_{t-1} + \theta_{71} LEU_{t-1} + u_{1t} \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LCPI_t = & \beta_{12} + \sum_{i=1}^{m1} \partial_{1i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m2} \partial_{2i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m3} \partial_{3i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m4} \partial_{4i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{m5} \partial_{5i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{m6} \partial_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m7} \partial_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \theta_{12} LCPI_{t-1} + \theta_{22} LIPI_SA_{t-1} + \theta_{32} INT_{t-1} + \\ & \theta_{42} LBIST_{t-1} + \theta_{52} LEXC_{t-1} + \theta_{62} LUS_{t-1} + \theta_{72} LEU_{t-1} + u_{2t} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta INT_t = & \beta_{13} + \sum_{i=1}^{y1} \omega_{1i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y2} \omega_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{y3} \omega_{3i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y4} \omega_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y5} \omega_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y6} \omega_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y7} \omega_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \\ & \theta_{13} INT_{t-1} + \theta_{23} LIPI_SA_{t-1} + \theta_{33} LCPI_{t-1} + \theta_{43} LBIST_{t-1} + \theta_{53} LEXC_{t-1} + \theta_{63} LUS_{t-1} + \theta_{73} LEU_{t-1} + u_{3t} \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LBIST_t = & \beta_{14} + \sum_{i=1}^{r1} \varphi_{1i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r2} \varphi_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r3} \varphi_{3i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r4} \varphi_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r5} \varphi_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r6} \varphi_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r7} \varphi_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \theta_{14} LBIST_{t-1} + \theta_{24} LIPI_SA_{t-1} + \theta_{34} LCPI_{t-1} + \\ & \theta_{44} INT_{t-1} + \theta_{54} LEXC_{t-1} + \theta_{64} LUS_{t-1} + \theta_{74} LEU_{t-1} + u_{4t} \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LEXC_t = & \beta_{15} + \sum_{i=1}^{s1} \mu_{1i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s2} \mu_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s3} \mu_{3i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s4} \mu_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{s5} \mu_{5i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s6} \mu_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s7} \mu_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \theta_{15} LEXC_{t-1} + \theta_{25} LIPI_SA_{t-1} + \\ & \theta_{35} LCPI_{t-1} + \theta_{45} INT_{t-1} + \theta_{55} LBIST_{t-1} + \theta_{65} LUS_{t-1} + \theta_{75} LEU_{t-1} + u_{5t} \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

where $\beta_{11}, \beta_{12}, \beta_{13}, \beta_{14}$ and β_{15} are the drift components and u_t s are white noise error term. Moreover, the term with summation sign corresponds to the error correction dynamics and the second part of the equation with θ s show long run relationship.

Before carrying out cointegration test, the following ARDL models are determined, based on optimal lag lengths which are determined by Schwarz criterion.

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LIPI_SA_t = & \beta_{11} + \sum_{i=1}^{n_1} \alpha_{1i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n_2} \alpha_{2i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n_3} \alpha_{3i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n_4} \alpha_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n_5} \alpha_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n_6} \alpha_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n_7} \alpha_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \varepsilon_{1t} \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LCPI_t = & \beta_{12} + \sum_{i=1}^{m_1} \partial_{1i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m_2} \partial_{2i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m_3} \partial_{3i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m_4} \partial_{4i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{m_5} \partial_{5i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m_6} \partial_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m_7} \partial_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \varepsilon_{2t} \end{aligned} \quad (7)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta INT_t = & \beta_{13} + \sum_{i=1}^{y_1} \omega_{1i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y_2} \omega_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{y_3} \omega_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y_4} \omega_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y_5} \omega_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y_6} \omega_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y_7} \omega_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \\ & \varepsilon_{3t} \end{aligned} \quad (8)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LBIST_t = & \beta_{14} + \sum_{i=1}^{r_1} \varphi_{1i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r_2} \varphi_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r_3} \varphi_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r_4} \varphi_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r_5} \varphi_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r_6} \varphi_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r_7} \varphi_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \varepsilon_{4t} \end{aligned} \quad (9)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LEXC_t = & \beta_{15} + \sum_{i=1}^{s_1} \mu_{1i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s_2} \mu_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s_3} \mu_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s_4} \mu_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{s_5} \mu_{5i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s_6} \mu_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s_7} \mu_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \varepsilon_{5t} \end{aligned} \quad (10)$$

where, $\Delta LIPI_SA_t$, $\Delta LCPI_t$, ΔINT_t , $\Delta LBIST_t$ and $\Delta LEXC_t$ are the dependent variables, $\alpha_{1i}, \dots, \alpha_{7i}; \mu_{1i}, \dots, \mu_{7i}$ are the short run coefficients, and $n_1, \dots, n_7; m_1, \dots, m_7, \dots, s_1, \dots, s_7$ are the optimal length of lags of the ARDL models.

In order to test for the existence of a long-run relationship between the variables, all the equations (1), ..., (5) are estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS) and then an F-test is conducted for the joint significance of the coefficients of the lagged levels of the variable. Calculated F-statistics should be compared with the upper bound and lower bound critical values that is generated by Pesaran et al (2001). If the calculated F statistic is bigger than the upper bound critical value I(1), null hypothesis will be rejected that means there is a cointegration relation between the variables. On the other side, if the F statistic is lower than the lower bound critical value I(0), null hypothesis cannot be rejected which means that variables are not cointegrated. If F-statistic is remain in between critical bounds, result changes whether series are stationary at their level or first difference. Thus, the null hypothesis of no co-integration among the variables in the equation 1 is:

$H_0: \theta_{11} = \theta_{21} = \theta_{31} = \theta_{41} = \theta_{51} = \theta_{61} = \theta_{71} = 0$ against the alternative hypothesis of cointegration $H_1: \text{at least one of them is different than zero}$

For equation 2:

$H_0: \theta_{12} = \theta_{22} = \theta_{32} = \theta_{42} = \theta_{52} = \theta_{62} = \theta_{72} = 0$ against the alternative hypothesis of cointegration $H_1: \text{at least one of them is different than zero}$

For equation 3:

$H_0: \theta_{13} = \theta_{23} = \theta_{33} = \theta_{43} = \theta_{53} = \theta_{63} = \theta_{73} = 0$ against the alternative hypothesis of cointegration $H_1: \text{at least one of them is different than zero}$

For equation 4:

$H_0: \theta_{14} = \theta_{24} = \theta_{34} = \theta_{44} = \theta_{54} = \theta_{64} = \theta_{74} = 0$ against the alternative hypothesis of cointegration $H_1: \text{at least one of them is different than zero}$

For equation 5:

$H_0: \theta_{15} = \theta_{25} = \theta_{35} = \theta_{45} = \theta_{55} = \theta_{65} = \theta_{75} = 0$ against the alternative hypothesis of cointegration $H_1: \text{at least one of them is different than zero}$

By using ARDL approach, the short and long-run dynamic relationships can be estimated. Also, since Granger (1988) point out that existence of cointegration relation indicates the short and long run causality between the variables, Granger causality within the ECM framework is preferred. This approach is first used by Sargan (1964) then developed by Davidson et al (1978) and become widespread with Engle Granger (1987). With this method, both short run and long run causality can be observed. Also, this system allows the predicted variable to explain itself both by its own lags and lags of other variables as-well-as the error correction term and by residual term (Shahbaz et al, 2013: 114). Therefore, equations (1,2,3,4,5) can be rewritten as the error correction version of ARDL model as follow:

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LIPI_SA_t = & \beta_{11} + \sum_{i=1}^{n1} \alpha_{1i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n2} \alpha_{2i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n3} \alpha_{3i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n4} \alpha_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n5} \alpha_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{n6} \alpha_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n7} \alpha_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \gamma_1 ecmt_{-1} + u_{1t} \end{aligned} \quad (11)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LCPI_t = & \beta_{12} + \sum_{i=1}^{m1} \theta_{1i} \Delta LCPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m2} \theta_{2i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m3} \theta_{3i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m4} \theta_{4i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{m5} \theta_{5i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m6} \theta_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{m7} \theta_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \gamma_2 ecmt_{-1} + u_{2t} \end{aligned} \quad (12)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta INT_t = & \beta_{13} + \sum_{i=1}^{y1} \omega_{1i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y2} \omega_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{y3} \omega_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y4} \omega_{4i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y5} \omega_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y6} \omega_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{y7} \omega_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \\ & \gamma_3 ecmt_{-1} + u_{3t} \end{aligned} \quad (13)$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta LBIST_t = & \beta_{14} + \sum_{i=1}^{r1} \varphi_{1i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r2} \varphi_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r3} \varphi_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r4} \varphi_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r5} \varphi_{5i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{r6} \varphi_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \\ & \sum_{i=0}^{r7} \varphi_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \gamma_4 ecmt_{-1} + u_{4t} \end{aligned} \quad (14)$$

$$\Delta LEXC_t = \beta_{15} + \sum_{i=1}^{s1} \mu_{1i} \Delta LEXC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s2} \mu_{2i} \Delta LIPI_SA_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s3} \mu_{3i} \Delta CPI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s4} \mu_{4i} \Delta INT_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s5} \mu_{5i} \Delta LBIST_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s6} \mu_{6i} \Delta LUS_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{s7} \mu_{7i} \Delta LEU_{t-i} + \gamma_5 ecm_{t-1} + u_{5t} \quad (15)$$

Where $u_{1t}, u_{2t}, u_{3t}, u_{4t}, u_{5t}$ are residuals assumed to be normally distributed and white noise. ecm_{t-1} is the error correction term that has to be negative and statistically significant. It shows the speed of adjustment to long run equilibrium following a short run shock. Moreover, for the short run Granger causality, following hypothesis are tested:

$H_{01}: \alpha_{2i} = 0$ implying that $\Delta LCPI$ does not Granger cause $\Delta LIPI_SA$

$H_{02}: \alpha_{6i} = 0$ implying that ΔLUS does not Granger cause $\Delta LIPI_SA$

$H_{03}: \alpha_{7i} = 0$ implying that ΔLEU does not Granger cause $\Delta LIPI_SA$

$H_{04}: \partial_{6i} = 0$ implying that ΔLUS does not Granger cause $\Delta LCPI$

$H_{05}: \partial_{7i} = 0$ implying that ΔLEU does not Granger cause $\Delta LCPI$

$H_{06}: \omega_{6i} = 0$ implying that ΔLUS does not Granger cause ΔINT

$H_{07}: \omega_{7i} = 0$ implying that ΔLEU does not Granger cause ΔINT

$H_{08}: \mu_{6i} = 0$ implying that ΔLUS does not Granger cause $\Delta LEXC$

$H_{09}: \mu_{7i} = 0$ implying that ΔLEU does not Granger cause $\Delta LEXC$

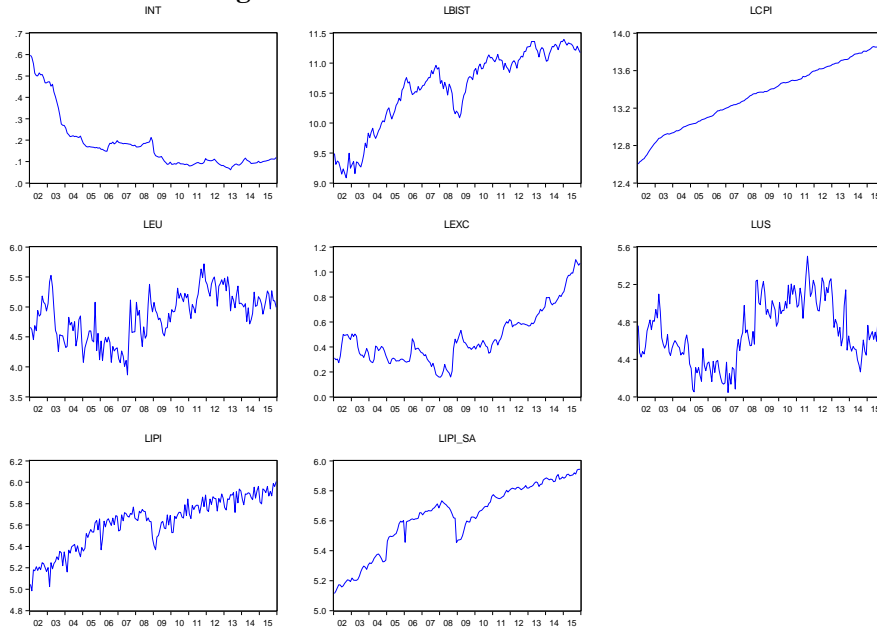
and so on for other variables.

5. DATA AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Empirical estimation is based on monthly observations from 2002 January to 2015 December. Variables used in the study are interest rate (effective maximum interest rates for TL deposits of banks-up to 3 months), stock exchange, consumer price index (CPI), industrial production index (proxy for economic activity level), exchange rate (USA Dollar/Turkish lira effective exchange rate), economic policy uncertainty index of US, and economic policy uncertainty index of EU. Inside of them; interest rate, CPI, stock exchange, PPI and exchange rate data are obtained from Turkish Central Bank database. EPU index of EU and US is obtained from Baker, Bloom and Davis's (2015) EPU index developed by themselves (available at www.policyuncertainty.com).

In the analysis, we used the logarithmic values of variables except interest rate and Figure 1 shows time series plots of variables.

Figure 1. Time Series Plots of Variables



Source: Authors' calculation

As can be seen easily from the Figure 1, since industrial production index exhibits strong seasonality, we use TRAMO/SEATS method to remove the seasonality in series. Because of the structural breaks in the variables, we also carry out structural break unit root tests.

To test the stationarity of variables, we carry out Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF), Philips Perron (PP) and breakpoint unit root tests. Table 1 presents the results of unit root tests.

Table 1. Results of The Unit Root Tests

Variables	ADF		PP		Breakpoint Unit Root	
	Intercept	Trend and Intercept	Intercept	Trend and Intercept	Intercept	Trend and Intercept
LIPI_SA	-1.760844 (0.3989)	-2.435253 (0.3601)	-1.795761 (0.3817)	-2.390796 (0.3830)	-2.9510 (0.7124)	-4.4311 (0.2424)
Δ LIPI_SA	-14.03137 (0.0000)	-14.06635 (0.0000)	-14.01796 (0.0000)	-14.07399 (0.0000)	-16.3120 (<0.01)	-14.585 (<0.01)
LEXC	0.462678 (0.9850)	-1.006586 (0.9393)	0.337555 (0.9796)	-1.171611 (0.9123)	-1.69721 (>0.99)	-4.49852 (0.2157)
Δ LEXC	-9.349238 (0.0000)	-9.512676 (0.0000)	-8.894753 (0.0000)	-8.907285 (0.0000)	-10.2606 (<0.01)	-9.7022 (<0.01)
INT	-4.539809 (0.0000)	-3.234234 (0.0814)	-5.233849 (0.0000)	-3.292774 (0.0710)	-5.0217 (<0.01)	-3.0447 (0.8484)
Δ INT	-8.002451 (0.0000)	-8.776992 (0.0000)	-8.002451 (0.0000)	-8.745191 (0.0000)	-9.983189 (<0.01)	-9.120682 (<0.01)
LCPI	-4.756487 (0.0001)	-6.337714 (0.0000)	-3.381947 (0.0130)	-5.796281 (0.0000)	-5.903167 (<0.01)	-3.720215 (0.5982)*

LBIST	-1.457739 (0.5526)	-1.877298 (0.6618)	-1.444978 (0.5590)	-1.928779 (0.6350)	-3.178000 (0.5787)	-3.769809 (0.5741)
Δ LBIST	-13.91950 (0.0000)	-13.96703 (0.0000)	-13.91280 (0.0000)	-13.96531 (0.0000)	-14.52338 (< 0.01)	-14.26580 (< 0.01)
LUS	-3.304890 (0.0162)	-3.531236 (0.0393)	-3.127176 (0.0265)	-3.531236 (0.0393)	-4.809954 (0.0173)	-5.659789 (0.0124)
LEU	-3.051942 (0.0323)	-4.673826 (0.0011)	-3.570752 (0.0074)	-4.451203 (0.0024)	-5.733599 (< 0.01)	-6.897415 (< 0.01)
Test critical values at 5% level	-2.878723	-3.436957	-2.878723	-3.436957	-4.443649	-5.155006

Notes: *For CPI variable, only break point unit root test with constant and trend shows nonstationary.

Therefore, CPI will be accepted as level stationary.

Values in the parenthesis are probability values.

Source: Authors' calculation

The results of the unit root tests in Table 1 indicate that except for the economic policy uncertainty variables, all variables are stationary at their first differences. Therefore, we used ARDL approach to investigate the existence of long run relationships among variables and whether the variables are integrated or not. Table 2 presents the results of cointegration tests.

Table 2. The Results of ARDL Cointegration Test

Series Models	F statistics	Significance level	Bound critical values		Decisions
			$I(0)$	$I(1)$	
Δ LIPI_SA	7.2075	1%	2.88	3.99	Co-integrated
Δ LCPI	49.93290	1%	2.88	3.99	Co-integrated
Δ INT	12.94818	1%	2.88	3.99	Co-integrated
Δ LBIST	4.337253	1%	2.88	3.99	Co-integrated
Δ LEXC	2.498040	1%	2.88	3.99	Not co-integrated

Source: Authors' calculation

The results of ARDL bounds test indicate the existence of cointegration among the variables except for exchange rate. Therefore, this means that there is a long-term relationship among the variables so long-run coefficients are estimated in next step. Table 3 shows these coefficients:

Table 3. Long Run Coefficients

Models	Constant	$LIPI_SA_{t-1}$	$LCPI_{t-1}$	INT_{t-1}	$LBIST_{t-1}$	$LEXC_{t-1}$	LEU_{t-1}	LUS_{t-1}	X^2_{LM} p-values	X^2_{white} p-values
Δ LIPI_SAt	8.90	-	-0.5337 ^c	-1.679 ^c	0.367 ^c	0.508 ^c	0.076 ^a	-0.092 ^b	0.41	0.26
Δ LCPIt	5.93	1.0510 ^c	-	1.118 ^a	0.045	0.499 ^c	0.031	0.161 ^a	0.11	0.92
Δ INTt	4.28	0.3778 ^b	-0.4981 ^c	-	0.012	0.227 ^c	0.020	-0.005	0.17	0.07
Δ LBISTt	13.6	1.0868	-0.641	-4.336 ^b	-	1.206	-0.418	0.383	0.44	0.31

^a Denotes statistically significant at 10%
^b Denotes statistically significant at 5%
^c Denotes statistically significant at 1%

Source: Authors' calculation

Notes: X^2_{LM} indicates Breusch-Godfrey LM test and X^2_{white} indicates white test.

According to the coefficient estimates, when there is one percent increase in EPUUS, industrial production decreases about 0.09%. Moreover, if there is one percent increase in EPUEU, industrial production increases 0.07%. This result is surprising but the reasons of this may be stem from the export substitution effect. Since Turkey is an important trade partner for the EU, while an increase in EPUEU decreases European production, import from other countries may increase. Namely, demand for Turkish products can increase. This causes to increase industrial production in Turkey. Moreover, this dual model says that if there is 1% increase in EPUUS, CPI increases 0.16%. In terms of diagnostic tests, Breusch-Godfrey LM test shows that models do not suffer from serial correlation problem. White test also shows that models don't have heteroscedasticity problem.

As Granger (1988) indicated that the presence of cointegration implies at least one way of Granger causality between the variables, we used Granger causality test within the ECM framework. Table 8 shows the both short and long run Granger causality test results.

Table 8. The Results of Granger Causality Tests

Dependent Variable	F-statistics [p-values]							ecm_{t-1} [p-values]
	$\Delta LIPI_SA_t$	$\Delta LCPI_t$	ΔINT_t	$\Delta LBIST_t$	$\Delta LEXC_t$	ΔLEU_t	ΔLUS_t	
$\Delta LIPI_SA_t$	-	3.1092 ^c [0.0011]	3.6667 ^c [0.0004]	5.6758 ^c [0.0000]	5.6985 ^c [0.0000]	2.0734 ^b [0.0277]	4.1964 ^c [0.0002]	-0.4078 ^c [0.0000]
$\Delta LCPI_t$	0.4112 [0.5223]	-	4.2259 ^b [0.0415]	0.3701 [0.5438]	0.8792 [0.3498]	0.0024 [0.9609]	0.1437 [0.7051]	-0.0206 ^c [0.0000]
ΔINT_t	0.8570 [0.3928]	6.5147 ^c [0.0004]	-	3.5469 ^b [0.0312]	3.3666 ^c [0.0010]	0.4850 [0.6283]	-0.5192 [0.6043]	-0.0673 ^c [0.0000]
$\Delta LBIST_t$	0.3116 [0.7557]	-0.7601 [0.4483]	-2.2838 ^b [0.0237]	-	-0.4214 [0.6740]	-2.1438 ^b [0.0336]	0.3520 [0.7253]	-0.13027 ^c [0.0000]
$\Delta LEXC_t$	0.2113 [0.8329]	1.0089 [0.3146]	1.2185 [0.2249]	9.5288 ^c [0.0001]	-	0.9951 [0.3212]	1.7124 ^a [0.0888]	-

^a Denotes statistically significant at 10%

^b Denotes statistically significant at 5%

^c Denotes statistically significant at 1%

Source: Authors' calculation

Since the coefficients of error correction terms in each equation are statistically significantly less than one, they indicate existence of long-run causality between left hand side variable in each equation and right hand side variables. These results also support the findings of the bounds test that showed the existence of co-movement of the variables in the long run.

On the other hand, the results of short-run Granger causality tests indicate few causalities running from EPUEU and EPUUS to macroeconomic variables. They are industrial production and consumer price index. For example, whereas EPUUS only Granger causes industrial production, EPUEU Granger causes both industrial production and stock prices at 5% significance level. In addition to these, interest rate, stock exchange, consumer prices and exchange rate have one-way causality to industrial production. Also, CPI, stock exchange and exchange rate variables have bi directional causality with interest rate.

Based on the empirical results of the study, we can easily conclude that whatever the source of the policy uncertainties, financial indicators of the Turkish economy are not affected by changes in economic policy uncertainties of both EU and US. However, because of the Turkish economy's integration into the EU through trade flows industrial production is significantly affected by policy uncertainties of EU.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One of the most important aspects belonging to the crisis is uncertainty. During the crises, both consumers and investors lose their confidence and struggle to predict the future developments in the economy. Thus, they behave timidly in their consumption and investment decisions. Because of rising uncertainty, not only investors, but also consumers can delay their economic decisions. They behave so carefully in their spending decisions, particularly on consumer durables, like cars and major appliances. Thus, as Baker et al, (2012) indicated, because of high uncertainty, people spend less and accumulate liquid assets against any damaging shocks. Also, Rodrik (1991) stated that even though most of the developing countries have undertaken some comprehensive economic measures, the private investment response to these reforms has been disappointing owing to the high degree of uncertainty regarding future economic policy. Therefore, examining the responses of consumers and investors against economic policy uncertainties will avail to policymakers about identifying the problem and what can be done in this process.

It is one of the well accepted arguments that Turkey is a relatively open economy and its key macroeconomic variables can be also affected by the economic policy uncertainties of US and EU. The main findings of the study indicate that the economic policy uncertainties of US and EU have significant effects on the price level and the industrial production of Turkey. These results show that both the changes in price level and level of industrial production are very sensitive to foreign shocks. First of all, both the price level and industrial production are significantly affected by exchange rate movements (exchange rate pass through), partially reflected in increase in the economic policy uncertainties of US and EU, because of the economy's heavy reliance on imports of intermediate goods and inputs. Therefore, policymakers of Turkey should always take economic policy uncertainties of US and

European Union into account to form any policies designed to affect the levels of price and industrial productions.

Secondly, even though the results of the study do not indicate any direct dynamic interactions between policy uncertainties and other key economic variables; but due to the significant relationships between price level, industrial production and other macroeconomic variables, the policy makers will have to be aware of these indirect effects of policy uncertainties on the variables.

7. CONCLUSION

Since economic policy uncertainties have an important impact on consumers and investors decisions, searching the volume of this impact on specific variables is crucial for policymakers for decision making process. Therefore, the effects of economic policy uncertainty on the countries' some real and financial indicators have been widely searched topics. In the literature, both a countries' own EPU effect and other countries' EPU effect on its macroeconomic indicators are investigated. Especially, the effects of developed countries' EPU on developing countries macroeconomic indicators have made a sensation. Since there are only a few studies that search Turkey's macroeconomic variables responses to EPU of developed countries, this study aimed to contribute to the literature with examining five macroeconomic variables responses to EPU of EU and US.

In this study, the dynamic interactions between economic policy uncertainties of US and EU and selected macroeconomic variables in Turkey over the period of 2002 January to 2015 December is examined by using autoregressive distributed lag approach (ARDL) and ECM based Granger causality. Selected macroeconomic variables are interest rate, stock exchange, consumer price index, industrial production index and exchange rate. The results of ARDL bounds tests show the existence of long run relationship among variables. Also, the results of ARDL long-run coefficients and Granger causality test results indicate significant dynamic interactions between economic policy uncertainties and selected macroeconomic variables of Turkey both in the short-and long-run implying that important macroeconomic variables of Turkish economy are vulnerable to foreign economic policy uncertainty shocks. Therefore, it will be better for Turkish policymakers taking into consideration not only effects of internal economic policy uncertainties but also external economic policy uncertainties.

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BAĞIMSIZLIK SONRASI BELARUS DIŞ POLİTİKASINI BELİRLEYEN YAPISAL FAKTÖRLER

STRUCTURAL FACTORS DETERMINING THE BELARUS FOREIGN POLICY AFTER ITS INDEPENDENCE

Kaan DİYARBAKIRLIOĞLU¹

1. Dr. Öğr Üyesi, Yalova Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler, kaandbo@yalova.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4511-5330>

Öz

Belarus Rusya yanlısı takip ettiği politika ve Batı ile normal ilişkiler kuramamasından kaynaklanan nedenlerle eleştirilerin hedefi olmaktadır. Bu eleştirileri bertaraf etmek için Belarus yönetimi muhtelif zamanlarda çok yönlü (vektörlü) ve pro-aktif dış politika uygulama girişimlerinde bulunmuştur. Ancak istenilen seviyede bir başarı sağlanamamıştır. Bu makalede, vaka çalışması analiz yöntemi kullanılarak Belarus dış politikasını bağımsızlığından günümüze belirleyen yapısal faktörlerin incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Belarus'un bazı Asya, Afrika, Latin Amerika ve Arap ülkeleriyle ilişkilerini etkileyen değişkenler, belirleyicilerin dış politika üzerinde nasıl bir etki yarattığını göstermek için analiz edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Belarus dış politikasının gelişiminde bağımsızlık sonrası yapılan anayasal ve yasal düzenlemelerin etkili olduğu, bu değişimlerde de ülkeyi kesintisiz 25 yıldır yöneten Aleksandr Lukaşenko'nun tek başına aldığı kararların önemli rol oynadığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çok Yönlü Dış Politika, Belarus Dış Politikası, Belarus Siyasi Tarihi, Siyasal Hayat, Siyasal Kurumlar, Bölgesel Çalışmalar,

Abstract

Belarus has been subject to criticisms for its policy in favor of Russia and its inability to establish normal relations with the West. In order to eliminate these criticisms, the Belarusian government has attempted to implement a multifaceted (vector) and proactive foreign policy at various times. However, the desired level of success has not been achieved. In this article, by utilizing the case study analysis method, it is aimed to examine the structural factors that determine the Belarusian foreign policy from its independence to present. In this context, the variables that affect the relations of Belarus with some Asian, African, Latin American and Arab countries were analyzed to show how the determinants have had influence on the foreign policy. As a result, it is understood that the constitutional and legal amendments made after independence were effective in the development of Belarusian foreign policy, and the decisions taken by Aleksandr Lukashenko, who ruled the country for 25 years without interruption, played an important role in these changes.

Keywords: Multifaceted Foreign Policy, Belarusian Foreign Policy, Belarusian Political History, Political Life, Political Institutes, Regional Studies,

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EXTENDED SUMMARY

Research Problem

The aim of the study; In this article, the structural factors determining Belarusian foreign policy after its independence have been examined comparatively with the case analysis method from its independence to present. In this context, the variables that affect the relations of Belarus with some Asian, African, Latin American and Arab countries were analyzed to show how the determinants have had influence on the foreign policy.

Research Questions

How has Belarusian foreign policy emerged after its independence? What are the structural factors determining Belarusian foreign policy from its independence to present? How have the variables (structural factors) affected the relations of Belarus with some Asian, African, Latin American and Arab countries?

Literature Review

The literature review was conducted in three stages. In the first stage, the articles and books on the electronic databases such as EBSCO, JSTOR, Springer, Taylor and Francis were searched and related sources were picked and read; in the second stage Belarusian Presidential decrees and official documents on the websites of the Belarusian parliament and ministry were examined; In the third stage, dissertation thesis on the Belarussian Politics and other countries were examined. It is understood that there are two groups of studies regarding this research subject. In first group, the studies (reports, books, articles, journals ect.) are published by Belarusian government agencies and employees. Therefore, it can be suggested that official opinions are mostly reflected directly or indirectly in those studies. In the second group, there are books and articles written by academicians from Belarus and other countries. Those authors in this group are approaching the developments in Belarusian politics more critically than the first group. In this study, beside the opinions of the both groups, the Belarussian official documents and articles and news from the newspapers either from the Belarus and from the other countries are used as sources to get answers to the research questions.

Methodology

This research mainly focused on three questions. First of all, in order to understand the research subject (the structural factors determining Belarusian foreign policy after its independence), variables were found after clustering the sources (literature review). The variables are as below: Independent variables: First, Constitutional and other legal regulations from independence to present. Second, Political leader (Aleksandr Lukaşenko) who has been the President since 25 years. Hypothesis: Constitutional and other legal regulations, and political leader (Aleksandr Lukaşenko) who has been the President since 25 years are most effective structural factors determining Belarusian foreign policy after its independence. In this article, the structural factors determining Belarusian foreign policy have been examined comparatively with the case analysis method from its independence to present. In this context,

the variables that affect the relations of Belarus with some Asian, African, Latin American and Arab countries were analyzed to show how the determinants have had influence on the foreign policy.

Results and Conclusions

As the post-independence process continues until today, the Republic of Belarus has experienced a difficult and challenging development process as a new independent state, like other former Soviet countries. Although Belarusians' close relations with Russia have caused her national identity to be weak, the political class consolidated around President Lukashenko during the development process, along with the difficulties and failures, has revealed that they can manage the country relatively independently. The constitutional and legal arrangements that built the political system that will shape the post-independence state administration have formed the main framework for the country, and in this context, the institutional foundations of Belarusian foreign policy have been laid. It also develops over time. As the first country to voluntarily abandon nuclear weapons, Belarus has made a significant contribution to the international and European security and disarmament process. At the same time, good neighborly relations have been established with the neighboring countries. However, it continues to develop integration ties with other countries that have gained post-Soviet independence. Along with the successes, especially from the second half of the 1990s, deficiencies of Belarusian foreign policy have also emerged. For 25 years since Lukashenko's winning the presidential election in 1994, the USA and the European Union have pursued a policy to isolate Belarus diplomatically in order to promote democratization and human rights in Belarus. This effort resulted in the imposition of economic and travel sanctions against the Belarusian regime in 2006. The advantages of Belarus's geopolitical and geo-economic position have not yet been used at the desired level. Opportunities for good neighborly and wide-ranging cooperation have been particularly limited by Russia, Belarus's financial-economic and military-political dependence on Russia has not decreased in recent years but has increased. The deterioration of relations with western and influential European and transatlantic organizations (European Union, Council of Europe, NATO) has weakened Belarus's international positions and foreign policy potential. Lukaşenko did not strive for a strong national identity awareness for years. Because Belarus saw patriotism as a devastating project sponsored by political enemies. For this reason, shortly after he took office, he held a referendum that approved the economic integration with Russia and gave Russian the same status with Belarusian. However, after Moscow annexed Crimea and sent troops to Eastern Ukraine on the pretext of defending the "Rusky Mir" or Russian-speaking Russian population, Lukaşenko's above-mentioned thoughts began to change in 2014 (Higgins: 2019). This grift cultural area mentioned by Russia also includes most of Belarus, parts of Kazakhstan and large populations in three Baltic States. This, of course, inevitably revealed the necessity of pursuing a multi-vector foreign policy in Belarusian foreign policy. It is seen that the president himself was much more effective in Belarus's efforts to improve relations with some Asian, African, Latin American and Arab countries since 1996. With the influence of the above-mentioned developments, Lukashenko, who has ruled the country for 25 years, has increased the tendency to follow

multi-vector foreign policy. In this respect, firstly, adaptation in domestic and foreign policy should be provided in order to strengthen Belarus's national and international identity and to establish a better relationship with the West in order to make it a self-sufficient European state.

1. GİRİŞ

Genel olarak, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin gelişim tarihi ülkeyi yöneten siyasi rejimin türüne bağlı olarak iki aşamaya ayrılabilir. İlk aşama, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin bağımsızlığını kazanmasının yasa ile ilan edildiği 25 Ağustos 1991 tarihinden Aleksandr Lukaşenko'nun ilk cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimleri sonucu devlet başkanlığına seçildiği 20 Temmuz 1994'e kadar olan kısa bir dönemi kapsamaktadır. Bu dönem, 12. Yüksek Konseyin ülkenin başında olduğu dönemde, Mayıs 1990'da çalışmalarına başlayan parlamento cumhuriyetinin var olduğu zamandır. Parlamenter cumhuriyet dönemi, bağımsızlık sonrası meclis ve devlet başkanı olan ve yetkilerini 9 Eylül 1991'den 26 Ocak 1994'e kadar kullanan Stanislav Shushkevich'in dönemidir (Sanford, 1996, s. 141). Belarus Cumhuriyeti tarihinin ikinci aşaması ise, 20 Temmuz 1994'te Aleksandr Lukashenko'nun Devlet Başkanı görevine gelmesinden itibaren başlayan ve günümüze kadar devam eden 25 yıllık bir cumhurbaşkanlığı cumhuriyeti veya başkanlık hükümeti dönemidir.

Belarus Cumhuriyeti tarihinin yukarıda bahsedilen dönemlerine göre dış politikasının tarihi de parlamento cumhuriyetinin dış politikası ve cumhurbaşkanlığı cumhuriyetinin dış politikası olmak üzere iki aşamaya ayrılabilir. Parlamento dönemini organik bütünlüğünü ve kısa vadeli olmasını hesaba katınca daha alt dönemlere ayırmaya imkân yoktur. Ancak, Belarus devletinin dış politika tarihindeki 25 yıllık cumhurbaşkanlığı dönemini ayrıca iki aşamaya ayırmak mümkündür. İlk dönem 1994-1999 yıllarını kapsamaktadır. Bu dönem, Rusya ile beş yıllık "aktif bütünleşme politikası" dönemidir. Söz konusu dönem, seçim programının temel unsurlarından biri olarak Rusya ile entegrasyonu ilan eden Cumhurbaşkanı Aleksandr Lukashenko'nun iktidara gelmesiyle başlamakta ve iki büyük vakıa ile sona ermektedir. Bunlar, 8 Aralık 1999'da Birlik Devletinin Kurulmasına İlişkin Belarus-Rusya Antlaşması'nın imzalanması ve Rusya Federasyonu Başkanı Boris Yeltsin tarafından takip edilmiş olan bir önceki entegrasyon politikasının sonu anlamına gelen çok daha önemli bir olayın 31 Aralık 1999'da meydana gelmiş olmasıdır.

Cumhurbaşkanı Aleksandr Lukaşenko'nun dış politika faaliyetinin ikinci aşaması 2000 yılında başlamış ve günümüze kadar devam etmiştir. Bu aşama, Belarus literatüründe, "çok yönlü dış politika" olarak adlandırılmaktadır (Korosteleva, 2011, s. 576). "Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin çok yönlü dış politikası" olarak da ifade edilebilecek bu politikanın, cumhurbaşkanının bütünleşme politikası sırasında Doğu-Batı'ya yönelik takip edilen politikalarla ilgili önyargıların düzeltilmesi olarak anlaşılması gerekmektedir.

Dengeli ve tüm coğrafi vektörlerinin yeknesak bir şekilde geliştirilmesine çaba gösteren bir devletin çok yönlü bir dış politikaya ihtiyaç duyacağı açıktır. Bu nedenle, devletler bu minvalde bir dış politika ilkesini ya zorunlu kılmayı ya da hiç uygulamamayı tercih ederler. 1990'ların ikinci yarısında doğuda Rusya yönünde bir önyargıdan ve 1996'dan beri de Batı ile normal ilişkilerin olmamasından dolayı Belarus Cumhuriyeti için çok yönlü bir dış politika uygulanması arzulanan ama gerçek olmayan bir durum olarak kalmaktadır. Aslında, Kasım 1996'dan sonra, devletin dış politikası batı ve kuzeyde,

özellikle siyasi alanda daha çok dış ekonomik alanla sınırlı ciddi bir dengesizlik yaşıyor iken, doğu ve güney ile aktif ve normal olarak iki yönde gelişmektedir.

Belarus Cumhuriyeti dış politika tarihinde Batı ile ilişkilerin gelişimini iki döneme ayırmak mümkündür. Birincisi 1991-1996 yılları arasında Batı devletleriyle ilişkilerin gelişmekte olduğu ve sürdüğü aşama; ikincisi ise, 24 Kasım 1996'da yapılan ancak Batı devletleri ve uluslararası örgütler (AGİT, Avrupa Konseyi, Avrupa Birliği) tarafından tanınmayan anayasa referandumundan sonra başlayan dönemdir. Bu dönem, Batı toplumuyla normal ve istikrarlı ilişkilerin olmadığı bir dönemdir.

Bu makalede, Belarus dış politikasının bağımsızlık sonrası nasıl geliştiği ve oluşumunda hangi faktörlerin etkili olduğu incelenmektedir. Belarus dış politikasının gelişimde bağımsızlık sonrası siyasi alanda meydana gelen gelişimler sonucu ortaya konan anayasal ve yasal düzenlemeler etkili olmuş, ancak zamanla 25 yıldan beri süre gelen aynı siyasi liderin tek başına aldığı kararlar dış politikanın yönünü belirlemiştir.

2. BELARUS DIŞ POLİTİKASININ ANAYASAL, YASAL VE KAVRAMSAL ARKA PLANI

Bağımsız bir Belarus dış politikasının temelleri, Belarus Halk Cephesi'nin (BHC) çabalarıyla perestroyka döneminde şekillenmeye başlamıştır (Leshchenko, 2004, s. 341). BHC milletvekillerinin girişimi üzerine, 27 Temmuz 1990 tarihinde Belarus Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti (BSSC) Yüksek Konseyi, Belarus'un bağımsızlığına ilişkin yasal dayanağı belirleyen Belarus Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti Devlet Egemenliği Bildirgesi'ni kabul etmiştir (Lashkevich, 2011). Başarısız darbe girişiminin ardından, 25 Ağustos 1991'de BSSC Yüksek Konseyi'nin olağanüstü 5. oturumu, Belarus Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti'nin Devlet Egemenliği Beyanına anayasal hukuk statüsünü vermiş ve "Belarus Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyeti'nin ekonomik ve siyasi bağımsızlığı" kararını almıştır (Foreign Policy of the Republic of Belarus, 2018). Bu kararlar daha sonra Belarus'un bağımsızlık beyanı olarak yorumlanmıştır.

15 Mart 1994 tarihinde kabul edilen Belarus Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, Belarus devletinin dış politikasının temellerini, hedeflerini, amaçlarını ve ilkelerini belirleyen bir dizi hüküm içermektedir. Anayasanın 8. maddesine göre, Belarus Cumhuriyeti, uluslararası hukukun genel kabul görmüş ilkelerinin önceliğini kabul etmekte ve mevzuata uyumlarını sağlamaktadır. Aynı madde, uluslararası hukukun normlarına uygun olarak, devletlerarası oluşumlara girme ve çıkma konusunda Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin haklarını da korumaktadır. Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin devletlerarası oluşumlara girme ve çıkma hakkı, Anayasa'ya 24 Kasım 1996 anayasa referandumunda kabul edilen değişikliklerle eklenmiştir. Anayasa'nın 18. maddesi dış politikaya adanmıştır. Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin dış politikasında, devletlerin eşit olduğu, güç kullanımı veya güç tehdidinde bulunmama, sınırların dokunulmazlığı, anlaşmazlıkların barışçıl yollarla çözülmesi, içişlerine müdahale etmeme ve

uluslararası hukukun genel kabul görmüş diğer ilke ve normlarına saygı gösterme gibi ilkeler sıralanmıştır¹.

Belarus devletinin dış politikasının temellerinin oluşumunun bir sonraki aşaması, cumhurbaşkanlığı yönetimi dönemidir. 20 Temmuz 1994'ten sonra kabul edilen bu alandaki ana belgelerin başında sırasıyla 1995, 2001 ve 2010 yıllarında belirlenen Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin ulusal güvenlik konsepti gelmektedir (National Security Concept Adopted in Belarus, 2010). Aynı zamanda bu güvenlik konsepti temel olarak 2002 ve 2016 yıllarından ortaya konan Belarus Cumhuriyeti Askeri Doktrinlerinin de temelini oluşturmaktadır (Sivitsk, 2016, s. 2). Bununla birlikte 2005 yılında Belarus Cumhuriyeti İç ve Dış Politikasının Ana Yönergelerini Onaylayan Kanun gibi belgeleri de içermektedir (Tikhomirov, 2017, s. 443).

3 Ocak 2002 tarihinde Belarus Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı kararnamesi ile onaylanan Belarus Cumhuriyeti askeri doktrini tamamen savunma niteliğindedir. Bu doktrinde ilk kez, Belarus'un diğer devletlerden herhangi bir toprak talebinde bulunmadığı ve diğer devletlerin bu tür iddialarını tanımadığı ifadesi vurgulanmaktadır. Sovyetler Birliğinin dağılmasından sonra bağımsızlığını kazanan diğer devletlerin askeri doktrinlerinde bu tür toprak iddialarının doğrudan veya dolaylı yer aldığını görmek çok nadiren rastlanan bir durumdur. Belarus askeri doktrini (2002), Belarus'un birlikte tek bir savunma alanı oluşturduğu Rusya'nın rolünü vurgulamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, Rusya-Ukrayna arasında yaşanan hibrit çatışma ve yeni bir "Soğuk savaş" ihtimalinin ortaya çıkması 2002 tarihli askeri doktrinin 2016'da geliştirilmesine/güncellenmesine büyük katkıda bulunmuştur. 2016'da yapılan bu güncelleme ile sadece Batı'dan değil, Rusya'dan gelecek olası zorlukları ve tehditleri de göz önünde bulunduran bir doktrin ortaya konulmuştur (Sivitsk, 2016, p. 6).

Diğer taraftan, Belarus Cumhuriyeti dış politikasının ilkeleri, hedefleri ve amaçları, Belarus Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı kararnamesi ile onaylanan ve "Belarus Cumhuriyeti İç ve Dış Politikasının Ana Yönergelerinin Onaylanmasına Dair Kanun" ile yasal olarak 14 Kasım 2005 tarihinde düzenlenmiştir². Bu belge, bir dizi özelliğe ile dikkat çekmektedir. Bunlardan ilki, belgede komşu ve diğer yabancı ülkelerin yasama uygulamalarında genellikle kaçındığı iç ve dış politikanın ana yönlerinin belirlenmiş olması ve bir kanunda birleştirilmesidir. Bu yönüyle, belge Anayasa'nın hükümlerini büyük ölçüde tekrarlar niteliktedir. Bu nedenle, içeriği gereğinden fazla genel ifadelerle doludur. Bir diğer özelliği ise, "Belarus Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikasının Ana Yönleri" bölümünde, Anayasa'da yer alan "Belarus'un nükleersiz ve tarafsız bir devlet olma" prensibine atıfta bulunulmamasıdır. Bunun yerine, "uluslararası ilişkilerin tutarlı bir şekilde silahsızlandırılması politikasına bağlılık; uluslararası güvenliğin güçlendirilmesine, kitle imha silahlarının yayılmasının önlenmesine ve silahların kontrolüne yardımcı olmak..." şeklinde ifadeler yer almaktadır. Son olarak, yasa metninde, öncelikler olağan dışı

¹ Belarus Anayasa metni için bkz. "Konstitutsiya Respubliki Belarus", <http://pravo.by/pravovaya-informatsiya/normativnye-dokumenty/konstitutsiya-respubliki-belarus>.

² Kanunun tam metni için bkz. "ZAKON RESPUBLIKI BELARUS 14 noyabrya 2005 g. № 60-Z Ob utverzhdenii Osnovnykh napravleniy vnutrenney i vneshney politiki Respubliki Belarus", <http://pravo.by/document/?guid=3871&p0=H10500060>, 17 Temmuz 2019.

olarak dış politika uygulama alanlarına yerleştirilmiştir. Örneğin, dış ekonomik faaliyet ve uluslararası ekonomik iş birliği ilk sırada yer almakta ve ardından ülkenin uzay etkinlikleri alanında uluslararası iş birliği hedefi izlemektedir. Diğer taraftan, Uluslararası güvenlikten ve uluslararası askeri iş birliğinden de bahsedilmektedir. Ancak, yabancı ülkelerle ve uluslararası örgütlerle ilişkiler gibi dış politika uygulama alanlarından doğrudan söz edilmemektedir. Genel olarak belli alanlarda uluslararası iş birliği kavramı kullanılmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, yasanın ikinci bölümünün metni, Belarus dış politikasını aşırı pragmatik bir istikamete yönlendiren ve büyük oranda teknokrat bir bakışı yansıtmaktadır (Shadurski, 2018, s. 13).

9 Kasım 2010'da bir cumhurbaşkanlığı kararnamesiyle, Belarus Cumhuriyeti Ulusal Güvenlik Konseptinin yeni bir versiyonu, ülkenin “kurulmuş, bağımsız, dünya güç merkezlerinden herhangi birine ait olmayan egemen bir Avrupa devleti, barışçıl bir dış politika yürüten ve tarafsız bir statü³ elde etmek için şartlar oluşturmayı isteyen bir devlet olduğu şekilde teyit edilmiştir”⁴. Bu formülasyonun, Askeri Doktrinde veya İç ve Dış Politika Yönergesinde bulanmayan bir soruya cevap verdiği görülmektedir. Konseptteki bu hüküm Anayasa'da belirtildiği gibi daha az kategorik ve kısa görünmekle birlikte tarafsız bir statü elde etmek için uzun bir koşul oluşturma süreci içermektedir. Aynı zamanda, Anayasa'nın 1994 yılında kabul edilmesinden sonra, ilk kez resmi bir belgede ortaya çıkması ve tarafsız bir devlet olma arzusuna yapılan atıf, tarafsızlık kavramının baskın olduğu parlamento cumhuriyetinin kavramsal kurallarına kesin bir dönüş olarak kabul edilebilir (Rotman & Veremeeva, 2011, s. 82). Benzer bir kavramsal yapıya sahip önceki belgelerin aksine, mevcut Ulusal Güvenlik Konsepti (2010) oldukça gerçekçi ve sade olarak bir ülkenin şu andaki ulusal güvenliğinin durumunu ve maruz kaldığı temel tehditleri, zorlukları ve riskleri açıklamaktadır. Konseptte, örneğin, hammadde ve enerji kaynakları arzının garanti edilmesinin imkânsızlığı, dış pazarların kaybı, yetersiz ve düşük yabancı yatırım, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin katıldığı bütünleşme yapılarının ve uluslararası örgütlerin zayıflaması gibi konular ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu iç ve dış tehditlerin neler olduğu güncel ulusal güvenlik konseptinin dördüncü ve beşinci bölümlerinde açıkça sıralanmaktadır (Rotman & Veremeeva, 2011, s. 84).

Sonuç olarak, görüldüğü gibi bağımsızlık yılları boyunca, özellikle cumhurbaşkanlığı cumhuriyetinde, dış politikanın anayasal ve yasal çerçevesi oluşturulmuş ve sistematik olarak ihtiyaç duyulan güncellemeler yapılmıştır. Ancak, Askeri Doktrin ve Ulusal Güvenlik Konseptinin sistematik olarak güncellenmesinin yanı sıra, yabancı devletlerin yasal deneyimleri göz önünde bulundurularak Belarus dış politikası daha da geliştirilebilir.

⁴ Karamamenin tam metni için bkz. “Decree of the President of the Republic of Belarus of November 9, 2010 No. 575”, <http://www.pravo.by/document/?guid=3961&p0=P31000575>, 17 Temmuz 2019.

3. BELARUS DIŞ POLİTİKA ÖNCELİKLERİ VE DİNAMİKLERİ

Belarus Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanı Pavlo Kravchenko, BM Genel Kurulunun 46. oturumunda 26 Eylül 1991 tarihinde yaptığı konuşmasında ilk kez Belarus Cumhuriyeti dış politikasının önceliklerinden bahsetmiştir. Kravchenko'ya göre bu öncelikler arasında Belarus tarafından gerçek bağımsızlık ve egemenliğin sağlanması, SSCB'nin diğer cumhuriyetleri ile etkileşim ve tek bir ekonomik alan ve yeni bir egemen devletler birliği oluşturulması, Çernobil sorununun çözümünde uluslararası desteğin seferber edilmesi, Belarus'un nükleerden arındırılmış ve tarafsız bir ülkeye dönüştürülmesi, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin Pan-Avrupa sürecine dahil edilmesi, ülkede piyasa ekonomisinin oluşumu için koşullar yaratılması, çevre güvenliğinin sağlanması, kültürlerin serbest etkileşiminin sağlanması gibi konular bulunmaktadır (Metezh, 2016, s. 8). Ayrıca, Pavlo Kravchenko BM Kürsüsünden, Belarus halkının hayati çıkarlarının devletin dış politikasının temeli olduğu belirtmiştir. Pavlo Kravchenko'nun konuşması, bağımsızlık aşamasında Belarus Cumhuriyeti dış politikasının amaçlarının, hedeflerinin ve öncelikli yönlerinin ilk kavramsal ifadesi olarak kabul edilebilir. Diğer taraftan, Yüksek Konsey Başkanı Stanislav Shushkevich, Rusya ve diğer Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu (BDT) ülkeleriyle kapsamlı iş birliği için stratejik duruşu reddetmeden, Belarus için Avrupa siyasi haritası üzerinde Doğu ile Batı arasında bir köprü olarak yeni bir yer arıyordu. Dışişleri Bakanı Pavlo Kravchenko, gelecekte bir Doğu Avrupa ekonomik topluluğu oluşturmak amacıyla Belarus'un BDT'deki entegrasyon süreçlerinin merkezine dönüştürülmesini istemekteydi. Ancak, Yüksek Konsey Başkanı da dahil olmak üzere etkili siyasi güçlerden destek alamamıştır. Stanislav Shushkevich ve Pavlo Kravchenko, bir dizi dış politika konusundaki pozisyon farklılığına rağmen, Rusya'ya olan ekonomik, politik ve askeri bağımlılığı zayıflatma ve aynı zamanda Orta ve Batı Avrupa ülkeleri ve ABD ile olan siyasi ve ticari ilişkileri güçlendirme arzusuyla birleşmiştir. Stanislav Shushkevich'in dış politika faaliyetinin doruk noktası, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin nükleer olmayan bir devlet olarak nükleer silahların yayılmasının önlenmesine ilişkin olarak katılımını sağlayan Stratejik Silahların Azaltılması Antlaşması'nın (START-1) ve 1992 Lizbon Protokolünün 1993 yılı şubat ayında meclis tarafından onaylanmasıdır. Bu, Belarus'un *de jure* olarak, 1996'da Rusya'daki stratejik nükleer silahların ülkeden çekilmesinin ardından da *de facto* olarak nükleer bir devlet olmadığı anlamına geliyordu (Tikhomirov, 2012, s. 4). Temmuz 1993'de Yüksek Konsey Başkanı Stanislav Shushkevich başkanlığındaki bir Belarus resmi heyeti ABD'yi ziyaret etmiş ve Ocak 1994'te de ABD Başkanı Bill Clinton Minsk'e resmi bir ziyarette bulunmuştur (Sivitsk, 2016, s. 7). Görüldüğü gibi, Batının diğer ülkeleri ve Güney dünyası ile ilişkiler bu dönemde geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Ancak diğer taraftan, Stanislav Shushkevich'in şiddetle karşı çıkmasına rağmen, BDT'ye üye devletlerin Kolektif Güvenlik Anlaşması'na katılmasını Nisan 1993'te kabul eden Yüksek Konsey kararı büyük bir dış politika başarısızlığı olarak tarihteki yerini almıştır. Çünkü bu gelişmeyi Stanislav Shushkevich tarafsızlığa doğru giden yoldan bir çıkış olarak görmüştür (Sivitsk, 2016, s. 9).

20 Temmuz 1994'de yapılan ilk başkanlık seçimini Alexander Lukashenko kazanmıştır. Yönetiminin ilk iki yılında Cumhurbaşkanı Alexander Lukashenko dış politikanın yürütülmesi için dengeli ve pragmatik bir yaklaşımdan yana tavır almıştır. Alexander Lukashenko, Belarus dış politikasının özünün ekonomik çıkarlar olacağını ve Doğu'dan mı yoksa Batı'dan mı geldiğine bakılmaksızın bu çıkarları karşılayan her şeyin korunacağını ve dikkate alınacağını savunmuştur. Ayrıca, batı, orta ve doğu Avrupa bölgelerinin ülkeleriyle ilişkileri geliştirerek Belarus devletinin doğu ve batı çıkarları arasında bir denge kurma niyetini açıklamıştır (Atasoy, Galai, & Mazbayev, 2014, s. 29).

Başkan, göreve gelmesinin ilk aylarında, Vyačaslau Kebich hükümetinin Rusya ile enerji elde etmek için kurduğu tercihli fiyatlara dayanan ilişkiler açısından uzaklaşmaya çalışmıştır. Ancak daha sonra Moskova ile ilişkilerinde askeri-siyasi alanda biraz daha zamana oynayarak sakin kalmaya çalışmıştır.

Diğer taraftan, Cumhurbaşkanı ile parlamento arasında bir çatışma yaşanmış ve politik bir krizle sonuçlanmıştır. Bu çatışmanın en önemli sebebi, Alexander Lukashenko'nun diğer hükümet organlarının aleyhine başkana çok geniş yetkiler veren bir Anayasa'yı Kasım 1996'da referanduma götürmek istemesidir. Referandum, bağımsız Belarus tarihinde ve iki karşıt, ancak aynı zamanda birbirleriyle ilişkili ve birbirine bağımlı vektörler ile karakterize edilen dış politikasının tarihinde yeni bir aşama açmıştır. Bir bakıma uluslararası alanda Belarus'u tecrit etmeye, kıyaslanamayan bir şekilde daha güçlü bir doğu komşusu Rusya'ya olan bağımlılığının artmasına ve entegrasyona girmesine yol açmıştır.

1990'ların sonunda, Rusya yönelimi önyargısını düzeltmek amacıyla, Belarus cumhurbaşkanı "çok yönlü" bir dış politika ilan etmiştir. Bu durum, Asya, Afrika ve Latin Amerika ülkeleriyle bağların yoğunlaşmasında ve ülkenin 1998'de Bağlantısızlar Hareketi'ne katılımında ortaya çıkmıştır (Dwan & Pavliuk, 2015, s. 81). Aynı zamanda, öncelikle NATO ve AB'ye yönelmiş batı komşularıyla (Polonya ve Baltık ülkeleri) ilişkilerin geliştirilmesini amaçlayan Belarus çevresinde bir "komşuluk kuşağı" oluşturma kavramı ortaya konulmuştur. Ancak, Batı devletleriyle olan ilişkilerin iyileştirilmesinde önemli derecede başarı sağlanamamıştır.

Rusya Devlet Başkanı Vladimir Putin iktidara geldikten sonra, Rusya ile Belarus ilişkilerinin geliştirilmesinde ekonomiyi etkili olarak kullanan pragmatist bir politika izlemiştir (Trenin, 2009, s. 17). İlk olarak, iki ülkenin birbirleriyle bütünleşmesine (Anayasa Yasası'nın imzalanması ve tek bir para biriminin getirilmesi gibi konularda) çalışılmış, ancak karşılıklı çıkarlarının uyuşmaması nedeniyle bu çabalar belirsiz bir zamana ertelenmiştir. Belarus, Putin'in Belarus'un Rusya Federasyonu'na bir bütün olarak ya da altı bölge olarak entegre edilmesi konusundaki önerilerini reddetmiştir. Diğer taraftan, Belarus-Rusya ilişkilerinin gelişmesi, enerji ve ticaret alanlarında yaşanan sorunlar nedeniyle gölgede kalmıştır. Rusya, geleneksel olarak Belarus'un ana ticaret ortağı ve Belarus malları için en büyük ihracat pazarı olmuştur. 2018 rakamlarına göre Belarus ihracatının % 38,4'ü ve ithalatın % 58,9 Rusya ile yapılmaktadır (Foreign trade of Belarus in 2018, 2019).

1990'ların ikinci yarısında, Belarus'un Asya ve Arap ülkeleriyle olan ilişkileri yoğunlaşmıştır. Aleksandr Lukaşenko'nun Çin, Hindistan, Vietnam, Suriye, Mısır ve Asya-Pasifik bölgesinin diğer ülkelere resmi ziyaretler yapmış, bu ziyaretlerde, ikili siyasi, ekonomik, ticaret ve askeri bağların güçlendirilmesi konusu ele alınmıştır. Cumhurbaşkanı Alexander Lukashenko'nun 1995, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2019 yıllarında Çin'e resmi ziyaretlerde bulunmuştur (Lukashenko begins working visit to China, 2019). Buna karşılık Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Başkanı Jiang Zemin (2001), Başkan Yardımcısı Hu Jintao (2000) ve Xi Jinping (2010), Başbakan Wen Jiabao (2007), Li Peng (1995) Daimî Komite Başkanı olarak) Belarus'a ziyarette bulunmuşlardır. Aralık 2005'te, iki ülkenin liderleri, Belarus-Çin ilişkilerinin stratejik işbirliği seviyesine ulaştığının not edildiğine dair Ortak Deklarasyonu imzalamışlardır (Belarus President's official visit to China begins, 2013). Belarus Cumhuriyeti, uluslararası örgütlerde Çin girişimlerini desteklemiş ve tek Çin politikasına olan desteğini vurgulamıştır. Belarus-Çin arasındaki ekonomik ve ticari ilişkiler artarak gelişmiştir.

Belarus Cumhuriyeti, Orta Doğu'daki devletlerle de diplomatik ilişkiler kurmuştur. İran, Suriye, İsrail, Filistin, Irak ve Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri (BAE) gibi ülkelerin büyükelçilikleri Minsk'te faaliyet göstermektedir. Belarus diplomasisi, Belarus ürünlerinin yurtdışına erişimini ve satışını sağlamaya, yeni pazarlar geliştirmeye, enerji kaynaklarını çeşitlendirmeye olanak sağlayacak "bölgesinde kendisini destekleyecek ülkeleri içine alan bir yay oluşturmayı ve "ekonomik diplomasiyi" güçlendirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu görevlerin yerine getirilmesi, Belarus'un Yakın ve Orta Doğu bölgesindeki diplomatik misyonlarının çalışmalarının ana odağı haline gelmiştir. Bu maksatla, Mısır, Suriye, Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri, İsrail ve İran'da Büyükelçilikler açılmıştır (Our relations with countries of Africa and Middle East., 2017).

Belarus ve bölge ülkeleri düzenli olarak karşılıklı üst düzey ziyaretler gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Belarus Cumhurbaşkanı iki kez 1998 ve 2006'da resmi olarak İran'ı ziyaret etmiştir. İran Cumhurbaşkanı Hatemi 2004'te, Ahmedinejad ise 2007'de Belarus'u ziyaret etmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Alexander Lukashenko ve İran İslam Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Hasan Ruhani, Haziran 2018'de Çin'deki Şangay İş Birliği Teşkilatı (ŞİT) zirvesinde bir araya gelmiş, Eylül 2018'de, İran Danışma Meclisi Başkanı Ali Laricani liderliğindeki bir heyet Belarus'u ziyaret etmiştir. Tahran'la ilişkiler, ticaret, ekonomi, yatırım, eğitim, kültür vb. alanlarını kapsamaktadır. Ocak 2018'de Belarus-İran Ekonomik İşbirliği Komisyonu Tahran'da bir toplantı düzenlemiştir (Sivitsk, 2016, s. 11). Diğer taraftan, Pakistan ile çeşitli seviyelerde düzenli bir etkileşim söz konusudur. 2015 ve 2016'da Belarus Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Aleksandr Lukaşenko Pakistan'ı ziyaret etmiş, böylece parlamentolar ve diğer kurumlar arasında ilişkilerin gelişmesine kapı aralamıştır. Diğer taraftan, Belarus Cumhurbaşkanı, 1998'de Mısır'a, 2003'te Suriye'ye, 2000'de İsrail'e ve Filistin'e, 2000, 2007 ve 2013'te Birleşik Arap Emirlikleri'ne, 2002'de Bahreyn Krallığı ve Kuveyt'e, 2007'de Umman'a, 2011'de ise Katar'a resmi ziyaretlerde bulunmuştur. 2004-2005 yılları arasında Belarus ve Lübnan cumhurbaşkanları arasında karşılıklı ziyaretler yapılmıştır. 2010 yılında Suriye Cumhurbaşkanı Beşar Esad, 2019 yılında ise Mısır

Cumhurbaşkanı Abdel Fattah el-Sisi Belarus Cumhuriyeti'ni ziyaret etmiştir (Lukashenko, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi sum up Egypt leader's official visit to Belarus, 2019).

Yukarıda ifade edilen ikili ilişkilerden de anlaşılabilir olduğu gibi, Belarus dış politika uygulayıcılarının önceliği ekonomik alanda ilişkilerin geliştirilmesine verdiği görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte genel olarak, siyasi diyalog kanallarının açılması ve muhafaza edilmesi, parlamentolar arası temaslar, akademik, bilimsel ve teknik iş birliği, bölge ülkeleriyle kültürel alışveriş gibi konularda gelişmeler sağlandığı öne sürülebilir.

Asya ve Arap ülkelerinden başka, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin dış politika faaliyetleri 2000 yılından itibaren Latin Amerika ülkelerine de uzanmaya başlamıştır. İlk olarak Küba bu ülkelerin başında gelmektedir. Öncelikle, Belarus Cumhurbaşkanı Alexander Lukashenko'nun 2000 yılında Küba'ya resmi ziyareti iki devlet arasındaki iş birliğini artırmıştır. Bu ziyarette Dostluk ilişkileri ve iş birliği konulu bir anlaşma imzalanması ziyaretin önemli sonuçları arasındadır. Bu ziyarette, genel olarak, ticaret ve ekonomi, sağlık, kültür, sertifikasyon ve konsolosluk ilişkilerinde iş birliği konusunda hükümetler arası ve kurumlar arası 17 anlaşma imzalanmıştır.

Başkan Alexander Lukashenko 2000'de ve daha sonra da 2012'de Küba'yı ziyaret etmiştir. Bu ziyaretlerde çeşitli alanlarda işbirliği anlaşmaları imzalanmıştır (On the Official Visit of Belarus' Prime Minister to Cuba, 2006; Alexander Lukaşenko makes official visit to Cuba, 2012). Belarus-Latin Amerika ilişkilerinin gelişimindeki diğer önemli bir vakıa ise, iki cumhurbaşkanının yıllık toplantı düzenlemesinin başlangıcını oluşturan Venezüella Cumhurbaşkanı Hugo Chavez'in 2006 yılında Minsk' yaptığı resmi ziyaretidir (Rowcroft, 2009, s. 108). Bu ziyaretten sonra Chavez 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 yıllarında Belarus'a çalışma ziyaretlerinde bulunmuştur. Ardından, Lukashenko ve Chavez, stratejik ortaklık, karşılıklı destek, karşılıklı yarar getiren iş birliğinin genişletilmesi konularında bir yönelimi ilan eden Ortak Deklarasyonu imzalanmışlardır. Venezuela Belarus'un petrol tedarikinde Rusya ile karşılaştığı güçlükleri karşılama yoluna gitmiş, bu nedenle Venezuela ve Belarus arasında ticari ve ekonomik iş birliği yoğun bir şekilde gelişmiştir. Her iki ülkenin ekonomik kuruluşları arasındaki sözleşmelerin uygulanması sonucu ticaret hacmi 2009 yılında 1 milyar dolar, 2011'de ise 1,3 milyar dolara ulaşmıştır. 2012 yılında Belarus hükümeti, Venezüella'dan gelen petrol arzının kârlı olmadığını kabul etmiş ve daha önce Rusya'dan aldığı önceki plana geri dönmüştür (Sivitsk, 2016, s. 12). 2013'te Hugo Chavez'in ölümünden sonra, iki ülke arasındaki ticarete keskin bir düşüş yaşanmıştır.

Belarus, Asya, Arap ve Latin Amerika ülkelerinin yanı sıra Afrika ülkeleri ile de ilişkiler kurmaya çalışmıştır. İlk olarak, 1996-1998 yılları arasında Belarus hükümet delegasyonları Mısır, Tunus, Libya ve Güney Afrika'ya bir dizi ziyaretler gerçekleştirmiştir. Belarus Cumhurbaşkanı 1998'de Mısır'ı ve 2000'de Libya'yı ziyaret etmiştir. Libya lideri Muhammed Kaddafi, Uganda ve Sudan başkanları ile Belarus'u ziyaret etmiştir. Afrika'da, Belarus, Mısır, Libya, Nijerya ve Güney Afrika'da elçilikler bulunmaktadır. Bazı Afrika ülkelerinde, Belarus elçileri eşzamanlı olarak akredite edilirken, sırayla, pek çok Afrika ülkesinin elçileri de aynı anda Belarus'ta akredite edilmiştir. Yakın zamana kadar Belarus, Cezayir, Mısır, Libya, Fas, Uganda ve Güney Afrika ile siyasi ve ekonomik ilişkilerin

geliştirilmesinde en üst seviyeye ulaşmıştır. Bununla birlikte, 2011 “Arap Baharı” olaylarından sonra, Mısır ve Libya bu ülkelerde meydana gelen iktidar değişiminden sonra bu listeden çıkmıştır. Ancak, Aleksandr Lukaşenko, 2017’de Mısır’ı ziyaret etmiş ve bu ziyarette karşılıklı ticaret konusunda bir eylem planı hazırlanmıştır. Diğer taraftan Mısır Cumhurbaşkanı Sisi de 18 Haziran 2019’da Belarus’u ziyaret etmiştir (Negotiations with Egypt President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, 2019).

Belarus Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı’nın resmi web sitesine göre, ülkenin şu andaki dış politikasının ana öncelikli alanları, komşu ülkeler, başta “Birlik Devleti” olarak adlandırılan Birlikte stratejik işbirliği yapılan Rusya Federasyonu olmak üzere, BDT’ye üye ülkeler, Avrasya Ekonomik Birliği, Kolektif Güvenlik Antlaşması Örgütü, Avrupa Birliği olarak sıralanmaktadır (Priorities of the foreign policy of the Republic of Belarus, 2019).

Belarus’un dünya güç, kültür ve medeniyet merkezlerinin sınırında önemli jeopolitik bir konuma sahip olması, ülkenin sayısız Avrupa savaşları ve çatışmalarının yıkıcı sonuçlarından muztarip olan rahatsız edici bir tarihinin olması Belarus dış politikasının çok yönlü olması için rasyonel bir gerekçe sunmaktadır. Çoklu yönlü dış politika, “dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerindeki devletlerle dengeli yapıcı ilişkilerin geliştirilmesini öneren temel bir ilke olarak kabul edilmektedir. Söz konusu devletlerle bir diyalog kurarken ve onlarla karşılıklı kazanca dayanan bir iş birliği yaparken, Belarus’a, pragmatizm ve tutarlılık, karşılıklı saygı, eşitlik, içişlere müdahale etmeme, baskı ve güç kullanmama ilkeleri rehberlik etmektedir.

Görüldüğü gibi Belarus’un “stratejik seçimi” onun önemli jeopolitik bir konumu sahip olması ve bu nedenle de tarihsel süreçte yaşadığı sorunlardan kaynaklanmaktadır. Örnek olarak, Cumhurbaşkanı Aleksandr Lukaşenko 22 Temmuz 2004 tarihli “Belarus Cumhuriyeti’nin Yeni Dünyadaki Dış Politikası” başlıklı raporunda, ülkenin iki dev arasındaki konumunu (AB ve Rusya) belirtmekte ve bunun için hangi seçimin yapılacağına ilişkin soruyu bir konuşmasında şöyle yanıt vermekte: “Avrupa Birliği veya Rusya, genellikle bize kader olarak dayatmaya çalıştıkları seçim, Doğu veya Batı hiçbir şekilde bir seçim değildir. Bu yanlış bir ikilemdir.” demektedir. Başka bir konuşmasında da çok yönlü bir dış politika takip edeceklerini şu sözleriyle teyit etmektedir: “Dış politikamız temelde çoklu yönlüdür. Bu yaklaşım etkinliğini kanıtlamıştır ve bu politikayı terk etmeyi düşünmüyoruz” (Report of the President of Belarus A.G.Lukashenko in the Third All Belarusian National Assembly, 2006).

Belarus’un “stratejik seçimi” kavramı, Belarus Cumhuriyeti Devlet Başkanı’nın 6 Aralık 2010’da 4. Belarus Cumhuriyeti Meclisi’nde sunduğu raporunda şöyle yazılmıştır: “Belarus’un Batı ile Doğu arasında bir kavşak ve geçiş yollarının birleştiği bir anayol statüsü ona jeopolitik olarak bahşedilen bir statüdür. Fakat bir bariyer, tampon ya da bir kordon gibi değil, hiçbir şekilde bir avlu da yoktur”. Raporda, Belarus’un yaptığı stratejik seçimin Doğu ve Batı’ya eşit yakınlık kavramı ile geliştirildiği ifade edilmektedir. Cumhurbaşkanı Lukashenko bu raporda: “Avrupa Birliği ile Rusya arasında bir seçim yapma niyetinde değiliz. Aptalca ve yanlış olurdu. Biz ne Doğu’ya ne de Batı’ya gitmeyiz. Avrupa’da, Rabbimizin halkımıza verdiği, jeopolitik kimliğimizin ve ulusal çıkarlarımızın en önemlisi

olan herkesle dengeli bir etkileşimde bulunmalı, tüm çevremiz boyunca iyi bir komşuluk kuşağı oluşturmalıyız” demektedir (Report of the President of Belarus A.G.Lukashenko in the Third All Belarusian National Assembly, 2010).

Ancak, her ne kadar AB ile ilişkilere önem verilse de Janeliūnas’a göre Alexander Lukashenko, her zaman büyük komşusu Rusya tarafından desteklendiği için AB tarafından izole edilme konusunda oldukça sakin kalabilmiştir. Moskova Lukaşenko rejimini tanıdığı ve Belarus ekonomisine büyük destek sağladığı için Belarus ve Rusya ilişkileri uzun zamandır oldukça başarılı olmuştur. Rusya desteğinin en önemli yönü, Rusya iç pazarında uygulananlarla neredeyse aynı koşullarda Belarus'a enerji tedariki olmuş, ucuz petrol ve doğal gaz Lukashenko rejiminin devlet kontrolündeki bir ekonomiyi sürdürmesine, serbest piyasa ekonomisinin gelişimini duraklatmasına ve aynı zamanda ekonomik büyümeyi sağlamasına imkan sağlamıştır (Janeliunas, 2006, s. 132).

2011 yılına gelindiğinde ise “Eşit Yakınlık” kavramı geliştirilmiştir. Belarus Parlamentosuna 21 Nisan 2011'de yaptığı konuşmada Lukashenko, Belarus’un Avrupa'da “iki güç kutupları arasında dengeli bir etkileşim” gerektiren özel bir yere sahip olduğunu yinelemiştir. Bu konuşmanın akabinde, coğrafi konumdan ve ülkenin transit ve sınai potansiyelinden faydalanmasını sağlayan “Doğu ve Batı'ya eşit yakınlık stratejisi” ortaya konmuştur. Bu stratejisi kısaca, Rusya ile ilgili olarak, bağımsızlık ve bütünleşme arasında denge kurmak, Avrupa Birliği ile ilgili olarak, politik olarak kendini diğer ülkelerden izole etme ile ekonomik işbirliği için beklentilerle birlikte normalleşme arasında denge kurmak, yani eş zamanlı olarak Avrupa Birliği için Belarus’un bağımsızlığını Rusya’dan korumaya çalışırken; Rusya için ise ortak değerlerini ve çıkarlarını Batı’dan korumayı hedefleyerek ikisi arasında denge kurmaya ihtimam göstermek şeklindedir (Pazdnyak, 2011, s. 176).

Belarus’un Doğu ve Batı’ya “eşit yakınlık” kavramı bir strateji olarak ortaya konga da Batı ile ilişkilerin iyi düzeyde olmadığı da bir gerçektir. Bu ilişkiler, cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerinin sonuçlarına ilişkin Merkez Seçim Komisyonu tarafından mevcut cumhurbaşkanının kazandığını ilan eden açıklamaya karşı 19-20 Aralık 2010 tarihlerinde Minsk'te düzenlenen kitlesel protesto gösterilerinin yetkililerce dağıtılması sonrası en kötü zamanlarına dönmüştür. Diğer taraftan, Belarus’un bağımsızlığını kazandığı 1994 yılından günümüze kesintisiz olarak Aleksandr Lukashenko'nun tüm cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerini kazanması ve geniş yetkilere sahip olması, Batı değerleri açısından düşünüldüğünde, şüphe ile karşılanmakta, bu husus Batı ile ilişkilerin iyileştirilmesinin önünde en önemli engel olarak durmaktadır.

2014 yılında Ukrayna'da süregelen güç değişimi ve silahlı çatışma sonucu patlak veren Rus-Amerikan ve Rus-Avrupa ilişkilerinde yaşanan derin kriz, Belarus'un dış politikası üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olmuştur. Çünkü, “Russky Mir” ya da Rus dünyasına ait Rusça konuşanları savunmak bahanesiyle Doğu Ukrayna'ya asker göndermesi Belarus'ta endişeye neden olmuştur. Rusya'nın bahsettiği bu girift kültürel alan aynı zamanda Belarus’un çoğunu, Kazakistan'ın bölümlerini ve üç Baltık Devletindeki büyük nüfusları da içermektedir.

2016 yılı sonunda ve daha sonra 2018’de zaman zaman, Rusya'nın Belarus süt ürünleri ithalatına getirdiği kısıtlamalar veya bu yöndeki tehditler Rusya ile ikili ilişkileri gün geçtikçe kötüleştirir. Ukrayna’da yaşanan en son vaka aslında bir bakıma Batı ile ilişkileri düzeltme adına Belarus için bir fırsat olabilirdi. Ancak 2020’ye kadar kayda değer bir iyileşme mümkün olmamıştır.

4. SONUÇ

Bağımsızlık sonrası yaklaşık 25 yıl süren bağımsız varoluş deneyimi, Belarus Cumhuriyeti'nin diğer Sovyet sonrası ülkeler gibi, yeni bir bağımsız Avrupa devleti olarak zor ve tartışmalı oluşum sürecini sürdürdüğünü göstermektedir. Bağımsızlık fikri geniş kitleler arasında hâlâ hâkim olmamasına ve Belarosluların ulusal kimliğinin zayıf kalmaya devam etmesine rağmen, bütün nesnel ve öznel zorluklar, başarısızlıklar ve yanlış hesaplamalarla birlikte, Belarus’un Cumhurbaşkanı Aleksandr Lukashenko'nun etrafında konsolide olmuş politik sınıfı ülkeyi nispeten bağımsızca yönetebileceklerini ortaya koymuştur.

Belarus dış politikasının oluşumu süreci devam etmektedir. Belarus, nükleer silahlardan gönüllü olarak vazgeçen ilk ülke olarak, uluslararası ve Avrupa güvenliği ile silahsızlanma sürecine manidar bir katkı sağlamıştır. Aynı zamanda, çevre ülkelerle iyi komşuluk ilişkileri kurulmuştur. Bununla birlikte, Sovyetler sonrası bağımsızlığını kazanmış diğer ülkelerle bütünleşme bağlarını geliştirmeye devam etmektedir.

Başarılarla birlikte, özellikle 1990'ların ikinci yarısından itibaren, Belarus dış politikasının eksiklikleri de ortaya çıkmıştır. 1994 yılında, Lukashenko'nun 39 yaşında ülkenin ilk cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimini kazanmasından günümüze kadar geçen 25 yıl boyunca, ABD ve Avrupa Birliği, demokratikleşme ve insan haklarını desteklemek amacıyla, Belarus'u diplomatik olarak izole etme politikası izlemiştir. Bu çaba 2006 yılında Belarus rejimine karşı ekonomik ve seyahat yaptırımlarının dayatılmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır.

Belarus’un jeopolitik ve Joe-ekonomik konumunun avantajları henüz istenilen seviyede kullanılamamıştır. İyi komşuluk ve geniş kapsamlı iş birliğine yönelik fırsatlar özellikle Rusya tarafından sınırlandırılmış, Belarus’un Rusya’ya olan finansal, ekonomik ve askeri-politik bağımlılığı son yıllarda azalmamış aksine artmıştır. Batı ve etkili Avrupa ve transatlantik örgütlerle (Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa Konseyi ve NATO) ilişkilerin kötüye gitmesi, Belarus’un uluslararası pozisyonlarının ve dış politika potansiyelinin zayıflamasına neden olmuştur.

Lukashenko, yıllarca güçlü bir ulusal kimlik bilincinin oluşması için çaba sarf etmemiştir. Çünkü Belarus vatansızlığını siyasi düşmanlarının sponsor olduğu yıkıcı bir proje olarak görmüştür. Bu nedenle göreve geldikten kısa bir süre sonra Rusya ile ekonomik bütünleşmeyi onaylayan ve Rusçaya Belaruşça ile eşit statüde veren bir referandum düzenlemiştir. Ancak, Rusya’nın Kırım’ı ilhak ettikten sonra Lukashenko’nun yukarıda bahsedilen düşünceleri 2014’te değişmeye başlamıştır (Higgins, 2019).

Öncelikli konu, Belarus’un ulusal ve uluslararası kimliğinin güçlendirilmesi, kendi kendine yeten bir Avrupa devleti haline getirilmesinin yanı sıra, Belarus’u Rusya gibi daha güçlü komşularına

bağımlı bir ülke olmaya mahkûm eden zararlı tarihsel ve politik geleneklerin zayıflatılması ve uzun vadede aşılması olmalıdır. Bu zorunlulukların gerçekleştirilmesinin ana koşulu, Belarus'ta demokrasi ve evrensel hukuk ilkelerinin güçlendirilmesinin elzem olmasıdır. Komşu Orta ve Doğu Avrupa devletlerinin gelişme aşamaları göstermektedir ki, Belarus Cumhuriyeti, kendi uygarlık ve jeopolitik yerini bulmadaki sapma ve zorluklara rağmen, zaman içinde ait olduğu bölgenin komşu ülkeleriyle daha fazla benzerlik kazanarak normal bir Avrupa devleti olma şansını yakalayabilir.

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ARŞİVLENEN BELLEK OLARAK POSTA PULLARI VE SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL İŞLEVLERİ: KUZEY KIBRIS ÖRNEĞİ

POSTAGE STAMPS AS AN ARCIVED MEMORY AND ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL FUNCTION: NORTH CYPRUS EXAMPLE

Dilan ÇİFTÇİ¹, Orhan ÇİFTÇİ¹

1. Yrd. Doç. Dr., Yakınođu Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi, dilan.ciftci@neu.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3806-3915>
2. Prof. Dr., Kıbrıs İlim Üniversitesi, Rehberlik Ve Psikolojik Danışmanlık Anabilim Dalı, orhanciftci@csu.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2217-2781>

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Öz

19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında posta pullarının kullanımı, posta ücretinin ödendiğini gösteren belge olarak kabul edilmiş olsa da zamanla posta pulları tarihin simülasyonları olarak basit resimler ve çizimler içeren etiketler şeklinde yaygınlık kazanmıştır. Kıbrıs özelinde pullar ve onların temsiliyeti üzerine yapılan çalışmaların bulunmaması sebebiyle bu çalışmada 1970-1998 yılları arasında hazırlanan pulların incelenmesi Raento ve Brunn'un (2005) Sixteen Thematic Categories of Stamps kodlama cetveli kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Bu amaçla, çalışma kapsamında amaçlı örneklem metodu ile belirlenen 418 pul incelenmiştir. Elde edilen bulgular çerçevesinde, 1970-1998 yıllarında Kıbrıs toplumu ve cumhuriyetin tanıtımı amacıyla doğa ve sanat temalı posta pullarının basımının öne çıktığı görülmüştür. Bunun yanında söz konusu tarih aralığında posta pullarında KKTC ve TC arasındaki resmi ziyaretlerin anısına basılan pullar da dikkat çekmektedir. Bu bağlamda dünya futbol organizasyonları ve olimpiyatları için hazırlanan posta pullarının oldukça yaygın kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Aynı zamanda posta pullarının ülkelerin doğasını ve sağlık gibi temalarını tanıtım amacıyla basıldıklarını da söylenebilir. Bütün bunlara ilaveten tarihi mekanların, çiçek türlerinin ve hayvanların, resmi kuruluşların anısına da posta pullarının yayınlandığını görülmektedir. Bu çalışmada posta pullarında ideoloji ve propaganda yerine Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun oluşumu ve dünyaya entegre olması üzerinde yoğunlaşıldığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tarih Anlatısı, Simülasyon, Posta Pulları, Kültürel Bellek, Arşivlenen Bellek,

Abstract

Although the use of postage stamps in the first half of the 19th century was accepted as a document indicating that the postage was paid, postage stamps became widespread in the form of simulations of history, including simple paintings and drawings. The lack of studies on the postage stamps and their representation in Cyprus, this study prepared between 1970-1998 postage stamps were analyzed by using the code of the Sixteen Thematic Categories of Stamps of Raento and Brunn (2005). For this purpose, 418 postage stamps determined by the purposive sampling method. It was revealed that stamps of nature-themed and art-themed postage stamps were used extensively between 1970 and 1998 for the purpose of introducing and promoting the Cypriot society and the republic. With the presentations on postage stamps, it is important to emphasize the state visits between the TRNC and the TC and to be integrated with the world. In this study, the formation of Turkish Cypriot community come to the fore in the rate of political messages and ideologies containing propaganda in postage stamps.

Keywords: History Narrative, Simulation, Postage Stamps, Cultural Memory, Archived Memory,

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Research Problem

In this study, which was examined in terms of cultural memory and presentation codes on postage stamps, it clearly revealed socio-cultural changes in Northern Cyprus between 1970 and 1998 and the issues and situations that Turkish Cypriots put forward in order to adapt to the world. In this context, contrary to the stamps that are expected to emerge as political representations, it will not be wrong to say that the intensity of stamps on themes such as nature and health in the period in question was intended to promote rather than political propaganda. In the postage stamps examined within the scope of the study, historical stamps, flowers, animals and stamps made in memory of the establishment of official institutions and organizations attract attention. In this respect, it would be appropriate to say that the stamps between 1970-1998 are important reference sources for the establishment and subsequent promotion of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Research Questions

In presentation codes postage stamp relations with the Republic of Turkey metaphorically prepared with stamps for official visit to the state in 1974 to depict sports in terms of the desire to integrate with the world theme under the World Cup and the scales prepared for the Olympics stands out. In addition, the United Nations and the British Royal family stamps on the island's influence and continuity of external actors on the island is presented. In addition to this, the founding of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the people selected for representation in the stamps containing important people are the prominent people for the Turkish Cypriot people. The aim of this study is to question and determine the possible postage stamps of Cyprus based on the memory of history. The production of the point stamps emphasized here is not only appealing to the period in which they were produced, but also to the past. What is important here is about the dominance and style of expression of deep histories.

Literature Review

Stamps do not consist of small pieces of paper affixed to envelopes and packages. On the contrary, as Pierce (1996: 62) states that "stamps represent sovereignty pul, stamps differ only from the state currencies used by the state themselves. Since stamps have this 'internal-external' role, they can be regarded as windows of the state. According to Brunn (2000), it is often possible to read the history of states with long stamps. If this history involves major conflicts or the transition from colonial status to political independence, stamps can show copyright, colonial events, military conflicts, monuments, personalities and events contributing to independence, and recent cultural achievements. Since the first stamps are important elements in state iconography, great care is taken to plan designs, colors, images, symbols and messages. Since symbolism and imagination are very important in state iconography, the authorities responsible for the promotion of cultural history can plan their first flag, a famous monument, a national coat of arms, and first stamps to show an important event in its history. The stamps are also

related to international events such as Olympic games, major regional or global conferences, and important events in world history. States can be announced through the stamps of Olympic medals and international award winners (scientists, writers and diplomats). Some countries issue stamps to commemorate the events of other countries, such as America's biennial, the birth of Shakespeare and commemoration of world treaties. European countries issue EUROPA stamps each year with a common theme.

Methodology

In this study, stamps were discussed as the simulation of history through the memorial practices that he mostly applied while explaining the restructuring and shaping of social memory. However, in terms of historical time, representation and social memory, stamps are important in terms of both pointing to the historical process and representing the historical process it points to in terms of their rhetoric. In this context, a total of 418 stamps were examined in this study together with the 1970-1998 (28 year) stamp archive. The coding table created for the examination of the stamps in terms of the said historical time and representation of the stamps was prepared by adapting to the study based on the conceptualization of Raento and Brunn (2005) Sixteen Thematic Categories of Stamps. Permission was obtained from the authors to translate the mentioned categories and scale into Turkish. The declaration of permission is given in the attachment.

Results and Conclusions

In this study, which was examined in terms of cultural memory and presentation codes on postage stamps, it clearly revealed socio-cultural changes in Northern Cyprus between 1970 and 1998 and the issues and situations that Turkish Cypriots put forward in order to adapt to the world. In this context, contrary to the stamps that are expected to emerge as political representations, it will not be wrong to say that the intensity of stamps on themes such as nature and health in the period in question was intended to promote rather than political propaganda. In the postage stamps examined within the scope of the study, historical stamps, flowers, animals and stamps made in memory of the establishment of official institutions and organizations attract attention. In this respect, it would be appropriate to say that the stamps between 1970-1998 are important reference sources for the establishment and subsequent promotion of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

1. GİRİŞ

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Kıbrıs'ın kuzeyinde yayınlanan posta pullarının, tarihin belleğe katılımını sorgulamak ve anlamaktır. Bu çalışmada üzerinde durulan nokta pulların yalnızca üretildikleri döneme hitap eden değil, aynı zamanda geçmişi bugüne taşımasıdır. Burada önemli olan derin tarihlerin baskınlığı ve anlatım biçimi seçimidir. Bu çalışmada, tarihin anlatıları, bellek ve kolektif hatırlama, bilginin ve maddi kültür ögesi olarak pulların hatırlatma gücüne ilişkin olarak anma törenleri ve anmalarla ilgili pullar bağlamında tartışılacaktır.

Geleneksel medya aracı olarak kabul edilen kitle iletişim araçlarının yoğun etkinliği gerçekliğinden yola çıkarak 19. Yüzyıl iletişim sürecine dönüldüğünde pullar posta ücretinin ödendiğini göstermek amacıyla üretilmiş ve kullanılmıştır. Genellikle küçük resimlerden oluşan bu pulların devletlerarası diplomaside çoğunlukla propaganda malzemesi olarak da kullanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, farklı dönemlerde ve farklı ülkeler bağlamında posta pullarının sanatsal değeri ve ideolojik önemi üzerinde duran önemli çalışmalar bulunmasına rağmen (Reid, 1984; Davis, 1985; Lauritzen, 1988; Nuessel ve Cicagno, 1992; Lutz ve Collins, 1993; Rose, 1996, 2001; Brunn, 2000; Banks, 2001; Goin, 2001; van Leeumanen ve Jewitt, 2001; Sturken ve Cartwright, 2001; Child, 2005; Dobson, 2002; Deans ve Dobson, 2005; Raento ve Brunn, 2005; Raento, 2006; Raento, 2016; Brunn, 2017; Klamar, Slivkova ve Brunn, 2018) Kıbrıs genelinde ve Kuzey Kıbrıs özelinde üretilen ve dolaşıma giren posta pullarının toplumsal bellek ve kültürel bellek ekseninde incelenmesi ile ilgili çalışmaların olmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

2. KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

2.1. Pulları Görsel Temsil Olarak Okumak

Pullar, zarflara ve paketlere yapıştırılmış küçük kağıt parçalarından ibaret değildir. Aksine, Pierce'in (1996: 62) "pulların egemenliği ifade etmesini" belirttiği üzere gibi pullar, yalnızca devletin kendileri tarafından kullanılan devlet para birimlerinden farklıdır. Pulların bu 'iç-dış' rolü olduğu için devletin pencereleri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Brunn (2000)'e göre uzun geçmişi olan devletler tarihlerini pullarıyla okumak çoğu zaman mümkündür. Bu tarih büyük çatışmalar veya sömürge statüsünden politik bağımsızlığa geçişi içeriyorsa, pullar telif hakkını, sömürgeci olayları, askeri çatışmaları, anıtları, bağımsızlığa katkıda bulunan kişilikleri ve olayları ve son kültürel başarıları gösterebilir. İlk pullar devlet ikonografisinde önemli unsurlar olduğu için tasarımları, renkleri, görüntüleri, sembolleri ve mesajları planlamaya büyük özen gösterilmektedir. Devlet ikonografisinde sembolizm ve imgelem çok önemli olduğu için kültürel tarihin tanıtımından sorumlu yetkililer, yeni bayraklarını, ünlü bir anıtı, ulusal armayı, tarihinin önemli bir etkinliğini göstermek için ilk pullarını planlayabilirler.

Pullar ayrıca olimpiyat oyunları, büyük bölgesel veya küresel konferanslar ve dünya tarihindeki önemli olaylar gibi uluslararası etkinliklerle de ilgilidir. Devletler Olimpiyat madalyalarının

kazanılmasını ve uluslararası ödül kazananlar (bilim adamları, yazarlar ve diplomatlar) pullar aracılığıyla ilan edilebilir. Bazı ülkeler, diğer ülkelerin olaylarını anmak için pullar yayımlar: Amerika'nın iki yılda bir, Shakespeare'in doğumu ve dünya anlaşmalarını anma pulları yayınlaması gibi. Avrupa ülkeleri her yıl ortak bir temayla EUROPA pulları çıkarmaktadır.

2.2. Bellek Mekân Olarak Pullar

Toplumsal belleğin kökeni ile ilgili güçlü bir açıklama, Maurice Halbwachs'ın klasik eseri 'On Collective Memory' (1992) adlı eserinde önerilmiştir. Halbwachs (1992), hatıraların doğası ve oluşumu üzerine yaptığı ilk çalışmalarında yazılı metinlerin bir araya gelerek toplumların koleksiyonunda birleşmesini toplumsal bellek olarak açıklar. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) toplumsal bellek üzerine yaptığı çalışmada, aileler, toplumsal sınıflar ve dinler arasındaki bireysel anılar ve toplumsal olan arasındaki çelişkileri vurgular. Bu çalışmada çerçeveler içindeki bellek, posta pulları aracılığıyla aracılı gerçeklik olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu nedenle, posta pulları, yeniden yapılanma sürecinde, aracılı yeniden yapılanmada kilit rol oynamaktadır (Halbwachs, 1992: 43).

3. YÖNTEM

Bu çalışmada pullar toplumsal belleğin yeniden yapılandırma ve şekillendirmeyi açıklarken çoğunlukla başvurduğu anma pratikleri üzerinden ve görsel temsil biçimleri olarak tarihin simülasyonu olarak ele alınmıştır. Bununla birlikte, tarihsel zaman, temsil ve toplumsal bellek açısından pullar hem tarihsel sürece işaret etmesi hem de işaret ettiği tarihsel süreci kendi retorikleri açısından temsil etmesi anlamında önemlidir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışmada 1970-1998 (28 yıllık) pul arşiviyle birlikte toplam 418 pul incelenmiştir. Pulların söz konusu tarihsel zaman ve temsiliyeti anlamında pulların incelenmesi için oluşturulan kodlama cetveli ile çalışmada nitel yöntem ile içerik analizi yapılmış, analiz sonuçlarının betimsel ortaya koyulması amacıyla kullanım sıklıklarına yönelik niceliksel açıklamalara da ayrıca yer verilmiştir. Bu yolla, çalışmada Raento ve Brunn'un (2005) Sixteen Thematic Categories of Stamps kavramsallaştırmasından yola çıkılarak çalışmaya uyarlanarak hazırlanmıştır. Söz konusu kategorilerin ve ölçeğin Türkçeye çevrilip kullanılması için yazarlardan izin alınmıştır. İzin beyanı ekte sunulmuştur. Bu bağlamda çalışmada kullanılacak olan pulların konulara göre değerlendirilmesini özetleyen kategoriler Tablo 1'de özetlenmektedir.

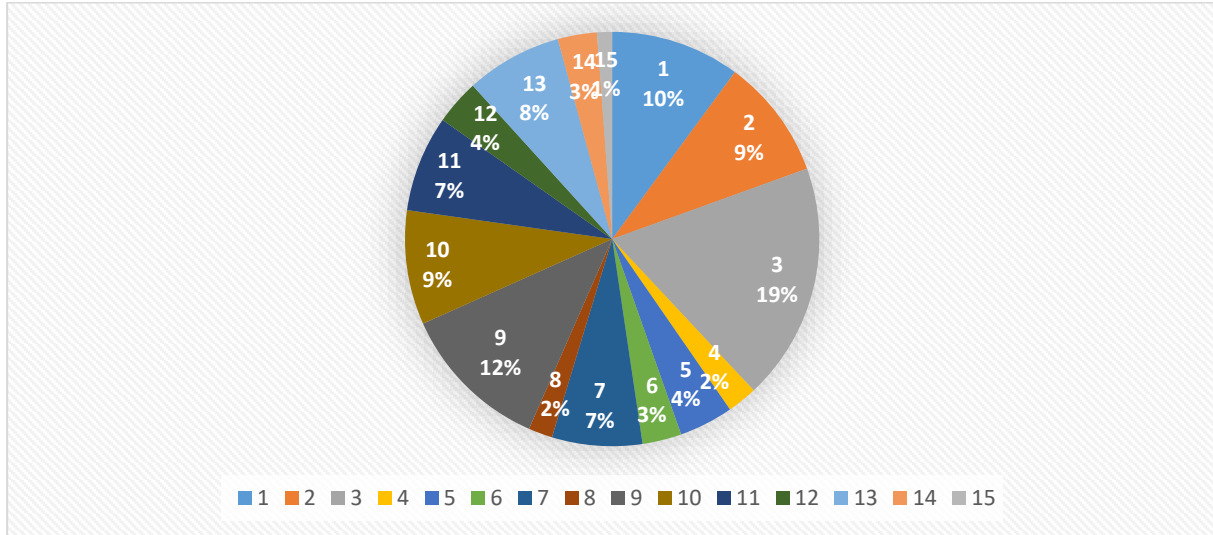
Tablo 1. Pulların Değerlendirilmesinde Kullanılan Temalar Cetveli

Pulların Teması	İçeriği
1.Turizm, Boş Zaman ve Rekreasyon	Bu kategorideki pullar turizm ve tanıtım amacıyla hazırlanmış.
2.Devlet	Bu kategorideki pullar KKTC'nin kuruluşu ve ilgilidir.
3.Doğa	Bu kategorideki pullar Kıbrıs adasının doğal güzellikleri ve tarımı ile ilgilidir.
4.Uluslararası Referanslar	Bu kategorideki pullar dünya genelinde kutlanan önemli olaylar ve kişilerin anısına hazırlanmıştır.
5.Sağlık, Refah ve İyi Olma	Bu kategorideki pullar herhangi bir sağlık sorununa işaret etmektedir. AIDS vb. gibi.
6.Ekonomi	Bu kategorideki pullar Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın gelir kaynakları ile ilgilidir.

7.Tanımlanabilir Bireyler	Bu kategorideki siyasi figürleri içermektedir.
8.Kadınlar, Çocuklar ve Engelliler	Bu kategorideki pullar kadın hakları, çocuk hakları ve dezavantajlı gruplarla ilgilidir.
9.Sanat ve Kültür	Bu kategorideki pullar sanat eserleri ile ilgilidir.
10.Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme	Bu kategorideki pullar Posta Dairesi ve telekomünikasyon biriminin kuruluşu ile ilgilidir.
11.Folklor, Ritüeller	Bu kategorideki pullar Kıbrıs kültürünü ve ritüellerini temsil etmektedir.
12.Savaş Güvenlik ve Silah	Bu kategorideki pullar savaş ve zaferlerin anısına hazırlanmıştır.
13.Spor	Bu kategorideki pullar olimpiyatlar ve dünya genelindeki spor faaliyetlerini içermektedir.
14.Eğitim, Bilim ve Araştırma	Bu kategorideki pullar buluşlar ve bilim insanlarını içermektedir.
15.Din	Bu kategorideki pullar dini konuları içermektedir.

Çalışmada kullanılan posta pulları Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Posta Bölümü (1999) tarafından yayınlanan A Description of the Commemorative Issues of Postage Stamps 1970-1988 başlıklı kitaptan edinilmiştir. Tablo 1’de belirtilen temalar çalışmanın örneklemini oluştururken anahtar kelimeler olarak da kullanılmıştır. Bu bağlamda söz konusu kitaptan anahtar sözcükler ışığında yayınlanan pulların fotoğrafları çekilerek 15 farklı kategoride arşivlenmiştir. Bu bilgiler ışığında çalışmanın evrenini kitaptaki paylaşılan tüm pullar oluştururken, amaçlı örneklem tekniği kullanılarak çalışmanın örneklemini 418 (n=418) posta pulu olarak belirlenmiştir. Şekil 1 15 farklı kategorideki 418 pulun 15 farklı kategoriye göre dağılımını ve yüzdelerini özetlemektedir.

Şekil 1. 15 Farklı Kategoride Listelenen Pulların Dağılımı

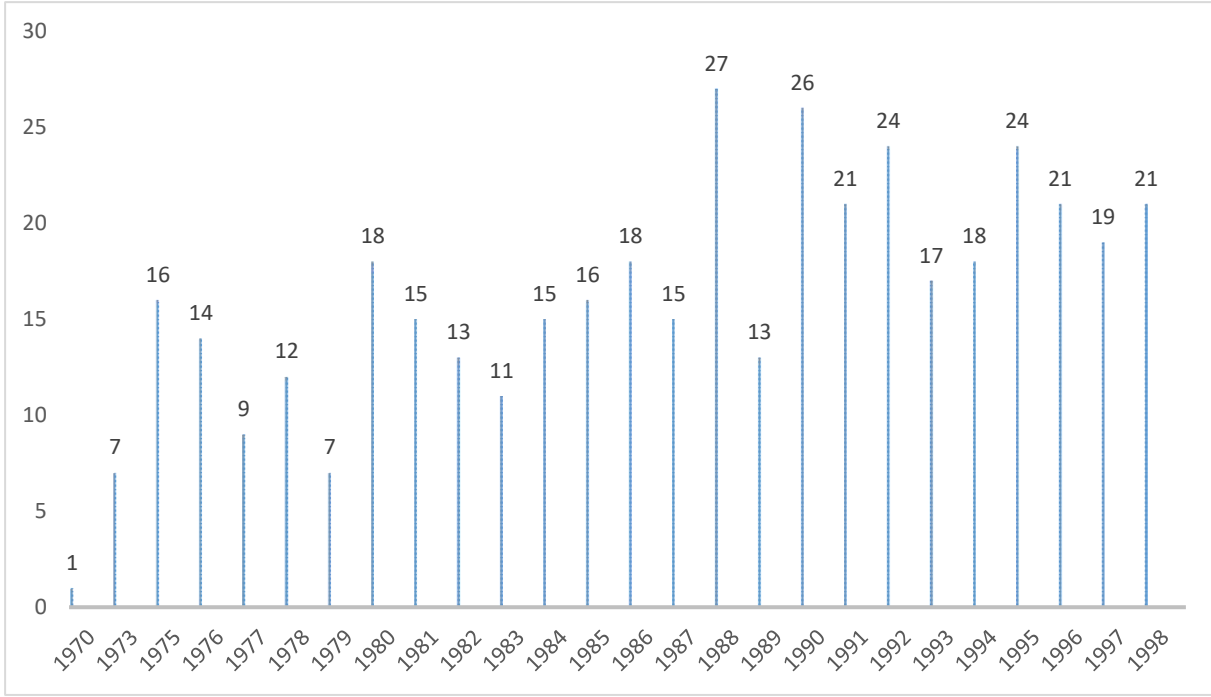


4. BULGULAR

Şekil 2’de en fazla pul basılan yıllar sırasıyla 1988 (n=27), 1990 (n=26), 1992 (n=24), 1991 (n=23)’dir. 1988 yılının ön plana çıkmasının nedeni ise KKTC’nin kuruluşunun 5. Yılı olmasıdır. 1990 yılında devlet büyüklerinin ziyareti sıklıkla pullarda yer almaktadır. Kenan Evren ve Yıldırım Akbulut’un ziyaretleri gibi 1991 ve 1992 yıllarında Kuzey Kıbrıs’ta yetişen kır çiçekleri ve doğa

güzelliği özellikle pulların temasını oluşturmaktadır. Şekil 2 pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir.

Şekil 2. Pulların Yıllara Göre Dağılımı



4.1. Birinci Grup Pullar: Turizm, Boş Zaman ve Rekreasyon Temalı Pullar

Turizm, boş zaman ve rekreasyon temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 43 (n=43) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pulların arasında turizm, boş zaman ve rekreasyon temasının öne çıktığı yıl 1975 (n=10)'dir. Bununla birlikte sırasıyla, 1982, 1991, 1992 ve 1995 te turizm temalı konular pullarda işlenmiştir. Birinci grup temayı içeren pullar arsında öne çıkanların bazıları şu şekilde sıralanabilir: Atatürk Heykeli, Lal Mustafa Paşa Camii, St. Hilarion Kalesi, Namık Kemal Anıtı, Girne Limanı, Mağusa Plajı, Othello Kulesi, Girne Kalesi (1975 yılında çıkarılan pullar); Lambusa Krallığı ve Fosiller (1991 yılında çıkarılan pullar); Casino, Atış Poligamı, Buğday Camii, Salamis Bay Otel (1992 yılında çıkarılan pullar); St. Barnabas Müzesi (1993 yılında çıkarılan pul) ve Girne Plajı, Salamis Harabeleri, Plaj Sörfü ve St. George Katedrali (1995 yılında çıkarılan pullar). Tablo 2 turizm, boş zaman ve rekreasyon kategorisindeki pulları özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 1 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 2. Turizm, Boş Vakit ve Rekreasyon Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=43)
1975	Türk Federe Devleti Turistik Yerler	10
1976	Turistik Seriler	3
1982	Turizm	4
1986	Sosyal Konutların Redifi	1
1988	Turizm	3
1989	Turizm (Venüs Kıbrıs Adasının Sembolü)	1
1990	Avrupa Turizm Yılı	1
1991	Tarihi Yapılar	4

1991	Turistik Manzaralar	3
1992	Turistik Konular	4
1993	Turistik Konular	2
1993	Arabahmet Bölgesi Koruma Projesi	2
1995	Turistik Konular	4
1996	Bellapais Manastırı	1

Görsel 1. Turizm, Boş Vakit Ve Rekreasyon Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1989, 1982, 1991)



4.2. İkinci Grup Pullar: Devlet Temalı Pullar

Devlet temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 40 (n=40) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pullar genellikle Cumhuriyetin ilanı ve resmi devlet ziyaretlerini anmak üzere hazırlanan pullardan oluşmaktadır. Tablo 3 ikinci grup pulların isimlerini özetlemektedir. Bu gruptaki pullarda daha çok ulusal semboller, bayraklar ve devletin zümresini oluşturan kişilerin temsili öne çıkarken, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşu ile ilgili yıldönümü pullarına da yer verilmiştir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 2 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 3. Devlet Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=40)
1973	Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 50. Yıldönümü	7
1975	Kıbrıs'ta Barış	3
1976	Özgürlük Anma Pulu	2
1980	Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti	1
1980	Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Yıldönümü	3
1984	KKTC'nin İlanının 1. Yıldönümü	2
1987	Turgut Özal'ın Resmi Ziyareti	1
1988	Cenevre Barış Zirvesi	1
1988	KKTC'nin Kuruluşunun 5. Yıldönümü	1
1988	Turgut Özal'ın Resmi Ziyareti	1
1988	Bülent Ecevit'in Resmi Ziyareti	1
1988	Bülent Ulusu'nun Resmi Ziyareti	1
1988	Resmi Ziyaret	1
1988	KKTC'nin 5. Yılı	1
1989	Erdal İnönü'nün Resmi Ziyaret	1
1990	Kenan Evren'in Resmi Ziyaret	1
1990	Yıldırım Akbulut'un Resmi Ziyaret	1
1993	KKTC'nin 10. Yılı	4
1994	TBMM'nin 75. Yılı	1
1995	Süleyman Demirel'in Resmi Ziyaret	1
1997	Necmettin Erbakan'ın Resmi Ziyaret	1
1997	KKTC Bayrağı	1
1998	Barış Suyu Projesi Süleyman Demirel'in Resmi Ziyareti	1

1998	Bülent Ecevit'in Ziyareti	1
1998	Mesut Yılmaz'ın Resmi Ziyareti	1

Görsel 2. Devlet temalı pulların bazıları (Soldan sağa pulların yayınlanma yılları 1973, 1973, 1998, 1998)



4.3. Üçüncü Grup Pullar: Doğa Temalı Pullar

Doğa temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 79 (n=79) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pullar genellikle yerel hayvan türlerinden, balıklardan, ağaçlardan, kelebeklerden, Kıbrıs'a özgü kır çiçeklerinden oluşmaktadır. Tablo 4 yıllara göre bu temada bulunan pulları özetlemektedir. Bu kategoride en fazla pul 1990 yılında nadir bitkiler (Onosma Caespttosum, Rosularia Cypria, Silene Fraudatrix, Arabis Cypria, Sedum Lampusae, Scutellaria Sibthorph) olarak hazırlanmıştır. Bununla birlikte Dünya Çevre Günü ile ilgili olarak da 1996 yılında ormanları resmeden 2 tane pul hazırlanmıştır. Ayrıca 16 farklı kategorinin içerisinde en fazla pul bulunan kategori olarak doğa temalı pullar 1970-1998 yılları arasındaki Kıbrıs pulları içerisinde önemli yer teşkil etmektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 3 bu kategorideki bazı pulları yıllara göre göstermektedir.

Tablo 4. Doğa Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=79)
1981	Kır Çiçekleri	4
1982	Kır Çiçekleri	4
1983	Kuşlar	4
1984	Ormanlar	1
1985	Yerel Hayvan Türleri	4
1989	Kuşlar	4
1989	Göl	1
1989	Orman	1
1990	Kuşlar	4
1990	Nadir Bitkiler	6
1991	Orkideler	2
1991	Orkideler	4
1992	Dünya Çevre Yılı	1
1992	KKTC Veteriner Servisleri	1
1992	Kedi	1
1993	Anıt Ağaçlar	4
1994	Deniz Kabukları	3
1995	Avrupa Doğayı Koruma Yılı	3
1995	Kelebekler	4
1996	Dünya Çevre Günü	2
1996	Temiz ve Sağlıklı Bir Çevrede Yaşamak Çocuklarımızın Hakkıdır	1
1996	Balıklar	4
1996	Nar Ağacı	1
1996	Palmiye Ağacı	1

1997	Mantarlar	4
1997	Kuşlar	4
1998	Yararlı Böcekler	4
1998	Uluslararası Okyanus Yılı	2

Görsel 3. Doğa Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1990, 1996, 1992, 1981,1983)



4.4. Dördüncü Grup Pullar: Uluslararası Referans Temalı Pullar

Uluslararası referans temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 10 (n=10) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pullarda öne çıkan konulardan bazıları şu şekilde sıralanabilir: Filistin Halkı ile Dayanışma pulları iki yıl süreyle (1980-1981) hazırlanmıştır. Ayrıca Kıbrıs için önemli bir uluslararası referans kabul edilen Birleşmiş Milletlerin kuruluşunun 50. Yıldönümü anısına 1995 yılında hazırlanan pul ile 1988 yılında da İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyannamesi'nin 50. Yılı anısına hazırlanan pullar öne çıkmaktadır. Tablo 5 uluslararası referans temasını içeren pulları yıllara göre özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 4 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 5. Uluslararası Referans Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=10)
1980	Filistin Halkı ile Dayanışma	2
1981	Filistin Halkı ile Dayanışma	1
1985	BM'nin Kuruluşunun 40. Yıldönümü	1
1985	Kızılhaç'ın 125. Hizmet Yılı	1
1986	FAO	1
1987	Uluslararası Eczacılar Federasyonu Üyeliği	1
1988	İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyannamesi 50. Yılı	1
1995	BM'nin Kuruluşunun 50. Yıldönümü	1
1996	Bosna-Hersek Konulu Pul	1

Görsel 4. Uluslararası Referans Temalı Bazı Pullar (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1986, 1987, 1998)



4.5. Beşinci Grup Pullar: Sağlık, Refah ve İyi olma Temalı Pullar

Sağlık, refah ve iyi olma temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 18 (n=18) tane pul bulunmaktadır. 1978 yılında sosyal sigortalar, yaşlılar ve engellilerle ilgili ilk defa pul çıkarıldığı için önemlidir. Ayrıca 1990 yılında Dünya Sağlık Günü ile ilgili 4 adet pul bulunmaktadır. Akdeniz ülkeleri için özel bir önem teşkil eden Talasamiya hastalığı farkındalığı için 'Talasamiya için Kan Tetkiki Yapıtırmalıdır' mesajını içeren pul 1985 yılında hazırlanmıştır. Benzer şekilde AIDS farkındalığı için de 1997 yılında bir pul bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca sağlık konusundaki gelişmelerin anısına çıkan pullar sırasıyla Verem ve Kuduz Aşılarının bulunuşunun 100. Yılı anısına pullar bulunmaktadır. Tablo 6 sağlık, refah ve iyi olma temasını içeren pulları yıllara göre özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 5 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 6. Sağlık, Refah ve İyi Olma Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=18)
1970	Türk Cemaat Meclisi Sosyal Yardım Pulu	1
1978	Sosyal Sigortalar Pulu	3
1980	Sosyal Yardım Pulu	1
1982	Verem Basilinin Bulunuşunun 100. Yılı	1
1985	Talassamiya	1
1985	Kuduz Aşısının Bulunuşunun 100. Yılı	1
1988	Sivil Savunma	1
1990	Dünya Sağlık Günü	2
1990	Siğara ve Alkol	2
1991	Dünya AIDS Farkındalık Yılı	1
1991	Yunus Emre Sevgi Yılı	1
1992	Sosyal Sigortalar	1
1996	Sivil Savunmasız yurt Savunması Olmaz	1
1997	AIDS'i Tanı Kendini Koru	1

Görsel 5. Sağlık, Refah ve İyi Olma Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1982, 1985, 1990)



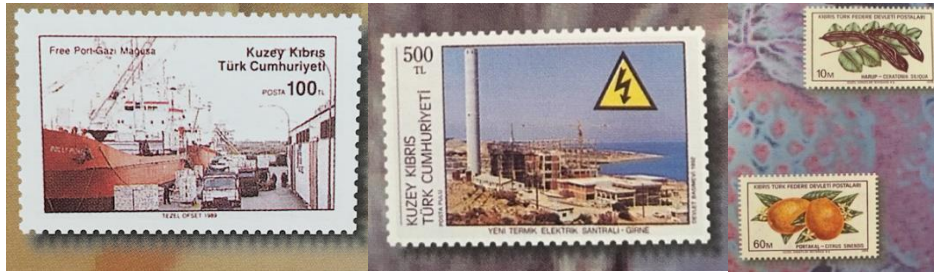
4.6. Altıncı Grup Pullar: Ekonomi Temalı Pullar

Ekonomi temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 13 (n=13) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pullar arasında özellikle 2 yıl öne çıkmaktadır. Bunlar 1976'da ihrac ürünleri olan portakal, mandalina, harnup, limon ve çilektir. Diğerleri ise 1989 yılında tarımda kullanılan karasaban, döven ve yağ değirmeni içeren 3 tane puldur. Tablo 7 ekonomi temasını içeren pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 6 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 7. Ekonomi Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=13)
1976	İhrac Ürünleri (portakal, mandalina, harnup vb.)	5
1987	Yeni Girne Limanı	1
1989	Free Port-Gazi Mağusa	1
1989	Tarım	1
1989	İçme Suyu	1
1989	Tarım	3
1992	Yeni Termik Elektrik Santrali-Girne	1

Görsel 6. Ekonomi Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1989, 1992, 1976)



4.7. Yedinci Grup Pullar: Önemli Kişiler Temalı Pullar

Önemli kişiler temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 30 (n=30) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pullar arasında Atatürk'ü anma pulları öne çıkarken, diğer önemli politik figürler, araştırmacılar ve sanatçıların ölümlerinin anısına da pullar hazırlanmıştır. Tablo 8 önemli kişiler temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 7 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 8. Önemli Kişiler Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=30)
1978	Atatürk'ü Anma Pulu	3
1977	Namık Kemal'i Anma	2
1981	Atatürk'ün Doğumunun 100. Yıldönümü	1
1981	Atatürk Tanıtma Serisi	1
1981	Prens Charles ve Leydi Diana'nın Düğünü	1
1985	İsmet İnönü	1
1985	Dr. Fazıl Küçük'ün Ölümünün 1. Yıldönümü	2
1986	Kraliyet Ailesi Pulları	2
1987	Osmanlı Paşaları	3
1988	Atatürk'ün Ölümünün 50. Yıldönümü	4
1988	Sedat Simavi	1
1990	Van Gogh'un 100. Ölüm Yıldönümü	2
1991	Başbakan Mustafa Çağatay	1

1993	Atatürk	1
1994	Dr. Fazıl Küçük'ün Ölüm Yıldönümü	1
1995	Pasteur'ün Ölümünün 100. Yılı	1
1996	Nasreddin Hoca Yılı	1
1998	Ahmet Şevki Bey	2

Görsel 7. Önemli Kişiler Temasını İçeren Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1981, 1985, 1988, 1994)



4.8. Sekizinci Grup Pullar: Kadın, Çocuk ve Dezavantajlı Gruplar Temalı Pullar

Kadın, çocuk ve dezavantajlı gruplar temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 8 (n=8) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Sırasıyla bu pullar, 1979 yılı Dünya Çocuk Yılına özel 3 adet, 1981 yılında Uluslararası Engelliler Yılına özel 3 adet pul bulunmaktadır, bunların arasında ırk ayrımını kınama pulu öne çıkarken, son olarak Uluslararası Gençlik Yılı anısına 2 adet pul basılmıştır. Tablo 9 kadın, çocuk ve dezavantajlı gruplar temasını içeren pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 8 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 9. Kadın, Çocuk ve Dezavantajlı Gruplar Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=8)
1979	Dünya Çocuk Yılı	3
1981	Uluslararası Engelliler Yılı	3
1985	Uluslararası Gençlik Yılı	2

Görsel 8. Kadın, Çocuk ve Dezavantajlı Gruplar Temasını İçeren Bazı Pullar (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1979, 1979, 1985)



4.9. Dokuzuncu Grup Pullar: Sanat ve Kültür Temalı Pullar

Sanat ve kültür temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 50 (n=50) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bunların arasından 1980 yılında Hz. Ömer Türbesi, Kalesi Mağusa, Bellapais ve Selimiye Camii gibi pullar bulunurken, 1977 yılında Kıbrıs Türk Eserleri adı altında Arabahmet Camii, Bekir Paşa Su Kanalları ve Baf Kalesi, 1986 yılında Bronz Çağ'a ait arkeolojik kalıntılar öne çıkmaktadır. Bunun yanında, Kıbrıs'ta Barışı Anma Sergisi ve Özgürlük Anma Sergisi pulları 1975 ve 1976 yıllarında

önemli bir yer bulmaktadır. Diğer pullar ise genellikle 1988 ve 1989 yıllarında çeşitli tablo ve resimlerden oluşmaktadır. Son olarak, Devlet Tiyatrolarının Kuruluşu ve Sinemanın 100. Yılı anısına da pullar düzenlenmiştir. Tablo 10 sanat ve kültür temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 9 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 10. Sanat ve Kültür Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=50)
1975	Kıbrıs'ta Barışı Anma Sergisi	3
1976	Özgürlük Anma Sergisi	2
1977	Kıbrıs'ta Türk Eserleri	4
1978	Ulusal Anıt	3
1980	Tarihi Eserler	5
1984	Atatürk Kültür Merkezi	1
1984	Resimler	2
1985	Tablolar	2
1986	Resimler	2
1986	Karagöz-Hacivat	1
1986	Tarihi Kalıntılar	4
1987	Resimler	2
1988	Resimler	3
1989	Resimler	3
1989	SADED	1
1991	Mozart	1
1991	Aşık Mene Resimleri	2
1992	Resimler	2
1993	KKTC Devlet Tiyatroları	1
1993	Çaykovski'nin 100. Ölüm Yılı	1
1994	Sanat Eserleri	2
1995	Sinemanın 100. Yılı	1
1997	Resimler	2

Görsel 9. Sanat ve Kültür Temasını İçeren Bazı Pullar (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1975, 1989, 1991)



4.10. Onuncu Grup Pullar: Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Temalı Pullar

Ulaştırma ve haberleşme temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 38 (n=38) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu kategoride en fazla pul 1994 yılında düzenlenen Köy Pullarının Kullanışının 100. Yıldönümü pullarıdır. Bununla birlikte 1978 yılında kara, deniz ve hava ulaşımına ilişkin pullar da hazırlanmıştır. Ayrıca 1979 yılında Uluslararası Telekomünikasyon Birliği anısına 3 adet pul düzenlenmiştir. Trafik işaret ve kurallarını kapsayan 3 adet pul ise 1990 yılında Hayat Sigortası mesajı ile hazırlanmıştır. Buna ilaveten deniz fenerini konu alan 3 adet pul 1991 yılında KKTC Deniz Fenerleri olarak kayıtlara geçmiştir. 1983 yılında ise Dünya Haberleşme Yılı anısına 2 adet pul hazırlanırken,

bugün yok olan Kıbrıs Tren Yolları ile ilgili 1986 yılında 2 adet pul düzenlenmiştir. Kıbrıs kurum ve kuruluşları anısına yapılan pullar ise kronolojik olarak sırasıyla şu şekildedir: Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Hava Kurumu, Kıbrıs Türk Hava Yolları, BRT'nin 35. Yılı Anısı, Kıbrıs Türk Postalarının 25. Yılı Anısı puludur. Son olarak radyonun 100. Yılı anısına bir pul da bu kategoride 1995 yılında öne çıkmaktadır. Tablo 11 ulaştırma ve haberleşme temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 10 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 11. Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=38)
1980	Kıbrıs'ta Basılan İlk Pulların Anısına Basılan Pullar	2
1978	Ulaşım	3
1979	Dünya Telekomünikasyon Birliği Anı Pulları	3
1980	Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti Postaları	1
1983	Dünya Haberleşme Yılı	2
1985	Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Hava Kurumu	1
1986	Kıbrıs Türk Hava Yolları	2
1986	Tren Yolları	2
1988	Bayrak Radyo Televizyon Kurumu'nun Kuruluşunun 35. Yılı	1
1989	Kıbrıs Türk Postalarının 25. Yılı	1
1989	Tren Yolu	1
1990	Trafik	3
1991	Deniz Fenerleri	3
1992	Sivil Havacılık Hizmetleri	1
1992	Meteoroloji	1
1992	Haritacılık	1
1993	Basın ve Yayın	1
1994	Köy Pullarının Kullanılışının 100. Yıldönümü	5
1995	Radyonun 100. Yılı	1
1995	Devlet Basımevinin 20. Yılı	1
1995	TC Cumhurbaşkanı Süleyman Demirel'in Orhun Anıtlarını Ziyareti	2

Görsel 10. Ulaştırma ve Haberleşme Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1980, 1979, 1983, 1985)



4.11. On Birinci Grup Pullar: Folklor, Ritüeller ve Gelenekler Temalı Pullar

Folklor, ritüeller ve gelenekler temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 32 (n=32) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu kategorideki pullar geleneksel kıyafetler (1987), halk dansları (1996), geleneksel yemekler (1992 ve 1995) ve kullanılan paralar (1997) şeklinde sıralanabilir. Ayrıca, kaybolan el sanatları ile ilgili pullar ise 1998 yılında kalaycılık, oymacılık, sepetçilik ve bileyciler olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Son olarak Kıbrıs el sanatlarının resmedildiği pullar 1977 yılında düzenlenmiştir. Tablo 12

folklor, ritüeller ve gelenekler temasını içeren pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 11 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 12. Folklor, Ritüeller ve Gelenekler Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=32)
1977	Kıbrıs El Sanatları	3
1982	Kıbrıs Düğünü ve Harnup Toplayıcıları	2
1983	Leymosun Otobüsü ve Nasırlı Eller	2
1987	Folklor	4
1988	Kardeşlik	1
1992	Kıbrıs Mutfağı	4
1995	Kıbrıs Mutfağı	3
1996	Folklor	1
1997	Kullanılan Paralar	4
1998	Eski Kapılar	2
1998	Çocuk Halk Dansları Festivali Etkinliği	2
1998	Kaybolan El Sanatları (Kalaycı, Oymacı, Sepetçi, Bileyici)	4

Görsel 11. Folklor, Ritüeller ve Gelenekler Temasını İçeren Bazı Pullar (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1988, 1998, 1998)



4.12. On İkinci Grup Pullar: Savaş, Askerlik ve Güvenlik Temalı Pullar

Savaş, askerlik ve güvenlik temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 15 (n=15) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu kategorideki pullar arasında öne çıkan pullar Kıbrıs Barış Harekati'nin 5. 10. Ve 20. Yılı anısına çıkan pullar, Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı'nın kuruluşunun 20. Yılı ve Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı'nın (TMT) 25. Yılı anısına çıkan pullardır. Tablo 13 savaş, askerlik ve güvenlik temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 12 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 13. Savaş, Askerlik ve Güvenlik Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=15)
1979	Kıbrıs Barış Harekati'nin 5. Yıldönümü	1
1983	TMT'nin 25. Yıldönümü	3
1984	Kıbrıs Barış Harekati'nin 10. Yıldönümü	2
1986	Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı	1
1987	Piyade Alayı'na Sancağın İlk Teslimi Töreni	1
1989	Erenköy Direnişi'nin 25. Yılı	1
1993	TMT	1
1994	Kıbrıs Barış Harekati'nin 20. Yıldönümü	4
1996	Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı'nın Kuruluşu'nun 20. Yılı	1

Görsel 12. Savaş, Askerlik ve Güvenlik Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1979, 1983, 1984,1986,1993)



4.13. On Üçüncü Grup Pullar: Spor Temalı Pullar

Spor temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 32 (n=32) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Genellikle Dünya Futbol Kupası ve Dünya Olimpiyatlarını içeren anı pulları bu kategoride öne çıkmaktadır. Tablo 14 spor temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 13 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 14. Spor Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=32)
1976	Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti Montcal Olimpiyat Oyunları	2
1982	Dünya Futbol Kupası	1
1982	İzciliğin Kuruluşunun 75. Yıldönümü	1
1984	Los Angeles Olimpiyatları	2
1984	Uluslararası Tekvando Şampiyonası	5
1986	Mexico 86 Olimpiyatları	1
1988	Seul Olimpiyatları	3
1990	İtalya Dünya Kupası	2
1992	Barselona Olimpiyatları	4
1994	Dünya Kupası	2
1996	Atlanta Olimpiyat Oyunları	4
1996	Dünya Futbol Şampiyonası	2
1997	İzciliğin 90. Yılı	1
1998	Fransa Dünya Kupası	2

Görsel 13. Spor Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1982, 1982, 1984,1986)



4.14. On Dördüncü Grup Pullar: Eğitim, Bilim ve Araştırma Temalı Pullar

Eğitim, bilim ve araştırma temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 13 (n=13) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Bu pulların arasında öne çıkan konular şu şekildedir: 1990 Dünya Okuma ve Yazma Yılı, 1995 Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi'nin 100. Yılı, 1987 Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nin Kuruluşu, 1988 Uluslararası Girne Konferansıdır. Tablo 15 eğitim, bilim ve araştırma temalı pulların yıllara göre dağılımını özetlemektedir. Aynı zamanda Görsel 14 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 15. Eğitim, Bilim ve Araştırma Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=13)
1986	Halley Yıldızı	1
1987	Beşinci İslam Zirve Konferansı	1
1987	Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nin Kuruluşu	1
1988	Uluslararası Kuzey Kıbrıs Fuarı	1
1988	Uluslararası Girne Konferansı	1
1990	Dünya Okuma ve Yazma Yılı-Baş Öğretmen Atatürk	2
1991	Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi	1
1992	KKTC'de Harita Çalışmaları	1
1992	Meteoroloji Hizmetleri	1
1995	Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi 100. Yılı	1
1997	Dizel Motorun İcadı	1
1997	AIDS Eğitimi	1

Görsel 14. Eğitim, Bilim ve Araştırma Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1987, 1988, 1991, 1995)



4.15. On Beşinci Grup Pullar: Din Temalı Pullar

Din temasını içeren 1970-1998 yılları arasında 5 (n=5) tane pul bulunmaktadır. Sırasıyla bu pullar, 1980 İslam Anma Serisi pulları olarak Hicretin 15. Yüzyılı anısı pulu, Dünya İslam Konferansı 8. Genel Kurulu, Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti ilk İslam Konferansı anı pulu ve 1981 yılında İslam Ülkeleri Dayanışma Günü anısına hazırlanan Türkçe ve İngilizce pullardır. Aynı zamanda Görsel 15 bu kategorideki bazı pulları göstermektedir.

Tablo 16. Din Temasını İçeren Pullar

Pulun Yılı	Pulun Teması	Sayısı (n=5)
1980	İslam Anma Serisi	3
1981	İslam Ülkeleri Dayanışma Günü	2

Görsel 15. Din Temalı Pulların Bazıları (Soldan Sağa Pulların Yayınlanma Yılları 1980, 1981)



5. SONUÇ VE DEĞERLENDİRME

Posta pullarındaki sunum kodları ve temsiliyet konusu kültürel bellek açısından incelenen bu çalışmada 1970 ve 1998 yılları arasında Kuzey Kıbrıs özelinde sosyo-kültürel değişimleri ve Kıbrıs Türklerinin dünyaya uyum sağlama adına öne çıkardıkları konu ve durumları açıkça ortaya koymuştur. Bu bağlamda siyasi temsiller olarak öne çıkması öngörülen pulların aksine söz konusu dönemde doğa, sağlık gibi temalardaki pulların yoğunluğu siyasi propaganda amacından ziyade tanıtım amacı taşıdığını söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Çalışma kapsamında incelenen posta pullarında, tarihi mekanlar, çiçekler, hayvanlar ve resmi kurum ve kuruluşların kuruluşu anısına yapılan pullar dikkat çekmektedir. Bu açıdan, 1970-1998 yılları arasındaki pullar için Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşu ve akabinde tanıtımı açısından önemli referans kaynaklar olduğunu söylemek yerinde olacaktır.

Posta pullarındaki sunum kodları içerisinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile ilişkiler resmi devlet ziyaretleri için hazırlanan pullar ile metaforik olarak 1974'ü resmederken, dünya ile entegre olma isteği açısından spor teması altındaki Dünya Kupası ve Olimpiyatlar için hazırlanan pullar öne çıkmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra Birleşmiş Milletler ve İngiliz Kraliyet ailesi ile ilgili çıkan pullarda ise adanın üzerindeki dış aktörlerin etkisi ve devamlılığı sunulmaktadır. Bunların yanında Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşu ve önemli kişilerin yer aldığı pullarda ise temsil edilmek üzere seçilen kişiler Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk halkı için öne çıkan kişilerdir.

Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti pullarını daha Cumhuriyet dönemi kurulmadan önceki dönemden başlayarak politik olarak 16 kategoriden oluşan ölçekte incelediğimiz bu çalışmada pulların ikonografik değerinin araştırma materyali olarak devletin, ulusun ve toplumun kültürel belleği bağlamında görsel temsilleri ortaya koyulmuştur. Her durumda söz konusu döneme ait pullar topluma ait kültürün sadece varlığını değil yokluğunu da gösteren birer anlatı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Öyle ki posta pullarındaki görsel temsiller bir topluma ve onun baskın değer yapılarına sembol oluştururken ulusal kimliğin inşasını da kronolojik olarak tarihin temsilleri şeklinde gözler önüne sermektedir.

Diğer batı toplumlarına nazaran bu çalışmadaki posta pullarında propagandacı ideolojilerden ve siyasal mesajların oranından çok toplumun oluşumundaki süreçler ön plana çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, gelecek için siyasal mesajlar içeren propagandist tasarımlar yerine geçmişin yeniden üretimini öne çıkaran ve yıldönümleri, anımlarla birlikte unutulmamasını amaç edinen pullar daha fazladır. Bu çalışma belli bir dönemi ele alması açısından ve Kıbrıs özelinde yapılan pullarla ilgili ilk çalışma olması

bakımından önemlidir. Fakat nitel bir araştırma olması ve ilk olması sebebiyle pullarla ilgili belgelerin haritası niteliğinde olan bu çalışma belirli bir dönemi işaret ettiği için sınırlıdır. İşaret ettiği dönemden sonraki dönemlerde haberleşme aracı olarak postanın önemini kaybetmesi düşünüldüğünde çalışma önemli veriler ortaya koymaktadır. Bu veriler ışığında gelecek çalışmalarda söz konusu dönemde pulları aktif olarak kullanan vatandaşlara yönelik pulların öğretim malzemesi olarak kullanılması üzerinden yeni çalışmalar yapılabileceği gibi söz konusu pulların görsel betimlemelerini de yapmak anlamlı olacaktır. Pullar bir ülkenin tarihini anlamamıza yardımcı olan görselleştirmelerdir ve bu açıdan karşılaştırmalı kapsamlı çalışmalar da ortaya değerli veriler koyacaktır.

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TRANSFORMATION OF PASSIVE REPRESENTATION INTO SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY APPROACH: A FIELD RESEARCH ON THE GENDARMARIE AND THE POLICE
TEMSİLİ BÜROKRASİ YAKLAŞIMI ÇERÇEVESİNDE PASİF TEMSİLİN SEMBOLİK TEMSİLE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: JANDARMA VE POLİS TEŞKİLATI ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

Mustafa ARSLAN¹, Mustafa LAMBA², Sezai ÖZTOP³

1. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi, m.arslan@nevsehir.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3259-1012>
2. Doç. Dr., Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi, mlamba@mehmetakif.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7406-6112>
3. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi., Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi, sezaioztop@mehmetakif.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2656-2776>

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Abstract

In this study, it is aimed to reveal the transformation of passive representation into symbolic representation and the relationship between symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy of individuals towards public bureaucracy. The perceptions and attitudes towards law enforcement bureaucracy have been tried to determine through individuals living in Nevşehir. The data of research have been collected by means of a questionnaire form from 550 individuals who were selected by cluster sampling method. In the research, it has been determined that the passive representation transformed into symbolic representation. In addition, it has been observed that there were statistically significant and positive, strong relationships between symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy toward public bureaucracy. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the representative bureaucracy approach can be used to increase legitimacy and trust toward public authorities and to gain social support as it is in the sample of law enforcement.

Keywords: *Gendarmerie, Police, Representative Bureaucracy, Passive Representation, Symbolic Representation,*

Öz

Bu çalışmada, pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüşümü ve sembolik temsil ile bireylerin kamu bürokrasisine karşı geliştirdikleri güven, katılım ve meşruiyet tutumları arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır. Kolluk bürokrasisi hakkındaki algı ve tutumlar, Nevşehir ilinde yaşayan vatandaşlar üzerinden belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Araştırmanın verileri küme örneklem metoduyla belirlenen 550 kişiden oluşan örneklem kitlesinden anket formuyla derlenmiştir. Araştırmada pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüştüğü bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Buna ilaveten, sembolik temsil ile kamu bürokrasisine güven, katılım ve meşru görme tutumları arasında istatistiki olarak anlamlı, pozitif yönlü ve güçlü ilişkiler olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla kolluk kuvvetleri özelinde, kamu kurumlarının meşruiyetinin ve kurumlara olan güvenin artırılmasında ve toplumsal desteğin sağlanmasında temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımından yararlanılabileceği söylenebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Jandarma, Polis, Temsili Bürokrasi, Pasif Temsil, Sembolik Temsil,*

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmada, pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüşümü ve sembolik temsil ile bireylerin kamu bürokrasisine karşı geliştirdikleri güven, katılım ve meşruiyet tutumları arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır.

Araştırma Soruları

Araştırma kapsamında, örneklem üzerinde cevap aranan sorular şunlardır: (1) Passive temsil sembolik temsile dönüşmekte midir? (2) Sembolik temsil ile kolluk faaliyetlerini meşru görme arasında ilişki var mıdır? (3) Sembolik temsil algısıyla kamusal faaliyetlere katılım arasında ilişki var mıdır? (4) Sembolik temsil algısıyla bürokrasiye güven arasında ilişki var mıdır?

Literatür Araştırması

Temsili bürokrasi kavramı, ilk olarak “kamu bürokrasisinin iktidardaki toplumsal sınıfın özelliklerini yansıtması gerektiği” savıyla J. Donald Kingsley (1944) tarafından “Representative Bureaucracy” isimli çalışmada kullanılmıştır (Frederickson ve Smith, 2002: 62). Dolayısıyla Kingsley temsili bürokrasi teorisini ilk ortaya koyan araştırmacı olarak literatüre geçmiştir. Teorinin çağdaş savunucuları gibi, Kingsley de temsili bürokrasiyi, idari sorumluluğu geliştirmenin bir aracı olarak ele almıştır (Kernaghan, 1978: 490). Kingsley, bürokratların toplumla aynı demografik değerlere sahip olmaları durumunda sorumluluk duygularının güçleneceğini ileri sürmüştür (Dauda, 1990: 467). Temsili bürokrasi kavramı İkinci Dünya Savaşı ertesinde Kingsley (1942) tarafından aynı ismi taşıyan eseriyle literatüre kazandırılmıştır. Bürokratların da siyasiler gibi toplumun farklı kesimlerini temsil etmeleri gerektiği düşüncesine dayanan temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımı Avrupa’nın dışına taşarak, ABD’de David Levitan (1946) tarafından bürokrasinin idari takdir yetkisini kontrol etmenin bir aracı olarak görülmüştür. Long (1952) ise bürokrasinin aslında Kongre’den daha temsili olabileceği savını geliştirmiştir. Mosher (1968) ise aktif temsil ve pasif temsil kavramlarıyla konuya açıklık getirmiştir. Bu süreçte, pasif temsilin sonuç yaratabilmesi için mutlaka aktif temsile dönüşmesinin gerekli olmadığı savından hareketle sembolik temsil yaklaşımı geliştirilmiştir (Meier ve Stewart, 1991; Hinder, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a; Gade ve Wilkins, 2013). Sembolik temsil yaklaşımına göre temsil olgusunun sonuçları değiştirebilmesi için temsilci bürokratin herhangi bir eyleme geçmesi gerekmez, temsilcinin kamu bürokrasisinde bulunması sonucun değişmesi için yeterlidir (Pitkin, 1967; Gade ve Wilkins, 2013). Sembolik temsil yaklaşımı araştırmacılar tarafından polisler (Theobald ve Haider-Markel, 2009; Meier ve Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Andrews ve Miller, 2013; Andrews vd, 2014; Riccucci vd., 2014; Hong, 2017), harp malulleri (Gade ve Wilkins, 2013), öğretmenler (Grissom ve Keiser, 2011), engelliler (Allen ve Cohen, 1980) ırk, etnik köken ve cinsiyet bazlı olarak yapılan araştırmalarla ampirik teste tabi tutulmuştur. Kavram uluslararası literatürde geniş ilgi görmesine rağmen Türkçe literatürde yeterli ilgiyi görmemiştir. Temsili bürokrasi konusunda yapılan çalışmalar Aşkar (2019) tarafından kavramın teorik yönünü açıklayıcı bir makale, Lamba ve Tatlısu (2019)

tarafından Türk yüksek öğretim kurumlarında cinsiyet temsiliyi inceleyen makale ile Arslan (2019) tarafından temsili bürokrasi yaklaşımını teorik ve ampirik yönüyle genel olarak ele alan kitap çalışmasından ibarettir.

Yöntem

Araştırmada nicel analiz yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Anket tekniğinden yararlanılmıştır. Araştırmanın evrenini Nevşehir ilinde ikamet eden vatandaşlar oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmanın verileri küme örneklem metoduyla belirlenen 550 kişiden oluşan örneklem kitlesinden elde edilmiştir. Araştırmanın evrenini Nevşehir'de ikamet eden vatandaşlar oluşturmaktadır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Sembolik temsilin vatandaşların kamusal faaliyetlere katılımı üzerinde pozitif yönlü etki yarattığına yönelik literatürde bulgulara rastlanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da, Nevşehir'deki örneklem ölçeğinde, jandarma ve polisin kendilerini temsil ettiğini düşünen katılımcıların kolluk faaliyetlerine katılım ve destek sağlama eğilimlerinin yüksek olduğu bulgusuna ulaşılmıştır. Bulgulardan hareketle, toplum destekli kolluk faaliyetlerinden beklenen etkinliğin sağlanabilmesi için toplum kesimlerinin katılımının teşvik edilmesi gerektiği değerlendirilmektedir. Bunu gerçekleştirmenin aracı kolluk kurumlarında temsil mekanizmasına işlerlik kazandırmaktır. Türkiye'de temsili bürokrasiye ilişkin ampirik nitelikteki ilk çalışma olma vasfı taşıyan bu çalışmada pasif temsilin sembolik temsile dönüştüğü, vatandaşların kolluk faaliyetlerini meşru görmelerine katkı sağladığı, vatandaş katılımını sağladığı ve vatandaşların kolluk birimlerine güvenini pekiştirdiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bulgulardan hareketle Türk kamu bürokrasisinin meşruiyetini artırmak, güvenilirliğini pekiştirmek; kamu hizmetlerine vatandaş katılımını sağlamak için bürokrasiye temsil vasfı kazandırmak bir kamu politikası olarak belirlenebilir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kingsley (1942) has created representative bureaucracy term by means of a work with the same name after the World War II. The representative bureaucracy approach, based on the opinion that bureaucrats should represent various parts of society like politicians, went beyond Europe, and it was assumed as a means to control the administrative discretion of bureaucracy by David Levitan (1946) in the USA. However, Long (1952) asserted that the bureaucracy would be more representative than the Congress actually. On the other hand, Mosher (1968) tried to explain the issue with the terms of active representation and passive representation. In this process, symbolic representation approach has been developed based on the allegation that it is not compulsory that passive representation transforms into active representation in order for passive representation to create a result (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Hindera, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a; Gade and Wilkins, 2013).

According to symbolic representative approach, it is not necessary for a representative bureaucrat to start any action to change the results of representation fact; however, it is enough for a change that the representative individual exists in public bureaucracy (Pitkin, 1967; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). Symbolic representation approach has been tested empirically based on race, ethnicity and gender in some research such as in police (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Andrews and Miller, 2013; Andrews, 2014; Riccucci et al., 2014; Hong, 2017), for veterans of war (Gade and Wilkins, 2013), for teachers (Grissom and Keiser, 2011) and for disabled people (Allen and Cohen, 1980).

It seems that the term has not been studied adequately in Turkey although there has been some studies in international literature. The studies in representative bureaucracy include only an article by Aşkar to clarify the theoretical perspective of the term (2019), and an article by Lamba and Tatlısu (2019) to determine the gender representation in universities in Turkey, and a book by Arslan (2019) to examine the representative bureaucracy approach theoretically and empirically.

Considering the literature mentioned above, it is aimed in this study to examine the transformation of passive representation into symbolic representation, and to put forward the relationship between the symbolic representation and the attitudes of trust, participation and legitimacy toward public bureaucracy. Research data have been collected by means of e-questionnaire form from 550 participants who were selected with cluster sampling method from people living in Nevşehir.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The term of representative bureaucracy was used firstly in a book named as “Representative Bureaucracy” by J. Donald Kingsley (1944) with the allegation that public bureaucracy should reflect the features of ruling social class (Frederickson and Smith, 2002, p.62). Therefore, Kingsley has been considered as the first researcher to put forward the theory of representative bureaucracy. As his contemporary supporters did, Kingsley considered the representative bureaucracy as a means to develop

administrative responsibility as well (Kernaghan, 1978, p.490). He asserted that the responsibility feelings would become stronger if bureaucrats have the same demographical values with society (Dauda, 1990, p. 467). Kingsley discuss that when social groups get an opportunity to represent themselves in public bureaucracy, the accountability feelings in bureaucracy will develop and the public interest will be improved accordingly. Kingsley examined representation attitude based on group rather than individual and has developed the approach in line with his observations in public bureaucracy of England during the World War II. As a result of his observations, he has concluded that English public bureaucracy was effective to implement the policies of ruling political party since both of them shared an economic inclination of middle-class. Kingsley asserted that this shared demographical history created common values and norms between the elected and the bureaucrats, and this feature enabled the discretion of political authority to be adopted by bureaucrats accordingly and easily.

The observation of Kingsley happened at the same time that a transformation from aristocracy into middle-class hegemony were occurring in English social structure. The researcher asserted that the transformation in the society had to reflect in the public bureaucracy. It is vital for bureaucracy to achieve a representative structure in order for executive power to meet its responsibility. The most important concern of Kingsley was the social class integration of bureaucracy. He preferred the upper and middle class English society to be represented rather than the representation of society as a whole. He attributed his allegation that this type of limited representation would provide a mosaic including a variety of political elites of nation, and be much better than the representation with biased small groups (Kim, 1994, p.389). According to Kingsley, a democratic administration would be possible after the end of war even though the future was unclear yet. Because the world would have democratic features after the war. Representative bureaucracy as one of the steps to institutionalize this situation put forward some ideas toward that the social groups should have representatives not only in political sense but also in administrative level (Kelly, 1998).

When Kingsley first introduced the theory of representative bureaucracy in 1944, it meant to draw attention the mechanisms, which public organizations accounted for social demands, and especially the motivations on which the decisions taken by officials were based. Kingsley, who objected the approach of “mechanic” Weberian, rational public authorities which asserted that the public officers were impartial practitioners of political decisions, observed that the public officials behaved with respect to people’s demands since they have the same opinions as individuals they represent rather than because of their obligation to behave impartial. Public officers were stuck in the ideologies of their class and behaved accordingly. This approach put forward by Kingsley are different and narrower than the term perceived as representative bureaucracy nowadays. Kingsley focused on social class as a demographical variable in his study.

In the studies carried out after Kingsley, the representative bureaucracy approach drifted apart from its first meaning. David Levitan (1946) and Norton Long (1952) in USA have examined the representative bureaucracy as a means to control administrative discretion. Levitan (1946) alleged that

external controls on bureaucrats were not enough, and the control means for the purpose of bureaucratic/administrative accountability became insufficient. He asserted that it would be necessary to make bureaucrats responsive to the society they represent in order to provide that they use their administrative discretion fairly and appropriately. Thus, people will adopt the actions of public institutions since bureaucracy will reflect the demands and expectations of people. Levitan suggested the representative bureaucracy term as an alternative to the bureaucratic system in USA by emphasizing the requirement to focus on the internal control of public officials' behaviors and to motivate bureaucrats on democratic values. In his work in which he tried to embed democracy into bureaucracy, he objected the politics-administration dichotomy, and criticized the impartiality notion of bureaucracy and focused on wider social, economic and political issues. What he was trying to emphasize was to refer that public officials should continue their services to people with loyalty indiscriminately under whoever is in power instead that they become members of political parties or play parts in active politics. Bureaucrats should be in a position to reflect any demand and expectation of each group in society to public bureaucracy just like politicians.

Norton Long (1952) has extended Levitan's argument a short time later by emphasizing that bureaucracy would be more representative than the congress actually and as a result, it would support more capacity to support democratic values accordingly. It is valid not only according to country's class structure but also for groups, capabilities, economic interests, races, nations and religions. Precedence of a legislative body elected is indisputable but it is necessary also for legislative and bureaucracy to complete each other to meet social requirements. According to the researcher, the most appropriate place is public bureaucracy to represent the rich variety of USA. He underlines that the expertise and variety of values of bureaucrats are more than the members of parliament in terms of contribution to management. Long asserted that rich and male people have opportunity to be represented in the congress. People who cannot have opportunity to be represented sufficiently in the congress might have more effective field to be represented through bureaucratic channel instead of political channel. Considered that the bureaucracy is the formative of many political alternatives for political channel of legislative and executive, representation ought to be taken into consideration as a primary criterion for employment in bureaucracy. Bureaucracy provides an important constitutional element of pluralism in government because of the extensity of interests represented in its composition. Bureaucracy provides an environment to develop national combination under favor of the structure, permanence and processes of it (Long, 1952, p. 814).

Another researcher to contribute in this theory after Long (1952) is Paul Van Riper. In the study of Van Riper (1958), symbolic importance of representative bureaucracy was emphasized to legalize citizenship policy. According to Van Riper (1958), the transformation to bring a representative feature in bureaucracy is accomplished only by enabling bureaucracy, which is a reflection of society, to represent general believes and attitudes of society. The researcher emphasizes that the implementation of policies determined is affected with the experiences and personal attitudes of bureaucrats. According

to Van Riper, if a bureaucracy has a representative feature passively, the decisions taken by this bureaucracy reflect the common experiences and attitudes of that society. A representative bureaucracy is a structure in which there is a separation between bureaucrats as a group and their attitudes and practices on one hand, and society, social membership and their administrative behaviors, and the practices and expectations of government on the other hand. In other words, representative bureaucracy suggests a structure that represents the society widely in which it belongs, and to reflect the nation substantially in its societal ideals and activities. According to Van Riper, a representative bureaucracy should include the reasonable profile of society in terms of profession, class, geography and similarities, and conform to social ethics and attitudes. When these are fulfilled, the decisions taken in a representative bureaucracy would conform to both public opinion and the decisions of related departments in government, and would not cause any problem. Briefly, a representative bureaucracy is a statement of similarity and conformity between general behaviors of society and social expectations from government and its administrative actions on the one hand and the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behaviors and practices on the other hand (Van Riper, 1958, p.552).

One of the researchers interested in representative bureaucracy in USA is Samuel Krislov. Krislov did not only collect the facts related to insufficient representation of a part of society in management but also developed a wider social justice argument for equal opportunity in his work in 1967 named as “The Negro in Federal Employment: The Quest for Equal Opportunity”. This perspective required abandoning of the idea of impersonal and anonym bureaucrat and of that there was a solid discrimination between politics and administration. Traditional models, which placed the legislative power over democratic hierarchy and transferred political implementations to bureaucracy, started to be rejected because of insufficient democratic contents (Groeneveld and Van de Walle, 2010, p.12). According to Krislov (1967, p.64), the representation of social groups in public bureaucracy is an indication of power distribution in a wide foundation. Thus, bureaucrats represent the facts regarding the society which they manage, and the values which they possessed. Krislov determined that there were four inseparable meanings of representative bureaucracy following his literature review. They are (i) right of all social groups to participate and affect the management, (ii) availability of bureaucracy to carry out its functions to the extent that it has a feature of representation, (iii) representative feature of bureaucracy for both politically and analytically since bureaucracies symbolize values and ruling facts, and (iv) the fact that the social texture and behaviors toward future in a society might be encouraged only by means of bureaucracy. Foundation of representative bureaucracy has changed in line with Krislov (1974, p.20) in time and it started to represent whole society rather than the prevailing social class only. The Researcher has considered the representation term on the bases of race, ethnicity and gender. Therefore, representative bureaucracy means a workforce reflecting a composition of all citizens in a country. Various parts of society should be represented in bureaucratic positions just like political ones.

Subramaniam (1967) asserts that there is more opportunity for the representation of middle-class people in bureaucracy since bureaucracies are generally composed of middle-class groups. According to the researcher, a representative bureaucracy is not a new term. The term is based on the rejection of the tradition of European aristocracy in employment of public officials during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. Subramaniam states that the development process of representative bureaucracy has been emerged in different ways in Europe and USA. Expectations about the evolution of representative bureaucracy have changed the course considering the development of performance measurements of political representative institutions and public bureaucracy simultaneously in Europe. However, representative political institutions and representative public services have developed simultaneously but separately, and the performance tests have less emphasized in USA (Subramaniam, 1967, p.1011). Subramaniam accepts that there is a wide agreement in representative bureaucracy term, but states that there is no agreement in the representative level desired and the categories which will be represented. Two main problems have survived about the term. First of them is considered by European leftwing-critics as the improper evolution of representative democratic political institutions for 150 years and the dissatisfaction from public bureaucracy. Second is resulted from the idea of satisfaction of all groups' requirements and general social interests, as asserted by dogmatic supporters of representative bureaucracy. It is considered that representative bureaucracy is single and the most effective answer to the problem of bureaucratic power. However, selection of public officials on merit-principle, that is one of the basic principles of classical bureaucracy, contradicts with this consideration. Which one would be preferred if the principle of representation and the merit-principle contradict in bureaucracy? Will expertise, information and professionalism be sacrificed to enable public service to be more representative? Furthermore, if there are many contradictions in the opinions of various groups to be represented and the representatives of these groups try to prefer to protect the group interests to which they belong, is it possible that the bureaucracy resulted from this situation might be divided and ineffective? (Subramaniam, 1967).

Pitkin (1967), who is contemporary of Subramaniam, studied the inclinations of representative individuals who behave for the sake of their groups (active representation), in addition to the idea to represent all social groups in public bureaucracy. According to his passive representation theory in 1967, the representation fact will be alive to the extent that the representatives of groups in bureaucracy behave with respect to the interests of their groups. Basic theme of representative bureaucracy is assumption that the passive representation results in active representation. Therefore, it is assumed that the bureaucrats will behave completely on behalf of the groups they represent. The researcher asserts that the passive representation is not absolute in bureaucracy in order for a bureaucracy, which is materially representative, to make decisions.

Primary motivation source of the interest in passive representation is the expectation of that the representatives of disadvantaged groups in bureaucracy will feel much responsibility to those disadvantaged groups on the basis of common values and understanding (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin describes

three main components of representation as sensitivity, interests and actors. Sensitivity indicates symbolic representation. If a representative of group participates in an organization, the group believes in that organization more. Sensitivity indicates an action carried out on behalf of an individual or group as described in contemporary active representation theories. The interests represented might be extended in a wide area from individual or group interests to general public interests. In addition, there is an interest representation which is a mixture of group and public interests, and which is undetermined and more complex. Actor might be a bureaucrat or an organization itself.

It is asserted by Mosher (1968) first time that an individual, who is not a part of government's political wing, might represent the interest of others. Mosher (1968) states that these concerns compose the core of discussions in public administration by mentioning that the power of bureaucracy to form policy is resulted from the concerns about the representative role of bureaucracy. According to Mosher, the concerns resulted from bureaucracy will diminish and public organization will be more sensitive to citizens if it reflects the demographical features of people it serves. Because, bureaucracy will not be considered as a threat against democracy if it represents the interest groups in society (Mosher, 1968). He asserts that bureaucracies exist to present, and bureaucratic decisions is affected by the values of bureaucrats. Values of a bureaucrat is formed by his social background, education and other factors related. Mosher tried to diminish the complexity of representation by dividing it in two parts as passive and active representation. According to him, sociologic meaning (or passive) of representation is related to origins of individuals and the extent that they reflect the society as a whole. For example, origin, nature (urban, rural, suburb, etc.), previous occupation, education, family income, social class, race and religion could be considered in that category. Considering normative traces of Kingsley's thesis, Mosher determines that the bureaucracies behave with respect to the requirements and interests of the groups they feel close to themselves, and calls that as active representation. According to Mosher, active representation complies with the expectation that public officials pay regards to the interests and demands of the groups they represent. Unlike Kingsley (1944), he defends that a bureaucracy should represent all groups in society rather than dominant groups only.

2.1. Passive Representative Bureaucracy

Passive representation is adapted to literature by Pitkin (1967) as descriptive representation. Descriptive term is included into literature by Griffiths and Wollheim (1960, p.188). Descriptive representation approach asserts that the representation term and especially representative bureaucracy can be seen when the representatives reflect the features of voters represented. Descriptive representation approach is related to representation term and especially representative bureaucracy theory (Kingsley, 1944; Long, 1952).

Mosher (1968), who inspired from Pitkin (1967), discriminate two meanings of bureaucratic representation as passive representation and active representation. Passive representation is related to the source of individuals' origins and to the extent, it reflects the society. Roots (rural, urban, suburb, etc.), previous profession, father's occupation, education, family income, social class of family, race,

religion are such factors in this meaning. Passive representation describes an individual who has the same roots with the population he serves. Passive representation indicates the conformity degree of public bureaucracy with the society it serves. Passive representation in bureaucracy focuses how much the different sections of society are represented and whether bureaucracy reflects the society or not. It tries to serve general society. Opportunity and power equity is an indication of access, and supports legitimacy of public bureaucracies (Mosher, 1968). This kind of representation is defined as conformity by political science researchers (Mansbridge, 1999), and as passive representation by representative bureaucracy researchers (Mosher, 1968). Therefore, passive representation means, “to be something rather than doing something” (Pitkin, 1967, p.60). Mosher’s theoretical discrimination and definitions are repeated or adapted by later researchers and tested empirically.

It is possible to see Mosher’s ideal effects in later definitions with respect to the term. For example, Meier and Bohte (2001) define the passive representation as the statement of similarities of demographic features in bureaucrats and citizen groups such as the situation race, gender, age, social class and religion. Rosenbloom and Dolan (2006) emphasize that the texture of public officials reflects the general population as a whole. Dovi (2007) asserts that citizens should have representatives who have common experiences and are similar to them by reminding that the passive representation has been the base of democratic theory. Naff (2011) and Roch et al. (2010) emphasize that personal structure of public institutions should reflect the population or the variety of population. Stokes-Brown and Dolan (2010) describe passive representation as a composition of social roots in bureaucracy, and state that passive representation symbolizes the democratic representation and legitimacy of state. Passive representation is related to how bureaucracy reflects the composition of population it serves such as race, ethnicity, gender and social class (Keiser, 2010). Representatives are typical members of a bigger class they represent. Black council members represent black voters; women council members represent women voters. Few researcher has realized that the statement to change “passive” term might be resulted not only from visible features such as skin color or gender but also from shared experiences. Thus, a representative with a background in farming business will represent the group of farmers (Mansbridge, 1999, p.630). Passive representation or the extent of bureaucracy to reflect society in demographically increase the legitimacy of state and provides symbolic interests by creating equal opportunity for all groups (Krislov, 1974; Mosher, 1968; Selden, 1997a). A bureaucracy with complete and correct representation of citizens plays a strong symbolic role for governance regime (Meier and Hawes, 2009, p.282).

Studies on the subject of passive representation do not concentrate on the effects of representation on political outcomes. Representation is considered as an endpoint in itself according to that approach (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p.851). The thought that is stated implicitly in passive representation studies is that the passive representation will direct and constitute other representative forms (Thompson, 1976; Saltzstein, 1979). Those approaches has increased concerns about passive representation and caused an idea that passive representation is a supplementary (Esman, 1999) or

intermediary (Selden, 1997a) means in the course to the transformation into active representation. Because, Mosher, who adopts and defends passive representation, rejected active representation since he perceives it as a treat to social integrity and objectivity. Passive representation can be seen as an attractive means to make bureaucracy more democratic or to decrease social tensions on one hand, but it might be considered as a violation of employment based on merit-principle and individual right of citizenship on the other hand (Meier and Hawes, 2009).

2.2. Active Representative Bureaucracy

Active representation approach has been brought by Mosher (1968) into literature with the term of passive representation to provide clarity to the representative bureaucracy approach against critiques. The approach is formed based on the values related to demographic origins and emphasizes the programs, policies or decisions that provide interest to individuals with similar origins (Meier, 1993). Mosher (1968), by defending the opinion that individuals from minority groups will try to their best to increase interest for these minority groups from public services when they are employed in public bureaucracy, qualifies that situation as active representation. He searched an answer to if there is active representation actually. Mosher, as a founder of the term, has defined the active representation as a pressure of an individual or administrator in bureaucracy for the interests of people who he/he represent. According to Meier and Stewart (1992), active representation happens when bureaucrats use their administrative discretion power for interest of a specific group with the values he shared. Hindera (1993a) defines active representation as the use of administrative discretion to defend the interests of his voters and to eliminate the discrimination among voters on the interest of different groups. Active representation means specifically the transformation of the values resulted from common demographic origins into the programs, policies and decisions by bureaucrats, which provide interests to citizens with similar demographic origins (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p.851).

The researches related to the term after Mosher, have indicated that the passive representation has not only symbolic effects and proved that the active representation exists. It has become more important to provide representation opportunity for all groups and to solve normative problem of active representation (Lim, 2006). The researchers assume that there is a connection among the experiences and attitudes of managers and their political decisions in order for active representation to actualize. It is assumed that decisions, attitudes and values of bureaucrats are formed by means of different life experiences. The effective element to affect his administrative discretion is these values and attitudes. Bureaucrats are not different from other people. When they have to choose, they reflect their own personal values in the decisions they take (Dolan, 2000, p.516). It might be asserted that the decisions taken according to this assertion will serve the interests of social groups having the same values with the bureaucrats who represent them.

Empirical researches suggest that there are two explanations of active representation based on individual interests and group communication (Hindera, 1990, 1993a). First theory based on individual interests predicts that the representation of a group will unite with the interests of that group positively

(Niskanen, 1971). Second is the communication theory that predicts that the passive representation of a group will be connected to the interests of that group positively and to the interests of other groups negatively. It seems that the interviews conducted with people having the same ethnicity with the researcher are more effective than the interviews carried out with the people with different ethnicity from the researcher (Hindera, 1993b, p.427). Does an active representative bureaucracy contribute in democracy by correcting some of its weak elements or does it damage democracy by dividing society into small parts? What level should it be supported up to, and in what condition should it be avoided? There is no complete consensus among the researchers on representative bureaucracy toward the answers of these questions (Lim, 2006). That is resulted from that the passive representation has some symbolic values considered important in terms of a democratic society although there is no guarantee for democratic decision-making (Gravier, 2013).

Active representation is based on a common identity that bureaucrats might be connected with citizens. Additionally, the passive representation is possible to transform into active representation if “represented” identity variable is open to both citizens and bureaucrats. However, the mobility of identities makes that representation hard (Dovi, 2002). Gade and Wilkings (2013, p.268) who question the idea that the identities are formed with objective criteria, defend that the identity is composed of the features both created with the personal choices and obtained from the institution included in addition to some unchangeable features. Organizational socialization enables public official to have the mobility of identity and thus, may put public official in a different identity. Therefore, public institution becomes representative only in terms of symbolic perspective in the situations that the identities change persistently (Naff and Capers, 2014, p.525). In other words, the society group related to the bureaucrat feels as if represented even though the bureaucrat does not behave on behalf of the group.

2.3. Symbolic Representative Bureaucracy

Phenomenon of representation is approached with the perspectives from bureaucrats and public institutions in both passive and active representation terms. However, symbolic representation considers it from the perspective of citizens. Symbolic representation term transformed from the literature of political representation into the literature of bureaucratic representation focuses on the perspective of citizens, and is concentrated on a citizen group that perceives to be represented (Theobald and Haider-Markel 2009, p.410; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). In other words, symbolic representation is interested in the behaviors of citizen who feels to have been represented. For that purpose, it examines the behaviors of citizen but the behaviors of bureaucrats. Therefore, it contradicts the typology of bureaucratic representation terms (Gravier, 2013, p.821-822).

It has been examined if the bureaucrats are required to protect the interests of social group they represent, in order for passive representation to affect public service or society after the discrimination of passive representation and active representation in the representative bureaucracy approach. It has been concluded in the studies that they create a change in society by existing in bureaucracy even if they do not behave for the interest of groups they represent (Kranz, 1975). In line with the findings, symbolic

representation term has been included in the literature as a new representation typology. There are some studies to associate passive representation with political outputs directly (symbolic representation) (Meier et al., 1989; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Hindera, 1993a, 1993b; Selden, 1997a). It is asserted in symbolic representation that the attitudes and behaviors of citizens and political outputs might change by means of a reflection of commitment of citizens and with the participation of individuals into public bureaucracy as passive representatives rather than actual activities of individuals in bureaucracy. Feeling of commitment is defined through social identities such as gender, race and profession. It is asserted in symbolic representation that the participation of individuals from minorities in bureaucracy can change the perceptions of attitudes of the minority groups and their perception on the legitimacy of state. Symbolic representation does not require an individual in bureaucracy to act for a goal. It is sufficient to participate in bureaucracy with a power to change the political outputs (Pitkin, 1967; Gade and Wilkins, 2013).

In symbolic representation, there is no demographical features and actual activities of bureaucrats, and the political outputs resulted from representative individual in bureaucracy. The political output of symbolic representation consists of a perception of individuals in minority groups that they are represented in public bureaucracy. Symbolic representation, that is indefinite from passive representation, is based on emotions and attitudes. A semantic is imposed on a symbol far beyond its actual meaning. The semantic or meaning is emerged only from individual's belief rather than any reality or any similarity of actuality. Results do not affect symbols as much as they do in the minds and belief systems of people. Symbolic representation is based on a system of common values emerged from an understanding between bureaucrat and people, and it has bilateral function (Duerst-Lahti and Verstegen, 1995, p.217). Individuals assume that a bureaucrat with similar features with themselves will perceive any issue like themselves and tries to solve their problems effectively (Hale and Kelly, 1989; Selden, 1997b).

The gains from symbolic representation provides interest not only individuals from minority groups but also all individuals in society, and it can be asserted that it might be a means to provide social integrity. Because of the Weberian structure of public bureaucracy, individuals from minority groups may not be able to behave actively for the interest of their groups but the minority groups of representatives perceive that they are being represented in public bureaucracy. This perception provides a symbolic positive effect on minority groups and enables the minority groups to feel that they are represented in bureaucracy. Therefore, the minority groups can support public policies accordingly. In a political perspective, bureaucratic representation may play a symbolic role by providing equal opportunity and representation (Groeneveld and Van de Walle, 2010; Gravier, 2013; Peters et al., 2013). Even though the passive representation does not turn into active representation, its existence in public bureaucracy indicates that any individual has equal opportunity to be employed in public bureaucracy regardless of what minority groups he belongs. Therefore, it is asserted that passive representation

provides a positive effect on society at the very least even though it is not effective always in practice (Mosher, 1968, p.17).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Purpose, Sample, Data Collection Method and Measurement Means of the Research

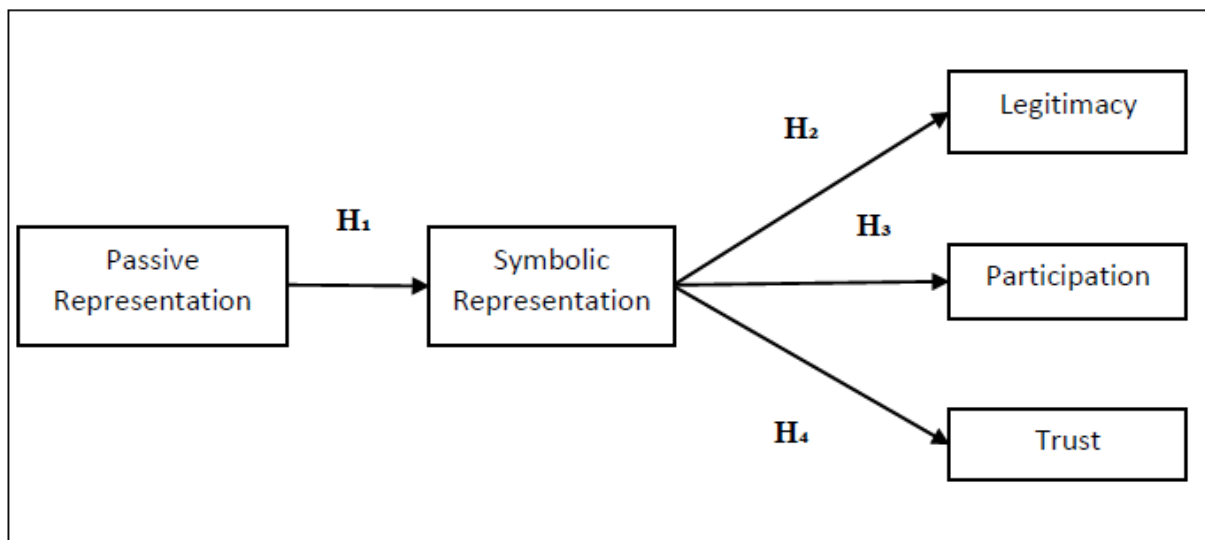
In this study, the perception of symbolic representation of the people who are serviced by the Gendarmerie and the Police which are two important general law enforcement agencies in the public administration structure in Turkey; and as a result of that perception, the attitudes of people are examined in terms of the legitimacy of these agencies, the participation in the activities and the trust toward these agencies.

The population of research is composed of 282.300 citizen living in Nevşehir. The sample includes 550 individual determined with cluster sampling. The confidence interval is 95%. The possible faults number because of the size of sample has been determined as 4,17% (less than 5%). Research data have been collected with a questionnaire form from the sample, which was prepared by author after reviewing literature by taking care of the social, bureaucratic and cultural structure of Turkey. The data have been obtained by means of the questionnaire form with 26 questions through implementation of electronic survey method. Questions were prepared with five-choices according to Likert method. The highest point (5) that might be added from each question is “strongly agree” and the lowest point (1) is “strongly disagree”. Some forms (34) of 584 questionnaires have been rejected and not used in the evaluation because of invalidity.

3.2. Research Model and Hypotheses

Conceptual model of the research has been developed as following by reviewing the theoretical and empirical findings in the literature related to the representative bureaucracy.

Figure 1. Research Model



Symbolic dimension in the representative bureaucracy theory is a primary part of passive representation as mentioned by Mosher (1968) and Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006). Passive

representation is related to symbolic representation and serves to symbolic role (Pitkin, 1967; Gravier, 2013, p.821). Symbolic representation may change the behaviors of citizens and the outputs on the benefit of citizens accordingly (Bradbury and Kellough, 2011). Bureaucrats from minority groups can change the attitudes of citizens from minority groups by providing attraction for these citizens (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Thielemann and Stewart, 1996). Increasing research results indicate that only the existence of representatives from minority groups may change the attitudes and perceptions of citizens regarding legitimacy of government (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006; Theobald and Haider Markel 2009). Bureaucrats in representative position create an effect by forming a change in citizens' behaviors in the relationship between passive representation and political outputs rather than by representing the interests of any group actively. Attitudes of citizens toward public services is possible to change when the bureaucrats are similar to them or the citizens perceive that the bureaucrats are like them (Lim, 2006). Reviewing previous findings, H1 hypothesis of the research is as following. *H1: Passive representation turns into symbolic representation.*

Symbolic representation contributes in the development of administration. When citizens think that they are represented in bureaucracy, they do not question the legitimacy of administration (Thielemann and Stewart, 1996). The level of reflection of personnel composition in public bureaucracy on the demographical composition of society shapes the legitimacies of society (Gade and Wilkins, 2013; Meier and Capers, 2013; Riccucci et al., 2014). The researches carried out indicate that an improving effect is observed on the perception of trust, satisfaction and legitimacy when there are some sociological similarities between bureaucrats and citizens (Meier and Nicholson Crotty, 2006; Gade and Wilkins, 2013). When citizens realize that they are represented in an organization, they may have better perception toward the legitimacy of the decisions and aims of bureaucracy. For example, Theobald and Haider-Markel (2009) carried out some research on symbolic representation in the police based on race and ethnicity. They determined that the symbolic representation has a function on individuals of the society who think that they are represented. According to the results of that research, passive representation results in black people to change their attitudes. It is determined that a black individual feels comfort and accepts the legitimacy of action when he is stopped by a black police officer while driving, and that a caucasian individual feels comfort when he is stopped by a caucasian police officer. Accordingly Riccucci et al. (2014) has also determined that organizational gender composition affects the attitudes of people to evaluate law enforcement units. Hong (2017) has concluded that an increase in the number of official from minority groups provided a decrease in the accusations and complaints (11%) and total complaints (20%) in following year. The researcher determined that the increase in the percentage of individuals from minority groups in British and Welsh law enforcement forces provided a decrease in the general complaints against police force as well as the complaint number per officer. H2 hypothesis has been determined as following by reviewing the findings in literature. *H2: There is a*

positive directional relationship between symbolic representative and the perception of legitimacy toward law enforcement practices.

Symbolic representation might be an element to improve political outputs especially in some fields as public security (Ricucci et al., 2015). It encourages society to participate in administration and contributes in governance (Conner, 2016). Existence of public officials who reflect values of citizens provides more legitimacy and effective political outputs by strengthening participation of the social groups on law representation level (Conner, 2016, p.298). It enables political outputs to be implemented, which they are less supported by required for the interest of society (Pitts et al., 2010; Peters et al., 2013). Social support might be achieved toward public policies; resistance toward difficult policies are diminished; and policy implementation costs are decreased (Ricucci and Ryzen, 2017, p.28). For example, employment of female officers in law enforcement units enables reports of domestic violence complaints from women. When citizens think that they are represented in public bureaucracy, they support more public service in which they are represented (Theobald and Haider-Markel, 2009; Gade and Wilkins, 2013; Ricucci et al., 2014). In a representative bureaucracy research which Meier and Nicholson-Crooty (2006) conducted on the officers of 60 top police districts in USA, it was determined that the possibility of reporting complaints from crimes against women in the districts having female officers was higher and the percentage of arresting suspects was high as well. The findings obtained by these researchers indicate that to have more female officers in districts provides symbolic representation more for women and enable women to report crimes against themselves at ease. The possibility of women to report a crime against themselves increases if the district has a female officer to listen their reports. The same findings have also obtained by Andrews and Miller (2013) and Andrews et al. (2014). There is a significant relationship between the representation level of women in female officers and the reporting rates of domestic violence against themselves. The women trust female officers will understand them better in these crimes (Chanes and Saltzstein, 1998, p.761). Ricucci at al., (2014) has found in a research in the police units that the representative level of gender results in the attitudes of citizens' trust toward public organizations. According to the researchers, citizens become more eager to participate in public service delivery when they perceive more legitimacy in public bureaucracy. Therefore, H3 hypothesis of the research is as following. *H3: There is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the participation in public activities.*

It has been determined in a research on teachers and school administrators that the job satisfaction of teachers are high and the turnover rate is low when they work with a school manager from the same race with them. In line with the representation theory, job satisfaction level is high and turnover rate is low in the teachers who work with the manager with same race (Grissom and Keiser, 2011).

Gade and Wilkins (2013) who defends that the passive representation may turn into the symbolic representation in the attitudes and behaviors of citizens without a requirement of active interaction have focused on how citizens consider and evaluate the services of a public organization when they know

that the manager of the organization has the same features with them. The researchers examined this their theses on war veterans who took professional rehabilitation service, and they determined that the veterans who took service from the advisors who were also veterans, evaluated the services with higher satisfaction level. Allen and Cohen (1980) asserted that the disabled patients considered disabled advisors as more emphatic and trustworthy. Priester et al. (2007) determined that the individuals with alcohol addiction problem were inclined to prefer being rehabilitated by advisors who used to be addicted to alcohol. Riccucci at al. (2015) implemented an experimental design and proved their symbolic representation theses. The researchers determined that women were more eager to cooperate and produced more important political outputs when the public bureaucrats or managers working with them were female. In line with the researches mentioned above, H4 hypothesis has been determined as following. *H4: There is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the trust toward bureaucracy.*

4. DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

At start of the analyses, validity and reliability tests have been implemented and the Cronbach Alfa Value has been determined as 0,89. In order to determine how the data pattern is, Kolmogorov Smirnov Test has been used and the significance value has been determined as <0,05. Therefore, it has been determined that the research data are non-parametric. In the analysis to determine the differences between two groups, Mann Whitney U Test has been used and the correlation test has been used to determine the relationship.

4.1. Demographical Variables

The findings obtained based on the result of definitive statistics are indicated on Table 1. Features as gender, location of residence, age, education, and military service field are included in the table. The facts about whether they have a relative in the law enforcement agencies are indicated in the table as well.

Table 1. Demographical Variables

Group	GENDER		LOCATION OF RESIDENCE						
	Female	Male	Village/ Town	Town Center	City Center				
N	177	373	75	141	334				
%	32,2	67,8	13,6	25,6	60,7				
AGE									
Group	18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	50+		
N	134	100	95	88	55	49	29		
%	24,4	18,2	17,3	16,0	10,0	8,9	5,3		
EDUCATION									
Group	Primary School	High School	College	Bachelor	MBA/MSc	PhD			
N	33	115	56	250	58	38			
%	6,0	20,9	10,2	45,5	10,5	6,9			
INFORMATION ABOUT COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE						RELATIVE IN GENDARMARIE		RELATIVE IN THE POLICE	
Group	Non	Army	Navy	Air	Gendarmerie	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	244	186	14	11	95	247	303	189	361
%	44,4	33,8	2,5	2,0	17,3	44,9	55,1	34,4	65,6
INFORMATION ABOUT INCOME									
Group	0-999	1000-999	2000-2999	3000-3999	4000-4999	5000-5999	6000+		
N	85	30	77	64	93	60	141		
%	15,5	5,5	14,0	11,6	16,9	10,9	25,6		

Reviewing the demographical data, it seems that the participants are male at the rate of 67,8% and reside mostly in city center (60,7%). 58,4% are over thirty years old; more than half have completed compulsory military service (56,6%). 55,1% have a relative in gendarmerie and 65,6% have a relative in the police.

Table 2. Frequency Chart

QUESTIONS	N	%		
I think that the gendarmerie personnel represent me and my values.	394	71,7		
I think that the police represent me and my values.	329	59,8		
I feel proud when I saw or heard of a success of gendarmerie.	515	93,7		
I feel proud when I saw or heard of a success of police.	503	91,4		
I perceive an employee of gendarmerie as one of us.	453	82,3		
I perceive an officer of the police as one of us.	362	65,9		
I always consider to be stopped and checked by gendarmerie as normal.	436	79,2		
I always consider to be stopped and checked by police as normal.	386	70,2		
I know that anything implemented by gendarmerie is required.	347	63,1		
I know that anything implemented by police is required.	295	53,6		
The practices of gendarmerie on us is required for our security.	487	88,6		
The practices of police on us is required for our security.	447	81,3		
I support any precautions by gendarmerie for our security and order.	473	86,0		
I support any precautions by police for our security and order.	451	82,0		
I do not hesitate to call gendarmerie when I had a problem.	486	88,4		
I do not hesitate to call police when I had a problem.	464	84,3		
I do not hesitate to report any crime to gendarmerie when I witness.	494	89,8		
I do not hesitate to report any crime to police when I witness.	482	87,6		
I always trust gendarmerie.	438	79,7		
I always trust police.	362	65,9		
I believe that the gendarmerie will be ready to help me when I need.	455	82,7		
I believe that the police will be ready to help me when I need.	391	71,1		
I do not hesitate to report to gendarmerie when I become victim of a crime.	504	91,6		
I do not hesitate to report to police when I become victim of a crime.	484	88,0		
I believe that the gendarmerie will try its best to solve my problem.	301	64,7		
I believe that the police will try its best to solve my problem.	245	42,5		
		Yes helped %	Non %	Yes, but did not help
If you have a relative or friend in gendarmerie, did he/she help you on an issue related to his/her profession?		12,9	45,5	41,6
If you have a relative or friend in police, did he/she help you on an issue related to his/her profession?		16,5	36	47,5

Frequency distribution of the answers to questionnaire form is indicated on Table 2. Frequency values are composed of sum of positive answers as “agree” and “strongly agree”. According to the findings, the rate of individual who think that the gendarmerie represents himself (71,7%) is higher than the police (59,8%). Similarly, it is observed that the results of gendarmerie are higher than those of the police. On the other hand, the rate of getting help from a relative or friend is higher in the police (16,5%) than the gendarmerie (12,9%).

4.2. Tests of Hypotheses

In order to test H1 hypothesis as “passive representation turns into symbolic representation”, the answers to the questions related to representation values have been compared in terms of people with a relative/friend (officer, non-commissioned officer, specialized gendarmerie, specialized sergeant, contractual gendarmerie) in gendarmerie and people with a relative/friend in police (senior officer, officer, warden). The findings gathered with Mann Whitney U Test have been indicated on Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3. Mann Whitney U Test Between Participants with or without a Relative in the Gendamerie

	REPRESENTATION IN THE GENDARMERIE	REPRESENTATION IN THE POLICE
Mann-Whitney U	30927,500	34833,500
Wilcoxon W	61555,500	65461,500
Z	-3,557	-1,410
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,158

According to the analyses on Table 3, the participants with a relative/friend and the participants without a relative/friend in gendarmerie, it is observed that there is a significant difference in two groups in terms of answers to questions about whether the gendarmerie represents them or not. However, there is no significant difference between two groups in terms of the police. Mean rank value indicates that the people with a relative/friend in gendarmerie are more positive on the idea that the gendarmerie represents them. Therefore, it seems that the passive representation turns into the active representation in terms of gendarmerie.

Table 4. Mann Whitney U Test Between Participants with or without a Relative in the Police

	REPRESENTATION IN THE GENDARMERIE	REPRESENTATION IN THE POLICE
Mann-Whitney U	31981,500	32111,000
Wilcoxon W	49936,500	50066,000
Z	-1,224	-1,144
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,221	,253

According to the findings on Table 4, there is a difference but not significant in the answers to the questions about whether participants are represented, in terms of participants with a relative/friend in the police and the participants without a relative/friend. The answers of same participants to the questions about whether the gendarmerie represents themselves indicate almost the same results.

Therefore, it seems that passive representation does not turn into symbolic representation in terms of the police.

In line with the findings, it has been determined that the passive representation turns into the symbolic representation in the gendarmerie. Therefore, H1 has been accepted in terms of gendarmerie. However, it has been rejected in terms of the police.

On the other hand, it has been concluded that there is no important difference in the perceptions toward the gendarmerie (4,177) and the police (3,973) in terms of representation rates. The perceptions of participants toward representation are quite high for both law enforcement agencies.

In order to test H2 hypothesis that there is a positive directional relationship between the symbolic representation and the legitimacy perception, a correlation analysis has been implemented between the answers to questions related to the representation factor and the legitimacy factor, and the results are indicated on Table 5.

Table 5. Correlation Chart between Representation and Other Dimensions

		GEN. REPRESENTATION	GEN. TRUST	GEN. LEGITIMACY	GEN. PARTICIPATION	POL. REPRESENTATION	POL. TRUST	POL. LEGITIMACY	POL. PARTICIPATION
REPRESENTATION IN GENDARMERIE	Pearson Correlation	1	,835**	,753**	,714**	,779**	,674**	,623**	,617**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550
		GEN. REPRESENTATION	GEN. TRUST	GEN. LEGITIMACY	GEN. PARTICIPATION	POL. REPRESENTATION	POL. TRUST	POL. LEGITIMACY	POL. PARTICIPATION
REPRESENTATION IN POLICE	Pearson Correlation	,779**	,675**	,627**	,586**	1	,850**	,698**	,679**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550

The findings on Table 5 indicate that there are positive directional and significant strong relationships between the representation dimension and legitimacy dimension of gendarmerie, and the legitimacy dimension of police. Reviewing the correlation values, it is observed that the legitimacy perception toward gendarmerie (.753**) is higher than the police (.623**). Similarly, it is observed that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the representation dimension and the legitimacy dimension of the police and the legitimacy dimension of gendarmerie. Reviewing the correlation values, it seems that the police representation and the legitimacy toward police (.698**) is higher than the legitimacy toward gendarmerie (.627**), but the difference is very low. On the other hand, the participants perceive more legitimacy toward activities of the agencies in which they think that they are represented. Therefore, H2 hypothesis has been accepted according to the findings obtained.

Table 5 indicates the results of correlation analysis to test H3 hypothesis about that there is a positive directional relationship between the symbolic representation and the participation in public activities. In line with the findings on Table 5, it has been determined that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the mean value of representation dimension of gendarmerie and the participation dimension of gendarmerie (.714**) and the participation dimension of police (.617**) and between the mean value of representation dimension and the participation dimension of gendarmerie (.586**) and the participation dimension of police (.679**). Therefore, H3 hypothesis has been accepted.

Results of correlation analysis to test H4 hypothesis about that there is a positive directional relationship between the perception of symbolic representation and the trust toward bureaucracy are indicated on Table 5. It has been observed that there is a positive directional and significant strong relationship between the representation dimension of gendarmerie and the trust dimension of gendarmerie (.835**) and the trust dimension of police (.674**); and between the representation dimension of police and the trust dimension of gendarmerie (.779**) and the trust dimension of police (.850**). In line with the findings, H4 hypothesis has been accepted.

First of two important findings is the existence that there is a positive directional significant strong relationship between the representation dimension of gendarmerie and the representation dimension of police (.779**). It means that the participants who feel to be represented in one of these agencies have same representation perception in other agency. Secondly, the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.753**), participation (.714**) and trust (.835**) in terms of participants who think that the gendarmerie represents themselves is stronger than the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.623**), participation (.617**) and trust (.674**) toward police; and the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.698**), participation (.679**) and trust (.850**) in terms of participants who think that the police represents themselves is stronger than the relationship among the dimensions of legitimacy (.627**), participation (.586**) and trust (.675**). It means that the participants feel more trust, participate more and perceive more legitimacy on the agency in which they feel to be represented

5. CONCLUSION

It is possible to state that the passive representation turns into symbolic representation based on gendarmerie in line with the difference in the answers toward representation variable between participants with a relative/friend in gendarmerie and participants without a relative/friend in gendarmerie with respect to the findings of this research. However, the situation is not the same in terms of the representation variable toward the police. Therefore, it has been determined that there is no difference in the perception of representation between the participants with a relative/friend and the participants without a relative/friend in the police. However, the participants have perception of that the

both the gendarmerie and the police represent themselves. This outcome might be resulted from the conservative structure of the province where this research was conducted.

In the scale of this research population, it is possible to state that the participants who think that both gendarmerie and police represent themselves evaluate more legitimacy in the actions of both gendarmerie and police. The participants consider more legitimacy for the activities of the law enforcement agency (gendarmerie or police) which they think that they are represented. For this purpose, one of the methods to provide legitimacy for the activities of public bureaucracy on people is to create employment for various society groups in public bureaucracy. Society will reject less and support the public activities which society considers more legitimacy.

It is observed that there have been findings in literature about the symbolic representation creates positive effect on the participation level of citizens in public activities. It is concluded in this study also that the citizens who think that the police and gendarmerie represent themselves are eager to participate and support the activities of law enforcement agencies in the scale of this limited research. It is required to encourage the social groups to participate in society-supported activities of the law enforcement agencies in order to gain efficient support from society. One of the means to gain this support is to run representation mechanism better in law enforcement agencies.

One of the benefits resulted from symbolic representative is to increase trust on public bureaucracy. Citizens who think that the gendarmerie and police represent themselves trust in both law enforcement agencies. The trust of individual toward the agency, which he/she believes represented, seems higher than the other. In this perspective, representative bureaucracy might be a key element to satisfy the trust issue between the government and the governed. Bureaucracy might be enabled more representative in order for citizens to participate in government and bureaucracy.

In this study that might be qualified as first empirical research in relation to representative bureaucracy in Turkey, it has been concluded in line with the findings of this limited research that the passive representation turns into symbolic representation, and it contributes in citizens to perceive the law enforcement agencies more legitimate, and it enables citizens to participate in law enforcement activities, and it increases the trust of citizens toward law enforcement agencies. In line with the findings of this research, it will be an important public policy to make bureaucracy more representative in order to increase the legitimacy, develop the trust and enable citizen participation in public services.

It might be suggested for next studies to investigate various public institutions other than law enforcement agencies.

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SAĞLIK ÇALIŞANLARINDA ETİK LİDERLİK VE ÖRGÜT KÜLTÜRÜNÜN
İNCELENMESİ: ÖZEL BİR HASTANEDE UYGULAMA
INVESTIGATION OF ETHICAL LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN
HEALTHCARE PROFESSIONALS: APPLICATION IN A PRIVATE HOSPITAL

Sümeyye ÖZMEN¹, Özlem ÖZER², Okan ÖZKAN³

1. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Sağlık Yönetimi Bölümü
sozmen@mehmetakif.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3056-0872>
2. Doç. Dr., Sağlık Bilimleri Üniversitesi, ozlem.ozer@sbu.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7238-5371>
3. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Sağlık Bilimleri Üniversitesi, okan.ozkan@sbu.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9491-8696>

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Öz

Bu çalışmada sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algılarının örgüt kültürü üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmak amaçlanmıştır. Çalışmanın evrenini Ankara'da yer alan özel bir hastanede görev yapmakta olan sağlık çalışanları oluşturmaktadır (N=450). Çalışmada örneklem seçilmemiş, 266 kişiden kullanılabilir anket elde edilmiştir. Veriler, 6 Ocak-30 Ocak 2020 tarihleri arasında toplanmıştır. Verilerin analizinde tanımlayıcı analizler, güvenilirlik analizi, faktör analizi, korelasyon analizi ve regresyon analizi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlara göre katılımcıların etik liderlik ve örgüt kültürü algılarının orta seviyede olduğu belirlenmiştir. Örgüt kültürü alt boyutlarından klan kültürü ve adhokrasi kültürünün etik liderlik ile olan korelasyonları pozitif yönde ve orta düzeyde; hiyerarşi kültürü boyutu ile olan korelasyonları pozitif yönde ve zayıf düzeyde tespit edilmiştir. Gerçekleştirilen regresyon analizi sonuçlarına göre ise etik liderlik, hiyerarşi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %14,8'ini; klan kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %27,7'sini ve adhokrasi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %30,8'ini açıkladığı bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etik Liderlik, Örgüt Kültürü, Sağlık Çalışanları,

Abstract

In this study, it was aimed to investigate the effects of ethical leadership perceptions of healthcare professionals on organizational culture. The universe of the study consists of healthcare professionals working in a private hospital in Ankara (N=450). The sample was not selected in the study, and a questionable questionnaire was obtained from 266 people. The data were collected between 6 January and 30 January 2020. Descriptive analysis, reliability analysis, factor analysis, correlation analysis and regression analysis were used in the analysis of the data. According to the results obtained from the study, it was determined that the participants' perceptions of ethical leadership and organizational culture were at a medium level. The correlations of clan culture and adhocracy culture, which are among the organizational culture sub-dimensions, with ethical leadership were determined positively and moderately; correlations with the dimension of hierarchy culture positively and weakly. According to the results of the regression analysis, it was determined that ethical leadership explained 14.8% of the total variance in the hierarchy culture perception, 27.7% of the total variance in the clan culture perception, and 30.8% of the total variance in the adhocracy culture perception.

Keywords: Ethical Leadership, Organizational Culture, Healthcare Professionals,

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Research Problem

The problem with this research to investigate the effects of ethical leadership perceptions of healthcare professionals on organizational culture.

Research Questions

What are the healthcare professionals' perceptions of ethical leadership and organizational culture? What is the relationship between the organizational culture and ethical leadership dimensions of healthcare professionals? What are the effects of ethical leadership perceptions of healthcare professionals on organizational culture?

Literature Review

When national and international literature is analyzed, it is seen that there are many domestic and foreign studies related to ethical leadership and organizational culture. Nowadays, unethical behaviors that occur in organizations have led to a higher need for ethical leadership. Staff working in the health sector often encounter events that require them to demonstrate ethical leadership characteristics within the teams they are involved in. Hospitals, where physicians and nurses work intensely, are very dynamic, complex, unpredictable and variable in nature because of the human element in their center. Therefore, these institutions face ethical problems. Recently, the increasing importance of the technological infrastructure and human interaction in health increases the responsibilities and expands their impact on the services provided by hospitals. Therefore, as a result of leadership behavior, the effectiveness and efficiency of the team are directly affected. The concept of ethical leadership, which has come to the fore recently, is intensely discussed. The person who adheres to ethical principles in daily work and is an example to others becomes an ethical leader. An ethical leader is a leader who values and respects the rights and dignity of others. Ethical leadership; it is expressed as the fact that leaders have the right values, robust and good characters. Organizational culture; It is the formation that enables employees with different beliefs, values, attitudes, and cultures to gather and work in harmony for the same purposes. The cultural formation in organizations is explained by four different cultural structures: clan culture, bureaucratic culture, market culture, and adhocracy culture.

Methodology

This study is a descriptive cross-sectional study prepared on the basis of questionnaire. The universe of the study consists of healthcare professionals working in a private hospital in Ankara. The sample was not selected in the study, and a questionable questionnaire was obtained from 266 people. The data were collected between 6 and 30 January 2020. Descriptive analysis, reliability analysis, factor analysis, correlation analysis and regression analysis were used in the analysis of the data.

Results and Conclusions

According to the results obtained from the study, it was determined that the participants' perceptions of ethical leadership and organizational culture were at a medium level. The correlations of clan culture and adhocracy culture, which are among the organizational culture sub-dimensions, with ethical leadership were determined positively and moderately; correlations with the dimension of hierarchy culture positively and weakly. According to the results of the regression analysis, it was determined that ethical leadership explained 14.8% of the total variance in the hierarchy culture perception, 27.7% of the total variance in the clan culture perception, and 30.8% of the total variance in the adhocracy culture perception.

1. GİRİŞ

Sağlık sektöründe çalışan personel, hizmet sunumu sırasında yer aldıkları ekipler içerisinde liderlik özellikleri göstermelerini gerektiren olaylarla sıklıkla karşılaşmaktadır. Örneğin hekimler, sağlık hizmeti veren ekibin olmazsa olmaz ve öne çıkan bir lideridir. Hemşireler ise bakım, tedavi, eğitim ve danışma süreçlerinde hastaları ve diğer personeli yönlendirici ve oldukça önemli görevlere sahiptir (Kaya Erten vd., 2017). Hekim ve hemşirelerin yoğun bir şekilde görev yaptığı hastaneler, merkezinde insan unsurunun bulunmasından dolayı oldukça dinamik, karmaşık, öngörülemeyen ve değişken bir yapıdadır. Bu nedenle bünyesindeki birimlerde etkili bir liderliğe ihtiyaç duyan, ayaktan ve yatarak sağlık hizmeti sunan kuruluşlardır (Tengilimoğlu ve Yiğit, 2005).

Hastaneler, uzun vadede rekabet güçlerini ellerinde bulundurma, çalışanlarının yenilikleri keşfetme ve uygulama potansiyelini ortaya çıkarma gibi konularda da etkili liderlik davranışlarının gösterilmesi gereken yerlerdir (Tengilimoğlu ve Yiğit, 2005). Son dönemde sağlıkta teknolojik altyapının ve insan etkileşiminin giderek önem kazanması, hastanelerin sundukları hizmetlerde sorumluluklarını artırmakta, etki alanlarını genişletmekte bu nedenle de liderlik davranışları sonucunda ekibin etkinlik ve verimliliği doğrudan etkilenmektedir (Velioglu ve Vatan, 2002).

Bu çalışmada öncelikli olarak kavramsal çerçeve kapsamında etik liderlik ve örgüt kültürü hakkında bilgiler verilmiş, araştırmanın metodolojisine dayalı olarak gerekli analizler gerçekleştirilmiş ve bulgulara göre yorumlamalar yapılmıştır.

2. KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

2.1. Etik Liderlik

Liderler; insanları etkileyen, koordine eden ve örgütün amaçları doğrultusunda yönlendirebilen kişilerdir (Mc Gregor, 1960). Bogardus (1934)'a göre liderler, çalışanlarını sadece bireysel özellikleri ile değil, zihinsel özellikleri ile de etkilemektedir. Liderlik; hedefleri belirleme ve başarıya yönünde grubun faaliyetlerinin etkilenme süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Can vd., 1998). Eren (2017)'e göre liderlik, bir grup insanı önceden belirlenmiş amaçlar çevresinde toplama, harekete geçirme ve bu amaçlara ulaşabilme konusunda bilgi ve beceriye sahip olma durumudur. Liderlik, yöneticilerin başarı elde edebilmesi için çalışanların dürüst ve saygılı bir şekilde motive olmuş bir çalışma sistemi içerisinde yer almalarıdır (Cohen, 2010). Robbins ve Judge (2012)'a göre ise liderlik, amaçların ya da vizyonun gerçekleşebilmesi yönünde ekibi etkileme becerisi olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Etik kavramı ise insanın var olduğu her alanda kendini gösterdiğinden dolayı liderlik sürecinde de önemli bir yere sahiptir. Liderlerin güçlü karakterleri, kendilerinin ve diğerlerinin işyerindeki etik performansını da etkilemektedir. Etik yaklaşım, bir lidere güven duyulmasını artıran ve lider olarak kabul edilebilmesini mümkün kılan bir araç olmaktadır (Aslan, 2013). Etik, etimolojik olarak Yunanca'da karakter anlamına gelmektedir. Ahlaki değerleri, ilkeleri ve standartları belirleyen, kişilere neyin iyi, neyin kötü olduğunu seçmede belirleyici olan bir kavramdır (Bakan ve Doğan, 2013). Etik

konusu her ne kadar felsefenin ortaya çıkması ile başlasa da, örgütsel anlamda etik, 1960'lı yıllardaki sosyal sorumluluk hareketi ile gündeme gelmiştir. Sosyal sorumluluk hareketi sayesinde örgütlerde görev yapan yöneticilerin ve liderlerin aldığı kararların; ekonomik kaynak kullanımının gerek çalışanlar gerekse de toplum açısından refah düzeyini ve sosyal ahlak seviyesini etkilediği ortaya koyulmuştur (Uzkesici, 2003). Sosyal sorumluluk hareketi ile birlikte yöneticilerin çevreye, canlılara ve topluma karşı olan duyarlılığı, çalışanları arasında oluşturdukları etik anlayış farkındalığı ve örgütteki etik dışı davranışları azaltma çabaları gündeme gelmiştir. Örgütsel etik ya da diğer ifadesiyle iş etiği, ahlaki standartları akılcı bir şekilde değerlendirerek, çalışma ortamlarına nakletme ve uygulamaya geçirmedir (Velasquez, 1998). Örgütsel etik, örgütü oluşturan bireylerin sahip olduğu değerler sistemi sayesinde iletişim kurmalarını, karar vermelerini ve etik ikilemleri çözmelerini kolaylaştırarak işleyişi sağlayan yazılı ve yazılı olmayan kurallar bütünüdür (Gül, 2006).

Son dönemde öne çıkan etik liderlik kavramı, tartışmaların üzerinde yoğunlaştığı bir liderlik türüdür. Günlük meşguliyetlerinde etik ilkelere bağlılık gösteren ve diğerlerine örnek olan kişi, etik lider olmaktadır (Gallagher ve Tschudin, 2010). Etik lider; kendisi dışındaki kişilerin de haklarını ve onurlarını değerli bulan, saygı gösteren bir liderdir (Şantaş vd., 2018a). Etik liderlik, liderlerin doğru değerlere, sağlam ve iyi karakterlere sahip olması durumu olarak ifade edilmektedir (Freeman ve Stewart, 2006). Brown ve arkadaşları (2005) etik liderliği; dönüşümcü, otantik ve ruhsal liderlikten ayırarak ilk kez ortaya koyan kişilerdir. Brown ve arkadaşları (2005) bu kavramı, kişisel faaliyetleri ve kişilerarası ilişkileri aracılığıyla normatif olarak uygun davranışlar göstererek çift yönlü iletişim, pekiştirme ve karar verme yoluyla takipçilerine örnek olma ve onları yönetme olarak ifade etmektedir.

Etik liderlik, durumsallık yaklaşımı ile örtüşen bir konudur. Durumlara bağlı gelişen davranışlar, uygun bir örgütsel ortam içerisinde ortaya çıkabilmektedir (Minaz, 2019). Diğer yandan etik liderlik, sosyal öğrenme kuramına da dayandırılmaktadır (Brown ve Treviño, 2006). Etik liderlerin etik davranışları, takipçilerini olumlu yönde etkilerken etik dışı davranışları ise olumsuz anlamda etkilemekte, onlara kötü bir model olmaktadır (Brown ve Treviño, 2006). Dolayısıyla liderler ve çalışanlar arasındaki etkileşim, etik davranışlara yönlendirmektedir (Mayer vd., 2009).

Treviño ve arkadaşları (2000)'na göre etik liderlik, ahlaklı bir kişi açısından dürüstlük, güvenilirlik, adalet, başkalarının sorunları ile ilgilenme, etik davranma gibi özellikleri içermektedir. Ahlaklı bir yönetici için ise daha dönüşümcü çabalara odaklanan, takipçilerinin etik davranışlarını etkileyen, astlarına etik davranışın önemini ileten, ödül ve ceza kullanan, onlara rol model olması özelliklerini ifade etmektedir. Etik liderler, bekledikleri etik davranışları teşvik etmek amacıyla ödüllendirme ve cezalandırma mekanizmalarını işletmektedir ve davranış değişimine sebep olarak model olmaktadır (Mayer vd., 2009).

Treviño ve arkadaşları (2003) tarafından yapılan çalışmaya göre etik liderlerin belirgin kişilik özellikleri; dürüst, güvenilir, insanları ve toplumu önemseyen, kişisel ve mesleki yaşamlarında etik davranan, adil, yeniliklere açık, anlayışlı, etik bilince ve kaygıya sahip ilkeli karar vericiler şeklindedir. Etik liderler, ahlaklı, insana ve topluma yarar getiren işler yapan, insanlar arasında itibarı ve ilkeleri olan

karar vericiler olarak tanınmaktadır. Mesleki yaşamlarında etik davranışlar sergileyen ahlaklı yöneticilerdir (Treviño vd., 2000). Başarılı bir etik liderde kendini tanıma, kendisine güvenme ve olumlu benlik saygısı öncelikli şartlardır. Toplumsal anlamda yaşayışın güçlü ve zayıf taraflarını, ayrıca kültürel değerleri analiz etme becerisine sahip olması gerekmektedir (Kaya Erten vd., 2017).

Örgüt açısından etik liderlerin göstermeleri gereken davranışlar aşağıda belirtilmektedir (Freeman ve Stewart, 2006):

- ✓ Örgütün amaçlarını ve değerlerini açıklamakla birlikte, etik bir bilinç oluşturmak için bu amaç ve değerleri gerçekleştirir,
- ✓ Bireysel egoları bir kenara bırakarak, örgütsel başarıya odaklanır,
- ✓ Çalışabileceği en başarılı ve örnek kişileri bulur, onları geliştirir. Etik altyapısı sağlam insanlarla çalışır,
- ✓ Etik, değerler ve paydaşlar için değer oluşturma konuları ile ilgili güncel bir tartışma ortamı oluşturur. Etik kararlar alır,
- ✓ Karşıt fikirlerin dile getirilebileceği mekanizmaları oluşturur,
- ✓ Çalışanlara ve bulunduğu örgüte hizmet ederken; aynı zamanda çalışanlarının kişisel amaçlarını dikkate alır ve değerlerini öncelikli tutar. Başkalarının değerlerine saygı duyar,
- ✓ Hayal gücünü çalıştırırken yapılması zor olan görev çağrılarında bulunur,
- ✓ Yapılacak eylemleri etik açıdan bir çerçevede değerlendirir. Değerlerin sınırlarını ve etik prensipleri bilir,
- ✓ Paydaşların desteği ve sosyal meşruiyet içerisinde temel değerlere dair önermeler ile bağlantı kurar,
- ✓ Örgütsel misyonun gerçekleştirilebilmesi için risk almaktan çekinmez,
- ✓ Çalışanlarıyla bilgi paylaşımını en kısa sürede ve tam olarak yapar,
- ✓ Acil durumlarda ve kritik konularda çalışanlarının cesaretle karar alabilmesini kolaylaştırır.

Etik bir lider olabilmek için ise aşağıdaki sorulara cevap aramak gerekmektedir (Freeman ve Stewart, 2006):

- ✓ Benim en önemli değerlerim ve prensiplerim nelerdir?
- ✓ Bu değerleri yansıtmak için zamanımı ve dikkatimi nasıl harcıyorum?
- ✓ Astlarım ve meslektaşlarım değerlerimin neler olduğunu söyleyebilir?
- ✓ Otoriteme karşı koyabilecek birlikte çalıştığım kişilere dair tasarladığım mekanizmalar ve süreçler hangileridir?
- ✓ Bu örgüt benden hangi durumlarda etik ilkelerden uzaklaşmamı isteyebilir?
- ✓ Benim liderliğimle ilgili neyi başarmayı isteyebilirim?
- ✓ Ben gittiğimde liderliğimle ilgili arkamdan ne söylensin isterim?
- ✓ Günün sonunda eve gidip, çocuklarıma veya sevdiğim birine liderliğimden bahsedebilir miyim? Onlara günlük çalışmalarından yola çıkarak etik lider olmayı öğretebilir miyim?

Günümüzde örgütlerde oluşan etik dışı davranışlar, etik liderliğe daha fazla ihtiyaç duyulmasına sebep olmuştur. Skandallar gündeme geldikçe pek çok liderin kötü davranışlar gösterdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır (Brown, 2007). Örgütler için etik dışı davranışlar, insanlar arasındaki ilişkilerin bozulmasına neden olan ve sosyal açıdan kabul edilen kurallara aykırı olarak gösterilen davranışlardır. Örgütlerde yaşanan en önemli etik dışı davranışlara, çalışanlar arasında çıkan çatışmalarda adil olmamak, rüşvet almak (Weiss, 1998) örnek olarak verilebilmektedir. Ayrıca ülkemizde yapılan bir çalışmada da en önemli etik dışı davranışlar çevre kirliliği, bilgi sızdırma ve rüşvet olarak ifade edilmektedir (Uzkesici, 2003). Bunlar dışında etik dışı davranışlar ayrımcılık, kayırma, yolsuzluk, yönetime yaranma, bağınazlık, meslektaşlarını engelleme, yıldırma, bencillik, işkence, taciz, şiddet ve dogmatik davranma olarak belirtilebilmektedir (Gül, 2006).

2.2. Örgüt Kültürü

Kültür, grup halindeki kişilerin diğerlerinden ayırıcı bazı zihinsel özelliklerini ifade etmektedir. Bir diğer ifadeyle kültür; bu özellikler ile kişilerin yaşadıkları çevreden ve tecrübelerden kaynaklı olarak zihinleri üzerinde gerçekleşen programlamadır (Erdem vd., 2010). Örgüt kültürü ise örgütler içerisinde birbirinden farklı inanç, değer, tutum ve kültüre sahip çalışanların aynı amaçlar etrafında toplanarak uyumlu bir şekilde çalışmasını sağlayan oluşumdur (Eren, 2017). Cameron ve Quinn (1999)'e göre örgütlerdeki kültürel oluşum klan kültürü, bürokrasi kültürü, piyasa kültürü ve adhokrasi kültürü olmak üzere dört farklı kültürel yapı ile açıklanmaktadır.

Klan kültürü; insanların gönüllü olarak kendilerinden kattıkları, geniş bir aile gibi sıcak ve samimi bir ortamı, birleştirici ve katılımcı bir bakış açısını ifade etmektedir (Erdem, 2010). Kişiler arası bağlılık, güven, uyum, insani ilişkiler ve gelişme üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu tür kültürlerde liderler, birer rehber ve ebeveyn gibi görülmektedir. Örgüt, sadakat ve gelenek sayesinde bir arada tutulmaktadır (Cameron ve Quinn, 1999). Bürokrasi kültürü; akılcı ve mantıklı kurallara dayanan bir hiyerarşi kültürüdür (Erdem, 2010). Çok resmi kurallar, politikalar, prosedürler ve düzen üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu tür örgütlerde liderler verimlilik odaklı iyi birer koordinatör ve organizatör olmakla gurur duymaktadırlar. Piyasa (Pazar) kültürü; rekabet gücüne ve pazar üstünlüğüne dayanmaktadır. İşin yapılmasına yani sonuca odaklanan bir örgüt yapısını ifade etmektedir. Bu tür örgütlerde liderler, sıkı birer rakip, sert birer yarışmacı iken; örgütü ayakta tutan mekanizma kazanma arzudur (Cameron ve Quinn, 1999). Son olarak adhokrasi kültürü; dinamik, değişken, yenilikçi, girişimci bir bakış açısını ve dış çevreye uyumu ifade etmektedir. Geleceğin inşa edilmesi üzerinde duran bu tür örgütlerde liderler risk alarak ve sezgi yoluyla karar vermektedir. Örgüt, deneyime ve yenilikçiliğe önem verirken; bireysel inisiyatifi ve özgürlüğü de teşvik etmektedir (Cameron ve Quinn, 1999). Kalıplaşmış modellerden ve aşırı uzmanlaşmadan uzaklaşarak; resmi olmayan, kendini yenileyen ve esnek bir yapı oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır (Mintzberg, 2015).

Örgüt kültürü, örgütlerde etik ilkelerin oluşturularak kurumsallaşmanın sağlanması ve farklı kültüre sahip kişilerin aynı davranışı gösterebilmesinin yoludur. Örgüt içerisindeki etik çerçeve, örgüt üyeleri tarafından paylaşılan ahlaki düşünce ve değer dünyasını kapsamaktadır (Eren, 2017). Etik

liderliğin sağlam temellerinin olması, örgüt kültürünün bu değerler çevresinde yoğunlaşmasını doğurmaktadır. Ayrıca örgütlerin paydaşlar arasında bir denge oluşturabilmesi, çalışanların ve müşterilerin beklentilerine cevap verebilmesi bu sayede gerçekleşebilmektedir. Örgütlerde etik yönetim, sistematik, bilinçli ve devamlı bir uğraş gösterme ile sağlanabilmektedir (Uzkesici, 2003).

Örgütler için yöneticilerin liderlik davranışı göstermeleri örgütün başarılı olması, çalışanların ve yöneticilerin iş doyumunun sağlanması gibi pek çok açıdan büyük önem taşımaktadır (Tengilimoğlu ve Yiğit, 2005). Yöneticilerin liderlik davranışı türlerinden biri de etik liderliktir. Etik liderliğin ana amaçlarından biri olan etik dışı davranışların önlenmesi ile birlikte örgüt kültürünün de olumlu etkilenebileceği düşünülmektedir.

Yöneticilerin ve liderlerin etik konusuna duyarlı olabilmesi, örgüt kültürünün sağlanması için de önemli bir gerekliliktir. Bu sayede örgüt üyeleri arasında etik ilke ve standartlara bağlılığın artması sağlanabilmektedir. Etik örgüt kültürü, uzun vadeli bir bakış açısı sayesinde paydaşların ve hissedarların arasındaki dengeyi oluşturabilmektedir. Yöneticilere riske girmeleri ve yenilikçi kararlar almaları konusunda cesaret vermektedir. Yüksek etik değerlerle örülü örgüt kültürü güçlü olduğunda, çalışanların davranışları da olumlu yönde etkilenmektedir. Bunu elde edebilmek için yöneticilerin bir rol model olması, etik kodları oluşturmaları ve çalışanlar arasında yaygınlaşmasını sağlamaları, etik konularda eğitim vermeleri, etik kurullar oluşturmaları, etik davranış sergileyenleri görülebilir düzeyde ödüllendirme ve davranmayanları ise cezalandırma sistemini uygulamaları, koruyucu mekanizmaları oluşturmaları gerekmektedir (Robbins ve Judge, 2012). Etik bir iklim oluşturabilmek için en üstteki yöneticilere büyük görev düşmektedir. Üst yönetim, etik değerlere sıkı sıkıya bağlı olduğunda diğer yöneticiler de etik liderlik davranışını o derece göstermektedirler (Gruys vd., 2008).

Liderler, grup tarafından seçileceği ve kabul edileceği için, etik lider ve örgüt kültürü arasında yakın bir ilişki vardır. Ayrıca örgüt etiği, tüm çalışanların ortaklaşa değerlerin oluşuma katılmasıyla ve liderin bu etik iklimi teşvik etmesiyle beraber işlerlik kazanmaktadır. Bu nedenle de etik liderlik ve örgüt kültürü bağlantılı kavramlardır (Ray, 2006). Etik liderlik misyonunu gösteren yöneticinin örgütte bulunan herkese dair ortak etik ilkeleri merkeze alarak karar vermesi ve uygulaması gerekmektedir (Minaz, 2019). Etik liderler, örgütün amaçlarını, misyonu, vizyonu ve değerlerini somut hale getirerek, gerçekleşmesini sağlamak için çalışanlar ile arasına bir köprü oluşturmaktadır (Şantaş vd., 2018a). Dolayısıyla çalışanlar arasında oluşan etik bir örgüt kültürünün mimarı etik lider sayılabilmektedir.

3. YÖNTEM

3.1. Amaç ve Hipotezler

Bu çalışmanın amacı sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algılarının örgüt kültürü üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda ise aşağıda yer alan hipotezler geliştirilmiştir:

•Hipotez 1. Sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algıları örgüt kültürünün alt boyutlarından hiyerarşi kültürü üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkiye sahiptir.

•Hipotez 2. Sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algıları örgüt kültürünün alt boyutlarından klan kültürü üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkiye sahiptir.

•Hipotez 3. Sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algıları örgüt kültürünün alt boyutlarından adhokrasi kültürü üzerinde istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir etkiye sahiptir.

3.2. Evren ve Örneklem

Çalışmanın evrenini, Ankara ilinde yer alan özel bir hastanede görev yapmakta olan sağlık çalışanları (N=450) oluşturmaktadır. Hastanede 82 hekim, 170 hemşire, 103 diğer sağlık personeli ve 95 idari personel görev yapmaktadır. Araştırmada örneklem seçilmemiş ve veri toplama aracı araştırmaya katılmayı kabul eden çalışanların tümüne dağıtılmıştır. Veri toplamanın devam ettiği süre 6 Ocak-30 Ocak 2020 tarihleri arasındadır ve çalışmada 266 kişiden veri toplanmıştır.

3.3. Etik İzin

Çalışmanın etik izni Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Girişimsel Olmayan Klinik Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu'ndan alınmıştır (Toplantı Tarihi:04.13.2019).

3.4. Veri Toplama Aracı

Çalışmada katılımcıların etik liderlik algılarını ölçmek için Brown vd. (2005)'nin geliştirdiği, Tuna vd. (2012)'nin Türkçe'ye çevirdiği ve geçerlilik ve güvenilirliğini yaptığı ölçek kullanılmıştır. Yeşiltaş (2012) tarafından tekrar geçerlilik ve güvenilirliği yapılan bu ölçek, 10 maddeden ve tek boyuttan oluşmaktadır. Ölçeğe ilişkin ifadeler "1=Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum"dan, "5=Kesinlikle Katılıyorum"a kadar uzanan 5'li Likert tipinde ağırlıklandırılmaktadır. Çalışmada etik liderlik ölçeğinin geçerlilik ve güvenilirliğini test etmek için faktör analizi ve Cronbach Alpha katsayısından yararlanılmıştır. Yapılan analizler sonucunda ölçeğin güvenilirlik değeri 0,963 olarak bulunmuştur. Bu çalışmada yapılan faktör analizi sonucunda ölçeğin Tuna vd. (2012)'nin ve Yeşiltaş (2012)'in çalışması ile benzerlik gösterdiği ve tek boyutlu bir yapıda olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Yapılan analiz sonucunda tek faktörlü bu yapının toplam varyansın %75,045'ini açıkladığı belirlenmiş ve ölçek analizlere tek faktörlü olarak uygulanmıştır (KMO= 0,948, $\chi^2= 2785,996$, df= 45, p<0,001).

Çalışmada örgüt kültürü algılarını ölçmek amacıyla Cameron ve Quinn'in (1999) geliştirmiş olduğu ve Kasar (2019)'ın Türkçe formunu oluşturduğu Örgüt Kültürü Ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Ölçek 18 maddeden ve 3 alt boyuttan (adhokrasi, klan ve hiyerarşi kültürü) oluşmaktadır. Katılımcıların ifadeleri "Kesinlikle Katılıyorum"dan "Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum"a kadar uzanan 5'li Likert tipi cevap skalasında değerlendirilmektedir. Örgüt kültürü ölçeğine uygulanan güvenilirlik analizi sonucunda ölçeğin toplam Cronbach Alpha güvenilirlik katsayısı 0,952 olarak bulunmuştur. Alt boyutlar bazında ise Cronbach Alpha katsayıları hiyerarşi kültürü için 0,839; klan kültürü için 0,919; adhokrasi kültürü için 0,929 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Örgüt kültürü ölçeğine uygulanan faktör analizi sonuçlarına göre ise, ölçeğin bu çalışmada Kasar (2019)'ın araştırması ile paralel olarak üç faktörlü bir yapı sergilediği tespit edilmiştir. Elde edilen bu üç faktörlü yapının toplam varyansın %71,7'sini açıkladığı belirlenmiştir (KMO= 0,943, $\chi^2= 3864,834$, df= 153, p<0,001). Buna göre adhokrasi kültürü 10 maddeden oluşmakta ve açıklanan

varyans %56,523; klan kültürü 6 maddeden oluşmakta ve açıklanan varyans %8,852; hiyerarşi kültürü 2 maddeden oluşmakta ve açıklanan varyans %6,326 olarak tespit edilmiştir.

3.5. Veri Analizi

Çalışmada istatistiksel analizler, SPSS 22 programı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Verilerin analizinde tanımlayıcı analizler, güvenilirlik analizi, faktör analizi, korelasyon analizi ve regresyon analizi kullanılmıştır. Verilerin analizi %99 güven aralığında yapılmış ve $p < 0,01$ anlamlılık düzeyine göre değerlendirilmiştir. Korelasyon analizinde ise pearson korelasyon katsayısı kullanılmıştır.

4.BULGULAR

Tablo 1’de araştırmaya katılanlara ilişkin tanımlayıcı bilgiler verilmektedir. Buna göre; katılımcıların %65’i kadındır ve %38’i lisans eğitim düzeyine sahiptir. Katılımcıların %9’u hekim, %31,6’sı hemşire, %28,6’sı diğer sağlık personeli ve %30,8’i idari personelden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcılara ait olan yaşların ortalaması hesaplandığında 32.99 olduğu görülmekte iken, sağlık sektöründe toplam çalışma süresi ortalaması 9.31 ve mevcut birimde toplam çalışma süresi ortalaması 4.12 yıldır.

Tablo 1. Araştırmaya Katılanların Tanımlayıcı Özellikleri

Özellik	Sayı	Yüzde
<i>Cinsiyet</i>		
Kadın	173	65,0
Erkek	93	35,0
<i>Eğitim</i>		
Lise	47	17,7
Önlisans / İki yıllık Yüksekokul	81	30,5
Lisans	101	38,0
Lisansüstü	37	13,8
<i>Hastanedeki Görev</i>		
Hekim	24	9,0
Hemşire	84	31,6
Diğer Sağlık Personeli	76	28,6
İdari Personel	82	30,8
<i>Yaş</i>		
Ortalama: 32.99 – Maksimum: 67- Minimum: 19- Ranj: 48		
<i>Sağlık Sektöründe Çalışma Süresi (Yıl)</i>		
Ortalama: 9.31 – Maksimum: 37- Minimum: 1- Ranj: 36		
<i>Mevcut Birimde Çalışma Süresi (Yıl)</i>		
Ortalama: 4.12 – Maksimum: 25- Minimum: 1- Ranj: 24		

Tablo 2’de araştırma değişkenlerine ilişkin temel istatistikler yer almaktadır. Buna göre; örgüt kültürü alt boyutları arasında en yüksek ortalamayı klan kültürü alt boyutunun ($3,48 \pm 0,88$) ve en düşük ortalamayı ise adhokrasi kültürü alt boyutunun ($3,37 \pm 0,88$) aldığı görülmektedir. Çalışmaya katılan çalışanların etik liderlik değişkenine ilişkin algılamalarının ise orta seviyede olduğu ($3,24 \pm 1,05$) ifade edilebilir. Örgüt kültürü alt boyutlarından klan kültürü ve adhokrasi kültürünün etik liderlik ile olan korelasyonları pozitif yönde ve orta düzeyde iken hiyerarşi kültürü boyutu ile olan korelasyonları pozitif

yönde ve zayıf düzeydedir ($0,385 \leq r \leq 0,555$). Örgüt kültürü alt boyutları arasındaki korelasyonlar ise olumlu yönde, orta ve yüksek düzeydedir ($0,558 \leq r \leq 0,771$).

Tablo 2. Araştırma Değişkenlerine Ait Ortalama, Standart Sapma ve Korelasyon Değerleri

Değişkenler	Ort.	Std. Sapma	1	2	3	4
1.Etik Liderlik	3,24	1,05	(1)			
2.Hiyerarşi Kültürü	3,43	0,94	0,385**	(1)		
3.Klan Kültürü	3,48	0,88	0,527**	0,714**	(1)	
4.Adhokrasi Kültürü	3,37	0,88	0,555**	0,558**	0,771**	(1)

** Korelasyon 0.01 düzeyinde anlamlıdır (2-tailed)

Tablo 3’de araştırmanın hipotezlerini test etmek için gerçekleştirilen regresyon analizi sonuçları gösterilmektedir. Etik liderliğe ilişkin algının hiyerarşi kültürü üzerindeki etkisini ortaya koymak üzere oluşturulan regresyon modeline ilişkin istatistiksel tahminler modelin anlamlı olduğunu göstermektedir ($F=46,025$; $p<0,001$). Etik liderlik, hiyerarşi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %14,8’ini açıklamaktadır. Regresyon modelinde regresyon katsayısının anlamlılığına ilişkin t-testi sonuçları incelendiğinde, katılımcıların etik liderliğe ilişkin algılarının yükselmesi hiyerarşi kültürünü de istatistiksel olarak artırmaktadır ($t=6,784$; $p<0,001$). Standardize edilmiş regresyon katsayısı $\beta=0,385$ ’dir. Bu sonuçlar çalışmanın birinci hipotezinin (H_1) doğrulandığını göstermektedir.

Tablo 3. Etik Liderlik ve Örgüt Kültürü Alt Boyutları Arasındaki İlişkileri İnceleyen Regresyon Analizi

Bağımlı Değişken	Bağımsız Değişken	B	Std. Error	β	t	p	R	R ²	F	p	Durbin-Watson
Hyerarşi Kültürü	Sabit	2,317	0,172		13,468	$p<0,001$					
	Etik Liderlik	0,343	0,051	0,385	6,784	$p<0,001$	0,385	0,148	46,025	$p<0,001$	1,986
Klan Kültürü	Sabit	2,050	0,149		13,718	$p<0,001$					
	Etik Liderlik	0,442	0,044	0,527	10,062	$p<0,001$	0,527	0,277	101,251	$p<0,001$	1,768
Adhokrasi Kültürü	Sabit	1,858	0,146		12,697	$p<0,001$					
	Etik Liderlik	0,466	0,043	0,555	10,838	$p<0,001$	0,555	0,308	117,452	$p<0,001$	1,687

Etik liderlik algısının klan kültürü üzerine etkisine ilişkin yürütülen regresyon analizi sonucuna göre etik liderliğin klan kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %27,7’sini açıkladığı belirlenmiştir. Analiz sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların etik liderliğe ilişkin algılarının yükselmesi klan kültürü algılarını istatistiksel olarak artırmaktadır ($t=10,062$; $p<0,001$). Standardize edilmiş regresyon katsayısı $\beta=0,527$ ’dir. Bu sonuçlar çalışmanın ikinci hipotezinin (H_2) doğrulandığını göstermektedir.

Etik liderlik algısının adhokrasi kültürü üzerine etkisine ilişkin yürütülen regresyon analizi sonucuna göre ise etik liderliğin adhokrasi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %30,8’ini açıkladığı görülmektedir. Analiz sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların etik liderliğe ilişkin algılarının yükselmesi adhokrasi kültürü algılarını istatistiksel olarak artırmaktadır ($t=10,838$; $p<0,001$). Standardize edilmiş

regresyon katsayısı $\beta=0,555$ 'dir. Bu sonuçlar bu çalışmanın üçüncü hipotezinin (H_3) de doğrulandığını göstermektedir.

5.TARTIŞMA VE SONUÇ

Sağlık kurumları; hekim otonomisinin yoğun bir şekilde yaşandığı, başta hemşireler ve diğer sağlık personelinin yönetsel ve mesleki işlerde üstlerine karşı emir-komuta ile bağlı olduğu ve çoğu zaman da kendisine verilen görevleri yerine getirmek durumunda kaldığı örgütlerdir. Bu açıdan hemşirelerin, yönlendirmelerde bulunan sorumlu hekimi, başhemşiresi ve diğer yöneticilerden; ayrıca diğer sağlık personelinin yönetsel ve mesleki işlerinde üstlerinin veya yöneticilerinin ahlaki standartlara uymayan kararlarından daha fazla etkilenen kişiler olması beklenmektedir. Bu nedenle de yönetici merkezli bir kavram olan “etik liderlik”, sağlık kurumlarında ön plana çıkan bir kavramdır (Songur vd., 2017). Etik liderlik, özellikle mikro düzeydeki sağlık hizmeti sunucusu-hasta ilişkilerinde profesyonellerin uygulamalarına ve davranışlarına odaklanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak bu liderlik türü, ataerkil bakımdan hasta merkezli bakıma dönüşümün temel taşı gibi görünmektedir. Ayrıca etik liderlik, tüm faaliyetlerinde kaliteyi ve güvenliği teşvik etmeyi ve uygulamayı savunmaktadır (Şantaş vd., 2018a). Sağlık kurumları; verilen hizmetin karmaşık yapısı ve özellikleri açısından yöneticilik ve örgüt kültürü bakımından işletme düzeyinde giderek önem kazanan kurumlardır. Sağlık kurumlarında temel girdi insan olduğundan dolayı, yönetsel kademedeki kişilerin ve çalışanların liderlik niteliklerine sahip olmaları ve kültürün temel bir yönetsel araç haline gelmesi beklenmektedir (Karahana, 2008).

Literatürde etik liderliğin; çalışanın devamsızlığını ve görevi kötüye kullanma davranışını azalttığı, iş doyumunu ve performansını artırdığı ifade edilmektedir (Şantaş vd., 2018a). Esmaelzadeh ve arkadaşları (2017) tarafından hemşireler üzerinde yapılan araştırmada ise, etik liderliğin örgütsel iklimi olumlu anlamda etkilediği; örgütsel kimlik, güven ve dayanışma gibi unsurların oluşumunu sağladığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada ise sağlık çalışanlarının etik liderlik algılarının örgüt kültürü üzerindeki etkilerini incelemek amaçlanmıştır. Literatürde sağlık sektöründe etik liderlik ile örgüt kültürünü bir arada inceleyen çalışmaların çok sınırlı olması bu çalışmanın yapılmasının önemli bir nedenini oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmada yapılan analizler sonucunda katılımcıların etik liderlik puanlarının orta seviyede olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Songur vd. (2017)'nin sağlık personeli üzerinde gerçekleştirdikleri çalışmalarında da katılımcıların etik liderlik algılarının orta düzeyde olduğu belirlenmiştir. Yine Büyükyılmaz ve Alper Ay (2017)'in iki farklı devlet hastanesinde çalışan personelle yaptıkları araştırmalarında katılımcıların etik liderlik algılarının orta düzeyde olduğu belirlenmiştir. Çıraklı vd. (2014)'nin sağlık çalışanları üzerinde gerçekleştirdikleri çalışmalarında ise katılımcıların etik liderlik algılarının düşük seviyede olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Çalışmada örgüt kültürü alt boyutları arasında en yüksek ortalamayı klan kültürü alt boyutunun ve en düşük ortalamayı ise adhokrasi kültürü alt boyutunun aldığı belirlenmiştir. Katılımcıların genel olarak örgüt kültürü algıları ise orta düzeydedir. Şantaş vd. (2018b)'in bir üniversite hastanesinde çalışan personel üzerinde gerçekleştirdikleri

çalışmalarında da katılımcıların örgüt kültürü algılarının orta düzeyde olduğu belirlenmiştir. Çıraklı vd. (2017)'nin hastane personeli üzerinde gerçekleştirdikleri çalışmalarında kamu hastanesinde hiyerarşik örgüt tipinin daha baskın olduğu belirlenmiştir. Yine Erdem (2007)'nin altı hastanede çalışan personel üzerinde gerçekleştirdiği çalışmasında da genel olarak tüm hastaneler dikkate alındığında örgüt kültürü tiplerinden hiyerarşi kültürünün ön plana çıktığı tespit edilmiştir.

Çalışmada yapılan analizler sonucunda örgüt kültürü alt boyutlarından klan kültürü ve adhokrasi kültürünün etik liderlik ile olan korelasyonları pozitif yönde ve orta düzeyde iken hiyerarşi kültürü boyutu ile olan korelasyonları pozitif yönde ve zayıf düzeydedir. Toytok ve Kapusuzoğlu (2016)'nun öğretmenler üzerinde gerçekleştirdiği çalışmasında etik liderlik ve örgüt kültürü arasında yüksek düzeyde pozitif yönde ve anlamlı bir ilişki olduğu belirlenmiştir. Rizwan vd. (2017)'nin çalışmasında da etik liderlik ile örgüt kültürü arasında anlamlı ve pozitif yönde ilişkiler tespit edilmiştir.

Çalışmada gerçekleştirilen regresyon analizi sonuçlarına göre; etik liderliğin hiyerarşi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %14,8'ini; klan kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %27,7'sini ve adhokrasi kültürü algısındaki toplam varyansın %30,8'ini açıkladığı belirlenmiştir. Katılımcıların etik liderliğe ilişkin algılarının yükselmesi hiyerarşi, klan ve adhokrasi kültürünü istatistiksel olarak artırmaktadır. Toytok ve Kapusuzoğlu (2016)'nin çalışmasında da etik liderliğin örgüt kültürünün güçlü bir açıklayıcısı olduğu belirlenmiştir. Şentürk (2017)'nin çalışmasında ise klan kültürünün etik liderlik davranışlarını açıklama düzeyi istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bulunmuş ve etik liderlik davranışları üzerinde %5 gibi bir etkiye sahip olduğu bulunmuştur.

Sağlık çalışanlarının hizmetin sunumu aşamasında hasta haklarını ön planda tutmaları ve hastalara karşı etik değerler çerçevesinde davranmaları gerektiğinden dolayı bu alanda etik liderliğe büyük bir ihtiyaç vardır. Sağlık hizmeti veren örgütlerde etik anlayış, hizmet kalitesini ve hasta memnuniyetini doğrudan etkileyen önemli bir unsur olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Yapılan etik dışı uygulamalar kısa sürede kamuoyuna mal olabilmektedir. Bu noktada çalışanların üzerine düşen görevler olduğu gibi, yöneticilerin de etik liderlik özelliklerine sahip olması gerekmektedir (Gül, 2006).

Çalışanların karşısındaki kişinin duygularını anlamaya çalışması ve o kişiye değer vermesi etik ilkelere göre hareket etmenin öncelikli koşuludur. Etik lider durumundaki kişiler, birlikte çalıştıkları ekibin üyelerinin tepkilerini dikkate almalı ve onları dinleyerek çözüm bulmaya çalışmalıdır (Kaya Erten vd., 2017). Lider, çalışanların etik dışı davranışları hakkında ne kadar fikir sahibi olursa, sorunlara çözüm bulması da o derece kolaylaşmaktadır (Gül, 2006). Etik lider, çalışanların örgüte bağlılıklarını artırabilmek için evrensel değerler çerçevesinde doğru kararları alabilmeli ve proaktif davranabilmelidir (Bakan ve Doğan, 2013).

Bu çalışmanın özel bir hastanede çalışan personel üzerinde gerçekleştirilmesi nedeniyle elde edilen sonuçların tüm sağlık personeline genellenmesi konusu, araştırmanın sınırlılığını oluşturmaktadır. Bu konuda yapılacak olan çalışmaların daha geniş kapsamlı bir şekilde ve farklı sektörlerde gerçekleştirilmesinin etkili sonuçlar elde edilmesine yardımcı olacağı söylenebilir.

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HOCALI SOYKIRIMI İLE İLGİLİ TÜRK KAMUOYUNUN GÖRÜŞLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

A RESEARCH ON THE VIEWS OF THE TURKISH PUBLIC ABOUT THE HOCALI GENOCIDE

Esma ÖZDAŞLI¹

1. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, eozdasli@mehmetakif.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2336-9719>

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Öz

25-26 Şubat 1992 tarihinde, Ermeni silahlı kuvvetleri ve Rus 366. motorize gücünün, 10 bin nüfuslu Hocalı kasabasına gerçekleştirdiği saldırıda; 83 çocuk, 106 kadın ve 70'den fazla yaşlı dahil olmak üzere toplam 613 kişi öldürülmüş, 487 kişi ise ağır yaralanmıştır. İnsanlık dışı işkence yöntemleriyle öldürülen bu insanların dışında çok sayıda kişi rehin alınmış ve bazı Hocalı sakinleri ise kaybolmuştur. İnsan Hakları İzleme Örgütü'nün "Dağlık Karabağ Savaşı"ndan bu yana gerçekleştirilen en kapsamlı "sivil" katliam olarak nitelendirdiği bu faciyanın faillerinin, hala hiçbir ceza almamaları uluslararası hukuka olan inancı zedeleyen önemli bir husustur. Uluslararası hukuk açısından en büyük insanlık suçu olarak kabul edilen "soykırım"ı tanımlayan 1948 tarihli Birleşmiş Milletler Soykırımın Önlenmesi ve Cezalandırılması Sözleşmesi'nin her maddesine göre Hocalı'da yaşananlar bir "soykırım"dır. Ancak Batılı ülkeler başta olmak üzere dünyanın görmezden geldiği bu olay, Türk Dünyası'nda hatta Türkiye'de dahi tam olarak bilinmemektedir. Bu çalışma, Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili olarak araştırma örneklemini nispetinde Türk kamuoyunun algısının ne yönde olduğunun tespit edilebilmesi için yapılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, NVivo 12 Paket Programı yardımıyla yapılandırılmış görüşmeler neticesinde elde edilen metinler üzerinde İçerik Analizi (Temasal Analiz) yapılmış ve elde edilen frekans dağılımları ve kavram haritaları sayesinde yorumlara gidilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hocalı Soykırımı, Türkiye, Azerbaycan, Kamuoyu, İçerik Analizi,

Abstract

On 25-26 February 1992, Armenian armed forces and the Russian 366th motorized force attacked Khojaly which had a population of 10 thousand. 613 people were killed, including 83 children, 106 women and more than 70 elderly people, and 487 people were seriously injured. Moreover, many people were taken hostage and some of the Khojaly residents were lost. The perpetrators of this disaster, which Human Rights Watch described as the most comprehensive "civilian" massacre since the Nagorno-Karabakh War, are still an important issue that undermines the belief in international law. Khojaly massacre is a "genocide" according to every article of the 1948 United Nations Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide which defines the genocide as the biggest crime against humanity in terms of international law. However, this event, which is ignored by international community, is also not commonly known in Turkic World and Turkey. This study is carried out to determine the direction of Turkish public opinion regarding the Khojaly Genocide. In this context, Content Analysis is conducted on the texts obtained as a result of the structured interviews with the help of NVivo 12 Package Program and comments are made thanks to the frequency distributions and concept maps obtained.

Keywords: Khojaly Genocide, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Public Opinion, Content Analysis,

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Research Problem

This study is carried out to determine the perception of the Turkish public opinion regarding the Khojaly Genocide. In this framework, it aims to reveal the attitudes and thoughts of different community groups towards the Khojaly Genocide. To provide information to the Azerbaijan State for the process of forming public opinion regarding the Khojaly Genocide is also the objective of this study.

Research Questions

Within the scope of the research, the answers of the following questions were sought: 1. How would you define the events in Khojaly? 2. When was the first time you heard about the Khojaly Genocide? 3. Which events and experiences originated your awareness regarding the Khojaly genocide? 4. Do you believe that an international awareness has been raised adequately about the Khojaly Genocide? 5. Do you think that there is adequate lobbying by Turkey and Azerbaijan about Khojaly Genocide? 6. What should be done at the social and institutional level to raise awareness about the Khojaly Genocide? 7. Did you work to announce this incident internationally individually or as a group after you have been informed about the Khojaly Genocide?.

Methodology

The research population is made up of social media users who follow the researcher at their social media accounts. With the Convenience Sampling method, a Structured Questionnaire was sent to the followers of different social sections of the researcher's own social media accounts. There were 198 people who accepted and answered the questionnaire. Structured Interview is used as data collection method in the research. As it is well known, the interview method is used in both quantitative and qualitative research. In the structured interview method, the previously prepared questions are asked to the participants and their answers are recorded. In accordance with the subject of the research, 7 questions that were prepared beforehand are directed to the people who accept the interview. The data obtained as a result of these interviews are primary data because people are directly asked about their views on the Khojaly Genocide. In this study, Content Analysis is used on the texts that are obtained as a result of the structured interviews with the help of NVivo 12 Package Program. Comments are made as a result of the frequency distributions and concept maps obtained.

Results and Conclusions

The main findings of the study are as follows: More than half of the participants (51%) consider the event as genocide. As the average age of the interviewees is young, it is also among the findings that they learned the event especially after 2000. An overwhelming majority (approximately 89%) of the interviewees think that not enough awareness is raised internationally concerning the Khojaly Genocide. There is a strong impression that efforts of Turkey and Azerbaijan are not enough for international lobbying. In the framework of the study, it is found out that more needs to be done to raise awareness about the Genocide both in public opinion of Azerbaijan and Turkey as well as international public

opinion. Particularly, it is emphasized by the participants that foreign media channels should be used more effectively and more broadcasts should be made in foreign languages. In this study, which was carried out in order to determine the perception of the Turkish public of the Khojaly Genocide, a determination has been made that a more effective policy should be followed to introduce the issue to the international community. Participants has made remarks that Turkey and Azerbaijan should follow a common policy to raise the awareness about the issue. They have also emphasized the importance of broadcasts in foreign languages and using social media channels more effectively.

1. GİRİŞ

Kamuoyu kavramını genel anlamda, belirli bir dönem itibariyle, belirli sorunlarla ilgili toplum kesimlerinin sahip oldukları kanaat olarak tanımlamak mümkündür. Bu kanaatin ne kadar etkin olarak duyurulduğu da önemli bir diğer konudur (Kapani, 1983: 235). Kamuoyu oluşturma sürecinin, karar vericilerin karar yönünün tespit edilmesinde büyük önem arz ettiği, günümüzde kamuoyunun kendiliğinden oluşmadığını da belirtmek gerekmektedir. Kamuoyunun oluşturulmasında birinci önem arz eden nokta, bir konu veya sorun ile ilgili olarak o konu ya da sorun hakkında toplumun bilgilendirilmesi ya da haberdar edilmesi hususudur (Atabek, 2002: 235).

Bir olgu ya da olay ile ilgili olarak olay ya da olgudan etkilenen toplum kesimlerinin öncelikle bu olay ya da olguları sorun olarak değerlendirmesi ve bu konuda bir ortak görüşün oluşması söz konusudur. Oluşan bu görüş neticesinde ilgili toplum kesiminin belirgin bir tutuma sahip olması ve bu tutum doğrultusunda davranışlar geliştirmesi gerekmektedir. Bu olay ya da olgu ile ilgili kamuoyunun oluşmasında olumlu ya da olumsuz tepkiler gösterme eğilimi olarak tanımlanabilecek tutumlar büyük önem arz etmektedir. Olay ve olgu ile ilgili olarak toplum kesiminin elde ettiği bilgiler; sevgi, öfke, nefret vb. duyguları ve davranışsal tepkileri tutumlarının temel unsurlarıdır. Sahip olunan tutumlar toplum kesimindeki bireyler tarafından sözlü olarak ifade edilmeye başladığında o toplum kesiminin kanaatleri ortaya çıkmış olmaktadır (Yüksel, 2007: 574).

Sadece Azerbaycan tarihinin değil, insanlık tarihinin en kanlı hadiselerinden biri olan Hocalı Soykırımını münferit bir olay değil, aksine Ermenilerin yaklaşık olarak 200 yıldır devam eden “denizden denize Büyük Ermenistan” hayallerinin en kanlı parçasıdır (Özdaşlı, 2015: 13). 25-26 Şubat 1992 tarihinde, Ermeni silahlı kuvvetleri ve Rus 366. motorize gücünün, 10 bin nüfuslu Hocalı kasabasına gerçekleştirdiği saldırıda; 83 çocuk, 106 kadın ve 70’den fazla yaşlı dahil olmak üzere toplam 613 kişi öldürülmüş, 487 kişi ise ağır yaralanmıştır. İnsanlık dışı işkence yöntemleriyle öldürülen bu insanların dışında 1275 kişi rehlin alınmış, akibeti hala bilinmeyen 150’ye yakın kişi de kaybolmuştur. (Bağirov, 2017). Katliam sırasında 7 ailenin bütün fertleri öldürülmüş, 27 ailenin ise sadece bir ferdi ayakta kalabilmiş, 230 ailede anne veya baba öldürülmüştür. Katliamdan kaçmaya çalışan 200 kişi Gargar çayını geçmiş, soğğun etkisi ile ayakları donmuştur. Yapılan tüm müdahalelere rağmen bu kişilerin ayakları kesilmiştir (Asker, 2017). Bunlar resmi rakamlardır. Tanıkların, gazetecilerin ve hatta bazı Ermenilerin verdikleri bilgilere göre katliam günü 1300’den fazla insan hayatını kaybetmiştir (Asker, 2017).

Uluslararası hukuk açısından en büyük insanlık suçu olarak kabul edilen “soykırım”ı tanımlayan 1948 tarihli Birleşmiş Milletler Soykırımın Önlenmesi ve Cezalandırılması Sözleşmesi’nin her maddesine göre Hocalı’da yaşananlar bir “soykırım”dır. Ancak Batılı ülkeler başta olmak üzere dünyanın görmezden geldiği bu olay, Türk Dünyası’nda hatta Türkiye’de dahi tam olarak bilinmemektedir. Bu çalışma, Hocalı Soykırımını ile ilgili olarak araştırma örneklemini nispetinde Türk kamuoyunun algısının ne yönde olduğunun tespit edilebilmesi için yapılmıştır.

2. HOCALI SOYKIRIMI: TARİHSEL ARKAPLAN VE TEMEL NEDENLER

Hocalı'nın işgali, daha önce de ifade edildiği üzere münferit bir olay değil, Ermenilerin 19. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Rusya'nın desteğiyle Azerbaycan topraklarına yönelik sürdürdüğü mütecaviz stratejilerinin bir devamıdır. Bu bakımdan, Hocalı'yı anlayabilmek için öncelikle Hocalı'nın da bir parçası olduğu Dağlık (Yukarı) Karabağ neresidir? Ruslar açısından önemi nedir? Ne şekilde işgal edilmiştir? ve Azerbaycan'ın bölünmüşlüğü sorunu nasıl ortaya çıkmıştır? gibi konuların bilinmesi gerekmektedir.

Karabağ, Azerbaycan'ın Kür ve Aras ırmakları ile günümüzde Ermenistan topraklarında bulunan Gökçe (Sevan) Gölü arasındaki dağlık bölge ile bu bölgeye bağlı ovalardan oluşmaktadır. Dağlık Karabağ yüzölçümü 18000 km² olan Karabağ'ın 4392 km²'lik kısmını oluşturmaktadır (Aslanlı, 2001: 393- 384). Azerbaycan'ın bölünmüşlüğü ve dolayısıyla Karabağ sorununun temelini, Rusya ile İran (Kaçar) arasında 18. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren yaşanmaya başlanan Kafkasya hakimiyet mücadelesi oluşturmaktadır. 1803-1813 arasında yapılan Rus-İran savaşları neticesinde Karabağ'a bağlı Gülistan köyünde imzalanan Gülistan Antlaşması ile Karabağ, Gence, Şeki, Bakü, Derbend, Kuba ve Taliş hanlıkları Rusya, Güney Azerbaycan hanlıkları ise İran hâkimiyetine bırakılmıştır (Buniyatov, 1991: 320). Bu anlaşma, Türk Kafkası'nın büyük bir kısmının Rusya tarafından işgalinin resmi belgesidir (Mehmetov, 2009: 484). 1826'da başlayan ve İran'ın yenilgisiyle sonuçlanan ikinci Rus-Kaçar savaşından sonra 18 Şubat 1828'de imzalanan Türkmençay Anlaşması ile Azerbaycan'ın günümüze kadar gelen bölünmüşlüğü sorunu ortaya çıkmış, Gülistan Anlaşması'na ek olarak Erivan (İrivan) ve Nahçıvan Hanlıkları da Rusya'ya verilmiştir (Mehmetov, 2009: 487). Söz konusu anlaşmalara göre Rusya tarafından kalan Kuzey Azerbaycan topraklarının bir kısmı Ermenilere verilmiş, (Dilican, Gökçe Gölü, Zengezur-Katar mıntıkası) 114 bin km² ülke toprağı Sovyet yönetimince ise 86 bin km²'ye düşürülmüştür. Bunun yanı sıra Ermenilerin zorlaması ile Azerbaycan'ın doğal sınırları içinde yer alan Nahçıvan'a muhtar cumhuriyet, Dağlık Karabağ'a ise muhtar vilayet statüsü verilerek adım adım bu bölgelerin Azerbaycan ile bağı koparılmaya çalışılmıştır. SSCB'nin yıkılma sürecine girmesi ile birlikte Ermeniler Dağlık Karabağ'ın muhtar statüsünden yararlanarak bölgeyi kademeli olarak ele geçirmiştir (Alkan,2006: 138). Ermenilerin, Rusları Kafkasya hakimiyetine götürecek ne denli isabetli bir araç oldukları 1827'de Revan Ruslar tarafından ele geçirildiğinde Rus General Paskeviç'in Çar'a gönderdiği raporda net olarak görülmektedir: "...Bu sırada İrevan vilayetinde 10 bini Müslüman-Türk, 3 bini Ermeni olmak üzere 13 bin insan yaşıyordu. Bunlardan Ermeniler kalenin kuzey kapısını gizlice açtılar ve 1 Ekim'de Rusların şehre girmesine yardım ettiler." (Attar, 2013: 52)

Rusya'nın Kafkasya'ya yönelmesi ile tüm bölge halkları için uzun yıllar sürecek zorlu bir nüfus hareketliliği başlamıştır. 1828 yılında Türkmençay Anlaşması'nın 15. maddesine göre; Kaçar yönetimi altında yaşayan (büyük ölçüde günümüzdeki İran toprakları) 50.000, 1829 Osmanlı-Rus Edirne Anlaşması uyarınca ise Osmanlı topraklarında yaşayan 84.000 Ermeni'nin Karabağ başta olmak üzere Azerbaycan topraklarına göç ettirilmesine karar verilmiştir. Gerek zorunlu gerekse gönüllü olarak 20.

yy.'nin başlarına kadar devam bu nüfus hareketleri neticesinde yaklaşık olarak 1 milyon 300 bin Ermeni Anadolu'dan ve İran'dan Kafkasya'ya göç etmiştir (Yeşilot, 2008: 192). Dolayısıyla, günümüzde tarihsel toprak iddialarında bulunarak Dağlık Karabağ'ın kendilerine ait olduğunu iddia eden Ermenilerin büyük bir kısmının bölgeye gelişi 19. yüzyılın ortalarına tekabül etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, Hocalı gibi bir "soykırımın" da yaşandığı Karabağ sorununun temeli, Rusların teşvikiyle Ermenilerin Azerbaycan topraklarını işgali ile başlamıştır.

Azerbaycan topraklarını ele geçiren Rusya, uzun yıllar sürdürdüğü Ermeni göç ve iskan politikası ile Türk Kafkasyası ile Anadolu ve İran'ın kesiştiği bölgede tampon bir Ermeni eyaleti oluşturularak, bölge denetimini elinde tutmayı hedeflenmiştir (Mehmetov, 2009: 487). Çarlık Rusya'nın ve SSCB'nin Kafkasya ve devamında Türkistan'a nüfuz etme politikasının temelini, Anadolu Türkleri ile Türkistan arasındaki bağlantıyı koparma planı oluşturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Karabağ'ın işgali, Anadolu ile Türkistan arasındaki bu organik bağı ortadan kaldırarak, Aleksandr Dugin'in ifadesi ile Türkiye'yi kıta içi mekanlardan yani Türk dünyasından koparan bir işleve sahip olacaktır (Dugin, 2005: 78). Karabağ'ın Ermenilerce işgal edilmesi ile Nahçıvan ile Azerbaycan arasına Ermeniler sokulmuş, böylece Azerbaycan'ın önemli bir bölgesi ile bağlantısı kesilmiş, dolayısıyla Ermenistan Türkiye ile Türk Dünyası arasına adeta bir hançer gibi saplanmıştır (Özdaşlı ve Kodaman, 2016: 77). Ermenistan, sadece Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'dan değil Gürcistan'ın Cehavati bölgesinden de asılsız toprak taleplerinde bulunarak tüm bölge için bir huzursuzluk kaynağı haline gelmiştir. Birçok yazarın üzerinde hem fikir olduğu üzere, dünyada büyük güçler Rusya ve ABD'nin aynı anda desteklediği tek ülke olması, bu nedenle de Dağlık Karabağ işgalini BM dahil bir çok uluslararası örgütün aldığı kararlara rağmen sürdürmesini kolaylaştırmaktadır.

2.1. Ermeniler Hocalı'yı Neden Hedef Aldı?

Hocalı'nın Ermenilerce işgal edilmesinin nedenleri arasında, Dağlık Karabağ'ın tek hava limanına sahip olmasının yanı sıra bulunduğu konum itibarıyla önemli demiryolu ve karayolu bağlantılarının üzerinde olması ve Dağlık Karabağ'ın merkezi Hankendi'ye (Ermeniler işgalden sonra buraya Stapanakert adını vermişlerdir) 11 km mesafede olması sayılabilir. Dağlık Karabağ'ın merkezi olan Handikendi'nin elektrik hattı, Bakü-Handikendi demiryolu hattı ve Bakü-Şuşa karayolu da Hocalı'dan geçmektedir (Asker, 2017). Bununla birlikte Ermeniler, Hocalı'da bir soykırım gerçekleştirerek, ileride yapacakları saldırılarına yönelik Azerbaycan Türkleri üzerinde psikolojik bir baskı oluşturmayı amaçlamış ve bölgenin asıl sahiplerinin yani Türklerin bu korku ile bölgeyi terk etmelerini sağlamaya çalışmışlardır. Bu yüzden de Hocalı'da hamile kadınların karınlarının deşilmesi, çocukların derilerinin yüzülmesi gibi en insanlık dışı uygulamalara imza atmışlardır. Bu açıdan, 1991-94 yılları arasında Karabağ'da Ermeni silahlı kuvvetlerine komuta eden Ermenistan'ın eski Cumhurbaşkanı Serj Sarkisyan'ın "*Hocalı'ya kadar Azerbaycanlılar bizim sivilleri öldürmeyeceğimizi*

düşündü. Fakat Hocalı 'da biz bunu yıktık' ifadeleri Ermenilerin bu stratejilerinin anlaşılması açısından önemlidir.¹

Aslında, Ermeniler Hocalı'ya gerçekleştirecekleri saldırının hazırlıklarını uzun süre yapmış, katliam bir anlamda geliyor demmiştir. Öncelikle, Asker'in de ifade ettiği gibi, Azerbaycan yetkilileri Hocalı'yı savunan görevlilerin tüm ikazlarına rağmen bu denli önemli bir mıntikanın savunulmasına gereken hassasiyeti gösterememişlerdir. Ermeniler, kasabayı yavaş yavaş ve aslında pek de gizli olmayan bir yöntemle kontrol altına almışlardır. Son bir yıldır abluka altında tutulduğu için tek ulaşımın havadan yapıldığı Hocalı'ya son helikopter de 13 Şubat 1992'de Hocalı'ya yemek, ilaç ve yakıt getirmiştir. Ermenilerin elektriklerini de kestiği bölgenin dünya ile irtibatı kesilmiş ve Hocalı bir anlamda Ermenilerce katliama hazırlanmıştır. Hocalı'nın askeri anlamda savunma durumuna baktığımızda; sadece 200-250 otomatik silah, 1 adet top, 2 "Alazan" roketatar ve 1 zırhlı araçla donatılmış 160 kişilik bir savunma birliği olduğu görülmektedir (Asker, 2017). Buna karşın Moskova tarafından bizzat silahlandırılan Ermeni güçlerine bölgede konuşlu 366. Motorize Rus tugayının da katılması ile Ermeniler askeri anlamda üstünlüğü ele geçirmişlerdir.

3. ARAŞTIRMANIN METODOLOJİSİ

3.1. Dipnotlar ve Son Notlar

Çalışmanın bu kısmında yukarıda genel hatlarıyla anlatılan Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili olarak farklı toplum kesimlerin temel tutumları ve görüşlerini analiz eden araştırmanın amacı, evren ve örnekleme, yöntemi ve bulguları sunulmaktadır. Araştırma 15 Şubat 2018 tarihinde başlayıp 15 Mart 2018 tarihinde sonlandırılmıştır.

3.2. Araştırmanın Amacı

Hocalı Soykırımına yönelik farklı toplum kesimlerinin tutumlarını ve düşüncelerini ortaya koymaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda özellikle Azerbaycan Devleti'ne Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili kamuoyu oluşturma sürecine yönelik bilgiler sunulacaktır.

3.3. Araştırmanın Evreni ve Örnekleme

Evren araştırmacının sosyal medya hesaplarında araştırmacıyı takip eden takipçilerden oluşmuştur. Kolayda Örnekleme yöntemiyle araştırmacının kendi sosyal medya hesaplarında yer alan farklı toplum kesimlerinden takipçilerine Yapılandırılmış Soru Formu gönderilmiştir. Soru Formunu cevaplamayı kabul eden ve dönüş yapan 198 kişi olmuştur.

¹Sarkisyan'ın uluslararası hukuku, insani değerleri yok sayan söylemleri bununla da sınırlı değildir. Sarkisyan 17 Mayıs 2001'de yaptığı başka bir açıklamada, "İşgal ettiğimiz topraklar var. Bunda utanılacak bir şey yok. Güvenliğimiz gereği yaptık. Biz bunu 1992'de de söylüyorduk, şimdi de söylüyoruz" şeklinde ifadeler kullanırken, cumhurbaşkanı sıfatıyla 2011'de üniversite öğrencilerine yaptığı bir başka konuşmada "Karabağ'ı bizim neslimiz aldı, Ağrı'yı da size bırakıyoruz" sözlerini kullanabilmiştir. Bu durum Ermenistan'ın mütecaviz eylem ve söylemlerinin adeta bir devlet politikası haline geldiğinin de kanıtıdır. Bu haliyle Ermenistan, üyesi olduğu Birleşmiş Milletler ve AĞİT'in en temel normları sayılan "sınırların değişmezliği" ve "ülkelerin toprak bütünlüklerine saygı" ilkelerini de açıkça ihlal etmektedir.

3.4. Araştırmanın Yöntemi

Araştırmada veri toplama yöntemi olarak Yapılandırılmış Mülakat kullanılmıştır. Bilindiği üzere mülakat yöntemi hem nicel hem de nitel araştırmalarda kullanılmaktadır. Yapılandırılmış mülakat yönteminde önceden hazırlanmış sorular görüşmecilere iletilmekte ve verdikleri cevaplar kayıt altına alınmaktadır (Arslan ve Özen, 2018: 129). Araştırmanın konusu doğrultusunda önceden hazırlanmış olan 7 adet soru görüşmeyi kabul eden kişilere yöneltilmiştir. Bu görüşmeler neticesinde elde edilen veriler birincil verilerdir çünkü doğrudan kişilere Hocalı Soykırımını ile ilgili görüşleri sorulmuştur.

Yapılandırılmış görüşmeler neticesinde elde edilen metinler üzerinde İçerik Analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. İçerik analizinde bir dizi usul kullanılarak görüşmeler neticesinde elde edilen metinlerden sonuçlar çıkarılmıştır (Weber, 1990: 9). Metinler içerisinde bazı temalara (konulara) yani birtakım kelimelere veya kelime anlamlarına odaklanarak kodlama yapılır, bu kodlamalar neticesinde; Temasal Analiz, Semantik Analiz veya Ağ Analizi olmak üzere üç çeşit içerik analizinden biri kullanılabilir (Leblebici ve Kılıç, t.y: 7). Bu araştırmanın verilerinin analiz etmede kullanılan Temasal Analiz, el yordamıyla yapılabildiği gibi, metinler Paket Programlara (örneğin NVivo) yüklenerek kelimeleri keşfetmek, frekans dağılımlarını görmek ve kavram haritalarını çıkarmak şeklinde de yapılabilmektedir. Sorularda yer alan ve ima edilen kavramlar ve kategoriler gözlemlenir ve gözlemlenen ilişkiler sayesinde yorumlara gidilebilmektedir (Bazeley ve Jackson, 2013:249). Bu çalışmada NVivo 12 Paket Programı yardımıyla İçerik Analizi (Temasal Analiz) yapılmıştır. Elde edilen frekans dağılımları ve kavram haritaları sayesinde yorumlara gidilmiştir.

3.5. Araştırmanın Bulguları

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul edenlerin 94 (%47,5)'ü kadın, 104 (%55,5)'ü erkektir. Katılanlardan; 47 (%23,7)'si üniversite öğrencisi, 32 (%16,1) akademisyen, 37 (%18,6)'si devlet memuru, 28 (%14,10)'i işçi, 54 (%27,20)'ü serbest meslek erbabı durumundadır. 78 (%39,30)'i Ortaöğretim mezunu, 65 (%32,80)'si Lisans mezunu ve 55 (%27,7)'i Lisansüstü eğitim düzeyine sahip olduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Araştırmaya katılanların yapılandırılmış mülakatta kendilerine iletilen 7 soru ile ilgili olarak verdikleri cevaplardan oluşan metinlere paket program vasıtasıyla Temasal Analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. Öncelikle oluşan metinlerde aynı anlama gelen birbirine benzeyen ve bir grup altında toplanabilecek olan kelimeler aynı kelime veya kelime grubu içerisinde toplanmıştır. Bu kelime ya da kelime gruplarının frekans dağılımları ve kavram haritaları her bir soru için aşağıdaki gibi ortaya çıkmıştır:

Soru 1.: Size göre Hocalı'da yaşanan olaylar nasıl tanımlanmalıdır?

Araştırmaya katılanların bu soruya verdikleri cevaplardan oluşan metinler de yaşanan olayı tanımlamayla ilgili kelime ve kelime grupları 82 kez tekrarlanmıştır. Bu kelime ve kelime gruplarının frekans ve yüzdeleri şöyledir: Soykırım 42 (%51,21), Katliam 24 (%29,26), Vahşet 9 (%10,97), İnsanlık Suçu 6 (%7,31), Etnik Temizlik 3 (%3,65). Katılımcıların 198 kişi olmasına rağmen metinler içerisinde Hocalı Soykırımını ile ilgili sadece 82 kez tam bir kavramsallaştırma olması ilginç bir sonuçtur.

Soru 3.: Hocalı soykırımına ilişkin farkındalığınız hangi olaylar ve deneyimler sayesinde oluştu?

Araştırmaya katılanların bu soruya verdikleri cevaplardan oluşan metinler de Hocalı soykırımıyla ilgili farkındalığı olanların bu farkındalıklarının oluşumunda etkili olabilecek unsurlarla ilgili kelime ve kelime grupları 152 kez tekrarlanmıştır. Bu kelime ve kelime grupları ve tekrarlanma sayıları ve yüzdeleri şöyledir:

Konferans 23 (%15,13), TV 21 (13,81), Öğretmenler 16 (%10,52), Üniversite 16 (%10,52), Sosyal Medya 14 (%9,21), Ülkü Ocakları 11 (%7,23), Kitap 10 (%6,57), Bireysel Araştırma 9 (%5,92), İnternet 8 (%5,26), Tanıkları İzleme 8 (%5,26), Arkadaştan Duyma 5 (%3,28), Gazete 4 (%2,63) ve Dergi 3 (%1,97).

Şekil 3. Hocalı Soykırımıyla İlgili Farkındalığın Nasıl Oluştığı İle İlgili Kavram Haritası



Soru 4.: Hocalı Soykırımı'nın uluslararası alanda yeterince tanıtıldığına inanıyor musunuz?

Görüşme formunu dolduran katılımcıların dördüncü soru ile ilgili cevaplarından oluşan metinlerde Hocalı Soykırımı'nın uluslararası alanda yeterince tanıtıldığına dair düşüncelerini ortaya koyabilecekleri kelime veya kelime grupları 221 kez tekrarlanmıştır. İlgili kelime ve kelime grupları ve tekrarlanma sayıları ve yüzdeleri şöyledir:

Hayır 163 (%73,7), İnanmıyorum 34 (%15,38), Yeterli Değil 7 (%3,16), Maalesef 6 (%2,26), Yeterli (%2,26), Düşünmüyorum 5 (%2,26). Metinlerde tekrar okunduğunda katılımcıların neredeyse tamamının etkili bir uluslararası tanıtımın yapılamadığı konusunda hem fikir olduğu görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan yeterince tanıtılmaktadır diyen katılımcılar da tanıtımın etkili olmamasını ya dünyanın diğer millet ve devletlerinin önemsememesine ya da Ermeni Diasporasının etkinliğine bağladığı görülmektedir.

Şekil 4. Hocalı Soykırımı'nın Uluslararası Alanda Yeterince Tanıtılma Durumuna İnanma Kavram

Haritası



Soru 5.: Sizce Türkiye ve Azerbaycan Hocalı Soykırımı'nı tanıtmak için yeterince lobi faaliyeti yapıyorlar mı?

Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın Lobi faaliyetlerinin yeterli olup olmadığı ile ilgili kelime veya kelime grupları 221 kez tekrarlanmıştır. İlgili kelime ve kelime grupları ve tekrarlanma sayıları ve yüzdeleri şöyledir:

Hayır 110 (%67,48), Kısmen 35 (%17,24), Evet 13 (%6,40), Yeterli 13 (%6,40) ve Bilgim Yok 4 (%1,97). Katılımcıların çoğunluğu lobi faaliyetlerinin yeterli olduğunu düşünmüyor. Yeterli olduğunu düşünen katılımcılarda genellikle diğer ülkelerin görmezden geldiğini veya Ermeni Diasporasının güçlü ve daha etkili olduğunu dolayısıyla Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın lobi faaliyetlerinin etkisizleştiğini düşünüyorlar.

Şekil 5. Azerbaycan ve Türkiye'nin Hocalı Soykırımı İle İlgili Lobi Faaliyetleri Yapma Durumuyla

İlgili Kavram Haritası



Soru 6.: Hocalı Soykırımı'ndan haberdar olduktan sonra bu olayı uluslararası alanda duyurmak için bireysel veya grup olarak herhangi bir çalışma yaptınız mı?

Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili katılımcıların bireysel veya grup olarak yapmış oldukları faaliyetler ile ilgili kelime veya kelime grupları 221 kez tekrarlanmıştır. İlgili kelime ve kelime grupları ve tekrarlanma sayıları ve yüzdeleri şöyledir:

Hayır 97 (%48,01), Evet 43 (%21,28), Sosyal Medya 33 (%16,33), Bireysel 8 (%3,96), Üniversite 8 (%3,96), Konferans 7 (%3,46) ve Uluslararası 6 (%2,97). Ortaya çıkan frekans ve yüzde dağılımları katılımcıların yarıya yakınının Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili bir faaliyette bulunmadığını göstermektedir. Gerçekleştirilen faaliyetlerle ilgili olarak da en çok yapılanın sosyal medya paylaşımları olduğu dikkati çekmektedir. Bu faaliyetlerde ise uluslararası düzey sayısı çok az görünmektedir.

Şekil 6. Hocalı Soykırımı İçin Bireysel ve Grup Olarak Yapılan Faaliyetlerle İlgili Kavram Haritası



Soru 7.: Hocalı Soykırımına farkındalığı arttırmak için toplumsal ve kurumsal düzeyde ne yapılmalıdır?

Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili olarak esasen millet ve devlet olarak neler yapılmasının farkındalığı artırabileceği ile ilgili sorulan bu soruya verilen cevaplarla oluşan metinler üzerinde gerçekleştirilen analiz neticesinde ilgili kelime veya kelime grupları 199 kez tekrarlanmıştır. İlgili kelime ve kelime grupları ve tekrarlanma sayıları ve yüzdeleri şöyledir:

Uluslararası Faaliyetler 38 (%19,08), Sosyal Medya 26 (%13,06), Konferanslar 26 (%13,06), Medya 19 (%9,54), Üniversiteler 14 (%7,03), Lobcilik 12 (%6,03), Belgesel 11 (%5,52), Anma Programları 9 (%4,52), Gündem 9 (%4,52), Okullar 8 (%4,02), Bilimsel Çalışma 6 (%3,01), Kamuoyu 6 (%3,01), Filmler 5 (%2,51), Kitap 5 (%2,51) ve Seminerler 5 (%2,51). Görüldüğü üzere kamuoyu oluşturmanın yolları söylenmekle birlikte bu faaliyetlerin uluslararası düzeyde gerçekleştirilmesi gerekliliği daha fazla vurgulanmış durumdadır.

Şekil 7. Hocalı Soykırımı İle İlgili Farkındalığın Nasıl Artırılabilirliği Düşünceleri İle İlgili Kavram Haritası



4. SONUÇ VE DEĞERLENDİRMELER

İçerik Analizi sonucunda, örneklem dâhilinde kamuoyunda Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili olarak bazı algılar ve tutumlar tespit edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede öncelikle katılımcıların önemli bir kısmının Hocalı Soykırımı konusunda oldukça hassas oldukları söylenebilir. Bununla birlikte, genel bilgiler dışında Hocalı'da yaşananların temel nedenleri hakkında bilgi düzeyinin oldukça sınırlı olduğunu söylemek de mümkündür. Hocalı faciasının uluslararası topluma duyurulması noktasında toplumsal bilincin oldukça düşük seviyelerde olduğu, konunun genel olarak olaya vakıf mecralarda dile getirildiği, uluslararası kamuoyuna bu soykırımın duyurulması noktasında çok fazla girişimde bulunulmadığı da çalışma kapsamında tespit edilmiştir. Ancak sayıca oldukça az olmakla birlikte, bazı katılımcıların sosyal medya aracılığıyla konuyu uluslararası alanda tanıtmak için uğraştıklarını söylemek de mümkündür. Katılımcıların yarısından fazlasının (%51) Hocalı'da yaşananları soykırım olarak değerlendirmesi, örneklem bazında da olsa olaya yönelik bir "soykırım" algısının toplumda yerleşmeye başladığını göstermektedir.

Sosyal medya kanallarının gelişmesi ve kullanıcı sayılarının artmasının ile Hocalı soykırımı daha fazla kişi tarafından bilinir hale gelmiştir. Olayın duyulmasında özellikle yapılan etkinliklerin ve medyanın oldukça etkili olduğu da ortaya çıkan sonuçlar arasındadır. Hocalı ile ilgili farkındalığın özellikle lise ve üniversite yıllarında arttığı, bu noktada eğitim sürecinde düzenlenen toplantıların oldukça etkili olduğu, öğrenci kulüplerinin ve bazı sivil toplum kuruluşlarının (Ülkü Ocakları vb.) da Hocalı'da yaşananların kamuoyu tarafından duyulmasında önemli bir işlev gördüğü saptanmıştır. Konu hakkında özellikle eğitim kurumlarında öğrencilerin bilinçlendirilmesi gerektiği, hatta yaş aralığına uygun olarak çok daha erken dönemlerde; okuma parçaları, okul panoları, şarkılar gibi araçlarla çocuklara olayın anlatılması gerektiği yönünde de görüşler mevcuttur. Mülakat yapılan katılımcılar arasında sinema, dizi, belgesel ve tiyatro gibi etkinlikler aracılığıyla konunun dile getirilmesi gerektiğini

vurgulayanların oranı da hayli yüksektir. Bununla birlikte, farklı dillerde yayınlar yapılarak dünya kamuoyunun Hocalı'da yaşananlar hakkında bilgilendirilmesinin gerektiği de birçok katılımcı tarafından dile getirilmiştir.

Herhangi bir konuda “kamuoyu” oluşturulmasında süreklilik, istikrar ve tekrarın ne denli önemli olduğundan hareketle, konu ile ilgili faaliyetlerin tüm yılı kapsamı gerektiği, uluslararası toplumun dikkatini çekmenin ancak bu şekilde mümkün olabileceği, sadece Şubat ayı yaklaşırken konunun gündeme gelmesinin yeterli olmadığı da önemli sayıda katılımcı tarafından belirtilmiştir. Konunun uluslararası hukuk çerçevesinde ele alınması gerektiği, bu çerçevede özellikle olayın faillerinin günümüze kadar herhangi bir müeyyide ile karşılaşmamasının Türkiye ve Azerbaycan tarafından daha yüksek sesle dile getirilmesi gerektiği de katılımcıların vurguladığı konular arasındadır. Kanımızda bu vurgu, Hocalı'da yaşananların sadece Türk dünyasını değil tüm insanlığı ilgilendirdiği, böylesi bir sivil katliamın göz ardı edilmesinin dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde bu tür gayriinsani girişimlerde bulunmak isteyenleri teşvik edeceği gerçeği de dikkate alınarak yapılırsa, dünya kamuoyunun dikkatini çekmek kolaylaşabilir. Çünkü uluslararası hukuk açısından en büyük insanlık suçu olarak kabul edilen soykırımı gerçekleştirenlerin cezасız kalması etnik, dini ve kültürel birçok çatışmanın yaşandığı günümüzde bu tür yeni faciaların yaşanma olasılığını artırabilir.

Bununla birlikte olayın faillerinin cezalandırmak bir yana, neredeyse ödüllendirilmeleri de Hocalı Soykırımı'nı daha da hassas bir noktaya getirmektedir. İnsan Hakları İzleme Örgütü'nün, Dağlık Karabağ Savaşı'ndan bu yana gerçekleştirilen en kapsamlı “sivil” katliam olarak nitelendirdiği bu facianın yaşandığı dönemde Dağlık Karabağ'da Ermeni güçlerine komutanlık eden Serj Sarkisyan 2008-2019 yılları arasında Ermenistan Cumhurbaşkanlığı yapmış ve tüm dünyada “kırmızı bültenle” aranması gerekirken tabiri caizse “kırmızı halılarla” karşılanmıştır. Bu durumun özellikle dünyada çatışmaların yoğun olarak yaşandığı bölgelerdeki taraflara verdiği mesaj oldukça tehlikelidir: Herhangi bir ülkenin toprağını işgal edebilirsiniz, BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin aldığı kararlara rağmen bu mütecaviz tutumunuzu devam ettirebilirsiniz, hatta işgal ettiğiniz yerlerdeki insanları “soykırımı” tabi tutabilirsiniz, bu soykırımın baş faileri üst düzey devlet görevlisi olabilir ve tüm dünya liderleri ile hiçbir sıkıntı yaşamadan ilişki kurabilir. Bu bakımdan Hocalı Soykırımı ve benzeri hadiseler, sadece olayın yaşandığı bölge barışını değil, tüm dünya barışını da etkilediği için uluslararası toplumun bu tür hadiselere daha duyarlı olması beklenmektedir.

Katılımcıların önemli bir kısmı Hocalı Soykırımı'nın uluslararası alanda yeterince tanıtılmadığı ve Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın bu konuda gerektiği kadar lobi faaliyeti yapamadığı algısına sahiptirler. Olaya ait farkındalığın artırılması için etkinliklerin, konferansların, anma programlarının daha fazla yapılması ve sosyal medyanın özellikle uluslararası düzeyde daha etkin kullanılması yönünde bir kanının ortaya çıktığı da tespit edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla Azerbaycan ve Türkiye'nin Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili lobi faaliyetinin yeterli olmadığını düşünenler sayıca ağırlıklıdır. Ortak lobi çalışmalarını yeterli gören katılımcıların cevapları neticesinde oluşan metinler ayrıntılı olarak okunduğunda ise, Batı dünyasının olayı görmezden gelmesi ve Ermenistan diasporasının ekonomik ve siyasi gücü nedeniyle

yapılan çalışmaların gölgede kaldığı yönünde de bir algının oluştuğu görülmüştür. Hatta bazı katılımcılar, lobcilik faaliyetleri için boşuna zaman harcanmaması gerektiğini, bu olayın -etnik ve dini nedenlerden dolayı- Batı'nın dikkatini çekmediğini, bu durumun da bu soykırımın uluslararası düzeyde tanıtılmasını oldukça zorlaştırdığına inanmaktadırlar. Hocalı Soykırımı'nın tanıtılmasında yalnızca devletlerarası resmi düzeyde yapılan girişimlerin yeterli olmadığı, hatta bundan daha da önemli olanın uluslararası düzeyde kamu diplomasisinin daha etkin kullanılması olduğu yönünde de bir saptama yapılmıştır.

Katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğunun Hocalı soykırımını özellikle 2000'li yıllardan sonra öğrendikleri görülmüştür. Bu durum katılımcılar içerisinde gençlerin sayıca fazla olması ile ilgili olduğu kadar, son yıllarda sosyal medya ağlarının gelişmesiyle de alakalıdır. Azerbaycan Devleti'nin 2000'li yıllardan sonra Hocalı Soykırımı ile ilgili uluslararası düzeyde kamuoyu oluşturma çalışmalarına daha fazla yoğunlaşmasının, bu olayın daha fazla duyulmasına katkı sağladığı yorumu da yapılabilir. Son yıllarda sahip olduğu enerji gücünü dış politikada daha etkin bir baskı aracı olarak kullanan Azerbaycan, özellikle Dağlık Karabağ sorununun çözümünde uluslararası destek alabilmek için “enerji diplomasi”sini ciddi anlamda kullanmaktadır. Haydar Aliyev'in; “*Petrol yalnızca bir meta değil, Azerbaycan için özgürlüktür*” sözleri ile özetlenebilecek bu politika, Hocalı Soykırımı'nın uluslararası alanda daha fazla duyurulmasına büyük katkı sağlamaktadır. İlham Aliyev'in hemen hemen katıldığı her toplantıda konuyu gündeme getirmesi de bu politikanın bir yansımasıdır.

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CLASSIFICATION OF LOGISTICS-BASED TRANSPORTATION ACTIVITIES IN OECD COUNTRIES AND SELECTED NON-MEMBER COUNTRIES THROUGH CLUSTER ANALYSIS

KÜMELEME ANALİZİ İLE OECD ÜLKELERİ VE SEÇİLMİŞ ÜYE OLMAYAN ÜLKELERİN LOJİSTİK FAALİYETLERİNE DAYALI TAŞIMACILIK SINIFLANDIRILMASI

Gülşen Serap ÇEKEROL¹

1. Doç. Dr., Eskişehir Teknik Üniversitesi, Ulaştırma Meslek Yüksekokulu, gscekerol@eskisehir.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0391-2489>

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Öz

Lojistik, ürünün yalnızca taşınması değil, ürünün üretiminden başlayarak tüketiciye hatasız bir şekilde ulaştırılmasını sağlayan tüm faaliyetleri kapsamaktadır. Lojistik, süreç temelli olup taşıma faaliyeti, bu sürecin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, ülkelerin ekonomik gelişmişliğinde önemli rol oynayan taşımacılık faaliyeti göstergeleri temel alınarak “İktisadi İşbirliği ve Gelişme Teşkilatı” olan OECD ülkeleri ve seçilmiş üye olmayan ülkelerin yer aldığı OECD istatistiklerinden yararlanılarak 47 ülke hiyerarşik ve bulanık kümeleme yardımıyla sınıflandırılmaktadır. Çalışmada taşımacılık göstergeleri açısından OECD istatistiklerinde yer alan ülkelerin benzeştiği ve farklılaşma gösterdiği kümeler bulunmuş ve Türkiye'nin ait olduğu küme ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lojistik, Taşımacılık, Kümeleme Analizi, OECD İstatistikleri

Abstract

Logistics involves not only transportation of products, but also all the procedures that make it possible to deliver products to customers without any problems starting from production phase. Transport is the basic component of logistics, which is a process-based activity. This study aims to classify 47 countries according to the statistics about OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries and selected non-member countries through hierarchical clustering and fuzzy clustering in terms of transportation activity indicators, which play an important role in countries' economic development. The study found that there are clusters in which the countries available in OECD statistics are similar or different in terms of transport indicators. The cluster which Turkey belongs to was also presented within the scope of the study.

Keywords: Logistics, Transportation, Cluster Analysis, OECD Statistics

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışmada, “İktisadi İşbirliği ve Gelişme Teşkilatı (OECD)” ülkeleri ve seçilmiş üye olmayan ülkelerin, lojistik boyutlu taşımacılık göstergeleri açısından benzerlik gösteren ve farklılaşan ülkeler olarak kümeleme analizi yöntemlerini kullanarak sınıflandırıp, Türkiye’nin bu sınıflandırma içerisindeki yerini belirlemeyi amaçlanmıştır.

Araştırma Soruları

OECD ülkeleri ve seçilmiş üye olmayan ülkeler lojistik boyutuyla gerçekleştirdikleri taşımacılık faaliyetlerine göre nasıl kümelenebilir? Hangi kümeleme yöntemleri uygulanır? Uygulanan yöntemler arasında, en uygun kümelemeyi hangi yöntem vermiştir? Oluşan kümelerdeki ülkeler hangileridir? Türkiye hangi kümede yer almaktadır?

Literatür Araştırması

Çalışmada, taşımacılık konusuna ilişkin literatür incelendiğinde akademik değeri yüksek veri tabanlarında taranan 120 dergi incelenmiştir. Türkiye’de taşımacılık konusunda 1986-2019 arası toplamda yapılmış olan 126 tez taranmıştır. Araştırmanın yöntemi ile ilgili birçok kaynak olmasına karşın, Türkiye’de bu konuda yapılmış çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Ancak yurtdışı uygulamalarına ilişkin literatürde konunun farklı boyutları ele alınmış ve benzer uygulamalar çalışmanın içerisinde özetlenmiştir.

Yöntem

OECD ülkeleri ve seçilmiş üye olmayan ülkelere ilişkin sınıflandırma için kümeleme analizi yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Analizde, yatay kesit verilerden yararlanılmış ve kümeleme analizinde, hiyerarşik kümeleme ward yöntemi ve hiyerarşik olmayan kümelemede bulanık c-ortalamalar yöntemleri uygulanmıştır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Araştırma sonucunda, OECD ülkeleri ve seçilmiş üye olmayan ülkelerin taşımacılık göstergeleri doğrultusunda hiyerarşik kümeleme ward yöntemi ve bulanık kümeleme c-ortalamalar yöntemi sonucunda elde edilen bulgular birbirinden farklılık göstermektedir. Bulanık c-ortalamalar yönteminin, hiyerarşik ortalama ward yöntemine göre daha kararlı sonuçlar ürettiği gözlenmiştir. Türkiye’nin içerisinde yer aldığı kümeler her iki yöntemde de benzerlik göstermekte olup ait olduğu küme yapıları göz önüne alınarak lojistik stratejileri belirlenebilir. Araştırmada 7 göstergeye bağlı analiz yapılmıştır, farklı temel ve alt göstergeler kullanılarak diğer kümeleme algoritmaları ile analiz genişletilebilir. Beklenmeyen durumlara yönelik olarak ülkelerin kümelenebilirliği incelenebilir. Elde edilen bulgular olası kriz durumlarına ilişkin strateji belirlenmesine yardımcı olacaktır.

1. INTRODUCTION

Due to increasing competition in global markets, countries have to minimize production costs to increase their competitive power. Even if they are in the form of raw materials, semi-finished products or finished products, or domestic or imported products, all modes of freight are a component of logistics process until they reach customers through a supply chain. Therefore, high cost of logistics activities is a variable that causes deceleration in economic growth of countries.

Logistics costs include expenses tracked by accountants through fiscal records and coordination of related costs. Types of logistics costs are determined according to functionality during value creation (Siepermann, 2003) and classified as follows: transportation costs, storage costs, inventory costs, order processing costs, costs due to technology use, customer service costs and handling costs; transportation costs being the highest.

Reducing transportation costs increases competitive power of a country and allows it to provide more quality logistics services (Korinek and Sourdin, 2011: 5). A steady competitive power is an advantage to transport a product from one place to another with the lowest cost. Considered as a simple mathematical problem, logistics is the iceberg of logistics activities. Thus, logistics costs change according to various variables such as weight and size of product, whether it is a dangerous product or not, transportation destination and type of transportation. In addition, competitive power of a country in global market depends on the following variables: geographical features, transportation policies, transportation infrastructure and types of transportation.

Following the introduction section, the first section of the paper discusses the importance of transportation in logistics and logistics activities. In the second section, OECD countries and selected non-member countries are examined in terms of their transportation activities. The third section explains Hierarchical and Fuzzy Clustering methods and the fourth one is about OECD countries and selected non-member countries. In this section, logistics-based transportation activities in Turkey, which is the founding member of OECD, was also examined in detail and compared to other countries. The last section presents conclusions and suggestions derived from the study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Transportation has been examined with an academic perspective in many fields of science due to its significant role in economy. The literature review revealed that there are 120 journals focusing on transportation (<https://mjl.clarivate.com>), and approximately 130.000 articles were published in 2019 (www.sciencedirect.com). In Turkish context, 126 dissertations on transportation were written between 1986 and 2019. As for the distribution of these dissertations according to fields of science, it was found that transportation was mainly examined under the key word “transportation” in the field of business administration, under the key word “optimization” in industrial engineering field and in terms of “infrastructure” in the field of civil engineering field. In social sciences, sea, air and land transportation

were examined with reference to logistics. In addition, there are dissertations focusing on transportation in law, economy and other fields of engineering (<https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/giris.jsp>). Academic studies in other countries have similar distribution patterns according to fields of science; especially the USA has a rich literature on transportation.

The study uses cluster analysis as methodology. Although there are many dissertations and articles related to this type of analysis, the literature did not reveal any studies using cluster analysis in logistics and transportation.

Ren, Yong-Chan et.al used fuzzy cluster analysis for logistic center settlement plan (Ren, et.al 2010: 504). Similarly, Fu and Yin, in their dissertation, tried to develop an evaluation model based on fuzzy cluster algorithm of logistics companies. Seven companies were classified through fuzzy cluster analysis according to 8 variables (Fu and Yin, 2012: 1583).

Meng, in his performance evaluation for supply chain, tried to optimize e-trade supply chain based on fuzzy cluster analysis. The study introduced a sample analysis, and various supply chain options were classified through fuzzy clustering. The aim of the study was to develop an evaluation method combining qualitative and quantitative analysis (Meng, 2007).

Hirschinger et.al wrote an article focusing on fuzzy clustering scenarios. They suggested that decision makers in transportation and logistics industry are likely to use fuzzy clustering analysis in order to group scenarios related to the development of transportation and logistics in developing countries until 2030 (Hirschinger et.al, 2015).

Lima et.al (2014), in their research article titled “Humanitarian Logistics: A Clustering Methodology for Assisting Humanitarian Operations”, suggest a method to define and classify regions according to the type and frequency of disasters. The results show that classification through cluster analysis considerably contributes to decision-making process during Humanitarian Logistics intervention phase (Lima et.al, 2014).

Trappey et.al (2010) applied a clustering approach to supply chain partners in automobile industry, prioritizing the services offered by third-party logistics service (3PL) providers. By applying a two-stage clustering approach combined with Ward's minimum-variance method and the K-means algorithm, the logistics companies prioritize their services to satisfy groups of customers with specific preferences more effectively (Trappey et.al, 2010:731).

Wang and Wei carried out a cluster analysis for dangerous goods transportation in logistics by using k-mean algorithm. Accessing the data from Chinese logistics information platform, the authors did a cluster analysis involving 9 types of dangerous goods and 571 Logistics company. In corrected algorithm, distance similarity between clusters was used to calculate cluster coefficient (k). The analysis revealed some key points in dangerous goods transportation, and it was recommended that these points should be focused on so that potential disasters can be avoided (Wang, 2016).

This study aims to classify 47 countries involving OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries according to 7 variables through hierarchical ward method

and fuzzy cluster c-means) algorithm in terms of their transportation activity indicators. The clusters formed after the analysis and the cluster that includes Turkey were interpreted accordingly.

The next section will examine OECD statistics and transportation parameters of the organization.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Logistics and Transportation

The most basic function of logistics in business world is to make profit just like in other related activities. For instance, humanitarian aid logistics aims to ensure sustainability of life with the lowest cost; urban logistics deals with delivering tons of freight to users and costumers despite the presence of serious problems such as undesired environmental conditions and heavy traffic; the function of military logistics is to provide necessary ammunitions on time during a war when needed; and finally, health logistics serves human beings by providing services regarding the transportation of medical equipment, medicine and blood as well as organs to be transplanted for people and health institutions (Keskin, 2015). Nature itself has such a perfect logistics organization that it even inspires human beings for possible solutions to problems encountered in logistics activities (Çekerol, 2019).

The definition of logistics should take into consideration the dynamics of the field where it will be applied. In this respect, a comprehensive general definition of logistic in business world has been made by Council of Supply Chain Management Professionals-CSCMP, which is a leading non-governmental organization in the world. According to the council, logistics refers to the process of planning, implementing, and controlling procedures for the efficient and effective transportation and storage of goods which includes various services and related information used in different phases starting from production until consumption phase for the purpose of meeting customer demands and needs. This definition includes inbound, outbound, internal, and external movements.

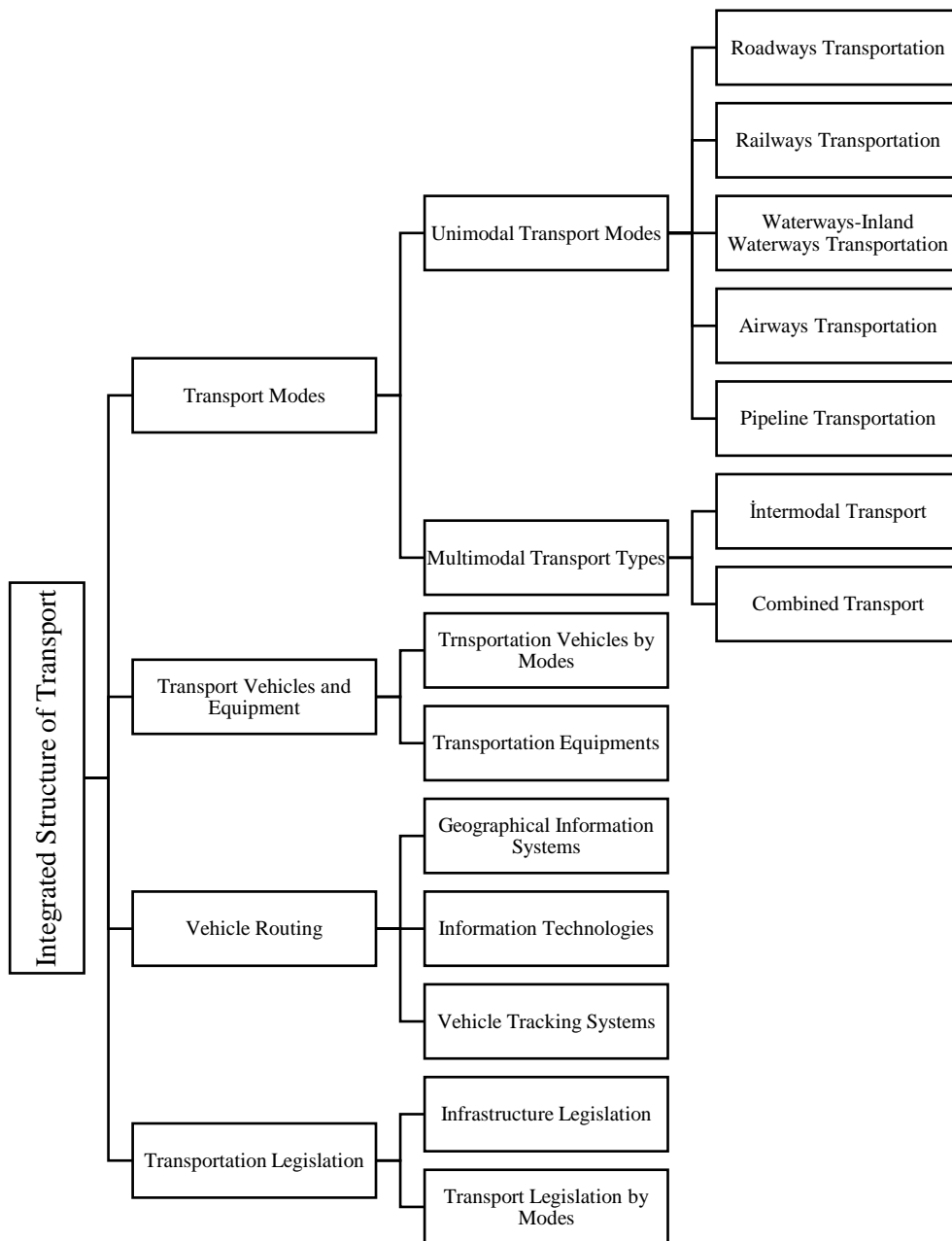
Transportation is the main component of logistics, and it has recently played more extensive roles due the increasing importance given to customer satisfaction and integration of computer systems into the field. Logistics is not a unit or an activity; it is a comprehensive process involving many activities starting from order of product until its final delivery to customers such as transport, storage, forecasting, customer services, packaging etc. However, certain variables including market conditions, competition, sector, geography and culture also play significant roles in logistics activities and affect the coordination and management of these activities.

The basic aim of logistics is to achieve targeted customer satisfaction with minimum cost (Bowersox and Cooper, 2002). In this respect, focusing on activities with high cost enables companies to minimize their expenses. Therefore, the main activity to focus on in logistics activities should be transportation.

Transportation simply refers to the activity of dispatching people, goods etc. with a vehicle from one place to another. As for business world, transportation is inevitably necessary when potential markets and customers are geographically far away from each other.

In a broader sense, transportation is a comprehensive and complex process involving various services ranging from preparation of necessary documents for transportation (freight, driver, customs etc.) to the delivery of products to certain regions and centers to meet customers' needs and demands (Taşkın&Durmaz, 2012: 41-42). In addition, transportation is a combination of activities that require collaboration of different disciplines such as engineering, management and law (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Integrated Structure of Transport



Transportation sector is one of the main components of economy. The roles it plays in the production of goods and services determine its current position. It also helps economic systems to improve and function effectively and provides added value to economy, which makes it a basic component of economic activities (Çancı and Güngören, 2013: 199).

3.2. OECD Statistics and Transportation Variables

Established in September 30th, 1961, OECD is an organization in which 36 member countries collaboratively try to solve their economic, social and administrative problems due to globalization and benefit from the positive consequences of this problem solution process. Turkey is the founding member of the organization and other member countries are as follows: the USA, Austria, Australia, Canada, France, Holland, Luxemburg, Germany, Greece, Italia, England, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Finland, Swiss, Sweden, Spain, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Czechia, Estonia, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Israel, Hungary, Mexico, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Chili, and New Zealand (MFA, 2020).

The website that publishes data about OECD countries and selected non-member countries (<https://stats.oecd.org/>) provides rich data for the purposes of the study. The non-member countries selected for this study are as follows: Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Georgia, India, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia.

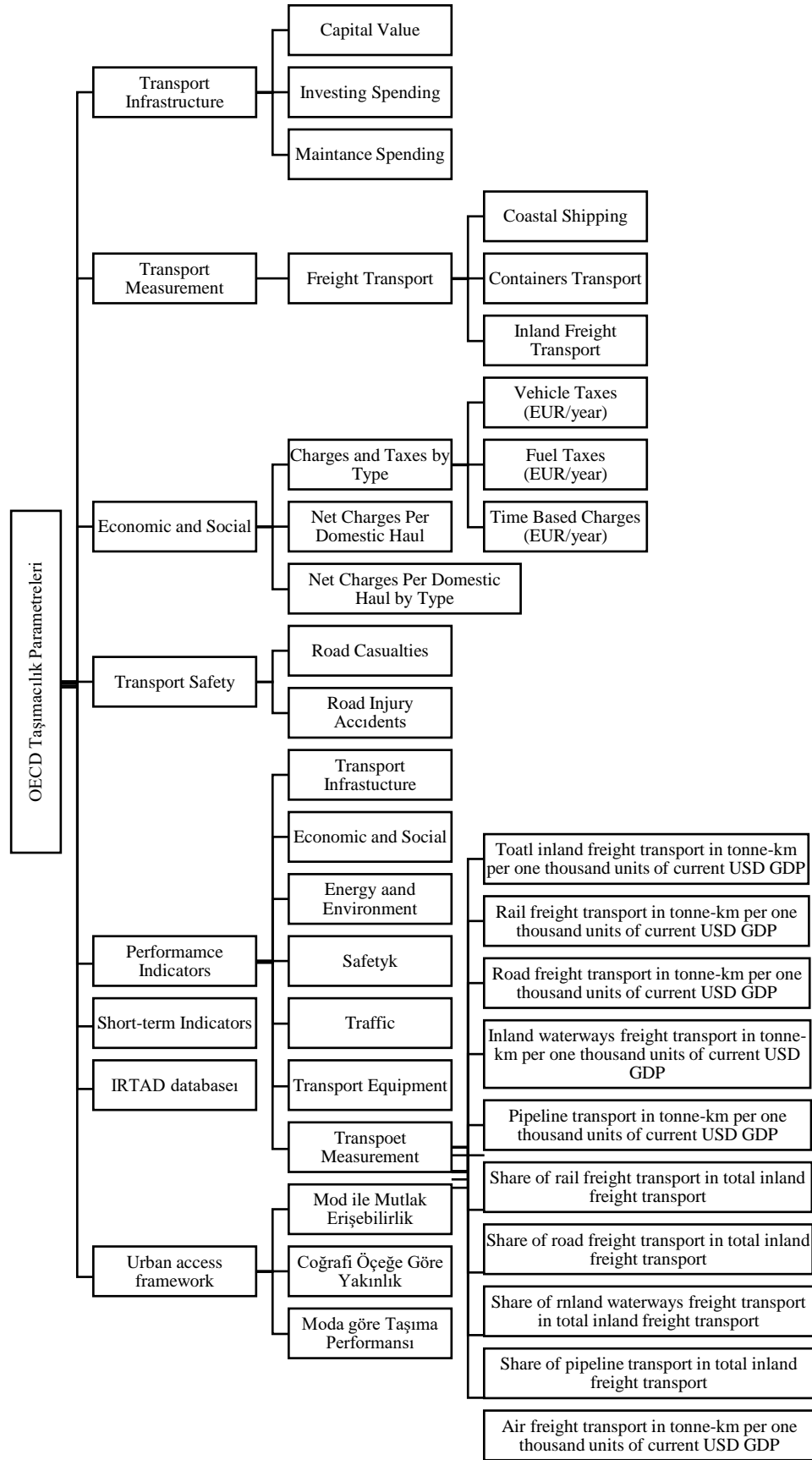
The first article of the organization's bylaws stipulates that the aim of the organization is to develop politics that;

will maintain economic stability, increase life standards and ensure economic growth and high levels of employment in member countries

will contribute to the development of world economy, healthy economic development in member or non-member countries and the growth of multi-party world trade in conformity with international liabilities. (MFA, 2020)

OECD is recognized as a reference organization in terms of economic analyses and statistical data by the leading institutions such as IMF and World Bank, which take these references as bases for their own activities. The variables related to logistics-based transportation indices were determined by collecting up-to-date data from the website that publish statistical figures (<https://stats.oecd.org/>) (Figure 2);

Figure 2. OECD Transportation Variables



However, it is not possible to use all the variables displayed in Figure 2 above. The common indicators of OECD member countries were taken as the basis for clustering. For instance, although it is important for logistics activities, coastal transportation was not used since not all the countries have coastal regions; however, container transportation was taken as a variable since it is a common indicator for each country. The study-specific variables were determined as follows after they were analyzed within the algorithms used (Table 1).

Table 1. The Selected Variables

Variables
X1: Investment Spending
X2: Maintenance Spending
X3: Containers Spending
X4: Inland Freight Transport
X5: Share of Value Added by the Transport Sector
X6: Total Inland Freight Transport in Tonne - km per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP
X7: Road Freight Transport in Tonne - km per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP

The International Transport Forum collects, on a quarterly basis, monthly data from all its Member countries. When monthly information is not available, then quarterly data are provided. The survey contains a dozen variables selected for their quarterly availability among reporting countries. Data are collected from Transport Ministries, statistical offices and other institution designated as official data source. The variables of this study include the followings (<https://stats.oecd.org/>):

X₁: Investment Spending includes the following variables: Transport gross investment spending, total inland transport infrastructure investment, rail infrastructure investment, road infrastructure investment, road infrastructure investment: of which motorway, inland waterway infrastructure investment, maritime port infrastructure investment, airport infrastructure investment, transport maintenance expenditures, capital value at the end of the year, total road spending.

X₂: Maintenance Spending includes the following variables: Transport gross investment spending, total inland transport infrastructure investment, rail infrastructure investment, road infrastructure investment, road infrastructure investment: of which motorway, inland waterway infrastructure investment, maritime port infrastructure investment, airport infrastructure investment, transport maintenance expenditures, capital value at the end of the year, total road spending.

X₃: Containers Spending includes the following variables: Information rail containers transport (TEU: Twenty-foot Equivalent Unit), information rail containers transport (weight), information maritime containers transport (TEU), information maritime containers transport (weight).

X₄: Inland Freight Transport includes the following variables: Information Total inland freight transport, Information Rail freight transport, Information Road freight transport, Information Road freight transport for hire and reward, Information Road freight transport on own account, Information Inland waterways freight transport, Information Pipelines transport.

X₅: Share of Value Added by the Transport Sector

X₆: Total Inland Freight Transport in Tonne - km per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP

X₇: Road Freight Transport in Tonne - km per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Cluster Analysis

This study uses hierarchical clustering Ward method and fuzzy c-means algorithm in order to compare OECD countries and selected non-member countries in terms of transportation indicators and to determine Turkey's position in this comparison. Cluster analysis has a wide range of usage in various disciplines such as economy, sociology, medicine, engineering, archeology and agriculture (Alpar, 2011, p, 30).

Cluster analysis is a multi-variable analysis technique aiming to classify data according to certain criteria. Also known as numerical classification or classification analysis, cluster analysis uses distance matrix to determine intra-cluster homogeneity and inter-cluster heterogeneity (Hair, 1998: 473). In other words, cluster analysis starts with data sets containing information about a sampling that composes of units and rearranges these units as homogenous groups (Aldenderfer&Blashfield,1984).

The functions of cluster analysis (Özdamar, 2004; 279-280) are

to group "n" number of cases, objects, phenomena based on the criteria determined according to p variable into intra-homogenous and inter-heterogeneous subgroups.

to group "p" number variables according to values identified in "n" number of cases into sub-clusters that are assumed to account for common features and to determine common factor structures.

to split both cases and variables into sub-clusters having common characteristics.

to make biological and typological classification of cases according to values determined in terms of "p" variable

In a broad sense, cluster analysis involves four steps:

Determining data matrix,
Selecting Clustering Algorithm,
Validity of Results,
Interpreting Results

In cluster analysis, there are two types of clustering process: hierarchical clustering and nonhierarchical clustering (Malhotra, 2007). In hierarchical cluster analysis, clustering is carried out according to similarity criteria for cases and variables without determining a specific number of clusters in advance (Koyuncugil, 2006, s. 57). In contrast, non-hierarchical clustering methods are preferred when number of clusters is known beforehand; the number of clusters is also determined in advance in this method (Alpar, 2011, p. 314, 333).

4.1.1. Hierarchical Clustering

Hierarchical clustering aims to combine objects by considering their similarities according to cluster distance measurement (Özdamar,2004). Basically, it has two approaches: agglomerative and divisive (Rafsanjani et.al, 2012). The methods used while calculating distance between two clusters are as follows: single linkage, complete linkage, average linkage, centroid linkage, Ward method, neighbor joining and adjusted complete linkage.

The current study uses Ward method, which employs an agglomerative approach. This method aims to minimize centroid-cluster variance by taking average distance as reference. In other words, it is based on calculating the sum of squared errors by using centroid cluster squares deviations (Murtagh&Contreras, 2017).

The method starts with “n” number of clusters each of which has a single case. Since each observation becomes a cluster in the first step, sum of squared errors is zero (Everitt, 1974). In each following phase, two subclusters are combined to form the next level. In this case, it is assumed that $k(k-1)$ is a subcluster. The sum of Euclid distances of “ni” point in k cluster to means vector of k cluster is the sum of squared errors (W_i) and it is calculated as follows:

$$W_k = \sum_{i=1}^p \sum_{j=1}^{n_k} (x_{ijk} - \bar{x}_{ik})^2 = \sum_{i=1}^p \sum_{j=1}^{n_k} (x_{ijk})^2 - n_k \sum_{i=1}^p (\bar{x}_{ik})^2$$

Here, W_k value is calculated for $k = 1, 2, 3 \dots \dots \dots, n$ clusters and the sum of centroid cluster squared errors is calculated as:

$$W = \sum_{i=1}^n W_k$$

Later, p and q clusters, which cause the lowest increase in W, are combined to obtain t cluster. This increase in W is calculated by using the following equation:

$$DW_{pq} = W_t - W_p - W_q$$

By doing so, “n” number of cases is split into (n-1) cluster and W increase values are calculated until the number of clusters reach $k=1$ so that cases are hierarchically joined together. When Ward Method is used in analysis, cases are displayed in a diagram called “dendrogram”, where these cases are combined successfully at different levels (Dibb, 1998).

4.1.2. Non-Hierarchical Clustering

Non-hierarchical clustering techniques have been developed to combine cases rather than variables in “k” number of clusters. The number of clusters (k) can be given as a certain value or determined as a part of clustering technique because it is not obligatory to determine distance (similarity) and to store main data when computer functions. Non-hierarchical clustering techniques can be applied to bigger data clusters when compared to hierarchical techniques (Johnson & Wichern, 1988).

The most common non-hierarchical clustering methods are k-means clustering, medoids clustering and fuzzy clustering (Özdamar, 2010, p. 311). This study uses fuzzy clustering method in the analysis

4.1.2.1. Fuzzy Cluster Analysis

Fuzzy sets theory was developed in 1965 by L.A. Zadeh as a method to represent uncertainty. It defines the terms and concepts expressing a sort of uncertainty within the framework of cluster theory by assigning a certainty level for these uncertainties without applying random splitting (Aksoy, et.al., 2014).

Fuzzy clustering approach is appropriate when clusters are not clearly classified, or some objects are inconsistent in terms of cluster membership. Being a flexible method, fuzzy clustering method provides information about uncertain cluster memberships, which helps to identify complex relationships among objects and clusters (Mansoori, 2011). All the cases in the data may become a member of more than one cluster at the same time depending on various membership values thanks to fuzzy clustering analysis.

Fuzzy clustering is based on distance measurements, and the use of distance criteria depends on the structure of clusters and the algorithm used. Some useful features of fuzzy clustering are as follows:

- it provides useful membership values so that accurate interpretation can be made
- it is flexible in terms of distance use
- when some of membership values are known, they might be combined with numerical optimization (Naes& Mevik, 1999).

This study uses fuzzy c-means clustering method since it examines the situations in which OECD member countries belong to more than one cluster rather than only one cluster.

Fuzzy c-means algorithm is the most common and the most popular fuzzy clustering method. It was introduced by Dunn in 1973 and developed by Bezdek in 1981. Hierarchical clustering method is the fuzzy version of k-means clustering algorithm. It tries to minimize objective function and uses distance criteria like other algorithms. Which distance criterion will be used depends on cluster structure and algorithm. Fuzzy c-means algorithm uses Euclid distance. When c-means algorithm is completed, points in p-dimensioned space form global shapes. Therefore, algorithm gives the optimum result for globally distributed data. Margin of error for the algorithm, which can also be used for ellipsoidal data, should not be preferred for scattered data (Höppner et.al., 1999).

Fuzzy c means is a method of clustering which allows one piece of data to belong to two or more clusters. This method is frequently used in pattern recognition. It is based on minimization of the following objective function:

$$J(u, v) = \sum_{i=1}^c \sum_{j=1}^n (u_{ij})^m \|x_j - v_i\|^2$$

There is a restriction for this objective function. Due to the principles of fuzzy logic, each data belongs to a cluster with a membership value ranging between 0 and 1. The sum of membership values of data for each cluster should be “1” (Ruspini, 1973).

$$u_{ij} \geq 0, \sum_{i=1}^c u_{ij} = 1, 1 \leq j \leq n$$

Here;

X: $\{x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n\} \subset R^n$ = the data,

n: number of data

c: number of clusters in X; $2 \leq c \leq n$

u_{ij} : Fuzzy Membership level for j unit of i cluster

v_i : centroid vector of cluster

$V = [v_1, v_2, \dots, v_c]$, $v_i \in R_n$ cluster centroid vector to be determined

$\|x_j - v_i\|^2$, x_j Euclid distance between x_j value and v_i

m : weighting exponent $1 \leq m \leq \infty$

Objective function, which refers to Weighted least squares function, is the sum of weighted squared error. Fuzzy c-means method, which is based on the principle of minimization of the given objective function, is applied by following the steps below (Şen, 2004);

Step 1: Initial values are determined: number of clusters c , parameter that determines fuzziness m , cluster centroids v_i ($i = 1, \dots, c$) and stop criterion ε

Step 2: Membership degrees matrix is determined by using initial cluster centroid v_i as follows

$$u_{ij} = \frac{1}{\sum_{k=1}^c \left(\frac{\|x_i - v_j\|}{\|x_i - v_k\|} \right)^{\frac{2}{m-1}}} \quad (i = 1, \dots, c)$$

Step 3: cluster centroids are updated by using the following formula.

$$v_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^n u_{ij}^m x_j}{\sum_{j=1}^n u_{ij}^m} \quad (i = 1, \dots, c)$$

Step 4: New membership values are compared to previous ones, If improvement in $\|V_{yeni} - V_{eski}\| < \varepsilon$, iteration is terminated. Otherwise step 2 is repeated. Fuzzy c-means algorithm depends on initial values. Initial parameters mustn't be lower and higher than actual number of clusters. It is necessary to find accurate number of clusters.

Fuzziness parameter (m) choice checks how many clusters will overlap, and it takes the value "2" to make calculation easier.

Stop criterion (ε), terminates repeats when the difference between membership values are lower than stop criterion, which is generally taken as 0,01 but lower values can also be chosen to shorten calculation time.

Initial membership criterion (V) is generated in a way that membership matrix will be random. It is necessary to start v_i cluster centroids randomly and calculate corresponding V values accordingly in order to obtain this matrix.

In summary, although Ward technique and k-means are classical clustering methods, it is necessary to assign each case to a cluster. Since cases are placed in clusters by taking 0 and 1 membership values, clusters accurately split from each other. However, such a clear-cut distinction might give wrong results because homogenous clusters might have observation units that are equally distant from each other (Döring, et a.l., 2006: 192).

Unlike definite splits in classical clustering method, fuzzy clustering assign cases according to membership degrees, i.e. cases might belong to more than one cluster. Membership degrees of cases range between 0 and 1, and the sum of membership degree values is 1. In addition, due to definite splits in classical cluster analysis, possible relationships between cases or cluster may not be noticed; however,

fuzzy clustering method provides more detailed information by eliminating this problem to some extent (Mansoori, 2011, p. 961).

Fuzzy sets can be examined in three groups: normal fuzzy sets, non-normal fuzzy sets and convex fuzzy sets. If at least one of the cases in a set has a set membership equal to 1, it is called normal fuzzy set. If the membership of all cases is lower than 1, it is non-normal fuzzy set. Finally, convex fuzzy set occurs when membership values for increasing values in a set is monotonously increasing and decreasing (Koyuncugil, 2006: 98).

5. FINDINGS

When means and variances of variables in a data matrix are largely different from each other, those with high means and variances considerably affect the contribution of other variables to analysis. Sometimes, extreme values of variables have negative effects on cluster analysis. In such cases, data should be standardized or transformed (Özdamar, 2004: 291). Although there are many methods for data standardization, this study used z point transformation and transformation to $-1 \leq x \leq 1$ range. This technique is preferred when there are extreme values and / or heterogeneous values with positive and negative signs.

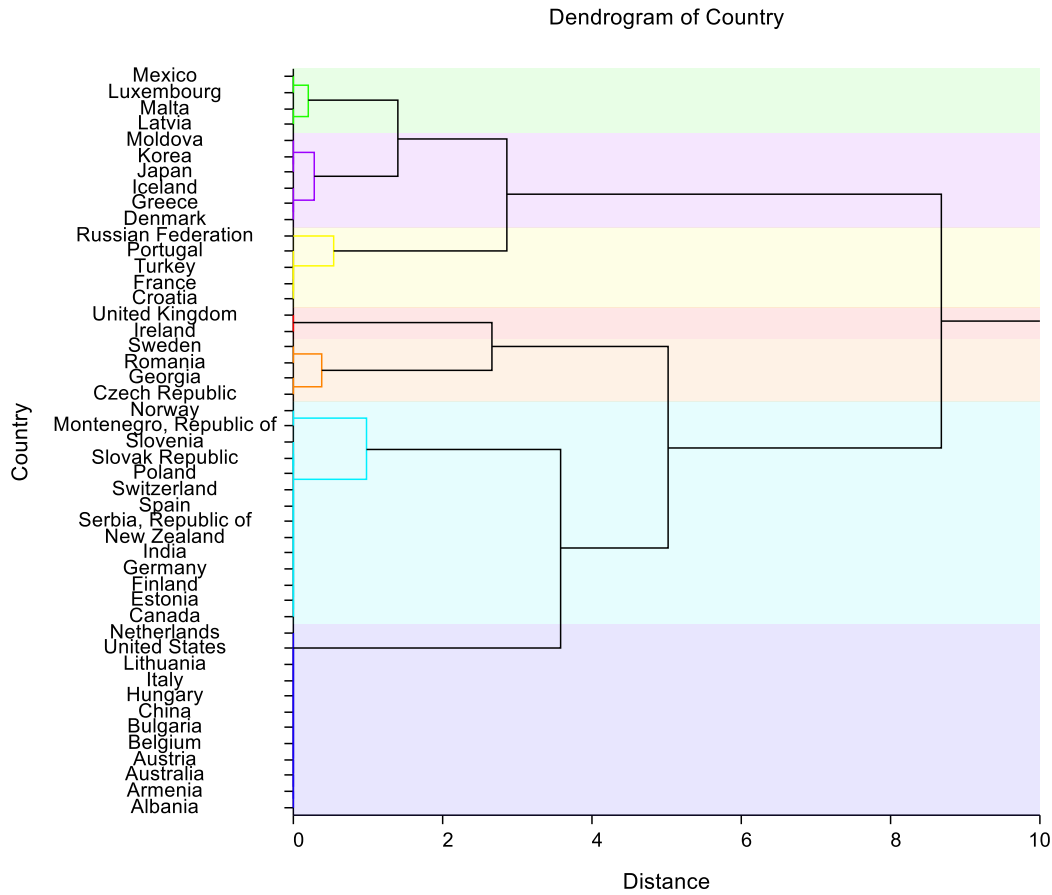
Minitab 19 software was used for standardization. After the standardization, seven clusters were obtained by using Ward method and NCSS 2019 software. These clusters are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Results of Clustering through Ward Method

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Cluster 7
Ireland	Albania,	Latvia	Denmark	Czech Rep.	Croatia	Canada
United Kingdom	Armenia	Luxembourg	Greece	Georgia	France	Estonia
	Australia	Malta	Iceland	Romania	Portugal	Finland
	Austria	Mexico	Japan	Sweden	Russian Fed.	Germany
	Belgium		Korea		Turkey	India
	Bulgaria		Moldova			Montenegro
	China					New Zealand
	Hungary					Norway
	Italy					Poland
	Lithuania					Serbia
	Netherlands					Slovak Rep.
	United States					Slovenia
						Spain
						Switzerland

The results of clustering were displayed graphically through the dendrogram in Figure 3. This dendrogram is scaled as 0-10 from left to right in equal distances between the units. Horizontal lines show “distance” and vertical ones “intersecting clusters”.

Figure 3. Cluster Dendrogram for Countries through Ward Method



Testing the results of cluster analysis through statistical methods will provide more useful and meaningful results (Kurtuluş, 2004:417).

When p values of variables in variance homogeneity test (Levene Test) are examined, it is seen that variances for “Share of Value Added by The Transport Sector” variable are not homogenous ($p < 0,05$) while variances for other variables are homogenous ($p > 0,05$).

The researchers later examined the results of one-way ANOVA for variables confirming homogeneity assumption and Welch test for those that did not confirm this assumption and found that there were differences between the means of the clusters. Post-hoc tests were done to determine which cluster(s) caused this difference. Bonferonni test was used for variables confirming homogeneity assumption and DunnetT3 test for those that did not. According to the results, the variance for “share of value added by the transport sector” variable is due to the second cluster. It might be concluded that the countries in the second cluster is weaker than those in other clusters in terms of added value.

Finally, the countries were classified by using fuzzy c-means method. In this step, the results displayed in Table 3 below were used to determine how many clusters the countries will be split into.

NCSS 2019 program was used for fuzzy c-means clustering algorithm. Table 3 below displays mean silhouette statistics obtained for different cluster numbers $k= 2, 3, 4, 5$ in the classification of 46

countries and Turkey by fuzzy clustering method according to basic education indicators, and $D_c(U)$ values, which includes Dunn's partition coefficient, normalized Dunn coefficient.

Table 3. The Cluster Analysis Results according to Median Algorithm

Cluster	\overline{SC}	$F(U)$	$F_c(U)$	$D(U)$	$D_c(U)$
2	0,371462	0,7036	0,4072	0,1776	0,3551
3	0,423130	0,6820	0,5230	0,1909	0,2864
4	0,548646	0,6983	0,5977	0,1823	0,2431
5	0,514399	0,7267	0,6584	0,1700	0,2125

The table shows that the ideal number of clusters is $k=5$ according to the data used in the analysis since more than one validity indicators are taken as reference in fuzzy c-means method: partition coefficient $F(U)$, Dunn coefficient (standardized partition coefficient) $F_c(U)$, Kaufman coefficient $D(U)$, standardized Kaufman coefficient $D_c(U)$.

The ideal number of clusters is determined according to the highest value of $F_c(U)$ and the lowest value of $D_c(U)$. When Dunn coefficient is normalized in a way to take a value between 0 and 1, the value “0” displays fuzziness while “1” means lack of fuzziness and a strong clustering (Yılancı, 2010: 457). The value which is the closest to “1” is $F_c(U) = 0,6584$ for $k = 5$.

In contrast to Dunn coefficient, standardized Kaufmann coefficient shows strong clustering when it gets closer to “0”. For $k=5$, $D_c(U) = 0.2125$ is the closest value to 0 and shows strong clustering.

In silhouette statistics, which shows stability structure of clusters, \overline{SC} (Silhouette Coefficient) takes a value between “-1” and “+1”, and a value closer to +1 implies accurate clustering. In fuzzy cluster analysis, \overline{SC} should be at least 0.50 when ideal number of clusters are determined. \overline{SC} for $k=5$ is 0.514399.

The examination of cluster structure revealed that there are differences when compared to cluster structures obtained by using Ward method. When probability values are examined, it can be concluded that a normal fuzzy cluster was obtained, and the countries are quite likely to be assigned to clusters (Table 4).

Table 4. Cluster Membership and Assignment Probabilities

Row	Country	Cluster	Prob in 1	Prob in 2	Prob in 3	Prob in 4	Prob in 5
1	Albania	5	0,1844	0,1760	0,1665	0,1689	0,3041
2	Armenia	5	0,1058	0,1795	0,0988	0,1462	0,4697
3	Australia	5	0,1848	0,3022	0,1670	0,1694	0,1765
4	Austria	1	0,0074	0,0074	0,9666	0,0073	0,0113
5	Belgium	4	0,0037	0,0044	0,0044	0,9821	0,0054
6	Bulgaria	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9977	0,0005	0,0008
7	Canada	2	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000
8	China	2	0,0053	0,9741	0,0068	0,0056	0,0083
9	Croatia	3	0,6879	0,0000	0,0000	0,3121	0,0000
10	Czech Republic	3	0,0005	0,0311	0,9673	0,0004	0,0007
11	Denmark	4	0,2708	0,1455	0,0034	0,5772	0,0031
12	Estonia	1	0,0114	0,0074	0,0074	0,0073	0,9665
13	Finland	4	0,0037	0,0035	0,0044	0,9831	0,0054
14	France	2	0,0138	0,9371	0,0161	0,0129	0,0201
15	Georgia	4	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000
16	Germany	3	0,0005	0,9978	0,0005	0,0005	0,0008
17	Greece	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9978	0,0005	0,0008
18	Hungary	5	0,3022	0,1765	0,1670	0,1694	0,1849
19	Iceland	5	0,1040	0,1756	0,0972	0,1437	0,4794
20	India	5	0,1726	0,2751	0,1680	0,1775	0,2067
21	Ireland	3	0,0004	0,0285	0,8584	0,1122	0,0006

22	Italy	5	0,1855	0,3000	0,1676	0,1699	0,1770
23	Japan	4	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000
24	Korea	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9977	0,0005	0,0008
25	Latvia	3	0,0592	0,0005	0,9392	0,0005	0,0007
26	Lithuania	5	0,1855	0,1770	0,1676	0,1700	0,2999
27	Luxembourg	3	0,0005	0,0323	0,9662	0,0004	0,0007
28	Malta	4	0,0036	0,0043	0,0043	0,0052	0,9826
29	Mexico	4	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000
30	Moldova	2	0,0135	0,0194	0,0157	0,0126	0,9388
31	Montenegro, Rep	4	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000
32	Netherlands	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,8747	0,1236	0,0007
33	New Zealand	5	0,1856	0,1770	0,1676	0,1700	0,2998
34	Norway	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9978	0,0005	0,0008
35	Poland	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9977	0,0005	0,0008
36	Portugal	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,8742	0,1242	0,0007
37	Romania	3	0,0005	0,0005	0,9977	0,0005	0,0008
38	Russian Fed.	3	0,0004	0,0289	0,8565	0,1136	0,0006
39	Serbia, Republic	5	0,1856	0,1771	0,1676	0,1700	0,2997
40	Slovak Republic	4	0,0036	0,0034	0,0043	0,9835	0,0052
41	Slovenia	2	0,0000	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000
42	Spain	5	0,1857	0,2996	0,1676	0,1700	0,1771
43	Sweden	4	0,0036	0,0043	0,0043	0,9826	0,0052
44	Switzerland	5	0,1857	0,1771	0,1677	0,1700	0,2995
45	Turkey	1	0,9661	0,0075	0,0075	0,0074	0,0114
46	United Kingdom	5	0,1012	0,4942	0,0946	0,1396	0,1704
47	United States	3	0,0000	0,0000	1,0000	0,0000	0,0000

When membership degrees of Albania, Armenia, Australia, Denmark, Hungary, Iceland, India, Italy, Lithuania, New Zealand, Serbia Republic, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom for five clusters are examined, it can be said that they have fuzzier structure when compared to other countries.

The medoid values for variables used for transportation statistics of OECD countries and selected non-member countries are displayed in Table 5. Medoid values, also known as cluster centers, should be determined through the objects that are the closest to the center of cluster; not through means of cases that form clusters. Although it is not a very sensitive measurement, it enables decision makers to make an overall evaluation.

Table 5. Medoid Values of the Variables

Variable	Cluster1	Cluster2	Cluster3	Cluster4	Cluster5	Qualification
X_1	-0,24949	-0,19297	0,87819	-0,27025	0,00425	High
X_2	-0,33752	1,92154	-0,10215	-0,3379	-0,33752	High
X_3	-0,43108	2,64454	-0,62372	4,39039	2,64454	High
X_4	0,554	-0,21288	-0,27877	-0,29223	-0,29117	High
X_5	-0,50443	-0,50443	-0,64565	-0,0647	-0,52081	Low
X_6	-0,68086	-0,60424	-0,76216	0,25847	-0,56418	High
X_7	0,57907	-0,46268	3,04733	-0,43818	-0,47494	High

According to Table 5, the countries in cluster 3 have the highest value in “investment spending” variable and those in cluster 2 in “maintenance spending” variable. As for the variables “container transportation”, “share of value by the transport sector” and “total inland freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand unite of current USD GDP”, the countries in cluster 4 have the highest value. Cluster 1, to which Turkey belongs to, includes countries that have the highest value for the variable “inland freight transport”. The cluster with the highest value for “road freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand units of current USD GDP” variable is cluster 2. When medoid values are examined, all the clusters except cluster 5 can be labelled as “high”.

Five clusters were obtained according to fuzzy c-means analysis (Table 6);

Table 6. Clustering according to fuzzy c-means method for k=5

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster5
Croatia,	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Albania
Hungary	Canada	Bulgaria	Denmark	Armenia
Portugal	China	Czech Rep.	Finland	Estonia
Turkey	France	Greece	Georgia	Iceland
	Germany	Ireland	Japan	Latvia
	India	Korea	Montenegro	Lithuania
	Italy	Latvia	Slovak	Malta
	Spain	Luxembourg	Slovenia, Rep.	Mexico
	United Kingdom	Netherlands	Sweden	Moldova
		Norway		New Zealand
		Poland		Serbia
		Romania		Switzerland
		Russian Fed.		
		United States		

The findings obtained from hierarchical clustering Ward method and from fuzzy clustering c-means method have considerable differences; fuzzy c-means method producing more stable results and affected by extreme data and initial values less.

According to the findings;

Cluster 1 (Croatia, Hungary, Portugal, Turkey), which was obtained from fuzzy c-means method and Cluster 6 (Croatia, France, Portugal, Russian Federation, Turkey), which was obtained from hierarchical ward method, have similar structures. The countries in Cluster 1 - especially 3 countries - have similar structures for the following variables: “inland freight transport”, “maintenance spending” and “share of value added by the transport sector”. These countries were clustered according to their similarities by hierarchical clustering Ward method as follows:

Cluster 2 (Hungary)

Cluster 6 (Croatia, Portugal, Turkey),

Cluster 2 (Australia, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, United Kingdom, United States), which was obtained through c-means method, consists of leading countries in terms of trade volume at global level. They have high expenses for investment and maintenance as indicated by the results obtained for “investment spending” and “maintenance spending” variables. The clusters obtained for these countries by using Hierarchical clustering Ward method are as follows:

Cluster 1 (United Kingdom)

Cluster 2 (Australia, China, Italy, United States),

Cluster 6 (France),

Cluster 7 (Canada, Germany, India)

It can be seen that the countries were split in different ways when this method was used.

Cluster 3, which was obtained through c-means method, involves the highest number of countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Ireland, Russian Federation, Korea, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania). They show similarities for the following variables: “maintenance spending”, “total inland freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand units of current USD GDP”, “road freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand units of current USD GDP”

The clusters obtained for these countries by using Hierarchical clustering Ward method are as follows:

- Cluster 1 (Ireland)
- Cluster 2 (Austria, Bulgaria, Netherlands)
- Cluster 3 (Luxembourg)
- Cluster 4 (Greece, Korea)
- Cluster 5 (Czech Republic, Romania)
- Cluster 6 (Russian Fed.)
- Cluster 7 (Norway, Poland)

It can be seen that the countries were split in different ways when this method was used.

Cluster 4, which was obtained through c-means method, mostly consists of European countries (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Japan, Montenegro, Slovak, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden). These countries are similar in terms of the following variables: “share of value added by the transport sector”, “total inland freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand units of Current USD GDP”, “road freight transport in tonne-km per one thousand units of Current USD GDP”.

follows:

- Cluster 2 (Belgium)
- Cluster 4 (Denmark, Japan,)
- Cluster 5 (Georgia, Sweden)
- Cluster 7 (Finland, Montenegro, Slovak, Slovenia Spain, Switzerland)

It can be seen that the countries were split in different ways when this method was used.

Cluster 5 obtained through c-means method involves countries that have relatively fewer logistics activities and related transportation activities (Albania, Armenia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Serbia).

The clusters obtained for these countries by using Hierarchical clustering Ward method are as follows:

- Cluster2 (Albania, Armenia, Lithuania, United States)
- Cluster3 (Latvia, Malta, Mexico)
- Cluster4 (Iceland, Moldova)
- Cluster7 (Estonia, New Zealand, Serbia)

It can be seen that the countries were split in different ways when this method was used.

6. CONCLUSION

Logistics sector, which is the fundamental part of economy, and transportation, which is the most important activity of this sector, are based on 7/24 service. In addition, increasing competition in the globalized market requires efficient planning in transportation activities by taking into consideration variables that affect performance of these activities. Transportation is a multi-disciplinary field, and

there are many variables affecting transportation performance such as transportation infrastructure of the country, types of transportation, transportation fares and taxes, transportation safety, equipment and regulations and effective use of information technologies.

This study examined clustering of OECD countries and selected non-member countries according to their logistics-based transportation activities. The variables related to transportation activities and 47 countries were examined through the data obtained from the available database.

For the purposes of the study, the author also collected time-based cross-sectional data related to sub-variables such as transportation infrastructure, transportation measures, economic and social indicators, safety, performance indicators and short-term indicators.

The basic aim of the study is to determine clusters for these countries according to basic transportation variables. Therefore, it explained the idea behind clustering and clustering methods as well.

Hierarchical clustering, also known as hierarchical cluster analysis, is an algorithm that groups similar object into groups called clusters. The endpoint is a set of clusters, where each cluster is distinct from each other cluster and the objects within each cluster are broadly similar to each other. A dendrogram is a type of tree diagram showing hierarchical clustering relationships between similar sets of data.

Other method is fuzzy clustering method, which is used when clusters are not clearly formed or some objects are inconsistent in cluster membership. Fuzzy clustering methods provide information about uncertainty cluster memberships. The current study used fuzzy clustering c-means algorithm.

Under the light of the data obtained from the database regarding OECD countries and selected non-member countries, the following variables were determined after a series of attempts: Investment Spending, Maintenance Spending, Containers Transport, Inland Freight Transport, Share of Value Added by The Transport Sector, Total Inland Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP, Road Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP.

Cross-sectional data were used in the analysis; however, it was not possible to access data providing complete information about all the countries. The gaps in the data were eliminated through the use of means. Since the extreme values of the variables have different structures, they have negative effects on cluster analysis. In this case, data should be standardized or transformed. Here, the data set was standardized.

Because the number of clusters was not known in advance, the analysis started by using Ward technique and seven clusters were obtained accordingly. Fuzzy c-means method was used to examine clustering structures of 47 countries. The ideal number of clusters was determined as 5 with the help of indices in fuzzy c-means method.

The findings showed that the clusters obtained through these two methods are different from each other. When the clusters of countries obtained from two methods according to the variables were

examined, it was concluded that those obtained through fuzzy clustering c-means algorithm were more appropriate.

When the clusters obtained from hierarchical clustering Ward method and fuzzy c-means algorithm are examined, it can be said that there are fewer number of clusters obtained from fuzzy c-means algorithm and the countries in these clusters have similar structures.

Cluster 1 and Cluster 6 are similar in terms of grouping according to both methods, and both clusters involve Turkey. The countries in these clusters have similarities for the following variables: inland freight transport, maintenance spending and Share of Value Added by The Transport Sector. In addition, they are all developing economies and have extensive land transportation fleets since they mainly prefer land transportation for domestic shipping activities.

Cluster 2 consists of developed countries in terms of trade volume which have high expenses for “investment spending” and “maintenance spending”. The countries in one single cluster according to fuzzy clustering were split in different clusters according to the results of the hierarchical clustering method.

Clusters 3, which has the highest number of countries, involves countries having similar structures in terms of the following variables: Maintenance Spending, Total Inland Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP, Road Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP.

Cluster 4 involves mostly European countries and the countries in the cluster have similar structures for the following variables: Share of Value Added by The Transport Sector, Total Inland Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP, Road Freight Transport in Tonne-Km Per One Thousand Units of Current USD GDP.

Cluster 5 consists of developing countries with low population density, and their transportation activities are limited due to limited economic activities.

“Investing Spending and Maintenance Spending” are two effective variables for transportation indicators of OECD countries and selected non-member countries. Since economic volume determines transportation indicators, here investment and transportation rates functioned as a determining factor in clustering. The future studies might examine clustering according to different characteristics of countries in terms of economy and through different algorithms in terms of statistical data.

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YAPAY SİNİR AĞLARI İLE BIST-100 ENDEKS DEĞERİNİN TAHMİN EDİLMESİ FORECASTING BIST-100 INDEX VALUE WITH ARTIFICIAL NEURAL NETWORKS

Aygülen Kayahan KARAKUL¹

1. Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, İzmir Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi,
İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi,
aygulen.kayahan@ikcu.edu.tr,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8310-1709>

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Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı Yapay Sinir Ağları'nın finans alanındaki tahmin problemlerine uygulanabilirliğinin gösterilmesi ve Borsa İstanbul (BIST)-100 Endeksini etkileyen değişkenler arasındaki ilişkilerin modellenmesidir. Çalışmada BIST-100 Endeksi, Gecelik Faiz Oranları ve Dolar Kuru arasındaki ilişkiler ileri beslemeli, geriye yayımlı Çok Katmanlı Algılayıcı (Multi-Layered Perceptron-MLP) kullanılarak Yapay Sinir Ağları ile modellenmiş ve BIST-100 Endeks değeri tahmin edilmiştir. Çalışmada 4 Ocak 2010 ile 7 Ocak 2020 arasındaki 2511 iş gününe ait veriler Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası Elektronik Veri Dağıtım Sisteminden alınmıştır. Veri setinin % 90'ı eğitim, % 10'u test verileri olarak ayrılmış ve MATLAB 2020a ile veriler analiz edilmiştir. Çeşitli eğitim, aktivasyon ve transfer fonksiyonları arasından en uygun olanları veri seti üzerinde yapılan denemeler ile belirlenmiş, sonrasında çeşitli mimarideki modeller kurulmuş; modellerin tahmin başarıları, tahmin değerler ile gerçek veriler arasındaki regresyon ilişkisi ile belirlenmiştir. Kurulan modeller ile eğitilen ağların test verileri üzerindeki simülasyonu sonrasında modellerin performansları Ortalama Mutlak Yüzde Hata (Mean Absolute Percentage Error-MAPE) değeri kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre değişkenler arasındaki ilişkileri modelleyen ve en iyi performansı gösteren ağ, mimarisi 2-10-10-1 olan iki gizli katmanlı, her gizli katmanında 10'ar nöronu olan ağıdır. Böylece Yapay Sinir Ağlarının finans alanındaki tahmin problemlerine uygulanabilir olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Yapay Sinir Ağları, Tahmin Modeli, BIST-100 Endeksi,*

Abstract

The aim of this research is to apply Artificial Neural Networks in finance problems as well as to model the relationships between variables that effect the Stock Market of Turkey:Borsa Istanbul. The relationship between BIST-100 index, Overnight Interest Rates and Exchange Rate of Dollar modelled by using feed-forward back propogation Multilayer Perceptron(MLP) of Artificial Neural Networks and BIST-100 index value is estimated. The data is taken from Turkish Republic Central Bank Electronic Data Distribution system. 2511 data between 4 January 2010 and 7 January 2020 of working days has been used. The % 90 of data set is used for training, % 10 is used for testing. MATLAB 2020a is used for analysis. Many training, activation and transfer functions under many architectures are used to establish the most robust model. The performance is measured by the regression relationship between the exact values and estimated values. The forecasting performance of simulation of networks on test data is measured by Mean Absolute Percentage Error-MAPE. According to the results the best performed neural network that models the relationship between variables has 2 hidden layers, with 10 neurons in each hidden layer and has the architecture 2-10-10-1. Therefore Artificial Neural Networks can be used in the forecasting problems of financial issues.

Keywords: *Artificial Neural Networks, Forecasting Model, BIST-100 Index,*

EXTENDED SUMMARY

Research Problem

This research has been conducted to forecast the Stock Market index of Turkey-Borsa Istanbul (BIST) 100 index, by using an advanced technique: Artificial Neural Networks (ANNs).

Research Questions

The questions of research are listed as follows: Is it possible to use ANNs for forecasting the BIST-100 Index of Turkey? Is it possible to model the relationships between variables BIST-100 Index, Exchange Rate of Dollar and the overnight interest rates? If it is possible to model the patterns between those variables is it possible to improve the model and find the best model by using the training and learning capabilities of ANN.

Literature Review

Prediction is a part of science which enables to foresee the future. Forecasting and modelling studies on Stock Markets enable to reduce the uncertainties about the future, so that the businesses can make true investment decisions (Usul, Küçüksille ve Karaođlan, 2017). The importance of the financial studies requires to use advanced forecasting techniques. ANN which is a sub branch of Artificial Intelligence, can learn from a sample of data, keep the learned knowledge and use this knowledge in a sample of data that was not seen before, as well as it does not require any pre assumption. ANNs are used in many fields mostly in signal processing, predicting and clustering as nonlinear, multi-layered parallel regression techniques such as function approximation, pattern matching, data clustering, classification and conceptualization, finding out parameters, accumulating knowledge through training, application of a prior knowledge of the connection weights, adding knowledge in a neural network structure for the purpose of Approximate Reasoning (Shanmuganathan, 2016:8-9). So this advanced technique, ANN, is the best method to use in forecasting in the financial aspects, like predicting the Stock Market index value.

Methodology

ANN enables to model the non linear relationships without any restriction as controversy to those in the conventional statistical methods. ANN is a modelling method that simulates the biological neurons in a nervous system of a human being with the help of the learning algorithms and activation functions as in the cognitive functions of nervous system. The degree of accuracy of model can be calculated with the Coefficient of Determination or Correlation Coefficient and the forecasting performance of network is determined by the Mean Absolute Percentage Error (MAPE). The dataset in the research consisting of 2511 days' data, is obtained from the official website of Turkish Republic Central Bank. Independent variables are exchange rate of Dollar and overnight interest rates which are determined by a literature review on Stock Market index prediction. The dependent variable is the BIST-100 index value. The feed forward and back propagation Multilayered Perceptron (MLP) is used to construct a model between variables. Training, activation and learning algorithms are changed in each experiment to find the best

fit, then the trained networks are simulated on the testing data and the performance of networks are compared with MAPE.

Results and Conclusions

The dataset is divided into two sets as training and testing sets as 90 % and 10 % respectively. The best neural network model is searched on the training set and the trained networks are simulated on the testing set. The best model between variables has been set up by using the learning capabilities of ANNs. By changing the learning, training and activation functions in 16 experiments the best ones are selected. 8 different models has been set up and 2 of them has been eliminated according to the Regression results in MATLAB 2020a. The best model is selected between the rest ones by changing the hidden layers and neurons in the hidden layers. The trained networks are simulated on the test data. The performance of models has been compared with Mean Absolute Percentage Error- MAPE. As a result the best model has an architecture of 2-10-10-1 with 2 hidden layers and 10 neurons in each hidden layers. The MAPE is observed as 7, 91 % . It is obtained that ANN can be successfully used to forecast the BIST-100 index value.

1. GİRİŞ

Yapay Zekâ, insan beyninin çalışma esasının matematiksel olarak modellenmesi fikrinden doğmuştur. Bu fikir “sinir sisteminin merkezindeki beyin, biyolojik sinir ağları ile sürekli olarak bilgiyi alıp, işleme ve sinir ağları içinden çıkan sonuçlara göre uygun kararları vermesi” (Haykın, 2009, 36) durumunun benzetimidir. Yapay Sinir Ağları (YSA) biyolojik nöronların çeşitli bilgilerin depolandığı birimlerden sinyallerle kurdukları ağ yapısı içinde yeni bilgiler karşısında onları sınıflama, gruplama, ayırt etme ve yeniden üretme gibi tepkiler vermesi esasına dayanır. YSA sayesinde biyolojik sinir ağlarının anlama, anlamlandırma ve öğrenme özellikleri matematiksel olarak modellenebilmekte, böylece bir veri setinin değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkiler çeşitli fonksiyonlar ve algoritmalar yardımıyla genel bir ağ yapısı olarak ifade edilebilmektedir.

İnsan zekâsının bir taklidi olarak kurgulanan Yapay Zekânın alt bileşeni olan yöntemler sadece doğa bilimlerinde değil, aynı zamanda sosyal bilim alanlarında da sıklıkla kullanılabilir. Bugün gelinen noktada bu yöntemler tıbbi görüntüleme teknolojileri, hastalık nedenlerinin belirlenmesi, genetik kan ve örnekleme haritalarının oluşturulması, (Kattan, Abdullah, & Geem, 2011: 5-6; Haykın, 1999), savunma sanayisinde uçuş yörüngelerinin belirlenmesi, robotik sistemlerin geliştirilmesi gibi mühendislik projelerinde ve doğa bilimleri alanlarında olduğu kadar, aynı zamanda makroekonomik tahminler, sigorta risk analizi, stok yatırım analizi, banka kredilerinin değerlendirilmesi, üretim yönetimi, kalite analizi, otomasyon sistemlerinin geliştirilmesi, üretim birimlerinin optimizasyonu gibi iktisadi konularda ve sosyal bilim alanlarında da kullanılmaktadır (Haykın, 1999).

Hisse senedi piyasası, ülke ekonomilerinin önemli göstergelerinden biri olup, bu piyasanın bileşenleri arasındaki ilişkiler birçok çalışmada araştırılmıştır. Hisse senedi piyasasında yapılacak tahmin ve modelleme çalışmaları, geleceğe dönük belirsizliklerin azaltılmasını sağlayacak ve böylece işletmelerin yatırım konularında doğru kararlar almasına yardımcı olacaktır (Usul, Küçüksille ve Karaoğlan, 2017). Bu araştırmanın amacı YSA'nın finans alanına uygulanabilirliğinin incelenmesi ve bu yolla Borsa İstanbul (BIST) Endeks değerinin tahmininin yapılmasıdır. İyi finansal tahmin modellerinin kurulması, finansal piyasalarda iyi kararlar verilmesini sağlayacaktır. Çalışmanın bundan sonraki bölümleri şu şekilde oluşturulmuştur: Birinci bölümde daha önce yapılmış benzer çalışmalara yer verilmiş, İkinci bölümde araştırmanın yöntemi olarak seçilen YSA ile modelleme verilmiş, üçüncü bölümde araştırmanın bulguları, dördüncü bölümde de sonuçları verilmiştir.

2. LİTERATÜR

YSA, finans alanında borsa verileri üzerinde birçok tahmin probleminde kullanılmıştır. Bu bölümde konu alanı olarak finans, yöntem olarak YSA kullanan araştırmalara yer verilmiştir.

Tektaş ve Karataş (2004) araştırmalarında gıda ve çimento alanlarında faaliyet gösteren ve hisse senetleri İMKB'de işlem gören, 7 şirketin hisse senedi fiyatlarını tahmin etmeyi amaçlamışlar, YSA ve çoklu regresyon tekniklerini haftalık ve günlük verilerden oluşan iki veri seti üzerinde kullanmışlardır.

Haftalık verilerde bağımlı değişken olarak şirketlerin Cuma günkü hisse senedi kapanış fiyat bilgisini, bağımsız değişkenler olarak aylık enflasyon endeksi, bir aylık mevduat faiz oranları, İMKB-100 Endeksi, İMKB Sınai Endeksi ve Dolar Kurunu kullanmışlardır. Günlük verilerde ise bağımlı değişken olarak günlük hisse senedi kapanış fiyatı, bağımsız değişkenler olarak Dolar Kuru, İMKB-100 Endeksi ve İMKB Sınai Endeksini kullanmışlardır. Tahmin performansı olarak gerçek ve tahmin veriler arasındaki korelasyon katsayısını dikkate almışlardır. Elde ettikleri sonuçlar, günlük ve haftalık veriler üzerinde uygulanan YSA'lar arasından günlük verilerin kullanıldığı ağ yapılarının daha başarılı olduğunu; günlük veriler üzerindeki regresyon ve YSA arasından ise YSA yönteminin daha başarılı olduğunu göstermektedir.

Kutlu ve Badur (2009) Borsada önceki günün kapanış fiyatını tahmin etmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Araştırmacılar kurdukları üç modelde farklı bağımsız değişkenler kullanmışlardır. Birinci modeldeki bağımsız değişkenler Dolar Kuru ve gecelik faiz değerleri, ikinci modeldekiler birinci modeldekilere ek olarak haftanın günleri, üçüncü modeldekiler de ikinci modeldekilere ek olarak farklı 7 ülkedeki borsa endeksi değerleridir. Model performanslarını belirlemek için R2 değerini kullanmışlardır. Elde ettikleri sonuçlara göre en yüksek performansa sahip model en az sayıda bağımsız değişkeni içeren birinci modeldir. Böylece daha çok sayıda bağımsız değişkenin her zaman daha iyi bir tahmin performansı sergileyeceği düşüncesinin yanlıtıcılığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Merh, Saxena ve Pardasani (2011) araştırmalarında Bombay Borsası'na kayıtlı olan 30 şirketin hisse senedi fiyat endeksi olan Sensex Endeks değerini tahmin etmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Çalışmalarında her günün açılış değeri, en yüksek değeri, en düşük değeri ve kapanış değerini bağımsız değişken olarak ele alıp bir sonraki günün değerini YSA ve ARIMA yöntemleri ile tahmin etmişlerdir. Tahmin performanslarını AAE (Average Absolute Error- Ortalama Mutlak Hata), RMSE (Root Mean Square Error-Hataların Ortalama Karekökü), MAPE (Mean Absolute Percentage Error-Ortalama Mutlak Yüzde Hata) ve MSPE (Mean Square Percentage Error-Ortalama Karesel Yüzde Hata) ile karşılaştırdıklarında ARIMA ile kurulan model performansının daha iyi olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

Akcan ve Kartal (2011) İMKB-Sigorta Endeksini oluşturan 7 şirketin hisse senedi fiyatlarını Yapay Sinir Ağları ile tahmin etmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Araştırmacılar çalışmalarında 4 makro ekonomik değişken ve 8 mikro ekonomik değişkeni bağımsız değişkenler olarak kullanmışlardır. 2009 ve 2011 yılları arasındaki 508 işgünü verisini % 70 ve % 30 oranlarında eğitim ve test verileri olarak ayırmışlar, kurdukları modellerin performanslarını MAE (Mean Absolute Error-Ortalama Mutlak Hata) ve MAPE ile karşılaştırmışlar, YSA'nın tahmin performansının daha iyi olduğunu bulmuşlardır.

Güresen, Kayakutlu ve Daim (2011) Amerika'daki NASDAQ Borsası endeks değerini tahmin etmeyi amaçladıkları çalışmalarında farklı YSA modellerini kullanmışlardır. Çok Katmanlı Algılayıcı, Ghiassi & Saidane (2005) tarafından geliştirilen Dinamik YSA ve Roh (2007) tarafından geliştirilen hibrit YSA modellerinin tahmin performanslarını karşılaştırmışlardır.

Yakut, Elmas ve Yavuz (2014) çalışmalarında BIST Endeks Değerini tahmin etmeye çalışmışlar, çalışmalarında Kutlu ve Badur'un (2009) çalışmalarında ele aldıkları değişkenlere ek olarak

iki ve üç gün önceki BIST Endeksi değerlerini ekleyerek 9 farklı model kurmuşlardır. Modelleri üzerinde YSA ve vektör destek makineleri yöntemlerini uygulamışlardır. Performans ölçütü olarak ele aldıkları R2 değeri çalışmalarında 0,91 ile 0,97 arasında değişmektedir. YSA yöntemi kullandıklarında tahmin performansı açısından en başarılı modeller bir önceki günün endeks değerini tahmin eden Dolar Kuru, faiz oranı modeli ile yine bir önceki günün endeks değerini tahmin eden Dolar Kuru, faiz oranı ve haftanın günleri değişkenlerinden oluşan modellerdir.

Çalışkan ve Deniz (2015) BIST-30 endeksinde yer alan verilerini elde edebildikleri 27 şirketin hisse senedi fiyatlarını ve fiyat yönünü tahmin etmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Girdi değişkenleri olarak şirketlerin günlük en yüksek, en düşük, kapanış fiyatlarını, günlük getiri oranlarını ve 5 günlük ortalama fiyat değerlerini almış, ayrıca her hisse senedi için aynı olan BIST 100 değeri, Dolar Kuru, altın fiyatları gibi değişkenleri kullanmışlardır. Bir gizli katmanlı, gizli katmanında 50 nöron içeren bir ağla yaptıkları tahminde 27 şirket için MAPE değerlerini 7 şirket dışında % 2'nin altında bulmuşlardır.

Moghaddam A.H, Moghaddam, M.H ve Esfandyari (2016) YSA kullanarak Amerika'daki NASDAQ Borsası'nın endeks değerini iki farklı türdeki girdi kümesi ile tahmin etmeye çalışmışlardır. 70 günlük veriyi eğitim seti olarak, 29 günlük veriyi test seti olarak ayırmışlardır. İlk olarak dört gün önceki değerleri ve haftanın günlerini kullanmışlar, ikinci olarak dokuz gün önceki değerleri ve haftanın günlerini kullanmışlardır. Farklı eğitim ve transfer fonksiyonları ile farklı gizli katman ve gizli katman içindeki farklı nöron sayıları ile oluşturdukları modellerin performanslarını R2 ve MSE (Mean Square Error- Ortalama Karesel Hata) değerlerini kullanarak karşılaştırmışlardır.

3. ARAŞTIRMA YÖNTEMİ VE MODELİ

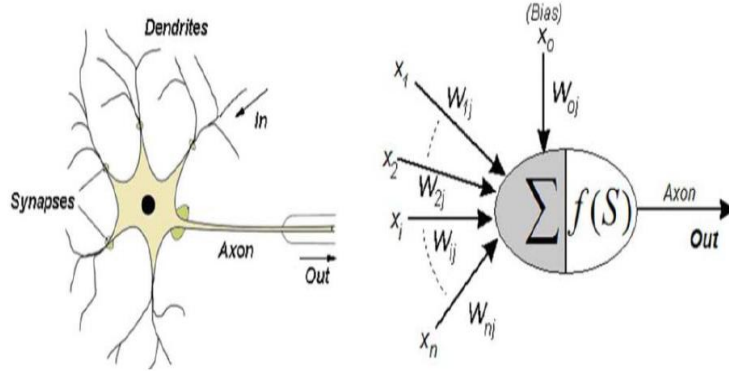
Yapay Sinir Ağları tıpkı insanlar gibi deneyimler yaşadıkça öğrenir ve bunu, belirli öğrenme algoritmaları kullanarak gerçekleştirir. Ağın öğrendiği bilgiler, daha önce ağ tarafından kullanılmamış olan veri setleri üzerinde uygulanır. YSA'lar işaret işleme, örüntü eşleme, veri kümeleme, fonksiyon yakınsaması sureti ile sınıflandırma ve tahmin problemlerinde kullanılır. Ayrıca ağın eğitilmesi sonucunda oluşan bağlantı ağırlıklarının öncel bilgisi, bulanık mantık işlemcilerinin genel bir türü olarak ifade edilen *Yaklaşık Düşünme (Approximate Reasoning)* amacıyla da kullanılabilir (Shanmuganathan, 2016:8-9).

YSA'lar öğrenme biçimlerine göre danışmanlı (supervised), danışmansız (unsupervised), takviyeli (reinforcement) öğrenme biçimlerine sahip olanlar olarak gruplanabilir. Danışmanlı öğrenmede, ağa girdi ve çıktı değerleri verilir ve ağın bu parametreler arasındaki bağlantı ağırlıklarını öğrenmesi beklenir. Danışmansız öğrenmede girdi değerleri verilerek ağın çıktı değerlerini bulması beklenir. Takviyeli öğrenmede ise girdiler verilerek iyi çıktılar sağlandığında bağlantı ağırlıkları ödüllendirilir, kötü çıktılar sağlanırsa ağırlıklar cezalandırılır (Shanmuganathan, 2016:8).

Mimarisine göre YSA'lar belirli (deterministic) ve belirsiz (stochastic) YSA'lar olarak gruplanır. Sinir ağlarının işaretinin akış yönüne göre, ileri beslemeli (feedforward) ve geri beslemeli (feedback) olarak gruplanır. Giriş katmanından çıkış katmanına doğru, işaretlerin yalnız bir yönde

ilerlediği ağı ileri beslemeli ağ, bir sinirin çıkışından girişine işaretin ulaştığı ağı geri beslemeli ağ denir (Nabiyev, 2016:587).

Şekil 1. Bir Biyolojik Nöron ve Bir Yapay Sinir Ağı



Kaynak: Kattan, Abdullah, & Geem (2011)

YSA, nöron adı verilen pek çok işlemci elemandan oluşmaktadır. Nöronlar birbirine belirli ağırlıklar atanmış olan birleştirme mekanizmaları ile birbirine bağlanmaktadır. Değişkenler arasında doğrusal ilişkiler olmadığında Çok Katmanlı Algılayıcı (Multi Layered Perception-MLP) kullanılır (Nabiyev, 2016:602). Bu ağ yapısında girdi, çıktı ve gizli katman olmak üzere üç katman vardır. Nöronlar girdi parametrelerini alıp toplayıp onlara bir sabit (bias) ekleyerek sonrasında transfer fonksiyonu uygulayarak çıktı parametrelerini oluşturur. Matematiksel ifade ile bir P nöronunun; x_1, \dots, x_n girdi parametreleri ve bağlantı ağırlıkları w_{p1}, \dots, w_{pn} olmak üzere, girdileri ağırlıklar ile çarpıp toplaması Eşitlik (1)'deki gibi gösterilebilir.

$$u_p = \sum_{i=1}^n w_{pi} x_i \quad (1)$$

Sonrasında oluşan u_p girdi bileşenlerine, birer katsayı (Bias- b_p) ekleyerek Eşitlik (2) de φ ile gösterilmiş olan aktivasyon fonksiyonu ile nöronun çıktısı olan y_p ' ler elde edilir.

$$y_p = \varphi(u_p + b_p) \quad (2)$$

YSA'da Nümerik Analizdeki iterasyon tekniklerine ve optimizasyona dayanan birçok öğrenme algoritması vardır. Bunlardan birisi doğrusal olmayan gerçel değerli fonksiyonların karesi olarak ifade edilebilen çok değişkenli fonksiyonların minimumunu bulmayı sağlayan bir iterasyon tekniği olan LM (Levenberg-Marquardt) algoritmasıdır. (Laurakis, 2005). Bir diğeri Hessian matrisine yakınsayan bir matris dizisini genellemeyi içeren OSS (One Step Secant) algoritmasıdır (Mukkamala, Sung ve Abraham, 2003, s242). Bir diğeri de öğrenme oranını dinamik olarak kendisi ayarlayan GDA (Gradient Descent with Adaptive Learning Rate)' algoritmasıdır.

Aktivasyon fonksiyonları da Threshold (Eşik Değeri Fonksiyonu), Sigmoid (Sürekli Eşikleme Fonksiyonu), Doğrusal Fonksiyon, Katı Sınırlamalı Eşiklendirme Fonksiyonu (signum), Azalan Gradyan (Gradient Descent-GM) ve Momentum ile Azalan Gradyan (Gradient Descent with Momentum-GDM)' dur. Aktivasyon fonksiyonları nöronun aktivasyon düzeyini çıktı sinyaline dönüştürür (Sıby, Jones & Siddarth, 2013).

Transfer fonksiyonları nörondan çıkışı sağlayan fonksiyonlardır. Logaritmik sigmoid (Logsig), Hiperbolik Tanjant sigmoid (Tansig) ve Linear (Purelin) fonksiyonları transfer fonksiyonlarıdır. Logaritmik sigmoid fonksiyonu girdi setini [0,1] aralığına resmeder, türevlenebilir olduğu için MLP’de kullanılabilir. Hiperbolik Tanjant sigmoid fonksiyonu girdi setini [-1,1] aralığına resmeder. Linear olmayan veri seti için idealdir (Dorofki, Elshafie, Jaafar, Karim ve Mastura, 2012).

MLP’de kullanılan öğrenme yöntemlerinden birisi geri yayımlı (back propogation) öğrenmedir. Geri yayımlı öğrenme ilk seferde rasgele belirlenen ağırlıklara dayanır. Ancak bu ilk rasgele seçim ağırlıklı eğitimi ile ilişkili olup son derece önemlidir. Öğretilecek vektör girişe uygulanır, doğrusal olmayan sigmoid fonksiyonu ile değerler girişten gizli katmana, oradan da çıkışa yayılır, istenilen çıktı ile gerçek olan karşılaştırılarak hata hesaplanır, hata belirli bir eşik seviyesini aştığında çıkıştan gizli katmana oradan da girişe yayılır ve ağırlıklar hata değerine göre yeniden ayarlanır (Nabiyev, 2016:598-601).

Herhangi bir tahmin problemi için tahminin performansını ölçen birçok gösterge vardır. Bu çalışmada hataların mutlak farkını yüzde olarak gösteren MAPE değeri performans ölçümü için kullanılmıştır. x_t gerçek değerler ve \hat{x}_t modeldeki tahmin değerler olmak üzere MAPE’nin formülü Eşitlik (3)’de verilmiştir (Weatherford , Gentry, & Wilamowski, 2002)

$$MAPE = \frac{\sum_{t=1}^n \left| \frac{x_t - \hat{x}_t}{x_t} \right|}{n} \times 100 \quad (3)$$

4. BULGULAR

Çalışmada kullanılan 2511 işgününe ait olan veri seti, Türkiye Cumhuriyet Merkez Bankası’nın Elektronik Veri Dağıtım Sistemi (EVDS)’den alınmıştır. Bağımlı değişken BIST-100 Endeks değeri, bağımsız değişkenler, gecelik faiz oranı ve Dolar Kurudur. Veri setinin % 90’ı eğitim için (2260 veri) % 10’u (251 veri) modelin performansının testi için ayrılmıştır. Çalışmada MATLAB 2020a programı kullanılmıştır. Ağ için eğitim fonksiyonları LM, OSS, GDA arasında; aktivasyon fonksiyonları GDM, GD arasında transfer fonksiyonları da Tansig, Purelin, Logsig arasında değiştirilerek 18 deney yapılmış, deney sonuçları Tablo 1’de gösterilmiştir.

Tablo1. Farklı Eğitim, Aktivasyon ve Transfer Fonksiyonlarının Uygulanmasına İlişkin Sonuçlar

	Eğitim Fonksiyonu	Aktivasyon Fonksiyonu	Transfer Fonksiyonu	R			
				Eğitim	Test	Doğrulama	Toplam
1	LM	GDM	TANSIG	0,97	0,97	0,96	0,97
2	LM	GDM	PURELIN	0,94	0,93	0,94	0,94
3	LM	GDM	LOGSİG	0,76	0,79	0,74	0,76
4	LM	GD	TANSIG	---	---	---	---
5	LM	GD	PURELIN	0,94	0,94	0,93	0,94
6	LM	GD	LOGSİG	0,96	0,96	0,97	0,97
7	OSS	GDM	TANSIG	0,57	0,57	0,60	0,57
8	OSS	GDM	PURELIN	0,94	0,94	0,94	0,94
9	OSS	GDM	LOGSİG	0,73	0,70	0,73	0,73
10	OSS	GD	TANSIG	---	---	---	---

11	OSS	GD	PURELIN	0,94	0,94	0,93	0,94
12	OSS	GD	LOGSİG	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,95
13	GDA	GDM	TANSIG	0,71	0,73	0,75	0,72
14	GDA	GDM	PURELIN	---	---	---	---
15	GDA	GDM	LOGSİG	0,91	0,91	0,93	0,92
16	GDA	GD	TANSIG	---	---	---	---
17	GDA	GD	PURELIN	0,93	0,94	0,94	0,94
18	GDA	GD	LOGSİG	...	---	---	---

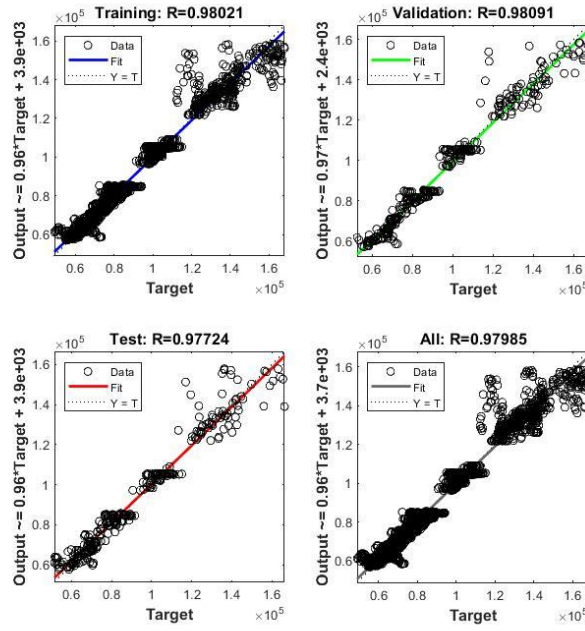
Tablo 1’de verilen R değerleri anlamsız çıktığında sonuçlar gösterilmemiştir. Tablodaki değerlere göre veri seti için eğitim fonksiyonu, öğrenme fonksiyonu ve transfer fonksiyonu olarak en iyi sonuçları veren LM (Levenberg-Marquardt), GDM ve Tansig fonksiyonu belirlenmiştir. Bundan sonraki aşamada YSA'nın farklı tipteki mimari yapıları bu fonksiyonlarla denenerek en iyi modelin kurulması amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla kurulan farklı modellerin mimarileri ve bu modellerin Yapay Sinir Ağları ile eğitilmeleri ile elde edilen sonuçlar Tablo 2’de verilmiştir.

Tablo2. Farklı Mimarideki Ağlara İlişkin Sonuçlar

	Yapı	R			
		Eğitim	Test	Doğrulama	Toplam
Model 1	2-5-1	0,97	0,97	0,96	0,97
Model 2	2-10-1	0,97	0,97	0,96	0,96
Model 3	2-20-1	-	-	-	-
Model 4	2-5-5-1	0,97	0,97	0,98	0,97
Model 5	2-5-10-1	-	-	-	-
Model 6	2-10-10-1	0,98	0,98	0,97	0,97
Model 7	2-10-20-1	-	-	-	-
Model 8	2-20-20-1	0,98	0,98	0,97	0,98

Tablo 2’de anlamsız çıkan sonuçlar gösterilmemiştir. MATLAB programında gerçek değerler ile modelden elde edilen tahmin değerler arasındaki ilişkiyi regresyon ile belirleyen modeller gösterilmektedir. Örnek olarak 6. Modele ilişkin eğitim, doğrulama, test ve toplamdaki R değerleri, Şekil 1’de verilmiştir. Şekil 1 incelenirse tahmin değerlerinin 4 durum için de regresyon doğrusunun çevresinde dizildiği, R değerlerinin de 0,97- 0,98 olduğu görülebilir. Bu durum kurulan modelin tahmin performansının iyi bir düzeyde olduğunu göstermektedir.

Şekil 2. Model 6 için Gerçek Değerler ile Tahmin Değerler Arasındaki İlişkiler



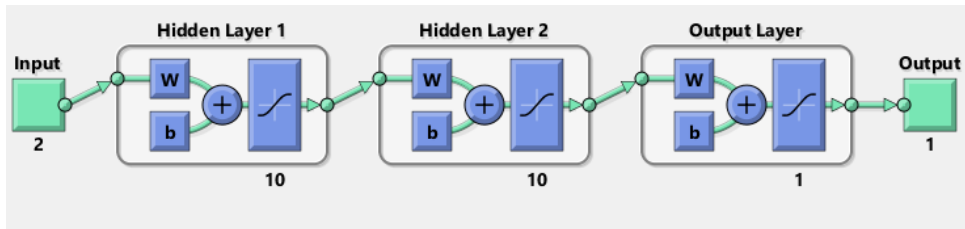
Bundan sonraki aşamada uygun sonuçlar veren Model 1, 2, 4, 6 ve 8'in test verileri üzerinde simülasyonu gerçekleştirilmiştir. En iyi performansı gösteren modelin bulunması için Eşitlik (3)'de formülü verilen MAPE değerleri karşılaştırılmıştır. Sonuçlar Tablo 3'te verilmiştir.

Tablo 3. En İyi Ağların Performans Sonuçları

Ağ Yapısı	Model 1	Model 2	Model 4	Model 6	Model 8
MAPE	% 9,64	% 11,38	% 9,51	% 7,91	% 17,84

Tablo 3'e göre tahmin performansı en yüksek olan model, Model 6'dır. Model 6, mimarisi 2-10-10-1 olan iki gizli katmanlı, her gizli katmanında 10 nöron olan ağıdır, bu ağın mimarisi Şekil 2'de verilmiştir. Sonuç olarak söz konusu tarih aralığındaki BIST-100 Endeksi, gecelik faiz oranları ve Dolar Kuru arasındaki ilişkileri modelleyen ağ, eğitim fonksiyonu LM, aktivasyon fonksiyonu GDM, transfer fonksiyonu tansig olan 2-10-10-1 mimarisine sahip olan Yapay Sinir Ağı'dır.

Şekil 3. En Uygun Ağın Mimarisi



5. SONUÇLAR

Borsa verileri genellikle doğrusal olmayan veri setleri olduğundan varsayım gerektiren tahmin yöntemleri kullanılarak analiz edilmesi zordur. YSA analizi yapabilmek için bir önkoşulun sağlanması ya da bir varsayım gerekmemektedir. Bu çalışmada BIST-100 Endeks değerini tahmin etmek için Dolar Kuru ve gecelik faiz oranı bağımsız değişkenler olarak ele alınmış, değişkenler arasındaki ilişkiler YSA ile modellenmiştir. Öncelikle 2511 işgünü için EVDS' den alınan veri seti için en uygun transfer, aktivasyon ve öğrenme fonksiyonları 18 deney yapılarak belirlenmiştir. Bunun sonucunda eğitim fonksiyonu LM, aktivasyon fonksiyonu GDM transfer fonksiyonu tansig olarak belirlenmiştir. İkinci aşamada veri seti içindeki ilişkileri modelleyen en uygun ağın tespiti için çeşitli mimarilerdeki modeller kurularak model performansları MAPE değerleri ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu modellerden performansı en iyi olan ağ, mimarisi 2-10-10-1 olarak belirlenmiştir.

Araştırma, literatürdeki birçok çalışma ile benzer olarak YSA'nın finans alanındaki çalışmalarda iyi bir tahmin modeli kurma yöntemi olduğunu göstermiştir. İki bağımsız değişken ile bağımlı değişkeni iyi bir performansla tahmin eden en iyi model kurulmuştur. Çalışmada tahmin performansı göstergesi olarak kullanılan MAPE değeri, Model 6 için % 7,91'dir. Yani çalışmada kurulan modelle tahmin edilmiş olan veriler, gerçek verilerden % 7,91 oranında sapma göstermektedir. Lewis (1982) MAPE değerinin % 10'un altında olan modellerin tahmin performansını "çok iyi" olarak değerlendirmektedir.

Araştırma sonuçlarının Borsa alanında çalışan araştırmacı ve uygulayıcılar açısından örnek teşkil edebilir, iktisadi karar birimleri için ve hisse senedi piyasasındaki yatırımcılar için yol gösterici olabilir.

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