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CHAPTER 1

THE PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM AND THE CHANGES IT BROUGHT TO THE TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Introduction

It is observed that Turkey keeps the public administration very dynamic with positive/negative, successful/unsuccessful change and transformation moves to be supported by concrete indicators to reflect both the diversity of social demands and the changes in global management parameters and related socio-economic perspectives to its internal mechanisms in every field. Turkey is trying to keep its public administration and organizational structure open to change, both to internalize all the vision and managerial values of the liberal understanding, and to ensure that the internal dynamics are least affected by global problems such as migration, regional conflicts, economic crisis and increasing competition. The Presidential Government System is a political and administrative move, which fully meets the concepts of change and transformation in terms of the functioning of the public administration in the example of Turkey, has brought along a new institutional memory and experience creation process in the Turkish public administration organization (Öner, 2020: 1336).

With the new system, the parliamentary system was abandoned. Along with the presidential system, many arrangements were made in the central administration, which was not included in the previous parliamentary system, and the actual executive authority was given to the President. For instance, with the amendments made to Article 104 of the Constitution, the paragraphs of “legislative”, “executive matters” and “judicial ones” were abolished in the duties and powers of the president, and no classification was made in the duties and powers of the president in the new constitution. Instead, the President has been given routine administrative authority in assignments and appointments to form his own cadres. With this new system, the presidential organ which is the double-headed structure in the parliamentary system was abolished from the presidential and presidential organs. With the new system, the President has been authorized to issue a Presidential Decree on matters related to the executive power on behalf of the parliament, and the limits of this authority are specified in the constitution. A presidential decree cannot be issued on matters, which are specifically stipulated to be regulated by law in the constitution, related to fundamental rights, personal rights and duties within the framework specified in the Constitution. As it can be understood from here, the Presidential Decree is located under the laws in the hierarchy of norms (Esen and Kalağan, 2020: 261).

With the new constitutional amendment, the Presidential system was introduced and a completely different form of government from the parliamentary system was adopted. In this system, the council of ministers will be abolished, and the president will use all executive powers alone. The interdependence of the legislature and the executive has been ended. How-

ever, to ensure stability in the administration, the authority to decide to renew the elections that has the power of termination has been given to two powers, mutually. In this new system, as the executive is directly elected by the people, it will be responsible to the people and not to the legislature. The President being the head of the executive will have legal and criminal responsibility and his actions will not be immune from judicial review. The President that will use all the powers of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers, has very broad executive powers. In every field, which is not limited by the constitution and law, it has been given the authority to regulate by decree. The issue of the Council of Ministers issuing a decree on the condition that it is based on the law of authorization has changed to the power of the President to issue a decree without the law of authorization. This situation seems to have expanded the exception areas of the principle of legal administration considerably (İzci and Sarıtürk, 2017: 524-525).

One of the most important issues in the Presidential Government System will be the functioning of the executive. Although government systems are classified based on relationship between the legislative and executive organs, the fact that the political responsibility is in the executive organ in practice, that success and failure are attributed to the executive, necessitated paying special attention to the functioning of the executive (Güler, 2018: 313). The Presidential Government system expresses the institutional structuring of the state and the legal framework of the political regime in Turkey since the beginning of the year and the changes brought by the system are discussed in detail.

Presidential Government System

The most important element in the classification of government systems is the principle of separation of forces. As a result, the classification of government systems is carried out considering the relations of legislature organs with each other (Esen and Kalağan, 2020: 262).

Countries prefer various government systems to facilitate the management of the so-called state. The conditions of the countries are very effective in the preference of this system. Today's states have set up government systems at the end of a certain historical process, and this was not easy. Even the transition from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy has taken many years. Together with the constitutionalism movements that emerged towards the end of the 1700s, it is seen that they adopt different government models by the historical values and political cultures of the countries. When inter-forces are examined, it is accepted that there are two kinds of government systems. These are government systems based on the separation of powers and forces based on the unity of powers. If the legislative and executive power are combined in a single organ, government

systems based on the forces union. If the legislative and executive force is given to separate organs, are mentioned in the separation of powers. From the systems based on the unity of forces, in case of gathering the forces in the legislative body, the system of parliamentary government. If the forces are collected in the executive organ, absolute monarchy or dictatorship is mentioned. Systems based on the separation of powers according to the intensity of the relationship between the forces. If the forces are softly separated from each other, the parliamentary system, if the forces are hardly separated from each other, the presidential system and finally the legislative and execution is separate from each other, as well as the president of the state in the executive, the semi-presidential system is mentioned (İzci and Sarıtürk, 2017: 517).

With the influence of globalization, the discussions on the diversity and effects of the positioning of the organized structures that it represents and the organized structures it represents within the administrative mechanism of the state power require the reshaping of existing public policies in every aspect and the revision of institutional vehicles. Political decision-makers, civil society, academics, citizens and so on. They seem to agree that the main reason for the socioeconomic, social and political dilemmas of the socioeconomic, social and political dilemmas experienced. At this point, political decision-makers appeared in front of the Turkish people and the public with the proposal of the model that was described a “Turkish-type presidency” (Öner, 2020: 1338).

The parliamentary system has been on the agenda of politics in increasing and decreasing proportions, and the opinions that it should be revised have also been included in the party programs. In the light of the detection of the dynamics of politics, it can be said that the decision-making processes should be reconsidered to monitor the change and to eliminate socioeconomic problems”. Within this framework, the referendum held in 2007 decided to be elected by the people is the irresponsible wing of the executive power in terms of the parliamentary system, and in 2014, the President was first determined by the public for the first time (Öner, 2019: 304).

That is to say, the president’s election method changing the election method and the election of the people, the candidate wanting to be elected, the people aspiring to the game directly and indirectly in front of the public, the reason why he should be preferred, rally and projects, rally, propaganda and information meetings, rally, propaganda and information meetings. It has been inevitable that he tried to win his votes by explaining to the voters. Waiting to be selected sitting in a corner without doing these will not be a realistic and effective method. This will lead the President to become an active political actor in the new system plan (Gül, 2018: 248).

It is seen that a clear status cannot be described when the Presidential Government System in Turkey is compared with the other systems mentioned in the literature. For instance, in the semi-presidential system as in France, the President of the Prime Ministry and the Legislative of the President are balanced with the structure, while the presidential system is balanced by the President Senate in presidential system, the majority of the parliament in Turkey is again effective, but a power center was produced against the majority of the Presidential Decree and the majority of the legislative majority (Esen and Kalagan, 2020: 267).

Although this new system, called the Presidential Government System, is very different from the classical parliamentary system in the UK and the semi-presidential system implemented in France, it is not the same as the presidential system implemented in the USA. However, the three basic government systems, it carries the characteristics of the presidential system more. For this reason, the new government system implemented in Turkey is also called the “Turkish-type presidential system”. It should be noted that the names of the government systems implemented by the countries are not included in the constitutions and government systems are classified according to the relations between the forces in the literature. For this reason, the name of the government system implemented in Turkey in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey is not specified. However, the “Presidential Government System” is widely used (Özdemir, 2021: 285).

Changes Brought By The Presidential Government System

It can be stated that the presidential system has three basic features in terms of institutional terms. The first feature is that the superiority of the legislature has been accepted. In this respect, the new system is neither similar to the US model adopted by the legislative and the executive, nor is it similar to the authoritarian presidential models that the executive can dominate the system. The second feature is the purpose of ensuring the effectiveness of the executive in its field. In this respect, the system aims to ensure that the executive authorities can make quick decisions and implement them. The last feature is that the mechanisms of locking to make the system work are given (Alkan, 2018: 140).

Significant changes have occurred in the roles of the executive organ, the legislature and the bureaucracy that are existing actors in the construction of public policy. First, the abolition of the Prime Ministry and the Council of Ministers revealed the change of the main policy maker. While the Council of Ministers gathered under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister in the parliamentary system is in the decision-making position to design and implement the policies, the President was brought to the decision-making position alone in the new executive system. Thus, it became

the main actor in determining public policies. Secondly, the role of the ministries has changed with the new system. By the government policy, the ministries shaped the policies of the ministries and put them to life. However, with the amendment made, the ministries had to share their powers in policy construction with new policy actors. With the abolition of the Prime Ministry and the Council of Ministers, the duties of the ministries to prepare drafts have also ended. Thus, their role in the design of politics has disappeared. Thirdly, there is a weakening in the role of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA), also expressed in the implementation of public policies. The draft laws were discussed in the commissions and the general assembly in the parliament and different segments were included in the policy-making process. Thus, public policies were partially shaped by politicians and non-governmental organizations representing citizens. The abolition of the drafts of the law and only the method of law proposal has caused a slimming in the role of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Fourthly, bureaucracy is an important factor in the implementation of public policy (Akman, 2019: 39).

The new management model is pregnant with a wide variety of institutional and functional changes in terms of being directly affiliated with the President and central administration and personnel system (Sobacı et al., 2018: 4).

With the new system, many institutions that have existed before have been removed, transformed or merged. Naturally, the bureaucrats who will work at the beginning of these institutions and the procedures of appointment and dismissal have changed. In general, the appointment and dismissals of the senior bureaucracy are made by the President in the form of routine administrative action in which the ministries are in the ministries. In other words, applications such as tripartite decree in the previous system have been deactivated (Esen and Kalağan, 2020: 271).

Presidential system; the exclusive leave of the issue on the subject of the eighty, whereas the limited area of the Presidential Decree area exclusively, the termination of the Presidential decrees by law, the transfer of authority to execute by the Decree Law. The contradiction of the law in case of a decree provision is based on the legislation of the law. It brings a corporate framework (Alkan, 2018: 144). In the new system, the Vice President of the President was established to perform the duties assigned by the President (Zengin, 2019: 11).

The basic features of the Presidential Government System that will enter into force with the Parliament and the Presidential Elections to be held on June 24, 2018, can be summarized as follows (Güler, 2018: 312):

- The Prime Ministry and the Council of Ministers will be abolished and the double onset will be terminated and the executive body will consist of only the president. The President will appoint his assistants and ministers.
- The President will be able to issue a decree regarding the executive authority. The appointment of senior public officials will also be applied to these decrees.
- The President and the Assembly will terminate each other. However, in case of termination by the election rule, it will be re-selected in both organs.
- Criminal responsibility is imposed on the President. In the parliamentary system, the authorized, but irresponsible president, instead of the new system, the president elected by the public is responsible for both political and other issues.
- The confidence mechanism working as a result of the execution of the executive in the parliamentary system to the parliament, was removed because of the responsibility against the public in the Presidential Government System.

The budget is made by the President. The US president has the authority to offer a budget. Since the executive is the main enforcement vehicle budget, there is no harm in this authority to be in the president. If the budget is not accepted, the old budget is continued by adding an increase in the revaluation rate. It is not possible for the President of the President whose budget is not accepted, as the government in the parliamentary system. In the new system, the solid separation between legislative and executive has been adopted. MPs appointed as the Minister and Vice President must resign. Unlike the old system between the legislature and executive, both the separation of duty and personnel are foreseen. In the new system, the President was authorized to renew the elections. Although the conditions of the Assembly to dismiss the president are made quite difficult, it is possible (Öztürk, 2019b: 59-62).

In this system, the executive body will certainly not participate in legislative activities. The authority of the Council of Ministers to submit a draft law to the parliament was not granted to the President. As a result, the law proposal was limited to budget law. The budget is prepared by the President and submitted for the approval of the parliament. If the budget does not pass through the parliament, there is no situation such as the resignation or fall of the President, and the budget of the previous year will be revalued and the application will be carried out over this budget. To prevent political blockade and crises between the legislature and the ex-

ecutive body, the President of the President was given the status of a party member, and 3/5 of the total number of members are accepted to accept the law vetoed by the President of the President. This situation is possible to consider as a measure against the attempt to block the executive organ of the opposing party, which holds the majority in the parliament. Likewise, if the President does not approve the laws enacted by the parliament and are vetoed frequently, the authority of the Assembly to renew the elections is also a precautionary measure to prevent the system not to be clogged (İzci and Sarıtürk, 2017: 525).

It is thought that the change brought by the presidential system on the budget will contribute to the principle of transparency. Article 15 which regulates the preparation of the budget for the new constitution proposal and provides the task of preparing the budget to the President and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey to approve the budget. The budget prepared by the President is thought to be important in terms of the transparency principle. In such a case, it is explained in Article 15 of the Constitutional proposal. According to the article, it is stated that the budget prepared by the President shall be prepared if a temporary budget will be prepared in case of failure from the parliament. When this proposal is evaluated in terms of transparency principle, it is thought that the budget prepared by the President is clear simple and indicated in cases where it is not accepted in the parliament. It is thought that the discovery of clear legislation on this issue will facilitate the work of the lawmakers and that the problem will be brought to the problem in a short period time, because the way and method to be followed when such a situation is encountered, and that the country will allow the country to determine its direction without entering any crisis (Demir et al., 2017: 145).

With the new regulation, the administrative procedures of the President having been given extensive powers in executives and having the authority to issue a decree in execution, provided that they are not contrary to the constitution and laws, were not excluded from the judicial supervision. As a result, the scope of the judicial audit area of the administration has been expanded and a judicial way was opened against all the decisions of the President. It was possible to supervise the decrees of the President through both the constitutional judiciary and the administrative judiciary. Thus, one of the necessities of being a state of the law has been fulfilled (İzci and Sarıtürk, 2017: 526). In the system in Turkey, this method has been tried to be prevented system congestion (Mercimek, 2018: 143).

Together with the new system, the decree authority was granted to the President, and the regulatory transaction on the issues related to execution was paved. Both the head of the state and the head of the executive, the President has reached a very decisive point within the new system.

After the June 24 elections, Presidential Decree No. 1 was made revolutionary decisions and all kinds of structures of the central government were designed again from the beginning. Central Government Structure in the Presidential Government System; Offices, policy boards, ministries and affiliated organizations consist of four structures. The Presidential Policy Boards established with the Presidential Decree No. 1 to our topic are as follows; Local Government Policy Committee, Social Policies Board, Health and Food Policy Committee, Culture and Art Policies Board, Legal Policies Board, Security and External Policy Committee, Economic Policy Committee, Education and Training Policy Committee, Science Technology and Innovation Policies Board (Akıncı, 2018: 2136).

One of the important innovations brought by the Presidential Government System is that it has directly formed the vice president instead of the Presidential Attorney's application which was previously conducted by the President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. According to Article 106 of the Constitution, the methods of appointment and dismissal of the vice presidents whose main function the President of the President are the same as the ministers (Aslan and Koçal, 2021: 282).

The decisions of the President with the Presidential Decree, such as the establishment, abolition of the ministries, regulating duties and powers and appointment of senior bureaucrats are not subject to the approval of the Assembly (Bektaş, 2019: 209).

In addition, significant changes have been made in the quality of public personnel work within the Presidency. According to Article 13 of No 1, five different statuses were determined for the personnel that will work in the Presidential Central Organization. These are; permanent personnel, period personnel, non-periodical period personnel, Part-time personnel and contracted personnel, which can be specified as contracted personnel (Öztürk, 2019a: 1285-1286). One of the important features of the new system is the President's ability to directly appoint the high -level public administrators (Kutlu and Kahraman, 2017: 18).

Similarly, Decree Law No. 375 is foreseen in Additional Article 27 and Presidential Decree Law No. 657 and other laws on the employment of contracted personnel regardless of the provisions of the employment of contracted personnel that require special information and expertise to be limited to full-time, part-time or projects of domestic or foreign personnel. Prepared for employment. This arrangement paves the way for the expert personnel to be met from abroad if necessary (Öztürk, 2019b: 59).

With the new regulation, it is stated that military courts cannot be established outside the disciplinary courts, but in case of war, military courts in charge of the cases of the crimes committed by the soldier persons may

be established. Thus, the Military Supreme Court, the Supreme Military Administrative Court and the Code of Military Courts were abolished as of the date of entry into force (Turan, 2018: 52).

The new administration structure transformed by the Presidential Government System; Lean is arranged according to an understanding that keeps rapidly paced with innovations, reduces authorities, enables the development of human resources, clearly draws the areas of powers and responsibility, institutionalizes common mind, compatible with global competition and ultimately accelerates decision-making processes. As a result, the policy committees established by the said decree have been made with a more sensitive and more consequential philosophical understanding of social problems within the framework of the new management concept (Akıncı, 2018: 2140).

Therefore, the possible effects of system change are discussed by all parties and it is expected that the possible system change will change many relevant institutions, implementations and habits. The executive activities carried out in the Presidential Government system ensure that decisions are taken rapidly. Since the same hand will follow the implementation of the decisions taken quickly, the decision of the decisions is also followed. As a result, with the consistent and high effectiveness of the decisions made in the Presidential Government System, it will be possible for the institutionalization of democracy and the improvement of economic indicators. Presidential Government System; Instead of the parliamentary system that produces continuous crisis, ambiguous, political space, political fragmentation and separation and the parliamentary system that causes the country's gains to be wasted, it aims to eliminate the fragility of the political area and all kinds of guardianship foci. In addition, the fact that two of the basic powers of the state that prioritizes democratic participation and accountability in the new government system, directly take the legitimacy from the people, will also contribute to the reinforcement of the democracy of our country. The environment of trust and stability to be established throughout the country with democratic gains is expected to revive economic life and thus investments and increase the economic gains by opening the way for investments (Akıncı, 2017: 14).

Conclusion

None of the government systems implemented in the world can be put forward as the most ideal management style alone. Each system is known to have its advantages and disadvantages. Another situation that should not be ignored is the historical history of the countries, the political culture they have, the management traditions and the internal and external environmental dynamics of their location. When we consider the situation of situations being one of the generally accepted approaches in management, there are different conditions where each model is successful. It is necessary to think and evaluate the system of the system applied in our country on this axis.

The Presidential System is a result marking the history of Turkish democracy and is directly reflected in the construction of the Constitution, and the tension between the state elite and the representation of the people is solved for the first time under the guidance of elective authorities and in their favor. The Presidential System does not bring a preventive government system in front of democratization in Turkey but has the potential to change democratization over political life. However, for the new system to fulfill this function, it must be supported by the adaptation laws to be issued in the same direction as sampled above. The Council of Parliament, the Law on Political Parties, the new regulations to be introduced in the election system, the renewal of laws related to the public personnel regime, the restructuring of public administration, and the consolidation of the Presidential system is of great importance. The strengthening of the democratic processes of the Presidential system depends on the fact that the frame it brings is well-perceived by political actors and contributes to the formation of the practices required by the new system. The process of reading the process of both political actors representing the executive and parties represented in the parliament and political leaders will also determine the interaction of the current system with the democratization process. Of course, the institutional floor of the system cannot be sufficient for a democratic change alone. This should be supported by other systemic and cultural factors. It does not have an inhibitory framework for the development of such a process with the new forms of relationship that brings corporate change. However, it should be noticed by all actors that the new system cannot be operated with a policy style specific to the parliamentary system. Similarly, a tendency to block the system will not serve the democratization process, but will not benefit any political actor. All political actors should be able to evaluate that this is an opportunity and they should be included in a democratic construction process. In the implementation of the institutions and rules of the new system of the political parties in Turkey, it does not have the luxury of rejecting it or its short-term political

gains to sacrifice long-term institutionalization. This change on a civilian ground for the first time brings with it a new political style, and when it is supported by the rules and institutions appropriate to this politics, it also carries the potential of a pluralistic and conciliatory political tradition.

To move to an executive structure that can make a narrower but faster decision in the functioning of the executive in the Presidential government system, the reduction of the number of ministries and the foreseeing the transition to the office system similar to the structure in the USA points to a serious change in the classical public administration structure. In the new system, the establishment of boards based on the management of some ministries in the policy development point will be important in terms of implementing realistic and rational policies.

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CHAPTER 2

ENTREPRENEURIAL ORGANIZATIONS MOBILIZING SOCIAL CAPITAL: NON- GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Introduction

Social capital, which has a century-old history and has recently been the subject of scientific studies, is defined as the structure consisting of trust, norms, networks, belonging and solidarity that increases productivity in society by facilitating the coordination of individuals, non-governmental organizations and public institutions with each other. The concept of social capital, which was first used in Hanifan's work in 1916, is present in many disciplines today. Social capital, a concept that has gained a reputation with studies in the field of economics and theorists in this field, is also a term used in the fields of Social Work and Sociology.

While it provides the opportunity for individuals, groups or societies to take steps to facilitate their work and life in case of social capital ownership and at high levels, it is also described as a concept that is thought to cause the problem of existence, exclusion and perhaps chaos in its lack or weakness. This concept, which can be used not only as a positive feature but also in a negative way (this can be positive discrimination for individuals in the group, negative attitude towards those outside the group or exclusion of those who do not belong to the group), can show positive effects to the extent that it can be used for the development of societies.

This study has emerged as a result of research on the impact of NGOs, which are thought to contribute to the positive increase in social capital. In this context, first of all, the concept of social capital, its background, types and components of social capital will be discussed. Afterwards, the basic functions of civil society and non-governmental organizations will be examined and examples of research on the effects of increasing social capital in the places where they are located will be given.

1. The Concept of Social Capital and Its Historical Background

Social capital is a concept that has been used in many different academic disciplines in recent years and is defined in every field with a specific expression. Although it is known that the first use of the term (as cited in Aslan, 2012: 48) was made by Hanifan in 1916, in fact, theorists such as Adam Smith, Thorstein Veblen, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber defined it without using the term social capital. It was stated in various studies that this term is effective in the development of society just as Adam Smith's phrase "the invisible hand" (Field, 2006: 30; cited by Devamoğlu, 2008: 10). As Beşer and Hira (2017: 31) quoted from Durlauf (1999: 8), "the most basic and common criticism of social capital is that it has no specific definition.". However, every discipline that uses this concept has made a definition suitable for its field and discussed social capital with an approach from its own perspective.

In the historical process, after L. J. Hanifan's use of the term social capital, this term was not used elsewhere for about 40-50 years. It was stated that the first person to use it in its current meaning (cited in Şan and Şimşek, 2011: 93) was "Jane Jacobs in his 1961 work named 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities'". Those who gave the term its current meaning are Pierre Bourdieu (1980), with his studies in sociology; Putnam (1993, 1996) for his work in the political sciences; James Coleman (1988) for his work in educational sociology; Fukuyama (1996) with his studies in the field of economic history and sociology, and the World Bank (Narayan and Pritchett, 1997) with its studies at the macro level (cited in Karakurt, 2008: 78).

According to Woolcock and Narayan's argument, Hanifan, who used the term for the first time, "used this concept in explaining the importance of community participation in improving education and school performance. It is seen that he defined social capital based on concepts that can be seen in the daily life of most people, such as good expectations, friendship, sympathy and social relations between individuals and families that make up the social unity" (cited in Tüylüoğlu, 2006: 21).

Sociologist Coleman (1988: 98) defined social capital according to its function: "Social capital is not a single entity; it emerges in social structures formed by the combination of various entities and facilitates certain activities of the actors in the structure." While Coleman defined "social capital as obligations and expectations, channels of knowledge and social norms" (1988: 95), Putnam (1993: 167) referred to "social capital, which refers to social connections, norms and trust, to increase the productivity of society by facilitating coordinated actions". According to Fukuyama (1998: 38), the dominance of social values rather than individual actions is effective in the acquisition of social capital. In the words of Bourdieu (1986: 248), social capital was defined as "the sum of existing and potential resources associated with the existence of a robust network structure institutionalized at the maximum or minimum level associated with mutual acquaintance and recognition".

While Bourdieu examined social capital in terms of "the effect of connections on the reproduction of social inequalities in the whole system", he draws attention to the negative aspects of social capital; Coleman stated that social capital is a collective good, not only for the strong but also for the weak and disadvantaged, and added that it is a product that not only the producer himself but also others can benefit from (Field, 2006: 27 and Coleman, 1988: 98; cited in Devamoğlu. , 2008: 10-11).

In the definition of social capital, Demiral (2007: 4) stated that "it is possible to describe it as the set of rules that determine the customs, tra-

ditions, human relations, national and international relations that hold the society together and affect the political, cultural and socio-economic development of the society”. However, among all the given definitions, “the one done by consensus is the one with trust, norms and communication concepts.” (Redondo, 2005: 2; cited in Karagül and Dündar, 2006: 63).

Fukuyama (2005: 49) stated that “as a critical crucible for the health of the economy and where trust melts, social capital is based on the cultural roots of the society” (cited in Kitapçı, 2017: 44). In this respect, Kitapçı (2017: 44) defined social capital as “the common name of social virtues such as the sense of benevolence, honesty, sense of duty and responsibility, trusting each other and adapting to social norms”. What is more, Fukuyama (2000: 3) mentioned that “social capital can emerge as a result of a religious teaching such as Christianity and Islam, or it can emerge after an ethical/moral teaching such as Confucianism”.

It can be summarized from the expression of Şan and Şimşek (2014: 96), that “Although the first uses of the concept of social capital were done by the names such as L.Hanifan, J.Seeley, A.Sim, E.Loosely, M.Fortes, J.Jacobs, I.Light, G.Loury, E.Schlicht, it was Bourdieu who used the concept in today’s sense.”. According to Bourdieu, “social capital is a resource used by an elite group when they are in a race against their partners” (Field, 2008: 56-57; cited in Şan and Şimşek, 2014: 96). It was Coleman who developed the concept and enabled it to enter the agenda of social sciences effectively. According to Coleman, “social capital is also a resource for those who are relatively disadvantaged” (Field, 2008: 57; cited in Şan and Şimşek, 2014: 96).

It is possible to say that “Putnam, who added the public dimension to the concept, and Fukuyama, who contributed to social capital with his works focusing on the element of trust in development”, brought the concept its current popularity. Putnam describes social capital as “a resource that operates at the social level” (Field, 2008: 57; cited in Şan and Şimşek, 2014: 96).

In the development of the literature on the concept, there is also the role of “global institutional structures, which are the main actors of development projects such as the World Bank and OECD, and the researchers they support”. Based on these explanations, it can be said that social capital is a concept that includes the individual, social, ethnic and cultural characteristics of individuals, and is needed in order to achieve their goals by using these characteristics, to maintain their existence in the society, group or environment in which they live and to achieve peace.

2. Types of Social Capital

Although types of social capital are classified in different ways according to researchers in different fields, two of the generally mentioned types were determined by Putnam (1997) and they were expressed in two ways as “bonding social capital and bridging social capital”. Bonding social capital refers to “strong relationship within relatively homogeneous groups such as family members and close friendships”. It is a type of capital that “externalizes” for the preservation of homogeneity. It is necessary to “get along”. Bridging social capital refers to “relatively weaker and less intense relationships such as distant friends, members, and coworkers”. It is a type of capital that “internalizes” individuals in different groups to bring them together. It is necessary to “succeed”.

Woolcock, on the other hand, added “*unifying social capital*, which expresses the relations between people and groups at different social classes or power levels” (as cited in Şan & Şimşek, 2014). Apart from this classification, Nan Lin divided social capital into weak ties and strong ties; On the other hand, Öztaş (2007: 79) divided it into two as “*Solidarity Social Capital*” and “*Intermediary Social Capital*” (cited in Şan and Şimşek, 2014: 97). In addition, “*horizontal nets*” and “*vertical nets*” were also mentioned (Ferlander, 2007: 117; cited in Ekşi, 2009: 45). In addition to these distinctions, there are also different groupings (Şan & Şimşek, 2014).

Gök (2014: 37-38) compiled the generally accepted types of social capital as a table in her doctoral thesis titled “Unknown Actors of Social Development and Social Capital: Women-Oriented Non-Governmental Organizations” and summarized them as follows:

a) *Connecting (bonding) Social Capital*: In this type of social capital, which consists of strong, dense and closed networks, relationships are of primary nature and are considered necessary for life. It is synonymous with Coleman’s solidarity social capital.

b) *Bridging (constitutive) Social Capital*: It includes instrumental actions and both strong and weak ties can be found. Networks here can be open, closed, sparse or dense. There are primary and secondary relationships. It allows for inclusion and access to new resources. It is used synonymously with Burt’s structural gaps and intermediary social capital. This type of social capital is necessary to advance.

c) *Unifying Social Capital*: It includes instrumental actions. It consists of weak sparse and open ties and includes secondary relationships. This type is used synonymously with Burt’s structural gaps and intermediary social capital and is considered necessary for progress.

As Gök (2014: 38) quoted from Woolcock (2001: 13-9), “family, close

friend and/or neighbor relations are included within the scope of bonding social capital, and in-group solidarity is maintained by building intense trust in such relationships.” Since the existence of solidarity indicates the density of networks, the high density of this density is equivalent to the high level of social capital. This density is seen in family and kinship ties, thus allowing individuals to experience feelings of obligation, thinking of others, and limiting selfish behaviors (Durkheim, 1973; cited in Gök, 2014: 38). Durkheim (1964: 228) also stated that as a condition for mutual self-sacrifice, people should accept each other and there should be strong and durable bonds between actors (as cited in Gök, 2014: 38).

Bridging social capital is networks that include friendships from different ethnic, socio-cultural groups, and relationships that are stated to be weaker, such as a friend of a friend. Even if the networks are weak, interaction can be made in case of need, and in case of mutual benefit or individual interest, these ties can be activated, making it easier to reach the goal.

Woolcock was the first to use the term unifying social capital (Ekşi, 2009: 54), and in this social capital, the bond between the political elite and the public or individuals from different social classes is meant. The concepts referred to here are the bonds established between individuals at different hierarchical levels and at different power levels. This includes more institutional connections (Stone, Gray and Hughes, 2003: 4; cited in Ekşi, 2009: 54). Field (2003: 66) stated that the type of social capital derived from vertical relations and differences enables people to acquire resources, ideas and information from connections outside their own social environment.

3. Components of Social Capital

Fukuyama (1998: 38) stated that social values precede individual values in social capital, and actions taken with individual steps are not effective in the formation of social capital. In addition, while defining the concept of social capital, Fukuyama stated that by quoting a work by Diego Gambetta, the fact that a mafia in Italy tried to persuade his son to climb a tree, saying he would catch him while jumping and not preventing the child from falling to the ground when he jumped, taught that boy “not even to trust your father”. He also stated that the existence of norms in a community or the relationships of trust, truthfulness, obeying the rules, solidarity and reciprocity within the family cannot be shown as evidence of the existence of social capital there, on the contrary, social capital can exist in environments other than the real family with the presence of these mentioned elements. In addition, it was stated that human capital is not a sub-element and is a part of groups, not individuals (Fukuyama, 1998: 378-379). Buğra (2001) stated that in communities with a strong “social capital

structure”, there is a sense of trust in those who do not resemble himself in addition to acquaintances, blood ties or those who resemble them (cited in Özsağır, 2007: 49).

According to Spoorer (2004), “people with common goals can achieve their goals more effectively and efficiently thanks to a strong social capital in the society” (cited in Karakurt, 2008: 78). From this point of view, “social capital is seen as an element with a *glue* function between individuals in society”.

Aslan (2012: 47) said that “if social capital keeps the fabric of the society together, it will also help to ensure social unity and integrity” and in another study he (2016: 183) mentioned that, “the wealth of social capital in a society will positively affect the whole political, social and economic structure. In this case, these institutions will be adversely affected”.

Şan and Şimşek (2011: 103-104) emphasized that “it should not be forgotten that features such as trust, solidarity, cooperation, and information sharing produced by social capital can be used to achieve goals in undesirable areas as well as in desired areas”. It was also mentioned that “Social capital, which provides solidarity, integration, cooperation and coordination, can be used in a way that will contribute to social development, as well as it can be a capital used effectively in the development of structures that will lead to social separation, exclusion and conflict, and it is necessary to think about what strategies to follow in this case”(Şan and Şimşek 2011: 103-104).

In the light of these explanations, Günkör and Özdemir (2017: 75) stated that although the components of social capital are discussed in different ways in the literature, they can be considered as *trust*, *norms* and *social networks* in general. Narayan and Cassidy (2001: 67) state that “social capital consists of *social relations*, *group characteristics*, *general rules*, *initiative*, *volunteerism*, *social ties* and *trust*. According to another source, the elements of social capital are *trust*, *forms of social interaction*, *social networks*, *rules* and *norms*.” (Günkör and Özdemir, 2017: 75). According to Aydemir and Tecim (2012: 46), Putnam listed the components of social capital as *collective action*, *reciprocity* and *trust*.

Putnam (2001: 138-139) wrote, briefly, about trust in his book “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community” as such: “In a society where citizens trust each other, individuals volunteer more, contribute more to charities, take more roles in politics and social action, serve more on juries, donate blood more often, fulfill tax duties more, they are more tolerant of minorities’ views and display many different civic virtues. In fact, individuals are more active in social life and more sensitive to the point of condoning tax evasion, not lying about insurance claims,

forms in loan requests and job applications. In addition, experimental psychologists have shown that people who believe that others are honest are less likely to lie, cheat, and steal, and more likely to respect the rights of others. In this context, honesty, civic engagement and social trust have a mutually reinforcing effect.”

Although different social capital components are given, *trust*, *social networks* and *norms* can be briefly explained as follows:

3.1 Trust

There have been studies emphasizing the necessity of the existence of an element of trust in order for the daily activities to continue in a general peace and health in a society (examples are found in the studies of theorists such as Fukuyama, Putnam, Coleman et al.). Putnam defined trust as a facilitator of cooperation and sees it as one of the cornerstones of social capital. According to Farrel and Knight (2003: 538-539), thanks to trust, the risks and thus costs in the process of social relations and interaction can be reduced (cited in Günkör and Özdemir: 2017: 76). There are three types of trust understanding, and it is expressed as “*interpersonal trust in terms of close relations, interpersonal trust in terms of foreigners and institutional trust in terms of public and private institutions*” (OECD, 2001: 41).

Field (2003: 63) mentioned the importance of trust as follows: “The importance of trust can be seen across a variety of situations where we engage with others: sleeping with someone, using a credit card, getting married, taking a plane, picking a meal for one’s children, wondering whether to report a crime, deciding how to vote, and choosing between different ways of saving the environment (or not)”.

He also stated that when trust and reliability are considered as a factor that facilitates social and economic relations, in the absence of them, a costly, time-consuming and bureaucratic situation arise in social life (Field, 2002: 63).

Trust is a concept that is gained and acquired over time as long as there is mutual communication and acquaintance increases. Social participation in formal and informal environments, where shared norms as well as individual norms are conveyed, ensure relationships based on trust (Kadushin, 2011; Mesch, Talmud, & QuanHaase, 2012; Putnam, 1993; cited in Pillai et al. 2013: 1).

Uslaner (1999) mentioned the concept of trust as a moral value and argued that the underlying reason for trusting others is the tendency to see others as oneself and to equate others’ behavior with one’s own behavior (cited in Continueoğlu, 2008: 23).

3.2. Social Networks

Günkör and Özdemir (2017: 78) stated that “social networks can be expressed as a social structure in which individuals are in mutual dependence, communication and interaction due to various social relations such as kinship, neighborliness, friendship, and work” and it included individuals’ active participation in events and processes in the interaction and communication process. They also stated that “active participation and interaction, which is evaluated by activities based on volunteerism, voting rates and memberships”, is an example of this. Coleman stated that “as social capital exists in the structure of individual relationships, it emerges as a result of participation in networks”; Bourdieu saw networks “as a key variable in explaining how social capital is used”. In addition to these views, Putnam also attached importance to networks and underlined that “through networks, generalized reciprocity will be facilitated and mutual trust will be strengthened”. As a result of this, “cooperation and communication will be facilitated in successful network structures and the probability of individuals to engage in collective actions will increase” (Carroll, 1997: 52-53; cited in Ekşi, 2009: 42). According to Ekşi (2009: 42) quoting from ReaHolloway (2008: 27), Putnam stated that if ties decrease, there will be a decrease in the amount of social capital of the society. In addition, Field (2008) revealed that “social networks are effective from inter-individual relations to the global level and play a critical role in solving problems, the function of organizations, and the achievement of individuals’ goals” (cited in Günkör and Özdemir: 2017: 77).

3.3. Social Norms

In order for people to exist in a society without being excluded, they must exhibit attitudes and manners according to certain standards. As a matter of fact, Carroll (1997: 46) defined the norm as “effective sanctions that determine the moral judgment and standards provided by the relations in the society and lead people to moral actions” (cited in Ekşi, 2009: 37). (Özdemir, 2007: 74; Nzamutuma, 1992: 1; cited in Ekşi, 2009: 37) Behavior structure is clear in environments where there are norms; when people know how to behave, an environment of confusion is not expected. It can also establish a trust in people as they can predict what should happen and what will happen in certain situations. In addition, the risk of exclusion from the community can be eliminated thanks to conforming to the norms. As a matter of fact, Axelrod (1984: 86) also stated that social norms are the signs or behavior patterns that are put forward to determine the appropriate and unsuitable behavior, values and attitudes in a community and group, that they can be implicit and explicit, and that it can lead to severe consequences such as exclusion from the society in case of non-adaptation (as cited in Günkör and Özdemir, 2017: 76).

4. NGO Concept and Basic Functions

The concept of civil society is defined by Abay (2004: 273) as follows:

“Civil society is a field of activity that does not accept the intervention of the state or the political power is not determinative, where individuals and groups can organize with their own will and desire without permission from any authority, where individuals and groups can determine their own destiny, which aims at maximum individual freedom, where there is maximum active democratic participation. On the other hand, it is an organizational field of activity where military and civil bureaucracy is at a minimum level and all kinds of social, political, economic and cultural activities can be carried out in an organized manner.”

The concept of non-governmental organization is named with a series of expressions that can be expressed in many different ways in Turkish and English and evoke similar or same meanings. These are: “Non-profit organizations” (NPOs), “non-profit sector” (NPS), “third sector”, “voluntary organizations”, “private voluntary organizations ” (PVOs), “non-governmental organizations” (NGOs), “not-for-profit organizations”, “independent sector”, “philanthropic organizations” ,”tax-exempt organizations”, “social movements”, etc. (Uslu, 1999: 24; Özdemir et al., 2010: 155).

The World Bank-World Bank (1991: 21) defined the concept of NGO as “groups and organizations that are completely or largely independent of the state and are characterized by humanitarian and charitable characteristics rather than commercial purposes”. Again, according to the definition of the World Bank, NGOs are seen as “private organizations that work to increase social peace and welfare, draw attention to poverty, protect the environment, provide basic social services and basically aim to provide social development”. In more general terms, the unofficial civil part of the country can be described as non-profit organizations (Demiral, 2007: 9). However, “Although the structure of NGOs is voluntary, their complex and large-budget financial structures” draws attention (Brooke, 2001; cited in Demiral, 2007: 9).

In this study, “Non-Governmental Organizations, which will be referred to as NGOs, show a wide variety in terms of structure, activities and types, and these include private and public foundations, various citizens’ organizations within the scope of science, technology, education, health, sports, development, religion and aid works, societies (associations), unions, various professional chambers” (First Social Services Council, 2004: 70; cited in Abay, 2004: 278). Abay (2004: 278) defined non-governmental organizations as “interest or pressure groups that are dependent on material or moral interests among their members, have the consciousness of solidarity, and try to influence the political system without aiming

to come to power”.

In another definition, it was stated that “civil society consists of the sum of individuals, institutions and organizations that represent the family, state and the market, that emerge voluntarily and whose purpose is to increase the public interest” (Burlingame et al., 2004: 76-77).

Ozdemir et al. (2010: 158) stated that NGOs are divided into three as *activity*, *society* and *welfare centered NGOs*. In addition, he mentioned the advantages of NGOs such as being a functional unit that can be easily accessed by those who need help without the obstacles of bureaucracy, having a flexible structure that can be changed easily because they are small compared to state institutions, and having the ability to lobby for the maintenance and expansion of the welfare state and social policies in the country (Özdemir et al., 2010: 172).

5. Contribution of NGOs to Social Capital

When considered in the context of social capital, according to Aslan (2012: 53) quoted from Karagül-Masca (2005: 45), “NGOs enable their members to cooperate for their common goals in economic and social fields, further develop the communication of people with their environment and engage with the society. They are also accepted as an important element that leads to easier integration and therefore feeds social capital”.

On the other hand, Tüylüoğlu (2006: 48) stated that “some efforts of Individuals, the state and networks may play a role in increasing social capital” and while examining their roles with these institutions, he used the following titles as *individual*, *family*, *religion and secular values*, *state*, *civil society*, *globalization*, *electronic networks* and *other ties that need to be investigated*. He also mentioned the role of civil society within these titles as follows: “It is seen that civil society or in other words NGOs can emerge as a potential source of social capital. In addition to many Western countries that traditionally accept the importance of social capital and civil society, it is seen that the number and activities of NGOs have accelerated in many developing countries since the 1990s (Fukuyama, 2001: 19). In cases where public goods cannot be provided by the state, the social capital created by these institutions offers a different option because leaders formed in civil society can mobilize their members to provide public goods that cannot be reached (Durlauf and Fafchamps, 2004: 13; Tüylüoğlu, 2006: 51).”

As Demiral (2007: 8-9) stated, “NGOs have important functions both in controlling the decisions and actions of the state and in increasing the awareness of responsibility and participation”. In addition, while expressing that NGOs are seen as indispensable for modern social life, he also

stated that “they undertake important functions in various fields such as education, health, social services, environment, rural development and urban transformation, where public authority is lacking”. Social services such as the care of the elderly, the protection of orphaned children and the education of the disabled are among the fields they are pioneers in the world (Demiral, 2007: 9).

Çenker- Özek (2018: 45) in a study on the social capital of civil societies in Turkey stated that “Since NGOs are important institutions that produce social capital, these are areas where citizens learn and internalize democratic norms such as trust, solidarity and reciprocity”. In addition, Knack (2002: 784) stated that “in societies where these norms are widely observed, democratic institutions are expected to function effectively and responsively”.

NGOs are institutions with features that connect and socialize citizens (Walzer, 1990; cited in Çenker-Özek, 2018: 45). Non-governmental organizations involved in developmental studies, especially in developing countries, take steps to ensure community participation in the process of building social capital for socio-economic development (Pillai et al., 2013: 5).

Putnam (2007: 143) said that bonding social capital our bonds with people who are similar to us in some important ways; bridge-building social capital is our bonds with people who differ in some important ways from us. From this point of view, Stolle (2002: 405) accepted “citizens’ participation in NGOs as a bridge-building social capital” and assumed that “the experience of NGOs can offer citizens the opportunity to cooperate in a diversity of identity and belonging somewhat similar to those in societies”.

Çenker- Özek (2018: 47) included Tocqueville’s (2003) analysis of NGOs in her study and stated that “NGOs are schools that produce democratic norms such as trust and solidarity and teach citizens to define their self-interest within the framework of the common good”. In this context, it can be said that NGOs are the institutions that help individuals from different cultures, races, religions and backgrounds to act effectively and efficiently towards a common goal, in the spirit of sharing and cooperation, under the same roof and as institutions that help people to identify themselves and establish a team spirit and rich integrity.

As a matter of fact, if we go over the definition of Putnam (2007: 143) again, through bridge-building ties, a goal that seems to be unattainable can be made possible, every action made in accordance with the principle of reciprocity can find its reward, and this can lead to the establishment of a new bond. Individuals who take part in NGOs voluntarily can also reinforce their sense of belonging by complying with the norms of this

structure, using social networks, and learning to act in harmony with the establishment of trust. In environments where these principles do not find their place, neither civil society participation nor an environment of trust can be built in the spirit of unity and integrity.

6. Examples of Studies on the Contribution of NGOs to Social Capital

6.1. India

Stafan Loa (2002) conducted a study on the impact of NGOs' capacity to sustain collective actions in order to increase production and social capital within the scope of his master's thesis titled "Social Capital and NGO actions in India: The Case of Selected Villages in Gulbarga". In his study, Loa tried to measure the factors of production, trust, networks and collective action within the scope of social capital of MYRADA (an indigenous NGO), which operates in 5 poor villages (Okaly, Marimanchi, Kalmud, Dongrugaon, Seevanagi) in Gulbarga region of Karnataka state of India, by examining the previous studies of the institution, by interviewing villagers, village leaders and NGO staff. Within the scope of the services offered by MYRADA, it is to give small-scale loans to poor villagers, to assist in non-farm entrepreneurship, to make applications in the water basin (canal) development project. However, only their activities in the irrigation basin development study were examined in this study and in these villages. The general characteristics of the villagers are as follows: In general, secondary school graduates are dominant and there is an average of 4-5 castes. The only system that classifies people, regardless of education, wealth, age and tradition, is the caste system. The dominant caste constitutes half or more of the village and has more influence in the village by enabling social capital.

Before the reviews, Loa (2002) based his work on the approach of Krishna and Shrader (2000), which divides social capital into two types, cognitive and structural. In the study, these two types of social capital, quoted from Krishna and Shrader (2000), are briefly defined as follows:

"Social capital is divided into two levels as macro and micro, while at the micro level it is further divided into two types. These are *cognitive* and *structural social capital*. In cognitive social capital there are those as *values, trust, solidarity and reciprocity, social norms, behaviors and attitudes*; the structural type includes *horizontal organizational structures and networks, collective/transparent decision-making and collective action practices*."

The results of the analysis can be summarized as follows: "Structural and cognitive social capital were found to be weak in these villages.

However, it has been determined that MYRADA provides structural social capital to some villages through the implementation of rules and collective action processes. Thanks to the projects implemented by the NGO, it has been shown that the villagers who are normally passive and weak in acting together – they need an external impetus – have achieved a higher level of structural social capital, as MYRADA provided an external driving force. With the effect of MYRADA, it has been observed that mutual cooperation and economic production have increased over a two-year period.”

Again, according to the data revealed by the survey studies, cognitive social capital, which was at low levels before, increased to higher levels with the effect of this NGO. For example, in the questions asked for the measurement of social capital in the village and the family, it was observed that the participation of women in decision-making processes was low, they remained in the background at the point of taking action, they remained indistinct in terms of expressing their ideas, and in general, passivity was observed in individuals in terms of solving general problems.

6.2. Bangladesh

In M. Rezaul Islam’s (2016) book titled “NGOs, Social Capital and Community Empowerment in Bangladesh”, the contribution of the activities of two NGOs in Bangladesh, PAB (Practical Action Bangladesh) and Proshika (one of the biggest NGOs in Bangladesh), to the social capital of two communities, Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths, has been revealed. For the findings, he focused on two programs implemented by these two NGOs. These are PAB’s **Markets and Livelihoods Program** and Proshika’s **Small Economic Enterprise Development Programme**.

The data were obtained through a qualitative case study; semi-structured interview, social mapping, participant observation, in-depth case study, focus group interviews and documentation questionnaire were applied.

PAB’s mission is “to eradicate poverty in developing countries by developing and using technology, demonstrating results, sharing knowledge and influencing others”. Its vision is “a world without poverty and injustice, where all means of technology is utilized” (2016: 71). The main goal of Proshika is human development and empowerment of the poor. The services provided by the NGO include human development training, organic agriculture, disaster management and preparedness, health infrastructure construction, multi-sectoral women’s development, etc. (2016: 72).

As a result of the study, the following data emerged: “These two NGOs serving in Bangladesh also contributed to increasing the social capital of two communities, Blacksmiths and Goldsmiths; both communities

started to exchange ideas and create social networks; these networks have increased the possibilities of these poor people to work together, to create safety for social existence and to belong to a group. These people, who normally have different values and interests, have improved their motivation, learning and self-actualization, evaluation capacities, sense of belonging, and have helped them with problems and solutions. They had increased motivation for collective action through self-interest and mutual *trust*; in addition, these NGOs, aiming at economic development, have provided certain incentives to those in this community; enabling them to work collaboratively, contributed to their capacity to use *social networks*, one of the components of social capital. However, the increase in horizontal relationships was more pronounced than in vertical relationships. In order to achieve economic success in these communities with low educational level and different cultural backgrounds, it has provided an increasing social capital in terms of being ‘us’ rather than ‘me’, mutual trust, mutual benefit, social networks and income generation. That also contributed to bind-maker and bridge-builder social capital. All these increasing contributions have been achieved to a certain extent, although both NGOs have deficiencies in certain areas (such as inability to form effective networks and network with different communities, political networks, money laundering tendency, management and leadership crisis, commitment to donations, etc.). (2016: 73-85).

As a result, it can be said that these NGOs have contributed to increase the social networks, social trust, norm and value sharing, acting together and mutual benefit elements of social capital (2016: 4) (For detailed analysis of all positive and negative studies within the scope of social capital. see: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291820553_NGOs_Social_Capital_and_Community_Empowerment_in_Bangladesh).

6.3. Guatemala

Lisa Young Larance’s (2001) article titled “Fostering social capital through NGO design: Grameen Bank membership in Bangladesh” measured the contribution of an NGO named Grameen Bank (GB) to the social capital of poor women in Bangladesh.

The GB provides low-collateralized loans rather than tangible benefits to landless peasants, mostly women. For membership, the participants must form a group of five, know how to write their names and sign, and memorize the GB’s social development statute (Hossain, 1993; cited in Larance, 2001: 9). There are eight groups of five people in total, and a total of 40 people come together at the NGO building every week. During meetings, members sign the attendance list and then receive their credits. In this process, participants have the opportunity to talk about social and

economic issues with each other.

In rural Bangladesh, there are no associations that can provide interaction between citizens. Male-female communication does not happen for religious and cultural reasons. While men have the opportunity to meet in mosques or Hindu places of worship, such an opportunity for women is prohibited due to religious reasons and village laws. The places where women can meet people from their caste class are in the laundry area, while caring for the children, cooking or working behind the house after the harvest (2001: 9). GB increases women's opportunities to make friends. Although the GB is not a full civil association, it offers the opportunity to come together with different groups outside their living spaces. Meetings held at the headquarters of the CU have been instrumental in the formation of social capital for economic self-interest.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 40 people who attended the center of the CU, and a total of 72 people were surveyed with the participation of people from another CU center nearby with participant observation and similar characteristics.

According to the findings of the study, the contribution of CU to social capital is summarized under the following headings:

It has ensured *the formation of individual awareness and common identity* under the heading of ***meeting the norms***. For example, in the context of individual awareness, the participating women stated that they heard their own names for the first time here, and that they were called by names such as daughter/wife/wife of such and such and such and that they were very pleased with this situation. In terms of common identity, it was ensured that individuals from different castes, clans and social status could come together in a common place and subject. The implementation of the NGO, the formation of 'me' and then 'we' was ensured. When considered within the scope of social capital, first individual identity and then group identity formation is provided. It was even stated by one of the participants that it was forgotten who was in high status and who was in low status.

Interaction in the center: In the context of the construction of social networks, *information sharing, the number of direct contacts, close friends, social networking, exchange of scarce resources and increased mobility* are ensured. Thanks to the central environment where information is shared, people had the opportunity to chat while they were waiting for payment, and it was observed that even those who normally have difficulties in communicating with other people started to talk comfortably. Bangladeshi women, who cannot find direct communication opportunities under normal conditions, have increased their communication opportunities. The number of direct communications has been increased. When

evaluated in the context of social capital, post-membership networks have increased. Members had the opportunity to make close friends. Trust was built, and then social networks increased through the formation of horizontal networks; with the formation of friendships and trust, it has been possible for friends to borrow precious jewelry such as gold from each other in special situations. Finally, it was observed that the mobility increased with the opportunity to visit each other. With all these items, it was stated that the increase in social capital was observed after the activities of the NGO.

As a result, there was an increase in Putnam's pervasive reciprocity, social trust in the context of trust, short-term altruism, and long-term self-interest. Social and family ties have been developed, existing ones have been consolidated and new networks have been formed. In other words, the implementation of the GB has had an increasing effect on the formation and development of both bridge-building and bind-building ties for women in the village.

6.4. Latin America

Pillai et al., in their study of "International Non-Governmental Organizations in Latin America and Social Capital: An Empirical Case Study", ADRA (Adventist Development and Relief Agency- an International NGO (INGO) located in Latin America,)’s contribution to social capital through four Latin American countries (by forming an experimental and comparison group). In the study, the level of social capital was tried to be measured in countries where NGOs are active or not.

ADRA Center is an International NGO with more than 20 locations in the South American and Caribbean Regions. Although there are studies on the contribution of NGOs to increase social capital in general, it has been stated that such an area has been chosen because an international NGO has few studies on this subject. Certain criteria were taken into account when selecting the regions to be compared. These are:

- *they are located in similar political regions,*
- *their ethnic composition is more or less similar; and*
- *they have a similar socio-economic level.*

In this context, approximately 300 families from each of the 4 countries were interviewed and this scale was adapted for the Latin American people and translated into Spanish, based on the Social Capital Scale used by Bullen and Onyx (1998) on Bullen's website (for the question see: <http://www.mapl.com.au/pdf/scquest.pdf>). In total, 32 questions thought to be suitable for Latin American culture were selected and 29 of them were evaluated in the study and classified according to the characteristics

of participation and resource (solidarity and trust) of social capital.

As a result, ADRA's projects have had an increasing effect on social capital in these developing countries. Especially in countries where ADRA was not active in the experimental group, social capital was weaker than the comparison group. In countries where ADRA is active, it creates and contributes to projects in areas such as helping farmers, promoting health and helping victims of disasters, tuberculosis prevention and control, and helping young women in subsistence agriculture. Although it does not impose its projects on people, its contribution contributes to people's social capital.

Discussion and Conclusion

Social capital is an important phenomenon that facilitates the functions of the state and helps economic development. It also plays an important role in keeping society together and fighting poverty. In this context, cooperation with NGOs is an inevitable necessity for sustainable development and the fight against poverty. As stated in modern development theories, it has been seen that the active role of NGOs in the realization of social development goals and overcoming obstacles has a very important place in social capital.

In this study, it has been tried to present an alternative perspective to the studies on civil society in Turkey by analyzing the studies on the contribution of NGOs to social capital, articles and books on India, Bangladesh, Guatemala and Latin America. According to this approach, the concept of social capital is discussed and various types and components are examined. Afterwards, the research and literature study on whether NGOs contribute to increasing social capital and the articles and book studies prepared on this subject were examined. In all of the published studies, it has been concluded that NGOs contribute to the formation, consolidation and increase of social capital. At the same time, it has been observed that high social capital, which can be lost and gained over time in a society, and which can take a long time to reproduce when exhausted, has a positive effect on social activities, while its being low reflects negatively on social activities.

From this point of view, it can be stated that it is necessary to carry out more detailed studies and research on this subject and to evaluate similar studies in detail on the basis of NGOs in Turkey. In addition, the missions of NGOs and the long-term result of the change in people, whether it causes negative social capital formation or not, will contribute to the formation of a clearer perspective.

As a result, it points out that the differences observed in NGO structures and the changes in the demographic characteristics of NGO partici-

pants affect the dynamic structure of NGOs. Further studies on social capital and NGOs in Turkey are needed in order to analyze these structures and the opportunities they offer in the context of social capital.

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CHAPTER 3

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND COMMUNICATIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE PHENOMENON OF DOMESTIC MIGRATION, AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM HAVING RISEN IN TURKEY RECENTLY¹²

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1 Due to the nature of the study, informed consent or ethics committee approval was not required.

2 The study was previously presented as a paper.

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Introduction

The concept of migration is a general name that is used to define the displacement of individuals for various reasons throughout human history. Main events that cause humanity to migrate such as social events, political and cultural reasons, natural disasters, wars, epidemics, and economic crises are considered among the universal factors that cause people's migration (Koçak and Terzi, 2012, p. 164; Özdemir, 2008, p. 8). The migration of individuals for various reasons is an event as old as human history. However, with technological developments and the changing and transforming world order accordingly, the reasons for migration have changed quite a lot when compared to past times. Although technology has developed and the world has become a global village with it, people have been able to continue their lives in this new order under very difficult conditions.

Migrations can be broadly classified into two categories: internal migrations and external migrations. This study was designed as a review in which the consequences of the internal migration phenomenon are discussed. Seasonal, permanent, temporary, forced-voluntary, and labor migration are all included under the heading of internal migration. Brain, labor, exchange, political, and socioeconomic movement are all included under the heading of external migration (Engin, 2021).

Internal migrations are human mobility carried out for reasons such as living and working in a certain country or region. The most obvious characteristic of internal migration is that it is towards developed regions. Examples of this distinctive feature could be seen in many TV series, movies, and books (Karataş and Ayyıldız, 2021; Tiken, 2016).

Internal migrations in Turkey have been experienced from the rural to urban, from the urban to the rural and from the urban to the urban. The rate of urbanization increased with industrialization and migrations from rural to urban areas started after the 1950s. Internal migrations have started to have a trend in the form of migration from urban to urban after the 1980s (Koçak and Terzi, 2012, p. 166). An example of the post-migration growth of Istanbul is given in Figure 1.



Figure 1. A Drone view of Istanbul City as an example of uneven urbanization (“Stock photos, vectors”, 2023)

Migrations from Rural to Urban Areas and Their Psychological and Communicative Analysis

When the literature on migration from rural to urban areas is examined, it is seen that this type of migration is usually done for economic reasons. With the planting of cultivated agricultural land, the dependence of the rural people on the land has decreased accordingly. The rural people, whose dependence on land decreased, started to migrate to cities. Individuals who want to lead a more prosperous life moving to the metropolis with industrialization migrate to cities permanently when their dependence on land ends (Sarıyıldız, 2019).

Another is the migration from the rural to the urban for higher education and education purpose. Due to the inadequacy of the education system in rural, many young people have been migrating to the cities for many years. As researchers have found so far, a very small proportion of these young people return to their village life. In this case, migrations for educational purposes can also be characterized as one-dimensional (Sevinç, Davran, and Sevinç, 2018).

When we look at the psychological reasons for these migrations, we see that young person who migrates to cities to get a profession do not re-

turn to rural life, where job opportunities are limited. Therefore, rural and rural areas are undeveloped. On the other hand, an intense business life develops in cities offering varying job opportunities.

Another reason is that transportation opportunities to basic services such as health, and education are easier in urban than in rural. These are migrations caused by natural disasters such as earthquakes, landslides, floods, fires, or human disasters such as terrorism, and so peasants are directed to cities by the state for reasons such as expropriation because their houses are under dam waters (Yılmaz, 2011). Although these migrations are mandatory, they also cause some destructive consequences. As it is a consequence of a necessity, psychological consequences such as the inability to get used to the migrated place, getting depressed, and not feeling a sense of belonging can be experienced.

The permanent settlement of the peasant in the cities, whose welfare level has increased in the villages, can also be considered another economic reason for migration from the rural to the urban. We can see this example quite a lot in TV series and movies. For example, in the TV series “Yalı Çapkını”, which started display on TV last week, we see a family leaving the rural of Gaziantep and settling in Istanbul two generations ago. The prosperity level of the family is quite high, but they are quite bounded to their traditions and customs. The TV series is adapted from a true story. This is one of the examples of internal migration due to the increased level of prosperity in our country.

Another migration from the rural to the urban comes across in a way that is temporary from time to time and permanent from time to time. In some professional branches such as seasonal labour and subcontracted labour, workers from time to time do not want to return from the urban life they go to seasonally and decide to maintain their lives there. This is especially encountered in metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, and Bursa. Both subcontractors and construction workers continue their lives in cities where they have higher financial earnings and the possibility of finding a job and so they do not return to the rural when the season ends (Akkaş and Laleli, 2019).

Another example is the migration from the village to the urban due to marriage. Many studies have found that the understanding of ‘being saved’ lies in this type of migration. Especially many women who have migrated to the urban by getting married in the rural have migrated as a goal rather than a means, and findings have shown that getting married for migration has become a purpose rather than migrating for marriage purposes. Especially between the years 1950-1980, when Turkey witnessed rapid urbanization movements, this understanding was adopted and accepted by

people quite quickly. The Turkish rural has been emptied to a great extent and rapidly after the 1950s. However, this led to many consequences in the very short term. For example, distorted urbanization and slum problems, especially in big cities, are two of the main social problems we are experiencing today (Arslan, 2022).

Psychological and Communicative Analyses of Migrations from Urban to Urban

According to TURKSTAT data for 2015, the urban population in Turkey reached 92%. 73% of the migrations to cities are “urban to urban” migration, in other words, “intercity migration”. Migration from urban to urban is one of the most modern types of migration in our country. Urban-to-urban migration in Turkey dates back to the 1950s when rural migration gained a mass character (Sencer, 1979, p. 145).

The biggest and most important difference between urban-to-urban migration from rural-to-urban migration is that urban-to-urban migration is a much more fluid phenomenon. As an assumption, when the rural migration process is completed, all internal migrations that take place after this will inevitably be considered intercity migration (Tekeli, 2008, p. 62-63). One of the important elements of migration from the urban-to-urban is its magnificent structures. In Figure 2, the skyscraper view in Istanbul Kartal is given.



Figure 2. Skyscrapers of Istanbul Kartal Province (Aksoy, 2018)

When we consider the main reasons for the migration from urban to urban, firstly, we see that the urban structures of the regions from which there is an intensive migration in Turkey have rural characteristics. Especially after the 1980s, migration from urban to urban has been a lot compared to migration from rural to urban. According to Güner's research in 2017, the "attractiveness" of big cities stands out as an important factor in urban-urban migration. About 73% of those who migrated from one city to another preferred urban centre. With the developing and changing world, the concept of migration is also changing (Güner, 2017).

Migration, nowadays, has evolved to mean changing places to live rather than moving permanently. People are now moving between urban locations instead of staying in one place and thus maintaining their lives there. However, there is a distinction here; migration between cities with urban qualities is much more intense than between cities with rural characteristics. This can also offer a prediction that the population of metropolitan cities will increase much more shortly.

Psychological and Communicative Analyses of Urban to Rural Migration

The phenomenon of migration to rural and rural areas is a fluid process that is especially accelerated by social changes. Especially with the pandemic, people have moved away from crowded urban environments and migrated to rural, where they will be less crowd. This has many psychological effects. The romanticized country life, which people living in the urban describe as a peaceful escape point, actually has as many difficulties as urban life (Karakayacı and Öz, 2020). In Figure 3, a view from Aydın province Kuyucak location, which is one of the beautiful rural areas of our country, is given.



Figure 3. Kuyucak, Aydın Province, Turkey as an example of rural lifestyle (Culture Trip, 2023)

When we consider the reasons for migration from urban to the village, the phenomenon of alienation comes first. Urban life has a rather heterogeneous structure. In cities where people from all cultures coexist, people migrate from cities to villages due to cultural conflicts and alienation. The feeling of belonging is one of the most important components for a person to be able to continue his life and maintain his psychological health. When this component is missing, life in the urban becomes difficult and, as a result, migration from the urban to the village begins.

With the arrival of foreign immigrants to the country and the increase in the number of immigrants, people have started to migrate to rural areas. Especially this migration takes place due to problems such as housing and high rent. (Sürmeli, 2017). People have started to move to rural as the expenses in metropolitan cities are higher than in rural areas. Another reason is unemployment. There are many qualified and unqualified employees in the crowded urban population. A large number of workers are available but the scarcity of employment despite this high number of workers causes the problem of unemployment. This is one of the reasons for migration from urban to rural (Şahin, Aktaş, and Rad, 2021).

Intense population pressure, slumming resulting from this, and the increase in violent crimes, which can be considered as a common result of these, are other important reasons for migration from urban to rural (Sağlam, 2006).

Over time, cities have encountered new waves of migration as they failed to integrate those who migrated from village to urban into their structure. This has had negative consequences and has led urban dwellers to search for migration. As a result of this, the factors that made the urban look attractive have started to turn into a driving factor for migration. Positive changes have taken place in the perceptions of people regarding leading a life in rural as a peasant (Güreşçi, 2010).

With these positive changes, village life has become modern in the eyes of urban people, and this has accelerated the migration from urban to rural.

Method

This study reviewed the research in the literature, and newspaper articles were examined thus the changing migration fact and, consequently, the communicative and psychological effects in Turkey were investigated.

Conclusion and Discussion

Turkey has been in a rapid and continuous migration process since the beginning of the 1950s. According to statistics, the migration that occurs most intensively today is the migration from a rural-qualified urban to an urban-qualified urban. Different migration waves have been observed in Turkey over time. The biggest factors affecting these migration waves are social/economic factors and industrialization. However, the issue of social changes and migration should always be discussed together. One of the most important reasons for the economic, social and cultural change in Turkey is the migration from rural to urban (Yılmaz, 2017). The migration from rural to urban has brought about a new social change over time and has carried the problems in the rural to cities as well. This eventually led to migration from urban to urban and from urban to rural. Balanced development of urban and rural regions, balanced incentives and support is very important in this regard. This study was conducted to provide an example for further studies to be conducted in the field, and then it aims to provide a theoretical contribution to research in the field of migration and remigration.

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CHAPTER 4

A REFLECTION OF PLATO'S REMEDY AND POISON IN THE SELECTED WORKS OF RENAISSANCE WRITERS¹

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INTRODUCTION

“The etymology of the ancient Greek word Pharmakon has not been definitively established. There is some notion that, early on, pharmakon meant that which pertains to an attack of demonic possession or is used as a curative against such an attack.” (Rinella, 2010, p.73)

Looking at the tradition of literary criticism, it is easy to see that the works and books created in the Renaissance have been discussed and interpreted in different ways. For example, many writers and critics, such as Samuel Johnson, a poet and critic of the 18th century, praise Shakespeare’s famous play, *Hamlet*, and evaluate it as a writing that expresses humanistic and universal views. On the other hand, some like T.S Eliot, a poet of the 20th century, consider this work as a “literary failure” (Eliot, 1920, p.87) due to its inability to fully integrate its plot and characters. Eliot believes that the play’s central problem is the character of Hamlet himself, who is too complex and contradictory to be fully understood. Eliot argues that Hamlet’s indecisiveness and lack of action make him an unsympathetic character, and that the play’s plot is too convoluted to be fully comprehended by the audience.

He suggests that Shakespeare’s attempt to combine elements of revenge tragedy and psychological drama results in a work that is ultimately unsatisfying. Despite his criticisms, Eliot acknowledges the play’s enduring popularity and importance in the canon of English literature. He suggests that the play’s flaws are a result of Shakespeare’s attempt to push the boundaries of dramatic form, and that its continued relevance lies in its exploration of universal themes such as mortality, morality, and the human condition. And yet, different reviews can be found about *Don Quixote* and Cervantes while *Don Quixote* is often referred to as a humorous story whose heroes seem unable to understand the changes that have occurred in their time. Some of the prominent works of the Renaissance, which seem to have been less discussed, are related to ancient concepts and meanings, such as the pharmakon paradox. According to Rinella (2010), “a pharmakon might be, alternately and simultaneously, a sacrament, remedy, poison, talisman, pigment, cosmetic, perfume, or intoxicant. The essence of the pharmakon is its very lack of a stable essence” (p.74). To elucidate, the Pharmakon paradox is a philosophical concept that refers to the idea that a substance or practice can be both a cure and a poison, depending on the context in which it is used. “The term “pharmakon” comes from ancient Greek and can refer to a medicine, a poison, or a scapegoat.” (Meillassoux, 2013, p. 12)

The paradox arises because a substance or practice that can be beneficial in one situation can have harmful effects in another, and vice versa. This paradox has been explored by various philosophers, including Plato and Jacques Derrida, and has implications for fields such as medicine, ethics, and language. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the conditions of this dependence in three stages: in the first and second stages, it answers the question of what the grounds of the wise agent were and paying attention to this paradox. In the third stage, the chapter tries to explain the very important role of this paradox in famous Renaissance texts including *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe and *Paradise Lost* by John Milton.

DISCUSSION

Although the 16th century is often depicted as the century of revolutions and the beginning of the modern era and the collapse of social and political order as well as the rise of Luther and the discovery of the New World, the atmosphere in which the great writers and poets of the Renaissance breathed was not still completely depleted of the values and philosophical ideas of the Middle Ages, especially the thoughts of Plato and Aristotle, which were associated with Christian theology. Therefore, although these writers and poets found many new ideas and points in returning to classical philosophical and literary works, they also faced challenges. At the center of these challenges were the growth of Machiavelli's philosophy and the risk of marginalization of moral, altruistic, and transcendental values, which were derived from philosophy and religion, and thus gave chivalry the opportunity to emerge. The result of their efforts and finding solutions was, of course, a new plan, but it originated from an ancient discovery, solution and literary craft, namely the paradox of life and death, whose history goes back to the Christian divine philosopher Augustine and before him to Plato.

In the 15th century, the face of Europe and England is more or less like the picture in the *Canterbury Tales* written by Geoffrey Chaucer. In this image, we find the priests and their hierarchies, and we see guilds and merchants, and more importantly, the presence of a knight and a pardoner, which in addition to having literary charms, express many facts about the richness of religious philosophical thought in the Middle Ages. "The knight in Chaucer's book and any knight in general is the embodiment of a faithful Christian and an honorable and moral person" (Muscatine, 1957, 182). Basically, from the beginning, the church observed a kind of similarity or even conformity between religious and philosophical foundations. For instance, Augustine's divine thinking reflected in the book "City of God" is reminiscent of the views of the Roman philosopher Plutonium and

then Plato and the thinkers before him such as Pythagoras. If, in Plato's thought, we transform the love of goodness into the love of God, we are undoubtedly at the beginning of the path recommended by Augustine.

The concept of *pharmakon*, or the idea that something can be both a poison and a cure, is present in Augustine's *Confessions*. Augustine uses this concept to explore his own struggles with sin and redemption. Augustine describes his early life as being filled with sinful behavior, which he compares to a poisonous substance that he could not resist. However, as he begins to turn towards Christianity and seek redemption, he realizes that the same things that once poisoned him can now serve as a cure. For example, Augustine reflects on how his love of rhetoric and language, which he previously used for selfish purposes, can now be used to spread the word of God and help others. The concept of *pharmakon* also appears in Augustine's discussion of God's grace. Augustine sees God's grace as both a poison and a cure - it can be painful and difficult to accept, but ultimately it is the only thing that can heal the soul.

Overall, Augustine's use of the concept of *pharmakon* highlights the complexity of human experience and the idea that things are not always what they seem. What may appear to be a poison can also be a cure, and what may seem like a curse can ultimately lead to redemption. In line with this, Meconi (2021) holds that,

“In the first three books of City of God, Augustine begins to defend Christianity against those who blame it for the sacking of Rome. But by the time we reach Books 4 and 5, we are brought into Augustine's close reading of Roman religion, realizing a need now to cover a seemingly disparate range of topics, including discussions of fate, free will, the just emperor, and the proper role of the emperor.” (p.9)

As stated in Augustine, humans are divided into two groups: the group who are in *The City of God*, and those who live in *The City of Man* and are of the same generation and the same religion as Cain. But it is possible for everyone to be among the citizens of the city of God by putting aside the love of the world and stepping on the path of loving God and following Christ. As a matter of fact,

“In the City of Man, the act of lying results in a gain that is fleeting and necessarily private; in the City of God, confessing and thus giving away what is good and meant for all – even under the pain of death – results in eternal life.” (p.28, Meconi, S.J., 2021)

The knight is the best example of these followers. In his heart, he loves the Holy Mary, who is the epitome of goodness and purity, and adherence to ethics, including chastity, courage and justice, is his motto. Although Pardoner's behavior in Chaucer's book shows his love for God and not his interest in philosophical ethics, the sermon, or rather, the deep and thoughtful words and the beautiful story that he recites, is a re-emphasis on the contrast and distinction between the city of God and the city of Cain, and on the connection between the philosophical tradition revived from Plato and Christian theology.

In the 16th century, this link between the philosophical and religious tradition remains strong and the thought based on that continues to occupy the minds; however, there is no mention of the knights on horses who are looking for the truth everywhere and the Pardoners or the characters mentioned by Chaucer. In this century, on the one hand, political events, religious disputes, and social and economic relations progressed in such a way that the influence of the church was greatly reduced, and on the other, the interest in reading ancient Latin and Greek texts expanded dramatically. In England, Erasmus and others established Latin and Greek schools. It is said that Shakespeare went to one of these schools.

In this way, other dimensions of ancient philosophy and literature were noticed by European thinkers of the 16th century. The literary dimension in writing poetry appeared in imitation of Roman and Greek poets. Spenser composed famous poems and Shakespeare wrote many dramas. The philosophical dimension crystallized in the spread of a kind of secularism and the revival of the thoughts of Roman philosophers, politicians and jurists. The most important thinker of this wave, Nicola Machiavelli, presents a different definition of political power with simple language and very strong reasoning, and mocks the truth and realism of the religious philosophical tradition about politics and ethics along with the sanctity of government and chivalry as its arm.

As for politics, Rahe (2006) goes on by stating that "politics does not furnish an arena in which to exercise the highest faculties of human beings; instead, it provides the means for the satisfaction of individual desires" (pp.74-75). It should not be forgotten that Machiavelli's criticism does not directly target the religious philosophical tradition, but the results obtained from the book *The Prince* lead to the negation of this tradition.

"For Machiavelli, a proper civil religion required fear as its engine and political success as its end (D 2.2, 11-15)" (Rahe, 2006, p.252). In this way, let's return to the first statement that the thinkers and writers of the Renaissance showed a great desire to discover the unknown aspects of the ancient world, but very soon they found themselves faced with problems

and contradictions that they had to overcome, otherwise, many of their intellectual and value systems were collapsing, and doubt and uncertainty took over their existence. Iconoclasts, radical thinkers and opponents, start their discussion with the two simple questions: “What is man?” and “what are his capacities?” They started and challenged the answers that have been the focus of philosophers for centuries and are at the center of the religious philosophical tradition.

By way of illustration, Machiavelli, “while rejecting the thought of those who insist on the pure nature of man, argues that man is inherently evil, greedy and ugly” (Machiavelli, 1992, p.8). Many, by being aware of Machiavelli’s words and his examples, may be inclined to despair or give in, which seem undeniable, but humanists such as Shakespeare, Marlowe and Cervantes tried to, with the help of an ancient paradox which is rooted in the religious philosophical tradition, show that man is capable of attaining excellence and being safe from evil. In this way, we can see that the humanism of these writers includes the revival of the best ideas belonging to the religious philosophical tradition, including ethics and chivalry. As Skinner (2000) puts,

“Machiavelli holds firmly to the humanist view that ‘God does not want to do everything, in order not to deprive us of our freedom and the glory that belongs to us’, he concludes that roughly half our actions must be genuinely under our control rather than under Fortune’s sway (84-85, 89).” (p.31)

In fact, the humanism of this period can be interpreted as an effort of an intellectual movement which, by returning to its sources, fights with the deviation and wavering that has entered it, and thus insists on its authenticity. The history of using the paradox of life and death goes back to Plato’s texts and his definition of philosophy. He emphasizes “the word *pharmakon*, which means hemlock or a substance that is both poison and antidote and compares philosophy and love of truth to it” (Plato, 1993, p.98). In response to the question of how philosophy is both poison and antidote, Plato gives the example of Socrates, who died by drinking hemlock (*pharmakon*) but made himself immortal at the same time; that is, Socrates saved his human soul from the danger of annihilation by denying lies and falsehood on one hand, and insisting on and adhering to the truth on the other hand, which led to his death. His body was destroyed, but his thought and truth-seeking spirit continued.

Putting it another way, by drinking the pharmakon/hemlock, Socrates allows the life-giving death to take place. Next, we find the paradox in the story of Christ and in Augustine's narrative and his description of this story. Christ, the crystallization of man and humanity with his martyrdom on the cross, marked the eternity of man and his becoming like God.

“As such, it is not the divine dispensation of either causing good or allowing evil that distinguishes the City of God from the City of Man, it is rather how each person receives, and thus appropriates, these heavenly conveyances: ‘What is really important, then, is not the character of the suffering but rather the character of the sufferer’ (ciu. Dei 1.8; Babcock, 1.8). And who is the sufferer? Every child of Adam.” (Meconi, 2021, p.26)

In Geoffrey Chaucer's writing and “Pardoner's Sermon,” the pharmakon paradox is the most interesting aspect of the work. Three wicked youths are destroyed by what life promises. As mentioned, under the influence of two factors and as a reaction to a third factor, the writers and poets of the Renaissance created their plots based on the paradox of life and death. These two influential factors are: first, religious-philosophical thinking belonging to the Middle Ages, including the theology of Augustine (7th century AD) and second, humanism of the 16th century and the reactive factor mainly includes the views of Nicola Machiavelli, an Italian thinker (1527-1469). The religious-philosophical thinking in the Middle Ages, whose scope extends to the Renaissance and even to the present day, extracted the paradox of life and death primarily from the Bible's story of creation. For example, Augustine mentions Cain, who is a murderer and genocidal, as the founder of the city of the world. As proposed by Meconi (2021),

“The envy of Cain, then, had a primal character; it was a ‘diabolical envy,’ the envy of evil for good. The envy of Romulus, on the other hand, was merely a supreme instance of that competitive greed for undivided power which may fracture every form of earthly community.” (pp.48-49)

The city of the world and the city of Rome, as an example of the city of the world, subvert and destroy themselves like Cain, who by destroying his own generation, practically prepares the ground for his own destruction.

That is, the city of the world is built on impurity, evil, cruelty and injustice, which brings death and nothingness with it. On the contrary, the citizen of the city of God, is Christ, who becomes immortal by rejecting oppression and filth and freeing himself from the material body.

The city of the world is not alive with all the effects and manifestations of life in it because perishability and corruption arise from its essence; on the contrary, a person is saved from the danger of eternal decay by choosing the city of God and turning his back on the desires and wishes of the flesh (Augustine, 1st chapter, 1980, p.24).

This provides the framework for the formation of the paradox of life and death and following Christ (like Plato's order) is the key to enter the city of God and remain immortal in it. Religious-philosophical thinking implicitly combines the love of good and goodness, which is in the essence of Christ's teachings, and the element of virtue, which mainly originates from Plato's thoughts. "The reflection of this combination can be seen in Augustine's writings" (Augustine, 1980, Book I, p.116). In the next place, the combination of two elements is reflected in romances or stories that describe the actions of knights and chivalry. A knight steps on the path of love and spares no effort to obtain immortality and the "Holy Grail", the contents of which were believed to be the blood of Christ. The Holy Grail has a role similar to that of the *Pharmakon Cup* that Socrates drank from and is a symbol of love for goodness and absolute purity. Here again, we come across the conditions that lead to the formation of the paradox of life and death, in such a way that the knight's goal is to win over death, which he will not achieve except by dying.

Drinking from the holy cup means to destroy the ego and to be freed from the bondage of the flesh and at the same time to follow Christ and his way which is crystallized in the story of his crucifixion. Another trend that somehow focuses on the paradox of life and death is humanism. In general, the humanist wave in the 16th century is associated with reading and teaching classical languages and works written in these languages. For example, Erasmus, the famous figure of humanism in England, set up a center for teaching classical languages, and grammar schools, in one of which Shakespeare is said to have studied.

Therefore, through humanists and those interested in learning classical languages, many got familiar with literature, science, history, stories and other Roman and Greek sciences. Among these stories, there

is the story of a sculptor named Pygmalion, who gives life to a lifeless statue of a woman with his art. This story, which reflects the paradox of life and death, seems to have had a great impact on Renaissance poetry, especially Shakespeare's poetry. For example, in several poems, Shakespeare makes a sharp attack towards time; in Sonnet 19, the criticism of time is because it creates wrinkles on the face of his beloved, but then he turns back and says to time:

*“And do whate'er thou wilt, swift-footed Time,
To the wide world and all her fading sweets;
But I forbid thee one more heinous crime:
O, carve not with thy hours my love's fair brow,
Nor draw no lines there with thine antique pen!
Him in thy course untainted do allow
For beauty's pattern to succeeding men.
Yet do thy worst, old Time! Despite thy wrong
My love shall in my verse ever live young.” (Shakespeare, sonnet 19,
lines 6-14)*

His poetry, like Pygmalion's art, creates life and existence from inanimate matter and nothingness. In addition to these two influential factors, Machiavelli's opinions and the dangers that were attributed to them, seem to have been met with protests and reactions from poets and writers although the protesters apparently never openly criticized. In fact, there has been a growing interest in plots that reflect the paradox of life and death. Machiavelli believes that humans are inherently evil. “So much notoriety has gathered around Machiavelli's name that the charge of being a Machiavellian still remains a serious accusation in political debate.” (Skinner, 2000, p.x)

While carefully studying the history of the world, especially the history of Italy, he concludes that the words of philosophers about politics and human happiness are completely worthless. Machiavelli (1992) shows “with a simple and universal language how the ideals related to government, ethics and human relations, which are emphasized by philosophy and chivalry, are unrelated to the reality of political power” (pp.20-23). It is obvious that in front of this extremely different thought, which demanded all the cultural and historical values and human knowledge of Greece,

Rome and Christianity, the Renaissance, which tried to revive those values, could not certainly remain indifferent. In the literary works of the Renaissance, this paradox is reflected on a large scale, and we see its central role primarily in *Don Quixote*.

“Don Quixote has been thoroughly naturalised among people whose ideas about knight-errantry, if they had any at all, were of the vaguest, who had never seen or heard of a book of chivalry, who could not possibly feel the humour of the burlesque or sympathise with the author’s purpose.” (De Cervantes, p.22)

In this work, the hero of the story takes the form of a knight-errant with great passion attributed to the presence of madness in him and starts chivalry, but in the end, he is forced to accept the consequences of his subversive thought and behavior. Carrasco, the other character in the book, before his last battle with Don Quixote, shares with him a condition that if the knight is defeated, he must obey the victorious knight; And in the end, when he wins, he orders him to give up chivalry and return to his home, and Don Quixote, being a knight, must fulfill his vow, that is, he should practically abandon seeking truth. In his home, the knight dies after escaping from madness.

In *Don Quixote*, the concept of the pharmakon paradox is explored through the character of Sancho Panza. Sancho is both a cure and a poison for Don Quixote. On one hand, he serves as a loyal squire who provides practical advice and support to his delusional master. On the other hand, Sancho’s common sense and skepticism often clash with Don Quixote’s idealism and chivalric code, leading to conflicts and misunderstandings between the two. Furthermore, Sancho’s presence in Don Quixote’s life can be seen as both a medicine and a poison for his mental health. “While Sancho helps to ground Don Quixote in reality and prevent him from acting on his dangerous fantasies, he also represents a threat to Don Quixote’s identity as a knight-errant” (De Cervantes, p.28). In this way, Sancho embodies the paradoxical nature of the pharmakon, serving as both a cure and a poison depending on the context in which he is used.

This plot creates a paradox that can be resolved: on the one hand, Don Quixote behaves like a hero due to madness, and on the other, fame, truth-seeking, entitlement, arrogance, foresight and courage throughout Manesh is scattered and he seeks his happiness and immortality in the search that his love and passion for truth and goodness continue and he looks at the sudden stop of his actions that take place in the framework of seeking virtue as a downfall. While talking to Sancho, Don Quixote uses this word to describe the defeat against Carrasco, which refers to falling from a spiritual and immortal stage to a material and miserable stage (like

Adam's fall from heaven). On the other hand, Carrasco and Don Quixote's relatives and friends try to help him in every possible way to overcome the crisis and return to his past life as an ordinary man. They are worried that he has abandoned the way and customs of normal life and is taking away their honor and creating trouble and danger for himself.

Thus, from their point of view, Don Quixote's strange madness threatens his existence as Quixano (Don Quixote's real name), a nobleman of the Manche. That is, the madness of chivalry or the boundless love of truth and goodness determines Don Quixote's identity as a knight, and at the same time, this love is equal to his death and demise as Quixano. Like Don Quixote's plan, this plan creates the conditions for the formation of a paradox: Hamlet, as a person who knows about his father's murder and knows the murderer, must take revenge, but his every action is accompanied by the risk of losing his life. Put it differently, "Hamlet is no Faustian overreacher, and yet, as we shall see, his tragedy also arises out of a shattering of the Renaissance ideal of totality." (Antor, 2004, p.15)

Hamlet's very difficult choice between "to be and not to be" begins here. In keeping with Antor (2004), "Hamlet is the quintessential Renaissance play, not because it is the typical Renaissance play, but because it gives us access to the heart of the Renaissance, the heart of its conflicts and contradictions, the heart of its drama" (p.19). On the one hand, awareness puts the burden of responsibility on him, who must punish the wicked and evildoers so that goodness and truth are restored. On the other hand, being alive and living in the world is not an experience that a person wants or can easily ignore, even though this experience may even be accompanied by a feeling of humiliation. "Hamlet tells more about the author called "Shakespeare" than Shakespeare does about Hamlet." (Menon, 2011, p.98)

In any case, Hamlet resolves the conflict with "not being", that is, he goes to war and kills his father's murderer, and then he himself is killed, because like Don Quixote, who after leaving Quixano's mold, no longer returns to it or if he returns, he dies immediately, this prince is unable to restore the conditions before his being chosen.

"Hamlet depicts his brain as a book that bears his father's words, thus realizing a mode of survival that makes of the prince the specter's specter; much as Hamlet will make of the world, when he finally leaves it, his specter in turn:

Remember thee?

Yea, from the table of my memory

*I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
 All saws out of books, all forms, all pressures past
 That youth and observation copied there,
 And thy commandment all alone shall live
 Within the book and volume of my brain,
 Unmixed with baser matter." (1.5.95–102) (Menon, 2011, p.99)*

The paradoxical element in the story of Hamlet is his consciousness, which has an action and effect similar to the action and effect of Plato's Pharmakon, that is, on the one hand, it causes Hamlet to no longer exist in the world, and on the other, his memory, his soul, his desire for virtue and excellence and finally, his ideal will live forever under his name. "But Hamlet remains a question posed to this concept of the human whose normative shape it nevertheless imposes on us all." (Menon, 2011, p.101)

In *Hamlet*, the concept of pharmakon is central to the plot, as the poison that kills King Hamlet is also the cure for his son's revenge. The ghost of King tells his son that he was murdered by his brother Claudius, who poured poison into his ear while he slept. This revelation sets in motion Hamlet's desire for revenge, which becomes an obsession throughout the play. Hamlet's plan to avenge his father's death involves using a poisoned sword and cup. However, this plan ultimately backfires as several characters end up being poisoned and dying, including Hamlet himself. The use of poison as both a weapon and a cure highlights the theme of moral ambiguity in the play. The line between good and evil is blurred, and characters are forced to make difficult choices with no clear right or wrong answer. As a whole, the concept of pharmakon in *Hamlet* serves to emphasize the complexity of human nature and the consequences of our actions.

Additionally, paradox of life and death is if a central role in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. In it, the first character sells his soul to the devil in exchange for power, "*Mephistophilis: Wherein thou hast given thy soul to Lucifer*" (Marlowe, 2005, p.29). At the end, we see his strong resistance against being sent to hell. Here again, we see a framework that creates a paradox and a resolvable contradiction: Because Faustus chooses power or being in this world, therefore, he will die.

*"The devil will come, and Faustus must be damn'd.
 O, I'll leap up to my God! --Who pulls me down?--*

*See, see, where Christ's blood streams in the firmament!
One drop would save my soul, half a drop: ah, my Christ! --
Ah, rend not my heart for naming of my Christ!
Yet will I call on him: O, spare me, Lucifer! --
Where is it now? 'tis gone: and see, where God
Stretcheth out his arm and bends his ireful brows!
Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me,
And hide me from the heavy wrath of God!" (Marlowe, 2005, p.67)*

In the end, Faustus's consciousness is akin to that of Hamlet and Don Quixote; that is, understanding the catastrophic dimensions of death and nothingness primarily provides the ground for idealism and exaltation and the growth of spirituality in humans, but for Faustus, there is no more chance to become immortal. Compared to *Don Quixote* and *Hamlet*, *Dr. Faustus* has been designed based on an inverted structure, that is, the protagonist of the story submits to physical desires, and by choosing power as the crystallization of material and sensual interests, he rejects the love of virtue and immortality, or as it has come in the story of Socrates, the love of truth. If Hamlet, for example, did not join the war, then he would have met the same fate as Faustus. Nevertheless,

"What is distinctive about Hamlet is precisely that his mind is open to all the competing models of heroism available in the Renaissance. He can admire martial virtue and is haunted by thoughts of the grandeur of classical antiquity, but at the same time he is acutely aware of how Christianity has altered the terms of heroic action and called into question traditional ideas of heroism. (Antor, 2004, pp.11-12)

In sum, *Faustus*, like *Don Quixote* and *Hamlet*, emphasizes that death produces being and non-being at the same time as life produces existence and non-existence; besides, awareness of this matter can become the basis for improving the human status. And finally, *Paradise Lost*, the last important Renaissance poet, is based on the paradox of life and death.

"So, when the story of Paradise Lost begins, after the invocation to the 'heavenly muse', we find ourselves in Hell, with the fallen angels

groaning on the burning lake. And from then on, part of our awareness is always affected by that. This is a story about devils. It's not a story about God. The fallen angels and their leader are our protagonists, and the unfallen angels, and God the Father and the Son, and Adam and Eve, are all supporting players. And we begin in medias res, in the middle of the action, with the first great battle lost, and the rebel angels just beginning to recover their senses after their vertiginous fall." (Pullman, 2005, pp.4-5)

In this work, at the beginning, Satan's conspiracy is learned to disrupt the order of heaven after his failure and falling into hell, and at the same time, the holy and innocent conditions of Adam and Eve. This heavenly couple are aware that if they eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge, death will dominate them, but they do not know what death is. Seduced by Satan and following the slip of Adam and Eve, they suddenly opened their eyes to the truth of death:

*Soon found their eyes how opened, and their minds
How darkened; innocence, that as a veil
Had shadowed them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness
And honour from about them, naked left
To guilty shame he covered, but his robe
Uncovered more, so rose the Danite strong
Herculean Samson from the harlot-lap
Of Philistean Dalilah, and waked
Shorn of his strength, they destitute and bare
Of all their virtue: silent, and in face. (Book IX, lines 1053-1063,
pp.276-277)*

This indicates that life and the material body are the origin of death and nothingness. Adam was waiting for death, but instead, he found life on earth with all its pleasures and desires. Nonetheless, this is a deception that Adam and Eve are able to recognize because they have tasted the fruit of the tree of knowledge. It is evident that Milton thinks of a conclusion very

similar to that of Cervantes, Shakespeare and Marlowe. In this way, death creates being and not being at the same time, and Adam's consciousness, including his fear and anxiety of falling into the mire of material power on the one hand, and his love for virtue on the other hand, like Plato's Pharmakon, will bring immortality for him.

In this epic poem, Satan is portrayed as a character who embodies the idea of pharmakon - he is both a poison and a cure. Satan's rebellion against God is seen as a poisonous act, one that culminates in his own downfall and the corruption of humanity. However, Satan's actions also serve as a cure in a sense, as they allow for the possibility of redemption and the ultimate triumph of good over evil. What is more, the character of Eve can be seen as a pharmakon. Her decision to eat the forbidden fruit is a poisonous act that leads to the fall of humanity. However, her actions also serve as a cure, as they allow for the possibility of redemption and the eventual salvation of humanity through Jesus Christ. Overall, Milton's use of the concept of pharmakon highlights the complexity of human experience and the idea that things are not always what they seem. What may appear to be a poison can also be a cure, and what may seem like a curse can ultimately lead to redemption. In Milton's plot, Adam, in the form of Christ and in the story of his crucifixion, chooses not to be, or selects the path that leads to immortality. His body dies but his humanity continues.

CONCLUSION

All things considered, the paradox of life and death, which is reflected in the texts of Augustine in the Middle Ages and before that, in the texts of Plato, plays a very important role in the formation of Renaissance literary approaches. This can be shown by analyzing the famous story designs and structures of this period, including *Don Quixote*, *Hamlet*, *Dr. Faustus*, and *Paradise Lost*, as well as examining the fields of interest in this paradox. Renaissance figures' interest in this paradox, on the one hand, is rooted in the culture and works left over from the Middle Ages and the humanist wave, and on the other hand, the need of these figures to show a reaction to Machiavelli's political philosophy intensified this interest in them.

In the mentioned works, we see that there is a debate between the protagonist and the antagonist. For example, in *Don Quixote*, Carrasco tries to defeat the thinking that gives meaning to *Don Quixote*, or the devil in Milton's work tries to persuade Eve to eat the forbidden fruit while having a rational discussion with her. Although *Don Quixote*, *Hamlet*, *Faustus* and *Adam* retreat before their opponents, in the end, the reader realizes the deception of these opponents or at least the forms of their argument, on the one hand, and the truth and validity of this old argument, on the other. Thus, the use of the paradox of life and death, regardless of anything else,

can indicate the intensity and importance of the Renaissance reaction to Machiavelli's political philosophy.

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CHAPTER 5

DYNAMICS OF MIGRATION MANAGEMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF INTER-ACTOR RELATIONS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IN TURKIYE¹

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1 This study derived from the author's PhD thesis titled Management of Migration in Turkiye: The Role of State and Non-State Actors in the Formation of the Migration Regime supervised by Prof. Dr. Selmin Kaşka.

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Introduction

Migration management has risen to prominence, drawing considerable academic interest and investigation within scholarly circles in recent years. The term refers to the process of regulating and facilitating international migration flows through the cooperation and coordination of different actors and levels of governance, including state institutions, non-governmental organisations, international organisations and migrants themselves (Getz, Jones and Loewe, 2009; Piper, 2017; Triandafyllidou, 2022; Piper and Rother, 2022). At the regional and international level, it involves cooperation and coordination between states, international organisations and civil society actors to address common migration-related challenges such as human trafficking, refugee protection and labour migration (Menz, 2010; Betts, 2011), while at the national level it involves the development and implementation of policies and programmes to manage the entry, stay and exit of migrants, as well as to address the social, economic and political impacts of migration. Effective migration management requires a coordinated and comprehensive approach that takes into account the different needs and interests of all actors involved in the migration process, including migrants, sending and receiving communities and society at large. However, it is not yet possible to speak of a global actor and a governance system with shared decision-making mechanisms. There is a system in which nation states manage the process through bilateral and multiple agreements. As a part of this system, Türkiye has a structure in which the central government plays a dominant role.¹

Due to its strategic geographical location as a transit country between Asia and Europe (İçduygu, 2004; 2009) and as both a receiving and a sending country, Türkiye has faced significant challenges in managing migration over the past decade. The most notable of these have been the difficulties in responding to a significant influx of refugees and irregular migrants

¹ Debates about globalization and the nation state in the context of international migration focus on the tension between state sovereignty and the influence of global forces on national borders. Some scholars argue that globalization weakens the nation-state and undermines its ability to control the flow of people across its borders. They argue that globalization is driven by market forces and technology, creating a global economy and labour market that weakens the authority of the nation state. Proponents of this view argue that international migration is a natural consequence of globalization and that efforts to restrict it are futile. They argue that the state's ability to control migration is limited by economic forces and the demand for labour in other countries. However, there are also those who argue that the nation state remains a powerful actor in international migration. They argue that the state still has the authority to control its borders and regulate the flow of people across them. They also argue that globalization has not weakened the nation-state, but rather strengthened it in various ways. These scholars point out that states are still able to set their own migration policies and enforce them through border controls and other measures. They also argue that globalization has created new opportunities for states to engage with the international community and pursue their economic interests on the global stage. For the debates on globalization, nation state and migration, see: Hirst and Thompson, 1995; Hollifield, 1998; Guiradon and Lahav, 2000; Holton, 2011.

into the country.² Turkish Government has provided temporary protection status to around over 3.65 million Syrians (UNHCR, 2022), which has created significant pressure on the country's resources and services. Despite Türkiye's efforts to provide education, health care and other essential services to refugees, there have been numerous reports of difficulties and inadequate protection (AIDA, 2020; Erdoğan, 2023; UNHCR, 2022). One of the main problems is the lack of comprehensive legislation and policies to address these issues in a holistic manner. Without such legislation, it has become difficult to establish a consistent and effective framework for protecting the rights and welfare of these vulnerable populations, including access to education, health care and employment opportunities. A lack of funding and response capacity has further complicated the situation. Despite efforts to secure financial assistance from international organisations, Türkiye's resources remain limited and the burden of supporting such a large refugee population has had a significant impact on the country's economy and social services. In this context, Türkiye has struggled to provide the necessary resources and support to ensure the successful integration of refugees and migrants of all kinds into society, leading to further challenges related to social cohesion and public awareness of migration.

Particularly in the last 20 years, several studies have been conducted to identify the main problem areas in migration management in Türkiye. These studies can be broadly categorized under four headings: Integration; the roles and response capacities of local governments and civil society actors; the effects of the externalization of migration management on migration policies; and the state-capital relationship and labor market integration. Several studies on integration have highlighted the challenges faced by refugees in accessing basic services such as education, healthcare, and employment (Şimşek, 2020; Nazlı and Özaşçılar, 2020; Siviş, 2021; Memişoğlu and Yavcan, 2022). Moreover, the lack of social cohesion and inclusion has been identified as a significant obstacle to the integration of refugees into the Turkish society (Baban, İlcan and Rygiel, 2017; Erdoğan, 2018; Akçapar and Şimşek, 2018). Studies in this topic mainly focus on the policies and programs implemented to address these issues. Local responses and capacity is frequently addressed in the literature as well. These studies cover a broad range of topics, including policy frameworks, institutional structures, and the roles of local governments and civil society

² According to UNHCR May-July 2022 Operational Update Report, Türkiye currently hosts a population of approximately 4 million refugees and asylum-seekers, with over 3.65 million being Syrians under temporary protection, and around 330,000 individuals of other nationalities holding international protection status or seeking asylum. Syrian refugees comprise 98.6% of this population, residing across all 81 provinces of Türkiye, with the remaining 1.3% being accommodated in seven temporary facilities administered by the Presidency of Migration Management (PMM). As of 2022, a total of 10,584 refugees have been proposed for resettlement consideration to 13 different countries, of which 5,144 individuals have departed for resettlement in 14 countries. Of these resettled refugees, 79% were Syrian and 8% were Afghan.

actors in responding to the needs of migrants and refugees also provides a rich and nuanced picture of the challenges and opportunities facing policymakers and practitioners in this area (Coşkun and Yılmaz Uçar, 2018; Eliçin, 2019; Demiroğlu, 2021; Boşnak, 2021; Lowndes and Polat, 2022; Atar, Hossain and Sumnaya, 2022). Cooperation with the EU and International Organizations is also a critical issue in migration management in Türkiye. Türkiye has been a candidate country for EU accession for many years, and the EU has been a significant actor in shaping Türkiye's policies on managing migration (İçduygu, 2007; Aras and Mencütek, 2015; Canefe, 2016; Kaya, 2018; Üstübcü, 2019; Çetin, 2020; Müftüler-Bac, 2022). Studies in this field have mostly focused on the effects of the EU's externalized migration policies on Türkiye's migration policies and thus on migration management. Finally, studies on state-capital relations and labor market integration are also included in the literature as a field that focuses on the impact of neoliberal policies in migration management, the informal economy and irregular migration (Man, 2015; Okyay, 2017; Bélanger and Saraçoğlu, 2020).

Given the wealth of relevant literature, the aim of this paper is to analyse the intricacies of migration management in Türkiye, with a particular focus on inter-actor relations. For this purpose, actors in migration management are divided into policy makers and policy implementers, with the focus of this study on local policy implementers. Accordingly, relations between central government and local government, central government and civil society, and local government and civil society are analysed in three dimensions. By analysing the power dynamics inherent in these relationships, the aim is to gain insight into the factors influencing the migration regime in Türkiye. Based on fieldwork and documentary analysis, the interactions and functions of the actors involved in the construction of the migration regime will be analysed in the context of governmentality and power dynamics in both reconciliation and conflict areas.

This study is largely based on qualitative fieldwork conducted in Ankara and Istanbul. The central institution responsible for migration management in Türkiye, Presidency of Migration Management (PMM), is located in Ankara. Istanbul was chosen as the research site because it is a city that combines many aspects of Türkiye and is the place where almost all forms of migration are observed. Istanbul accounts for approximately 18.5 per cent of Türkiye's total population and hosts the largest number of refugees not only in Türkiye but also in the world (Erdoğan and Çorabatır, 2019). According to official data, the total number of people living in Türkiye with a valid residence permit is approximately 1.3 million. 706,000 of them currently live in the city of Istanbul (TUIK, 2019).

The interviews were conducted between October 2018 and May 2020. A total of 36 people were interviewed, including 13 people from eight institutions consisting of PMM, Marmara Municipality Union (MMU) and 6 district municipalities, and 23 people from five faith-based and 13 rights-based civil society organizations.

Main Actors of the System

Although there are ambiguities about who a policymaker is or to whom they refer, it would not be wrong to say that the state is perceived as the most important policy-making actor in political discourse today. Sometimes the policymaker appears as a legislator, an elected official appointed through elections to decide what to do within his or her jurisdiction; sometimes as a person (advocacy actor) who brings about change through advocacy on the issue he or she focuses on (Howlett and Tosun, 2018). However, when it comes to migration management, policy-implementing actors are found to have very important functions alongside policy-makers. In multi-actor management of migration, it is possible to identify the functions of all actors and to cooperate in this context. Who performs which function and how it is supervised by whom is a fundamental problem, as there are sometimes conflicting interests between these actors. Moving the migration issue beyond inter-actor cooperation requires recognising that different actors have different agendas, compromising where possible and building on initially agreed common goals (Georgi, 2010). In general, the global governance literature conceptualises global partnerships largely by focusing on public-private or state-nonstate partnerships (Dingwerth and Hanrieder, 2010), where non-state actors become political authorities (Bexell and Mörth, 2010: 6). These include both formal partnerships, governed by a binding agreement between the actors, and informal partnerships. Such partnerships can fulfil a range of functions, from those focused on global standard setting, rulemaking and policy development, to more functional collaborations that mobilise for advocacy or leverage existing resources (Bexell and Mörth, 2010). They include both formal partnerships, governed by a binding agreement between actors, and informal partnerships. Such partnerships can perform a range of functions, from those focused on global standard setting, rule making and policy development, to more functional collaborations that mobilise for advocacy or mobilise existing resources (Bexell and Mörth, 2010). These partnerships are also divided into specific types, such as those that ‘co-select’ private actors, ‘delegate’ specific tasks to private actors, and ‘involve’ private actors as equal partners (Börzel and Risse, 2005; Korab-Karpowicz, 2020). In international migration governance, partnerships refer to a cooperative approach between countries of origin, transit and destination, and migration partnerships are often conceptualised as a policy instrument (Kunz, 2013).

In this context, it is easy to see that a multi-actor structure has emerged and spread in this area at the international, national and local levels. However, it is the state's response to the actions of multiple actors and the power relations between actors that drive and shape migration.

While the discipline of politics is widely recognised as a field of negotiation, the policy domain refers to the actions that take place within the institutional structure created by such negotiations. In this context, the formulation of migration management policies has been shaped by a series of negotiations, effectively transforming the policy-making process into a negotiation process. Another area of power is policy implementation, in which key actors in migration management, such as the central government, local governments and civil society organizations (CSOs), play an important role. In Türkiye, migration management is mainly carried out by three key actors: the central government, local governments and civil society organizations (CSOs) active in the field of migration. Among these actors, the central government plays a dominant role in designing and implementing migration policies. However, it must cooperate and coordinate with other actors in the implementation of policies. The relations between policy-implementing actors in Türkiye are analysed below along three different dimensions.

Central Government-Local Government Relationship

When the relationship between the central government and local governments is examined in the context of the sharing of public services, it is seen that local governments assume the responsibility of providing social services under the financial guidance of the central government. Thus, they act as local implementers of the policies formulated by the central government. Despite the important role of local governments in the implementation of migration management policies, it is noteworthy that the central government maintains its dominant position in the power relationship reflecting its centralist stance. Therefore, local governments operate with limited authority and responsibility.

The interviews conducted with PMM and municipalities within the scope of the research show that the relationship between central government and local governments is shaped based on two main elements. The first is financial dependency and the second is political hegemony. This leads to limited authority and responsibility at the local level. The lack of financial autonomy increases the dependence of local governments on the center. This situation also creates problems in the field of migration management due to inadequacies in the legislation. There is no legal framework regulating the duties and responsibilities of municipalities on how and in what manner they will provide services to migrants. However, based

on Article 13 of Law No. 5393, municipalities provide services to various migrant groups who apply to them, citing their responsibility to provide services to everyone living in their areas of responsibility, especially those in vulnerable groups. The audits conducted by the Supreme Court of Public Accounts reveal that the allocation of funds by certain municipalities from their budgets for these groups has been subject to disapproving scrutiny. This was also emphasized by the Supreme Court of Accounts in the audit report of Esenyurt Municipality and it was stated that municipalities do not have unlimited authority both for the development of social and cultural relations among fellow citizens and for social and cultural services in general (Sayıştay Başkanlığı Esenyurt Belediyesi 2018 Yılı Denetim Raporu, 2019: 49).³ Notwithstanding, the stance of the Supreme Court of Accounts on the service provision and expenditures of municipalities towards migrant groups does not appear to impede the provision of services and expenditures by municipalities. During an interview conducted with a representative from the Marmara Municipalities Union (MMU), the individual provided the following response in regards to this matter:

“There is no such situation regarding the Supreme Court of Accounts that I know of. In other words, there are problems with spending directly on this area in budget items, but I have never heard of any action that would put municipalities in a very difficult situation. Many municipalities already work together with NGOs. They carry out projects and provide services to these groups through them. Municipalities also work as partners of projects supported by EU funds. But of course, a budget arrangement is necessary in this regard. Authority and authority sharing in the budget is important. The authority of the municipalities to make expenditures should be more clearly defined. If this happens, municipalities will not hesitate in their activities related to providing services to migrants, and it is true that there is some uneasiness. But I have never come across an official decision that would put municipalities in a difficult situation in this regard” (MMU Migration Expert, September 2018).

The absence of a distinct declaration regarding such disbursements in the statutory provisions and the predicaments pertaining to the allocation elements in the fiscal plan have resulted in municipalities persisting with the execution of their duties pursuant to the ‘law of fellow citizenship’ despite their reservations.

3 In the same report, the following statements were made, pointing to the limited authority of municipalities on this issue: “In the first paragraph of Article 29 of the Public Financial Management and Control Law No. 5018 titled “Aid from budgets”: “Real or legal persons may not be provided with public resources, aid or benefits without a legal basis. However, provided that it is foreseen in the budgets of public administrations within the scope of general government, aid may be provided to associations, foundations, unions, institutions, organizations, organizations, funds and similar organizations in the public interest.” (Istanbul Esenyurt Municipality 2018 Regularity Audit Report of the Court of Accounts, 2019:49-50).

An additional observation that emerged from the interviews conducted during the research is that the central government assumes both an inclusive and exclusive approach towards local governments and other stakeholders involved in migration management. The central government's inclusivity stems from its dependency on local actors to implement policies; however, its exclusivity arises from its reluctance to participate in collaborative decision-making processes. This implies that the dominant political power of the central government is efficacious in the management of migration. The interview with PMM shows that the coordination and cooperation of the agency with local governments does not go beyond the role of local governments as social policy implementers. Local government representatives are not involved in decision-making processes. When asked about this, the expert from PMM gave the following answer:

“As previously mentioned, efforts are made to hear from individuals at the local level, enabling us to gather insights into various issues and challenges. However, it remains challenging to determine whether all proposals and recommendations originating from these sources are directly incorporated into policies or if any examples of such integration exist, given that the legislative process is distinct. It may be feasible to address implementation issues and accommodate feedback, but a definitive response to this question is elusive. Nonetheless, we are committed to inviting representatives from diverse backgrounds to attend our meetings and workshops” (PMM, Expert 1, November 2018).

The response of the expert from MMU to the same question shows that local governments play a role in implementation processes rather than decision-making processes:

“The reports, opinions, suggestions, etc. that come out of the platforms are somehow conveyed to the relevant authorities. We are invited to various meetings. We have projects with the Ministry of Development. We have an opinion at every step in policy implementation processes and we communicate these. But there is no answer to this question whether they are always fully reciprocated. Because an inclusive policy has not yet been established, the process is ongoing” (MMU, Expert 2, September 2018).

Within this context, the model employed in Türkiye reveals a centralized approach in relation to central-local dynamics and exhibits proximity to the “strong mayor-weak council” framework in terms of the relationships among municipal bodies as well (Aksu-Çam, 2018). The Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 6360, implemented in 2012, further reinforced this centralization, resulting in the elimination of institutions such as town municipalities, villages, particular provincial administrations, and provincial general assemblies, thereby corroborating the notion of centralization

(Erder and İncioğlu, 2015). The centralization tendency became more pronounced with the implementation of the Presidential Government System in July 2018, with its ramifications also manifesting in the realm of migration management. For instance, the Migration Policies Board, which was abolished via Decree-Law No. 703 upon the transition to the Presidential Government System and restructured as the Migration Board by Presidential Decree No. 17 in 2018, convened a total of 11 meetings by the end of 2021, none of which included invitations extended to local government officials or representatives from civil society. The predominant authority of the central government in managing migration divides the realms of politics and policy, granting it the ability to shape migration in accordance with its political and economic objectives alone. The divide and fragmentation of politics and policy, along with the restriction of politics to a narrow domain, has given rise to the deployment of non-centralized actors as functional instruments. Consequently, virtually all domains of state activities have been designated as the ‘field of politics’, and politics has been exclusively portrayed as a concept linked to the regime. As non-centralized actors are excluded from the decision-making process, governance mechanisms have been formulated in a manner that prioritizes capital, resulting in a functional segmentation between market and civil society agents and state officials (Bayramoğlu, 2005).

According to Savaşkan’s analysis of the changing power dynamics between central and local governments in Türkiye after 2000, decentralization reforms have actually bolstered the central government rather than local authorities (Savaşkan, 2017). In his scholarly article, Savaşkan posits that the Justice and Development Party (Turkish: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/AKP) government, which took office in 2002, expanded the administrative powers and duties of local governments, while keeping them financially and politically reliant on the central government and devising measures to maintain the authority of the central government at the local level. Studies advocating that centralization has intensified with public administration reforms highlight that despite the initial measures taken by the AKP government to strengthen the authority of local governments, they began re-centralizing their powers and responsibilities again after 2007 for various reasons (Aktar, 2014; Arıkboğa, 2015; Erder and İnceoğlu, 2013; Keyman and Öniş, 2007; Öktem and Çiftçi, 2016).

As a whole, the connection between the central government and local governments in Türkiye operates on the premise of constraining local governments to administrative functions, while lacking fiscal independence and being subject to political dominance, with limited power and accountability. As a result, local actors are frequently left out of decision-making procedures, though they still have a significant part in the implementation of policies.

Central Government-Civil Society Relations: Spaces of Conflict and Compromise

In conjunction with the adoption of neoliberal economic policies and integration with the global capitalist system in Türkiye during the post-1980 era, there has been a notable resurgence in the development of civil society. Research and policy documents on the topic of civil society in Türkiye reveal that a distinct domain of “civil” society emerged after 1980 (Göle 1994; Yerasimos, Seufert and Vorhoff, 2000; Keyman and İçduygu 2003; TÜSEV 2006, 2011). During this same period, international donors such as the European Union, United Nations, and World Bank consistently emphasized the role of civil society in social and political development and emphasized the need for capacity building in Türkiye (Kuzmanovic, 2012). Consequently, the number of foundations and associations has increased significantly since the mid-1980s, with the number of associations growing from approximately 50,000 in 1981 to 152,000 in 2001 (STGM, 2012:5). However, it is crucial to note that various internal and external dynamics shape the economic, social, and cultural development processes of each society, and as such, different structures and practices have emerged in the field of civil society in Türkiye. Two primary tools are typically employed to provide a comprehensive view of civil society in Türkiye: The legal frameworks governing the different types of civil society organizations (CSOs) and their areas of operation (TÜSEV, 2011:59). There are six types of CSOs in Türkiye in terms of legal status, namely associations, foundations, trade unions, employers’ unions, chambers, and cooperatives (TÜSEV, 2011:60). As of 2022, the number of civil society organizations in Türkiye was 215,502. In the literature, attempts have been made to categorize civil society, but it has been challenging to develop a universally accepted classification due to the difficulties involved and the blurred boundaries between different types of civil society organizations. Various approaches have been proposed to address this issue, including the adoption of a classification system that is suitable for the specific research context and can facilitate the research process (Vakil, 1997). Accordingly, this study examines the layered structure of civil society in Türkiye and the various levels of relationships that emerge between actors in the field of migration management, by conducting interviews with different civil society organizations. This layered structure plays a critical role in the relationships among civil society organizations at the international, national, and local levels, and also affects their interactions with the central state.

İçduygu argues that in terms of their ideological positions and the values they advocate, civil society organizations in Türkiye can be classified into four main categories: traditional, western, local and religious (2011:388). Within the framework of this distinction, while he character-

izes traditional organizations as state-centered, he positions western-style ones as organizations that undertake more rights and advocacy missions against the state. Therefore, in this classification, it is possible to speak of a “state-centered-conciliatory” and “rights defender-conflictualist” division. Civil society’s position vis-à-vis the state, or its perception and attitude regarding where it sees itself, is one of the determinants of its relationship with the state. According to Yerasimos, Seufert and Vorhoff (2000:34), civil society has become a slogan in Turkiye and has been interpreted in different and contradictory ways by different segments of society. This polysemy has also been pointed out in other studies trying to explain civil society in Turkiye (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005). Kuzmanovic (2012), on the other hand, in her study on the ruptures in civil society in Turkiye in various contexts, mentions that the perception of civil society in Turkiye differs and accordingly there are different definitions of civil society. Despite activists acknowledging civil society as a separate and identifiable entity, the attempt to establish a precise definition and distinguish it from other forms of activism proved challenging. The observation of their practices further complicated the endeavor, as any clear-cut boundaries became elusive (Kuzmanovic, 2012:1). The author argues that there is a lack of clarity regarding the definition of civil society in Turkiye. This lack of clarity is further compounded by the existence of divergent understandings of civil society, which include being associated with the state, not serving the state, resembling a commercial company rather than a civil society organization, being viewed as a social club, and having connections with political parties. Consequently, definitions of civil society, modes of belonging, mobilization, and civic activism are continuously changing. The diverse disruptions exemplify how civil society arises in the framework of a broader blend of social and cultural visions that are shaped by both domestic and global social and political contexts. These perceptions are all part of various social constructions of civil society. Kuzmanovic’s observation is also relevant in comprehending the connection between CSOs that operate in the field of migration and the government. This sincere or genuine perception of civil society towards one another is also reflected in their interactions with the state.

In another study on this subject matter, Erder argues that civil society organizations operating in the field of migration can be divided into three groups: project-based organizations supported by funds from international organizations specialized in rights advocacy and humanitarian aid; local civil society organizations formed by those who come together on the basis of combating poverty, inequality and other injustices; and temporary and ad hoc aid networks that provide assistance on humanitarian grounds such as philanthropy (Erder, 2017:116). Indeed, when we look at civil society

in Türkiye, we see that it exhibits a differentiated, fragmented or disconnected appearance rather than a homogenous structure. In the interviews conducted to monitor the relationship between this layered or fragmented structure and the state, local governments and each other, civil society organizations from different fields of activity were selected.

The interviews conducted suggest that there are two primary factors that influence the relationship between civil society organizations involved in migration management and the central government. The first of these factors pertain to the organizations' stance and ideology towards the state, while the second concerns their financial requirements.

Implications of ideological stance on relations

Upon examination of the activities undertaken by civil society organizations (CSOs) in Türkiye, it is apparent that while activities such as humanitarian aid, social solidarity, education, and social services are prevalent, the number of CSOs focused on advocacy is very limited (TÜSEV, 2011). In fact, only 5 out of the 18 CSOs interviewed were engaged in rights advocacy, with the majority focused on humanitarian aid, solidarity, and service provision. The limited number of CSOs focused on rights advocacy underscores the difficulty such organizations face in influencing political actors and agendas. It is noteworthy that the prohibition of political activity in the activities of associations and foundations can impede CSOs engaged in rights advocacy (Kuzmanovic, 2012:8). Thus, organizations engaged in this field are concerned about being able to work effectively and avoid pressure from the state. This concern is relevant for CSOs engaged in rights advocacy activities in the field of migration, given the controversial nature of migration-related topics on the political agenda.

The legal facilities and difficulties encountered by CSOs engaged in these activities constitute the first significant difference in their relationship with the state. While the state encourages CSOs to provide humanitarian aid and services based on charity, it adopts a restrictive and strict attitude towards rights advocacy. This results in two different approaches to civil society organizations, one being more flexible and open to communication, while the other is rigid and strict. This is due to the state's preference for temporary solutions and paternalistic relationships in migration management. The possibility of rights-based processes leading to regulations that would impose legal liability is a key reason for this situation. State policy preferences change over time based on its political, ideological, economic, and social agenda. In interviews with organizations engaged in rights advocacy, participants expressed their experiences using the following phrases:

“If you work in the field of rights advocacy and have ideas that conflict with the official ideology of the state, your relationship with the state and the law becomes very difficult. You have to be accountable at all times in all your work so that you have no loopholes. Because you are often subject to inspections, the police want to come and search you. These kinds of situations have become commonplace (referring to the aftermath of the Gezi events), especially for organizations working in the field of advocacy. For us, this is a way of working where we are constantly on our toes, but somehow we have to continue. Isn't that what rights defense is like anyway? A never-ending struggle...” (Interview-1; November 2018, rights-based CSO)

“It is not easy to advocate for rights in the field of migration at a time when every breath we take is politicized. Someone is always watching you. Because you are trying to revive some demands that some people do not like. However, the system is based on disenfranchisement instead of building new rights. We are trying to stand against this. Naturally, barriers are put in front of us” (Interview- 17; May 2020, rights-based CSO).

It is observed that the strict and formal relationship between CSOs operating in the field of rights advocacy and the state has been transformed into a solution-oriented and open communication relationship in religious-based CSOs:

“For example, there are those who want to register (referring to un-registered Syrians) but do not know where to go. We direct them to the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management. The provincial director is already our friend, we know the officers there. When this happens, of course, we are unofficially working with state institutions. But again, these are voluntary. Because there are no regulations for these. ...people who have problems in the hospital reach us and we direct them to another doctor or another polyclinic, and we try to solve the problem and help them. In other words, we help those who come to hospitals and ask for help on issues they cannot overcome. We contact the provincial directorates. We coordinate” (Interview-2, November 2018, faith-based CSO).

It is seen that the individual relations of those working in these organizations also play a very important role in the relations of religious-based CSOs with the state and other actors. It is understood that the participant in Interview 2 did not encounter any bureaucratic obstacles while solving many problems with his personal relations:

“There are times when I personally intervene and solve problems, we have a lot of acquaintances in hospitals because of work. For example, a Syrian came once, he needed a headset (meaning a hearing aid). The man has saved his money, he has a little money of 1000 TL. But the device is 2000-odd liras. I called the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, found

someone there, and explained the situation. I said we need this much money for the device. They took care of it. But none of this is registered. It's all things we solve through friends and acquaintances. I don't know on what basis the Ministry does this, how it records it, or whether it records it or not. But they helped, and most of the time they do" (Interview-2, November 2018, faith-based CSO).

The aforementioned statements suggest that the relationship between religion-based civil society organizations (CSOs) and the central government is characterized by a sense of concordance and mutual support. Unlike rights-based CSOs, these religious-based organizations do not encounter the same bureaucratic challenges. Instead, they often rely on personal connections and maintain open lines of communication with relevant authorities, allowing for efficient problem-solving.

This ideological stance is particularly influential in shaping the protocols governing interactions between the central government and various CSOs. Religious-based CSOs tend to operate under a different set of circumstances compared to their counterparts, experiencing fewer bureaucratic hurdles and enjoying greater ease of access to necessary resources. For example, in the case of a canceled training program due to the absence of a formal protocol, a participant described the disparity by contrasting the experiences of rights-based organizations with those of religion-based ones:

"For example, let me put it like this. We were planning to give a short and informative training within the scope of a project. Let's say the content of the training is small technical information. We could not realize this under the name of training because the Ministry (Ministry of National Education) does not allow it. They want a protocol, but they are not open to making a protocol or cooperation with us. But we know that other CSOs provide this training. So what I mean is that this is not a problem for some CSOs. They organize the training, even print posters, announce it, and complete the project" (Interview-10, November 2018, rights-based CSO)

"...we can reason very simply, there are two different areas, one is the state and the other is civil society. If you start from a state's own understanding of power, or ideological perspective, if you are making a protocol with a civil society organization in any field, be it education or the registration of foreigners, whatever it may be, if you are making a protocol in any field, this means that I will work with you under a common perspective. In that case, it means that these two ideologies, these two perspectives can exist without conflicting with each other, so I guess it means not partnering with every CSO, but working with CSOs with which they can have a common perspective or with which they know they can work without conflict" (Interview-4, November 2018, rights-based CSO).

Implications of financing needs on relationships

The field of migration in Turkiye presents a notable division among civil society organizations (CSOs) with regard to their funding sources, which represents a second important divergence. Annual reports of CSOs operating in migration-related fields reveal that the majority of rights-based CSOs rely exclusively on foreign funding, whereas religious-based CSOs depend solely on donations, with some also benefiting from public funds. Only two rights-based CSOs receive public funding.

To understand the implications of this differentiation on the relationship between civil society organizations and the state, interviews were conducted to investigate this situation. One of the key reasons for this division pertains to the stance of CSOs toward their reliance on funding sources. For rights-based CSOs, international funding is viewed as a crucial means of sustaining their activities, whereas for religious-based CSOs, a different perspective is evident. Interviews with religious-based CSOs indicate a reluctance to utilize international funds. When queried about their financing sources, participants underscored their distant attitude towards using foreign or public funds.

“...Our main income is donations. We have not sought or used any foreign sources of funding so far, and there is no need for it...” (Interview-12, January 2020, religious-based CSO)

“Our working principle is to be on the side of truth and right. We also call this being dervish-spirited. Being dervish-spirited means not taking your hand away from goodness. Whatever we do, we do it to earn Allah’s consent. We have no other concerns. We have come to this day not from the state, not from this or that, but from the rights of the orphan and the oppressed, with the support of charitable people and we continue. God willing, we will continue in this way. We are building a bridge of heart and goodness between people in need and philanthropists” (Interview-15, January 2020, religious-based NGO)

It is observed that religious-based CSOs are opposed to foreign funding in principle and adopt the idea that the organizations that distribute these funds are directing and dependent on activities that serve their own purposes:

“Well, we are against it in principle. The foreigner funds, but then what does he want? It controls your budget and interferes with what you give and where you give it. You are not free. It doesn’t give it to you out of the blue. It has an expectation. We don’t need that. We continue our activities within ourselves, within the means at our disposal. God forbid that we are in need, this is how we manage” (Interview-5, November 2018, religious-based CSO).

This difference between rights-based CSOs and religious-based CSOs is not only related to the principles of these organizations but also to their relations with the central government. On the one hand, there is a group that expects the relevant institutions and organizations to assume responsibility and contribute to the financing of this problem area on the basis of rights; on the other hand, there is a group that has adopted a philanthropic aid mechanism by acting in line with their religious motivations. Therefore, the result of the different positioning of both groups vis-à-vis the state is reflected in their attitudes here.

Another factor underlying the divergent funding sources of civil society organizations (CSOs) pertains to the challenges associated with accessing financial resources. It is apparent that the objective of religiously motivated organizations to conduct their activities through donations and public funds has been facilitated by various opportunities available to them. For instance, two religious-based CSOs interviewed possess the status of public benefits associations, with one being granted tax exemption for its revenue-generating activities. Conversely, comparable facilities were not observed for the other category of CSOs. As Türkiye is generally characterized by ‘low levels of membership, volunteerism, political activism, and community participation’, donations to CSOs are ‘quite low’ (TUSEV, 2011: 70). Therefore, the most important and often the only source of funding for rights-based CSOs have been international funds:

“As of last year, only 1.58 - not even 2 - of our income came from donors. In Türkiye, it is impossible for associations to survive on donations, especially associations that work on rights-based and advocacy activities. Moreover, we are one of the most well-known organizations in this field. But our ability to continue our activities depends on the funds we receive. Again, 97-98% of our funding source last year was from international NGOs and funds provided by the UN through its agencies. In this case, of course, we have to talk about a financial structure that revolves around projects. This is the main reason for the dependence on projects” (Interview-11; November 2018, rights-based CSO).

In terms of access to public funds, CSOs carrying out rights advocacy activities are the most disadvantaged:

“All our source of financing is the funds provided from the projects we carry out. I have been working here for more than 3 years and I don’t remember receiving any public funding. I think we applied to the Development Agency once with a project. Once again, there was an announcement that the Governor’s Office supported the projects within the scope of public funding or some kind of cooperation, but we could not benefit from either of them. Anyway, the groups that benefit from such funding sources

are usually the same organizations. I mean, for example, if a municipality, governorship, or district governorship is going to create financial support, they cooperate with CSOs they have worked with before” (Interview-7; November 2018).

Due to the low level of voluntary participation in civil society in Türkiye and the inadequacy of donations, the need for foreign funding by rights-based organizations, especially those engaged in rights advocacy, has created a project-based category. This situation is partly related to two main impacts of the EU accession process on civil society in Türkiye. Firstly, this process laid the groundwork for legislative change in Türkiye, and secondly, it provided financial support for the projects of civil society organizations (Olçay and İçduygu, 2012: 157; Çaha, Çaylak ve Tutar, 2013: 22). Therefore, the need for funding is crucial for the emergence of a project-based category. Çaha et al. (2013: 22) argue that the support provided by the EU in this context has moved civil society from an “ideological” stance to a largely “project-oriented” one. However, in recent years, it would not be wrong to say that benefiting from international funds, especially EU funds, has turned into a negative perception and gained an ideological dimension. As noted by Kuzmanovic during her field research conducted in 2005-2006, receiving funds from the EU was considered a desirable situation for the recipient organization. However, since 2016, the changing political landscape in Türkiye and the corresponding shift in public opinion towards asylum seekers have rendered the acceptance of EU funds a contentious issue.

In conclusion, the relationship between the central government and civil society organizations (CSOs) has been shaped by various factors including their focus on rights advocacy, religious orientation, and funding sources. A significant aspect to note is the evolving perception of international funds, which has gained prominence as Türkiye has deepened its ties with the EU as part of the harmonization process. This trend was altered after two key events: The Gezi Park protests in 2013 and the coup attempt on July 15, 2016. Prior to these incidents, the use of EU funds was viewed as a vital and esteemed avenue for financing, but they have since been met with skepticism. Nevertheless, given that these funds are the mainstay for many CSOs, particularly those engaged in rights advocacy, they are imperative for the continuation of their activities.

Local Government-Civil Society Relationship

One of the most important dynamics in the local governance of migration is the relationship between local governments and civil society. The reason why only municipalities are the subject of the research among the actors constituting local governments is due to the unique situation of mu-

unicipalities at the local level. What distinguishes municipalities from other local actors is that they can take initiative beyond their legally defined areas of authority and responsibility and in this context, they have the opportunity to provide a wider range of services and assistance than they appear. Although they operate under the shadow of political parties, research shows that municipalities undertake more duties and responsibilities within their own means than required by law and thus play a very important role in the local management of migration. Apart from municipalities, the relationship between governorships and district governorships, which act as local representatives of the central government in synchronisation with the centre, was not preferred for monitoring purposes. Muhtar offices were excluded from the scope as more focused and comprehensive research is needed due to their large number and the unique and different nature of their practices.

In order to observe local relations as policy implementers, semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted with officials from the migration-related units of six district municipalities in Istanbul and the Marmara Municipalities Union. While selecting these municipalities, attention was paid to their characteristics such as the number of migrants and asylum seekers within their service boundaries, the fact that they are municipalities from different political parties and that they are from different demographic structures. The six district municipalities interviewed were Bakırköy, Esenyurt, Küçükçekmece, Sultanbeyli, Şişli, and Zeytinburnu Municipalities. Prior to delving into the connection between these two entities, it would be useful to discuss the legal framework governing the interaction between municipalities and civil society.

The legal situation in the relationship between municipalities and civil society

In Türkiye, there exists no obligatory policy or legal structure for formalizing the relationship between municipalities and civil society organizations. While references to this relationship can be found in several laws, a comprehensive and universal depiction of its character or implementation is lacking. Consequently, legal ambiguities and voids are prevalent. Public institutions are the primary entities with whom municipalities collaborate within the bounds of the legal system (Kale and Erdogan, 2019). Nevertheless, municipalities also partner extensively with local, national, and international civil society organizations. The most important provision in the existing laws on the relationship between municipalities and civil society, and the one to which municipalities most frequently refer, is Article 13 of Law No. 5393 on Municipalities. The second paragraph of this article points to the relationship that can be established with civil society organizations with the statement;

“The municipality carries out the necessary work on the development of social and cultural relations between fellow citizens and the protection of cultural values. Measures shall be taken to ensure the participation of universities, professional organizations with the status of public institutions, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and experts in these studies.”

Article 24 of the Law No. 5393 regulates the specialized commissions and the fifth paragraph of this article reads as follows;

“Neighborhood mukhtars and supervisors of public institutions in the province and representatives of professional organizations, universities, trade unions, and non-governmental organizations related to the issues on the agenda in the province may attend the meetings of the specialized commissions where the issues within their duties and activities are discussed without the right to vote and may express their opinions.”

The Law contains Article 75 which pertains to “relations with other organizations” and makes reference to civil society organizations. Additionally, Article 76 outlines “City Councils” and lists civil society organizations as participants in the council. Another law that touches upon the relationship between municipalities and civil society is the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5393, which includes provisions for cooperation with civil society organizations. However, while the term “cooperation” is used, the nature of the cooperation and the methodology for establishing it is not specified.

Due to the uncertainties arising from the legislation, it is seen that the units of each municipality that carry out migration-related activities are under different higher units. For example, among the municipalities interviewed, Sultanbeyli and Şişli Municipalities offer these activities under the Directorate of Social Support Services; Küçükçekmece, Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu Municipalities offer them under the Directorate of Support Services, while Esenyurt Municipality offers them under the Directorate of Social Assistance Affairs. Some studies conducted in Istanbul show that some municipalities do not have migration units and that this is largely a political choice (Woods and Kayalı, 2017; Yanar and Erkut, 2020). Although the regulations concerning the relations between local governments and civil society organizations are vague and unclear, municipalities have been recognized as stakeholders and service providers of integration policies in various international documents, especially with the rise in the urban refugee population (Kale and Erdoğan, 2019). One of the first international documents to address the participation of municipalities and civil society in migration management processes was the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP), developed under the leadership of the United Na-

tions Development Program (UNDP) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2015. The 3RP can be seen as a precursor to subsequent policy documents that address similar issues. It emphasizes that the governance of forced migration should prioritize ‘development’ rather than ‘aid’ and develop a regional program (Kayaoglu, Mencutek and Erdoğan, 2022). Despite these developments, gaps and uncertainties in national legislation have led to hesitation among municipalities in providing services to the refugee population. The previously mentioned rule, which determines the share of the general budget for municipalities based on the population registered within their boundaries, has led to differentiated practices among municipalities. The dispersion of the non-native populace within Istanbul exhibits considerable variability. Certain localities harbor a substantially elevated concentration of foreign residents, whereas others feature a comparably low ratio. Consequently, the onus of service provision borne by each municipality is likewise subject to variation. Albeit the burden encountered by each district municipality varies, the allocation of funds from the general budget to said municipalities is determined based on the district’s registered population. Of noteworthy concern is the fact that while a portion of those under temporary protection may be registered within the Istanbul province, or within a different district therein, a considerable segment of this population is registered in other provinces despite dwelling in Istanbul. This occurrence is understood to instigate reluctance among municipalities when providing services to those under temporary protection, in addition to other unregistered migrant groups. Cooperation with civil society entities appears to pose the greatest challenge in delivering services and aid to these foreign population groups. During interviews, a municipal staff member described the situation as follows:

“They (referring to the Supreme Court of Accounts) issued public damages for all the transactions we made with civil society, but it is possible to convince the Court of Accounts when you make it clear in advance with documents and protocols why the need for this cooperation arises. However, in some collaborations, if you fail to make this clear, you may face an investigation that you have caused public damage. Such situations cause municipalities to be hesitant in their relations with civil society. If you want to avoid trouble with the Supreme Court of Accounts, whatever associations etc. you cooperate with should also be open and transparent. They need to be aware of the processes we go through or what we are expected to account for. Otherwise, the whole process is already difficult. The municipality abstains, it is difficult to cooperate if the association is not professional” (Municipality interview-3; November 2018).

Local Government and Civil Society Relationship: Co-operation based on utilitarian dependency

During the interviews conducted to oversee the interplay between municipalities and civil society organizations, the queried civil society entities were also prompted to provide insights concerning their interactions with the local government. Responses to queries regarding the necessity and scope of collaboration between these two entities reveal that the interplay between municipalities and civil society organizations in the local governance of migration is implemented and molded within the confines of two principal problematic domains. These are support and cooperation in dealing with capacity constraints; and cooperation in accessing financial resources.

Capacity constraints exist for both municipalities and civil society organizations. In the context of migration management, capacity constraints in municipalities appear to be in the following areas: burden on existing social service infrastructure, the need for experienced staff, lack of experience in field research, rapid and flexible needs assessment in the field and delivery of assistance/services (coordination need), communication problems (language barrier/interpreter need). In most of these areas, civil society organizations are more advantageous than municipalities. Advantages such as the ability to take decisions quickly without any bureaucratic obstacles, having experience working in the field, and high coordination capability provide CSOs with the ability to act quickly in identifying and addressing needs in the field. There are areas where civil society organizations are disadvantaged due to infrastructure and physical inadequacies. It is precisely at this point that the first relationship between municipalities and civil society developed on the basis of mutually addressing capacity deficiencies. Therefore, the relationship between municipalities and civil society is characterized by two dimensions: support and cooperation. In the interviews, it was observed that CSOs demanded support from municipalities in the form of building or vehicle allocation and completion of infrastructure deficiencies (e.g. provision of internet, supply of various equipment). Municipalities, on the other hand, cooperate in areas where they are inadequate and open to improvement. Thus, the second type of relationship that emerges in the dimension of insufficient capacity is cooperation for the purpose of providing joint services. The deficiencies of municipalities in the field, and the need for CSOs, which have a faster and more flexible structure in providing assistance and services after a needs analysis, lead to cooperation between these two actors for joint services. Municipalities benefit from the knowledge and field experience of CSOs, and in return allow the use of their own physical infrastructure. A CSO worker expressed his thoughts and experience on the cooperation between

the municipality and CSOs in the following words:

“For example, we provide interpreters for asylum-seekers who reach us in some way so that they can do their work in public institutions. Our friends from here accompany the person who arrives, sometimes this can be a government office, sometimes a municipality. There is no protocol or official cooperation, but I think that as long as public institutions cannot produce their own solutions, these kinds of exchanges will continue officially or unofficially” (Interview-9, October 2018, rights-based CSO).

A municipality employee gave the following answer to the question about why the need for cooperation arises:

“It is much easier to reach disadvantaged groups through civil society organizations. CSOs are critical in reaching the target group. They are more experienced and have stronger capacities. Inherently, municipalities want to use this capacity” (Municipality interview-5; November 2018, rights-based CSO).

The second important dimension of the municipality-CSO relationship is the lack of financing and, accordingly, cooperation in accessing funding sources. With the increase in the number of asylum-seekers living in cities, there has been increasing financial pressure on municipalities. Inadequate resources to meet the financial burden and municipalities’ lack of financial support in the legal context have led to the emergence of a financial dimension in municipalities’ relations with civil society actors.

Another important factor that creates pragmatic dependency in the municipality-CSO relationship is the electoral pressure and voting concerns that municipalities face. There is a situation where hesitations in providing services to the foreign population are overcome through CSOs that are not concerned about votes. It is important to emphasize that there is a mutual need here as well since the nature of civil society in Türkiye means that financial support mechanisms are inadequate and it is almost impossible for CSOs to continue their activities solely on donations and income from various activities. Therefore, the second dimension of the municipality-civil society organization relationship is cooperation in accessing financial resources. According to the legislation, the main financial resources of municipalities consist of equity revenues (taxes, fees, expenditure participation shares), shares allocated from the general budget, and state aids and other revenues (extraordinary revenues, borrowing, etc.). Therefore, municipalities, which aim to provide services to everyone within their service boundaries based on the law of fellow citizenship, need to access additional resources to their existing financing sources. This is because the shares allocated from the general budget, which have a significant share in municipal revenues, are determined according to the population registered in the municipality in question, which

causes great difficulties in financing aid and services for the group that is not registered but needs to be served. In this context, it is observed that municipalities cooperate with civil society organizations to provide financing. Another dimension of this situation is that civil society organizations are much more advantageous than municipalities in accessing funding sources. In accessing international funds through projects, CSOs' experience in producing and implementing projects provides a significant advantage. It was observed that all municipalities interviewed benefit from external financial support beyond their existing resources.

The relationship between municipalities and civil society organizations, which are two important actors in the local management of migration, is seen as one of pragmatic complementarity. It is shown that these two actors, which are almost ineffective in the policy-making processes of migration management at the local level, are the most important actors in the implementation phase. The exclusion of local government and civil society in decision-making processes and their involvement only in implementation processes within the framework of pragmatic relations reveals a pattern similar to the transformation of the central government in the field of social policy. The fact that municipalities are deprived of financial support should not only be understood as a legislative uncertainty but should also be seen as a political preference of the central government. Similarly, the difficulties faced by civil society due to its relationship with the central government and structural problems discussed previously, and the financial collaborations arising from the need for external resources to carry out its activities in this direction have a restrictive effect on the autonomous mobility of civil society organizations. In accessing external resources, the situation of acting according to whatever the conjuncture requires, the concentration of projects in a narrow area, the importance of quantity rather than project outputs, and the creation of a sector in this area. In addition to this important problem, it is seen that ideological reasons are also decisive in municipality-civil society relations. The interviews showed that municipalities act under the shadow of political parties, that instructions from the center are decisive in some municipalities' relations with civil society, and that they make a distinction between "workable CSOs and non-workable CSOs" and shape their cooperation accordingly. Thus, the delivery of services by distinct units-directorates in each municipality, catering to transient and variable requirements, without formulating long-term policies to address all such issues, is occasionally influenced by political inclinations, but largely attributable to a lack of foresight. Nevertheless, in spite of these challenges, municipalities and non-governmental organizations have emerged as the most accomplished and efficacious stakeholders in the management of migration.

Conclusion

Based on a literature review, document analysis and field research, this study draws attention to the existence of a power dynamic between these formations at the national and local levels in Türkiye, sometimes characterized by negotiation and sometimes by domination. Contrary to the claims of the globalization discourse that the nation-state has been weakened worldwide, the thesis that states have not lost their power in this transition process seems to be confirmed in Türkiye. In fact, the capacity of the state to tax, redistribute income, regulate the economy and control and monitor people's activities has increased in this process. This phenomenon is reflected in the design and implementation of migration policy in Türkiye, with the central government maintaining its dominant role as the policy-making institution. However, the state is not a producer of power relations per se, but a product of these relations and implements power mechanisms accordingly. In this context, the central government in Türkiye formulates migration policy according to its own political logic and uses laws as a management tool in its policy-making capacity. Despite the state's multi-actor discourse in migration management, interviews show that other stakeholders are either underrepresented or excluded from policy-making processes.

By analyzing the actors involved in the implementation of migration management policies in Türkiye, this study shows that there are basically three important sources of relations between these actors. These sources, through which the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion operate, are the ideological stances of the actors, the need for financing and the need arising from the lack of capacity at the local level.

In general, the relationship between the central government and local governments in Türkiye functions based on the principle of limiting local governments to administrative tasks, with inadequate financial autonomy, and under political influence, resulting in restricted authority and insufficient responsibility. This situation often excludes local stakeholders from decision-making processes, despite their substantial role in policy implementation.

The study also shows that the relationship between the state and civil society in migration management is not characterised by sharp boundaries and antagonisms, but by an organic link in which mechanisms of conflict and reconciliation, exclusion and inclusion operate. It is seen that the structural problems regarding the state-civil society relationship are also reflected in the management of migration, and in this context, the organic relationship between the state and civil society has crystallized in the management of migration. Whether CSOs operating in the field of

migration are rights-based or religious-based is an important determinant of their relations with the central government. Religious-based CSOs' perception of civil society and their relationship with the central government in this regard involves compromise and harmony rather than conflict. For some rights-based CSOs, on the other hand, the relationship is based on conflict. The difference here stems from the difference in views on access to rights. This situation makes it easier for the state to delegate its duties and responsibilities in some areas to actors other than itself and leads to the development of the relationship between local governments and civil society in this context. Thus, it is seen that philanthropy in the management of migration has gained a legitimizing quality in the evolution of rights-based social policies into voluntary aid. This situation points to migration management that develops in harmony with global neoliberal policies. The process of erosion of social rights at the global level results in the organization of migration management with non-sustainable policies that include temporary solutions rather than rights-based policies. The neoliberal state's referral of the solution of problems to the market, which is seen at the global level, is also observed in Türkiye.

The partnership between local government and civil society is seen as driven by two key needs: assistance with capacity constraints and access to financial resources. Both parties face capacity constraints, but can mutually benefit from improved coordination and access to trained staff and infrastructure. The lack of funding and the financial pressures caused by the growing foreign population have led to cooperation between municipalities and civil society. Municipalities need more funding to expand their activities, which civil society organisations can help with, given their flexibility and experience in accessing different financial resources. This has led to a pragmatic interdependence between the two parties. CSOs working in the migration field often lack financial resources, making them dependent on project-based funding. This dependence can cause them to prioritize projects over their original purpose as civil society organizations. The EU is the primary funder in this area, and its project themes can shape the migration agenda. However, the focus on quantity over quality and the lack of supervision of project outputs can lead to a decrease in effective civil society activities. Furthermore, funding agencies may only request statistical reports, leading to a risk of staff becoming project experts rather than staying true to their organization's purpose.

As a result, there are uncertainties and gaps in the legislation on migration management, creating an ambiguity that policy makers can use as a management strategy for more flexible control. This ambiguity can become a tool of coercion and control as the central government can easily exert control mechanisms over other actors in areas not regulated by legis-

lation. The study emphasizes that the reformulation of migration policies according to interests makes them volatile and uncertain. Migration has become a highly politicized issue in Türkiye, with each actor approaching it according to their own interests. Migration management lacks binding principles and consists of temporary solutions that are not based on rights. The fragmented structure involves the categorization of migrant groups through mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion, which facilitates the use of migration as a tool of diplomacy in both domestic and foreign policy.

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CHAPTER 6

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DISASTER MANAGEMENT

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Introduction

As the historical development of the concept of management is examined, it is obvious that various theoretical studies and articles have been written since the early ages. In the process until the 18th century; many masterpieces had been written, from Aristotle's *Politics* to Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*, from Machiavelli's *The Prince* to Nizam al Mulk *Siyasatnama*. In each of these works, it is delineated that there are significant opinions that interpret the functioning of the state in terms of administration and give various advice and consulting to the administrators. In the 19th century, the study called 'The Study of Administration, which is accepted as the beginning of public administration scientifically and systematically by many people, was written by the American Woodrow Wilson in 1887. In terms of administrative science, the 20th century, with the development of the industrial revolution, included various management theories and practices in which production and consumption were at the centre at first and the social rights of the employees could be ignored. Studies developed in the period up to 1930 are called Classical Management Theories. These theories appear to have been developed by Max Weber, Henry Fayol, and Frederick Winslow Taylor. At the centre of the theories of this period were increasing efficiency, standardizing production and management processes, and establishing detailed rules and hierarchical structures (Eryılmaz 2017). From the 1930s on, the post-classical period, called Neoclassical, began to develop. Although this period is based on the concepts and principles of classical management thought, it is seen that these principles and concepts were developed with the human relations approach (Sözen and Basım 2017). In this period, it is revealed that the relations between human relations, behaviours, and organizational structure were examined in general (Levent 2014).

After the Second World War, it is suggested that the system and contingency approaches, which are called modern management theories, started to develop theoretically. The systems approach argues that for a structure to be fully analysed, it should be considered as a whole. According to this approach, each part that constitutes the whole has its functioning, and the success of the system depends on the success of each part. In line with contingency theory, steps are taken according to current conditions rather than general approaches. This approach claims that there can be no universal management theories and that management activity will be shaped according to the situations encountered at certain times (Williams 2009). The contingency approach is a research area that examines how institutions or organizations affect the environment in which they work and how they are affected by this environment (Jones 2017). The origin of this approach lies in the difficulties and problems faced in practice. In the contingency

approach, solutions are sought through in-depth research of the problems faced by organizations (Genç 2005:11). On the other hand, theories called post-modern began to show themselves after the 1990s. In this period, it is seen that customer satisfaction and quality-oriented approaches have been developed based on the principle of teamwork and people first. Also, concepts such as core competencies, reengineering, strategic partnerships, learning organizations, and governance began to be developed in this period (Nişancı 2015).

Disasters are chaotic events that inherently contain uncertainties. Therefore, institutions and organizations have to make various preparations and risk analyses according to their environment and conditions in terms of disaster management. The management mechanisms of institutions and organizations that respond to disasters vary according to the type of disaster that will occur. It can be said that among the management theories, disaster management is handled most comprehensively by the contingency theory. With reference to the historical process of disasters, it is revealed that many written sources have been alluded to. However, it is obvious that as a discipline and systematic studies emerged in the 20th century. It is noted that sociologists contribute to the historical development of disaster management by conducting serious systematic studies in the conceptual field. It is a fact that almost all of these studies have been published in American journals and books.

Linear Approaches in Disaster Management

As studies in the field of disaster management are considered, it may be possible to encounter various examples from centuries ago. However, it is seen that academic and scientific studies started to be conducted in the 20th century. It is noticed that the studies conducted in the 1920s and 1970s were mostly studies that described the event, examined the effects on individuals and groups, and tried to understand the problem. The efforts carried out in this period are called linear because they are conceptual and not transferred to figures and visuals.

In a doctoral study by a researcher named Prince in 1920, the effects of the explosion that took place in the port of Halifax, Canada, on December 6, 1917, on society were examined. As a result of this explosion, in 1963 people lost their lives and 9000 were injured (Scanlon 1988). This explosion was recorded in many different sources as the most explosive other than the atomic bomb. It is also stated that it sets an example for the atomic bomb in terms of greater damage. The thesis prepared by Prince is the first academic study that was systematically prepared on the subject of disaster (Scanlon 1988). In this study, it is seen for the first time that three stages are evaluated as the principles of aid in disasters. These stages are

emergency, transfer, and rehabilitation (Prince 1920:85). The emergency phase refers to the general panic and turmoil of a disaster-affected society. The transfer phase is the phase where organized professional teams come to the area and start rescue and aid activities. The rehabilitation phase is the phase where it is realized that aid activities can continue for a temporary period of time to compensate for social and economic losses and that social improvement policies should be implemented to return to normal life. While these stages are being created, it is seen that the processes occurring at the scene are observed and the interventions are made in a sequence. In particular, starting from the intervention of the American Red Cross to the event, it was revealed which stages occur in disasters. This study has an important place in the field of disaster management, as it is the first academic study describing the response processes in the event of a disaster based on observation.

Another study examining the effects and processes of disasters on society was handled by Carr in 1932. In this study, it is clear that disaster phases were handled in a more systematic way by definition (Singleton 2016). In the research, it was emphasized that the size of disasters will vary according to the rate of occurrence, size of the area affected, complexity, and severity, and it is seen that disasters are classified into four types.

Table 1: *Disaster Types and Descriptions*

Disaster Types	Descriptions
Instantaneous-diffused	It refers to events such as large explosions that occur before any intervention can take place.
Instantaneous-focalized	It refers to disasters that occur suddenly but can be controlled in a limited area.
Progressive-diffused	It refers to disasters whose development can be followed, such as storms and hurricanes.
Progressive-focalized	It refers to disasters that occur slowly in a limited area. The Titanic disaster is shown as an example of this event.

Source: (Carr 1932:209).

The disaster classification and explanations given in the table are included in the study, which was written academically in the history of disaster management and in which disasters were classified for the first time. Carr stated in his study that each disaster occurs through various phases and considered disaster phases to be three basic stages. These stages are presented below.

- Preliminary-prodromal: As a result, this stage is the stage in which the conditions that will create the disaster begin to occur and continue.
- Dislocation-disorganization: This stage refers to the loss of life, injury, and material losses that occur after the disaster. At this stage, the reflexes and approaches of society against the disaster will be determined by the culture, moral values, and leadership characteristics, as well as the severity and complexity of the event (Carr 1932:211).
- Readjustment-reorganization: In this study, it is emphasized that the events that occur are not a disaster in themselves but that the disaster is a result. The author explained with an example, "We cannot call storms a disaster as long as ships continue to sail on the sea".

In addition to clearly describing the stages of a disaster, this study also states that it is necessary to prepare for disasters as an initial step (Neal 1997). It is of great importance in terms of classifying disasters and being the first academic study to systematically reveal the stages of disaster occurrence. Furthermore, in this study, the approach of what to do before, during, and after the disaster is presented as an approach, although it is not clearly expressed.

The 1950s were the years when important resources began to emerge in terms of disaster management. Particularly since this period, time-and process-oriented approaches such as the occurrence of disasters and the steps of response to disasters have begun to be written more clearly. In 1954, Powell classified disaster phases under eight different headings in his study. These phases are presented below.

- Predisaster conditions: This stage expresses the attitudes and habits of society in the face of danger rather than a process.
- Warning: It means taking pre-disaster measures.
- Threat: It focuses on taking the measures necessary to survive a negative impact.
- Impact: This stage, in humans; is the stage in which the perception that the whole society can be seriously harmed develops.
- Inventory: This is the stage in which the magnitude and extent of the destruction resulting from disasters are noticed by individuals or society.
- Rescue: It includes helping affected people after disasters.
- Remedy: It refers to the arrival of professional response teams to the scene.

- Recovery: It refers to the efforts made to return life to normal (Powell 1954).

The aforementioned study is significant in terms of defining and systematizing disaster stages and is an important source for similar studies. It is seen that the disaster stages specified in the study will set an example for the new disaster management systems to be developed in the following years (Coetzee and Van Niekerk 2012:4). Another development that occurred in the same year was the idea that disaster research requires a multidisciplinary approach and that the theory, data source, method, and application steps should be based on disaster research (Williams 1954:6).

It is argued that almost all of the disaster research has been done by sociologists since the 1950s. The studies carried out in this period were especially aimed at understanding what the disaster was and explaining the negative effects it had on society. Leading sociologists who conducted disaster research in the 1950s and 1960s were Charles Fritz, Eli Marks, Robert Endelman, Otto Larsen, Roy Clifford, Hiram Friedsam, Fred Crawford, Fred Bates, Harry Moore, Arthur Prell, Albert Foley, Irving Deutscher, Meda White, Ellwyn Stoddard, and other researchers (Quarantelli 1994:27). By the 1960s, it was revealed that the definitions and approaches made in the field of disaster management had started to progress towards various standardization steps. Chapman, in his 1962 work, for example, deals with the previously defined disaster phases and reinterprets them by adding some different perspectives. In this study, disaster phases are explained under six headings such as warning, threat, impact, inventory, rescue, and remedy (Chapman 1962). Chapman is the first researcher to realize and articulate that much more can be done to more effectively manage deaths, injuries, and losses through pre-disaster education and exercises regarding roles in protection and recovery functions (Coetzee and Van Niekerk 2012:5). In addition, in this study, the situations that occur during the disaster response and recovery phases are clearly revealed.

A further study, which is a significant contribution to the field of disaster management, was made by Stoddard in 1968. In the study, concepts that shed light on disaster management cycles that will be used in later periods were included. In the study, disaster phases were described in three stages: pre-emergency, emergency, and post-emergency (Stoddard 1968). Of the three phases Stoddard described, both the pre-emergency and post-emergency phases contain sub-phases or activities. Sub-headings in the pre-emergency stage; warning, threat, evacuation, displacement, and resettlement on the other hand, the post-emergency phase includes short- and long-term rehabilitation activities.

Non-Linear Approaches in Disaster Management

In the field of disaster management, research studies that maintain their validity even today and form a philosophical and administrative basis for today's studies have started to emerge since the 1970s. The approaches alluded to in these years include non-linear approaches, as they deal with the process and stages in a more comprehensive and detailed way than definitions and concepts. These approaches, albeit partially, are the harbinger of disaster management becoming more complex. In his study in 1970, Barton defined disasters as accidental and uncontrollable events and explained disasters in five different phases.

These phases are:

- Predisaster: Works before disasters
- Detection and communication: It refers to the phase in which a hazard is detected and a warning is made. Immediate effects at this stage may be perceived as more important than those that develop slowly.
- Emergency (unorganized) response phase: It includes emergency interventions following the impact of the event.
- Organized social intervention phase: This phase refers to the phase that can last for days, weeks, or years.
- Post-disaster balance phase: It refers to the phase when life returns to normal after the disaster. (Barton 1970).

While Barton analyses these phases; he considered many variables, such as individuals, social groups, official institutions, and regional and national systems. An important feature of this study is that social and organizational disorders occur in disasters. When responding to disasters, first of all, it is done without organization and coordination. After that, professional teams come on the scene. In the study, it is stated that the closest local people and groups to the event should be prepared, and local teams should be formed. 1975 was a breaking point in disaster management. The studies that are described as integrated disaster management today and that form the basis of the process-oriented approach to disaster management began to emerge in these years. Mileti, Drabek, and Hass studied human and social behaviour in disaster and emergency situations in their 1975 work. In their study, disaster phases are grouped under six headings. These titles are:

- Preparedness and adjustment
- Warning
- Pre-impact, early actions
- Post-impact, short-term actions

- Relief and restoration
- Reconstruction (Mileti, Drabek, and Hass 1975).

In the study, it is articulated that the above-mentioned stages are the basis of the disaster research carried out until this date. It is also claimed that these phases will provide a standard approach for all disasters and emergencies. Another feature of this research is that its results are a summary of the approaches taken since the 1920s. In other studies, conducted in the same year, it is seen that the titles related to general information on disaster issues, disaster effects, regional disasters around the world, and practices to be done to reduce exposure to disasters were discussed.

Table 2: *Destructive Earthquakes That Happened Around the World in 1969*

Region	Magnitude
Gibraltar	8.0
Yugoslavia	6.4
Albania	5.7
Turkey	6.5
Iran	5.6
Chile	7.6
China	6.2
Celebes Islands	7.3
Peru	6.4
Red Sea	7.0
Ethiopia	6.3
South Africa	6.5

Source: (Baird et al. 1975:5).

In their 1975 study, Baird et al. found that there were destructive earthquakes that occurred around the world in 1969. It is striking that Turkey is among the countries where these devastating earthquakes took place. It is seen in the reports they published that the developments in Turkey during these years were followed by American sociologists. In addition, one of the most significant features of this study is that it is one of the first studies in the disaster management literature to deal with pre-disaster planning studies and disaster management as a system.

There are practical applications necessary for pre-disaster planning implementations to be successful. First of all, planning should be seen as a continuous process that aims to reduce the uncertainty involved in a problematic situation. Also, planning should aim to demonstrate appropriate behaviours and take all possibilities into account. Furthermore, the planning process should be built on information and seen as an educational activity.

With reference to this study, it is systematically suggested that the pre-disaster planning process should consist of some standard activities. In addition, in the pre-disaster planning process, the importance of information flow in inter-institutional relations is emphasized. Another significant point argued in the study is that pre-disaster plans should be prepared jointly with development plans (Baird et al. 1975:50). It can be suggested that the above-mentioned issues point to the development of disaster management as a discipline and to the fact that it has begun to be dealt with within the science of management.

Integrated Approaches in Disaster Management

It is a good example that a second turning point in the field of disaster management was experienced in 1979. In a report prepared by the American National Association of Governors in 1979, various views were put forward on the organization and coordination of disasters and emergencies in the United States. The report has historical importance in terms of disaster management. The reason this, the National Association of Governors made a presentation to the American President by writing down the general and coordination problems in disaster and emergency situations. In the given presentation, it is stated that 1242 emergencies occurred in 1978, and 1461 emergencies took place in the previous five years. The significant numerical increase in the number of incidents has convinced the Union of Governors that disasters and emergencies should be restructured in an administrative sense. As a result, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was established, which aims to coordinate disaster and emergency activities with the approval of the American President. With the establishment of FEMA, the processes carried out in disaster management are discussed under the headings of mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery from a holistic perspective. In the report, preparedness and response include rapid action, authority, operations, and decision-making, while mitigation and recovery; include analysis, evaluation, and policy-making preparation (National Governors' Association 1979). A further aspect of the report is that the approaches known today as integrated or comprehensive disaster management were structured at that time. Integrated disaster management is a discipline that requires work to be done

before, during, and after all disasters. Also, implementations are handled within the approaches to mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Along with this discipline, it is aimed at fighting against technological and human-induced dangers, natural disasters, internal turmoil, energy and resource problems, and terrorist attacks. In the report, the aim of integrated disaster management is set out as being to reduce losses and damages in related areas. The stages of mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery, revealed in the document by the Governors' Union were accepted as the phases of disasters. This article also has an important role in that it is the first study in which the model known today as integrated disaster management is fully introduced.

By the 1980s, it was clear that disaster management studies were mostly shaped within the framework of the four-phase model. A study conducted by Dynes et al. in 1981 is an excellent example of this model. In this research, they presented a perspective for disaster plans and categorized disaster stages such as pre-disaster, pre-impact, impact, emergency response, and recovery. These stages are explained below.

- Pre-disaster phase: It refers to the phase in which daily activities and routine work are carried out in society.
- Pre-impact phase: This phase refers to the process when the first indication that a hazard may occur. Official statements about extreme weather events and warnings of secondary events that may occur after an earthquake can be given as examples of the pre-impact phase.
- Impact phase: This phase indicates being aware of the occurrence of an event. The duration varies depending on the slow or rapid development of the phenomena.
- Emergency phase: This phase covers the intervention studies carried out according to the capacity required by the event.
- Recovery phase: This phase aims to reduce the long-term effects and damages caused by the disaster and bring life back to normal (Dynes, Quarantelli, and Kreps 1981).

It is revealed that this study focused on emergencies and a few events that require urgent intervention. The phases considered in general terms are preparation, intervention, and improvement approaches. However, it is seen that the mitigation phase is not considered a phase in itself but rather an activity carried out within the improvement works.

It is clearly seen that disaster management is mostly written by sociologists. However, since 1985, it is obvious that some public administration and management scientists have started to conduct various research proj-

ects in the field of disaster management. It can be said that the studies of the American Governors' Association have been influential in the research of public administration and management scientists in the field of disaster management. In 1985, Comfort considered integrated organizational interventions in emergency management. The study generally focused on information management in emergency management. The role of the information required to carry out the response work in emergency management and the situations where the process of accessing information is affected are grouped under three headings. These are;

- The emergency management process consists of four successive and divergent stages. These stages are; mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Here, it is emphasized that in order to be able to make effective decisions, information should be organized and collected separately according to each stage. For example, inaccurate information management in the mitigation and preparation stages can lead to the misuse of resources when disaster strikes.

- The necessary and needed information for correct emergency response should be collected and managed by taking into account the institutions with different levels of responsibilities. For example, fire brigades should work out where to deploy their teams in advance. Or, police teams should work in advance to know which routes they will take to intervene in the events taking place in the city. While doing information management, separate operations should be carried out according to each resource's capacity.

- The rapid complexity of the incident adversely affects emergency response personnel's access to and management of information. In addition, increasing uncertainty and complexity slows down the ability of emergency response and increases the probability of employees making mistakes (Comfort 1985).

This study is among the first to deal with disaster and emergency management from the perspective of public administration. The stages of disaster management are mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Implementations that need to be done at each stage were explained at the city, regional, and national levels. With reference to this study, it is seen that other studies that deal with the disaster management discipline from the perspective of public administration and governorship have started in the following years. In addition, it was stated in the study that the problems that arise due to the use of untimely and incorrect information in effective emergency response processes constitute the main problems in organizational integration.

In 1985, another study dealing with disaster management in terms of public administration was conducted by Petak. In the study, the challenges that emergency management poses for public administration are discussed. In this study, the stages of disaster management are defined as follows from the perspective of public administration:

- **Mitigation:** It is the process that involves implementing a risk reduction program for risks that will adversely affect the health, safety, and well-being of the community.
- **Preparedness:** Developing a response plan to identify critical resources and develop resources is the process of training first responders to save lives, reduce disaster damage, and ensure agreement and coordination between responding institutions.
- **Response:** It is the work done to carry out emergency response and relief efforts, to reduce the possibility of secondary damage, and to minimize the problems for the rescue phase.
- **Recovery:** It covers the process of providing the necessary support to meet the vital needs of the affected people at a minimum level and continuing to provide support until society returns to normal (Petak 1985).

In this study, while explaining the stages of a disaster, concepts such as security, risk reduction, resource management, response plans, and coordination are discussed in terms of public administration.

Table 3: Roles and Responsibilities in Disaster Stages

		Intergovernmental/Organizational/Stakeholders					
		Federal	State	Local	Regional	Other Stakeholders	
Disaster Phases	Pre-Disasters	Mitigation					
		Preparedness Planning and Warning		Roles and responsibilities in managing man-made and natural hazards occurrences			
	Post-Disasters	Response					
		Recovery					

Source: (Petak 1985:4).

This study is the first to deal with the phases of disaster management before and after the disaster and examine the process from the perspective

of public administration. In the study, it is emphasized that public administrators should pay attention not only to dangers and crises but also to mitigation and preparation processes. It is stated that public administrators should have technical knowledge about the stages of disaster management at a level that they can follow the process, although not as much as the experts working in the field. In addition, considering the responsibility of employees who help people in disaster areas, it is emphasized that public administrators should dominate the process in terms of public responsibility. As a result of this study, the skills that public administrators should have as disaster managers are the ability to understand the entire system, the correct distribution of expertise, the ability to know the connections between areas of expertise, and the ability to see the needs of the entire system.

A further contribution to disaster management from the perspective of public administration was made by McLoughlin in 1985. In the study, an approach has been developed in the field of Integrated Emergency Management (IEM) in terms of public administration. At the heart of the IEM approach is the understanding that there is a common set of functions required for most emergencies and that a capability assessment should focus on this common set. The stages of disaster included in this approach are similar to those in other studies but show some differences, albeit small. In this study, it is emphasized that the IEM system should be standardized according to various functions. It is stated that a few similar requirements arise in all disasters and emergencies and that similar resources, capacities, and functions are needed. These functions are;

- Emergency organization,
- Urgent operational planning,
- Resource management,
- Direction and control,
- Emergency communication,
- Alarm and warning systems,
- Emergency press releases,
- Evacuation,
- Protective measures,
- Emergency support units,
- Emergency reporting,
- Training and disaster drills (McLoughlin 1985).

In this study, it is argued that the response stages to disasters and emergencies can be organized into standard procedures based on various observations. After the establishment of FEMA, it can be said that various standardization studies in the field of emergency and disaster management started as a result of the important responsibilities that public administrators took on in the disaster management process. Furthermore, in this study, it is suggested that disaster and emergency processes should be put forward from a holistic perspective in terms of public administration. As a result of the studies, it can be said that the topics covered in disaster management are shaped towards some standard processes.

In another study conducted in 1986, disaster response implementations were evaluated through human and social systems. In the study, disaster response phases are examined under four main titles and various sub-titles. These titles are;

- Preparation
- Planning
- Early warning
- Intervention
- Transfer before impact
- Post-impact emergency response
- Improvement
- Restoration (up to 6 months)
- Rebuild (after 6 months)
- Damage reduction
- Hazard detection
- Regulations (Drabek 1986:11).

This study is comprehensive and deals with disaster management from the perspective of sociology. In addition, it is emphasized that the planning phase should be included in the preparation phase, one of the disaster phases.

Scientific and academic disaster research gained momentum with the opening of the Disaster Research Centre at Ohio State University in 1963. This centre later moved to the University of Delaware in 1985 and continued its work. It is seen that sociologists mostly work in this centre and essentially, the social dimensions of disasters were examined. This centre has five purposes in general. These purposes are:

- Blending and synthesizing findings from previous studies on organizational behaviour under stress and pressure,
- Examining pre-crisis organizational structures and procedures for coping with stress, both in fieldwork and theoretically,
- Establishing a field research team to conduct investigations on the functioning of institutions in domestic and foreign disaster environments,
- Developing a program for organizational behaviour under stress through field experiments and laboratory simulation studies, in coordination with a concurrent project,
- Producing a series of scientific publications on the basis of determined objectives (Quarantelli 1986:7).

This research centre makes serious contributions to the development of disaster management, both scientifically and in terms of field research. The sociologists who founded and took charge of the research centre formed the conceptual and theoretical basis of disaster research, thanks to their reports and scientific periodicals.

Concepts such as uncertainty and emergency plans have started to enter studies in the field of disaster management since the 1980s. McConkey's study in 1987 revealed that planning should be done for uncertain situations. This research is among the first to deal with emergency plans in disaster management. It is stated that emergency planning within disaster management should focus on uncertainties, risks, and hazards, as well as opportunities that may arise. Situations that require emergency planning are explained.

- Administrative gaps in disasters,
- Damage to production areas,
- Lack of nutrients and medical devices,
- Hijacking of senior executives,
- Damage to computer infrastructures,
- Expropriation of private property,
- Natural disasters,
- Terrorist attacks (McConkey 1987).

With reference to this study, the perception that there should be emergency plans in disaster management has begun to emerge. It is also emphasized that emergency plans should include some standard steps. These steps are:

- Identification of more significant possibilities that are likely to occur during the planning period,
- Estimating the probability of each of the events that may occur,
- Establishing the main assumptions in a way that supports probability estimations realistically,
- Preparation of action plans to deal with the emergency,
- Identifying a method by which each assumption can be followed and observed,
- Creating resources for the implementation of emergency plans,
- Writing financial reports as a result of the implementation of emergency plans,
- Determining the person who must approve the application and the person who will perform it.

Emergency action plans play a significant role in coping with uncertainties in disaster management. Emergency action plans have provided various gains in standardizing the preparation stages and making various preparations against all dangers. In addition, the beginning of the preparation of emergency action plans can be seen as an impact of contingency theory and approach to disaster management.

In the 1990s, it was seen that crisis management issues were also included in disaster management studies. Considering that the crisis management process has an important place in the disaster management system, the contribution of the studies to the field is extremely productive. Mitroff et al. examined effective crisis management in their 1987 study. In this study, the stages of crisis management are detection, crisis, correction, and evaluation. The phases are presented as a process that includes mutual relations rather than succession. In the study, the fact that institutions deny or do not accept that they are fragile or vulnerable is stated as the reason for their reactive behaviour in times of crisis. On the other hand, when institutions accept and are aware of their vulnerability, they attach importance to preparedness and prevention activities and display proactive behaviours (Mitroff, Shrivastava, and Udwadia 1987).

American Influence on Disaster Management

Considering the studies in the field of disaster management, it is seen that the country's disaster management systems are explained with extremely superficial and limited information. In particular, the system of a country like America, which has a lot of knowledge and experience in disaster management, is covered in a few pages of texts. However, it would

be appropriate to say that the philosophical foundations of today's disaster management were laid in America. Therefore, the development of American disaster management is also included in this chapter. The process by which federal governments became involved in disasters in the United States began after the great fire that took place in the city of New Hampshire in 1803. In the same year, the Congress Act was passed, and economic aid was provided to the people affected by the fire. In 1881, a voluntary movement founded by Clarissa Harlowe Barton to help people in disasters gave birth to the American Red Cross. Floods that occurred in the state of Ohio in 1917 caused the Flood Control Act to be passed. In 1934, with some changes to the flood law, the American Army Corps of Engineers was authorized to develop various projects to control and prevent floods. Powers given to the military have revealed the philosophical approach to American disaster management: floods can be controlled by humans. The idea that people can control nature in this period is an important development for disaster management (Haddow, Bullock, and Coppola 2008:2).

The years of the Cold War that started after the Second World War paved the way for various preparations, especially against nuclear attacks and fallout. Since the 1950s, the concept of civil defence has emerged, and various preparations have begun in this direction. In 1950, the Federal Civil Defence Act was ratified and entered into force. This law provided the baseline framework for minimizing the effects of an attack on the civilian population and a plan to respond to the emergency conditions created by the attack (HSDL 2020). Another development that occurred in 1950 was the passing of the 'Disaster Relief Act' by Congress, which authorized the American President to provide federal disaster relief at the request of the governors. With this development, it is seen that a comprehensive disaster law was adopted for the first time in the USA after 128 different disaster-related laws have been adopted since 1803 (FEMA 2008). In the ongoing process, civil defence services have become more important with the effect of the Cold War principles. In 1961, an Emergency Preparedness Office was established within the White House, and civil defence services continued.

In the 1960s, it is seen that various insurance issues were experienced, particularly against floods and hurricanes. By enacting the 'National Flood Insurance Law in 1968, concrete steps continued to be taken against disasters. The 1970s led to the development of various critical thoughts in the field of disaster management in the United States. During this period, emergency management became the focus at the national level. In line with the recommendations of the National Association of Governors to the American president, FEMA was established; preparation, mitigation, response, and recovery activities were carried out in an integrated manner

(Haddow et al. 2008:5). Prior to the 1970s, disasters were seen as local events throughout America. However, with the development of cable television broadcasts and the media's interest in disasters, the perception that disasters are a national issue has begun to develop (Farazmand 2014:169). The 1980s led to the rise of civil defence in the United States, as it did around the world, due to the fear of nuclear weapons threats. However, in these years, FEMA experienced various problems due to both failures in responding to disasters and administrative problems. The years 1989-1992 were described as problematic years in the history of FEMA. Towards the 2000s, it is seen that FEMA achieved some successes, gained prestige again, and left the administrative problems behind. The terrorist attacks that took place in 2001 became a serious breaking point in the history of American disaster management. Since this date, in order to eliminate terrorist acts within disaster management, prevention, and precautionary measures have also started to take place. The process of becoming the focal point of terrorist incidents resulted in the establishment of the Ministry of National Homeland Security in 2002. Since 2004, FEMA has continued its work as a sub-unit working under the Ministry of Homeland Security.

The terrorist attacks that took place in 2001 made various contributions to the emergence of national preparedness against disasters in the United States. The American national disaster preparedness system is built on six pillars. These are identifying and assessing risks, estimating capability requirements, building and maintaining capacity, planning capacity delivery, and validating, reviewing, and updating capabilities (FEMA 2021). In 2015, a “National Preparedness Plan” was put forward by FEMA, which also covers terrorist incidents (FEMA 2015). The purpose of the national preparation plan is to create a secure and resilient nation with the capabilities to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from all threats and dangers that pose a risk. It is aimed at reaching this determined national goal by carrying out studies in the following areas:

- To prevent, avoid, or stop terrorist acts or terrorist threats.
- Protecting citizens, visitors, assets, systems, and networks from the greatest threats and dangers.
- To minimize the loss of life and property by reducing the impact of future disasters.
- Responding quickly after an incident to save lives, protect property and the environment, and meet basic human needs.
- To carry out recovery with a focus on the timely restoration, strengthening, and revitalization of the infrastructure, housing, and economy, as well as the health, social, cultural, historical, and environmental

fabric of communities affected by an incident.

According to the national preparedness plan prepared by FEMA in 2015, as an approach to disasters; prevention, protection, mitigation, response, and recovery activities are determined.

Table 4: *Core Capabilities by Mission Area*

Prevention	Protection	Mitigation	Response	Recovery
Planning				
Public Information and Warning				
Operational Coordination				
Intelligence and Information Sharing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Resilience • Long-term Vulnerability Reduction • Risk and Disaster Resilience Assessment • Threats and Hazards Identification 	Infrastructure Systems	
Interdiction and Disruption			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical Transportation • Environmental Response/Health and Safety • Fatality Management Services • Fire Management and Suppression • Logistics and Supply Chain Management • Mass Care Services • Mass Search and Rescue Operations • On-scene Security, Protection, and Law Enforcement • Operational Communications • Public Health, Healthcare, and Emergency Medical Services • Situational Assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Recovery • Health and Social Services • Housing • Natural and Cultural Resources
Screening, Search, and Detection				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forensics and Attribution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access Control and Identity Verification • Cybersecurity • Physical Protective Measures • Risk Management for Protection Programs and Activities • Supply Chain Integrity and Security 			

Source: (FEMA 2015:3)

The national preparedness framework put forward by FEMA in 2015 reveals the basic competencies in the titles determined in disaster management and emphasizes that efforts to be carried out in these titles should be organized in order to achieve national preparedness against disasters.

When the institutional development of American disaster management is examined, it is seen that the process has started to take shape since the 1930s. The process that started after the Second World War gave rise to the prominence of civil defence services in the United States, as in many other countries. Until the establishment of FEMA in 1978, many studies on disaster and emergency management were handled within the civil defence services. With the establishment of FEMA, a holistic approach has been brought to disaster management, and the stages of mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery have become indispensable processes of disaster management. The terrorist attacks that took place in the United States in 2001 caused various changes in disaster management. In 2004, FEMA became an institution affiliated with the Ministry of Homeland Security and continues to work as an institution that includes processes such as preventing terrorist incidents and protecting the American people.

It can be asserted that disaster management includes various approaches from many different disciplines, from engineering to sociology and psychology to the political sciences (Waugh 2000:37). The inclusion of many different institutions and structures in the disaster management process allows for the development of different perspectives and may also create an environment for the process to become more complex. Different problems and difficulties arise in disaster management. It is possible to classify these difficulties as situations that complicate the process and directly cause problems. Situations that complicate the disaster management process are:

- A large number of events with various features and functions,
- Changing environmental conditions,
- Too much interdisciplinary work,
- The existence of global assessments,
- Need for dynamic decision-making support,
- Diversity of data sources,
- The system is quite complex,
- Uncertainties arise in the decision-making process.

Situations that directly cause problems in disaster management are:

- Errors found in dynamic disaster monitoring techniques,
- Errors in the communication infrastructure,
- Problems in accessing and updating data on disasters,
- Data collection and aggregation problems,

- Lack of cooperation and communication between institutions,
- Lack of infrastructure supporting decision-making processes.

In order to eliminate the problems and difficulties that occur in the disaster management process, various preparations must be made in the pre-disaster period. When these preparations fully encompass risk management and mitigation, the problems caused by disasters will be greatly reduced.

Conclusion

Disaster management has continued to develop by being influenced by many different disciplines throughout history. These disciplinary areas mostly dealt with the approach to disasters from their own perspective. For instance, sociologists studied the effects of disasters on society in the early 1900s. These studies are among the first systematic research efforts that contributed to the formation of the disaster management discipline. In the following years, disaster management began to be considered within the administrative sciences. The first studies examine the effects of disasters on individuals and society and explain the stages of catastrophic events. Consecutively, studies that examined disaster stages more systematically began to emerge. Until the 1950s, approaches explaining disaster management as a linear process were dominant. This approach explains the stages of events that occur in disaster management, and the explanations are mostly based on observation of events. The observations were mostly fed by the work of applied sociology in the field. In the next period, nonlinear approaches started to develop. The most important feature of these approaches is that they tried to describe the disaster management processes with various diagrams or graphics. In this era, it is seen that public administrators started to conduct a few studies in the field of disaster management, and disaster management became much more systematic. The development continued with the integrated disaster management system. Integrated disaster management is an approach that considers disaster management in its mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery phases. The establishment of FEMA contributed significantly to the development of this approach. With FEMA's adoption of the implementation, the integrated disaster management system in the world continued to develop at a rapid pace. The cold war years that emerged after the Second World War caused the concept of civil defence to gain importance all over the world. In the 1990s, the civil defence began to be a field of study for disaster management. Particularly, the terrorist attacks that took place in the USA in 2001 showed that preparations should be made against terrorist incidents. In the following years, it was seen that prevention activities against terrorism were also included in the preparatory work of disaster management. Since the 2000s, disaster

management has gone beyond being a discipline that only focuses on responding to certain events. Recently, disaster management has turned into a multidisciplinary field of study that includes subjects such as risk reduction, climate change, sustainable development, and migration.

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CHAPTER 7

VIRTUAL MUSEUMS AND ONLINE VISITOR EXPERIENCE

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Introduction

Museums constitute areas coming into prominence to protect cultural heritage consisting of the most important values of a community from past to future. In the most general sense, it is possible to define cultural heritage as an abstract and concrete factor shaping the social and cultural structure as per the concept of heritage which can be defined as things transferred from a generation to the next one. While heritage is explained in UNESCO documents as “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.”, cultural heritage is defined as “sites, objects and intangible things that have cultural, historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value to groups and individuals (<https://en.unesco.org/themes/information-preservation/digital-heritage/concept-digital-heritage>, 07.03.2023). In this regard, heritage consists of things which are transferred or should be transferred from generation to generation for their values, and museums are institutions which are protectors of such values and undertake the role to transfer to next generations.

Museums are not only institutions presenting cultural heritage items but also undertake the role transfer the cultural heritage to next generations as areas in which social memory is preserved at the same time. In this regard, museums need updating themselves due to changing conditions of life, technological developments, and especially digitalization while transferring cultural heritage to the next generations. In recent years, virtual museums have become gradually widespread by using the changing technology and providing availability out of the physical borders with such technologies.

By means of development of new web-based digital tools, virtual museums present new experience fields to people, and therefore, it is possible to access various cultural heritage items in the world with various applications without restricted by physical borders. At this juncture, the concept of experiential marketing as a new paradigm in marketing draws attention as an important strategical management process in order to transfer cultural heritage to next generations and manage the country branding. Being the historical heritage and the carrier of this heritage from the point of brand core of historical and cultural values in country branding and defining the cultural heritage especially in particular destinations and the related terrains as brand peculiar to the country, the museum can also be defined as a marketing tool. The meaning of this issue acquired by means of visitor experience has caused the result to define the close relationship between experiential marketing and cultural heritage transferring.

Concept of Virtual Museum

Defined as institutions presenting opportunities for education, informing and research, the museums try to create difference in implementations within new world order enriched by internet technology. Virtual museums, which are one of the most-frequently encountered implementations in national and international scale among these studies, have become more preferable structures day by day due to the fact that they overcome the problems caused by physical structures and they present new dimensions for exhibition opportunities. As mentioned before, many institutions in the field of museology, mainly the biggest museums in the world today, have become available by means of web pages due to the fact that the structure of web technology based on global communication is available for more people. In this regard, the museums, which exhibit their collections partially or totally by means of online platforms in the most general sense, are defined as virtual museum.

International Council of Museums (ICOM) defines museum and museology as “A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.” (<https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/>). By considering concepts of education, enjoyment, knowledge sharing, experience and sustainability in the definition, the significance of adaption of museology implementations to digital world conditions comes in sight. At this point, it is possible to say that the ability of museums to adapt to the digital world can be realized through virtual museums. Andrews and Schweibenz (1998) define a virtual museum as “a collection of logically related digital objects in a variety of media that, because of its capacity to provide connectivity and a variety of access points, is capable of transcending traditional methods of communication and interaction”. Although mostly referred to as environments where museum collections are presented with digital data via online applications open to the public, virtual museums have been “introduced with the development of the Internet and technology, and have been created as an alternative to visiting museums, to enable individuals who cannot go to museums for some reason to see some cultural, artistic, historical and scientific artifacts. In virtual museums, there are not only still visual elements but also different forms of display such as video, audio, and three-dimensional movable visuals” (Kubat, 2020). Today, digital collections whose images have been transferred to the Internet via computer technologies are a convenient way

to start before visiting a museum. These digital collections are also a solution to distance and physical barriers. The viewer can realize the museum tour that they cannot do via the Internet. It is not bound by opening and closing hours. Multi-media products cannot be delivered to the audience only through computer monitors. A variety of tools and systems ranging from small hand-held tools to wall-sized screens and even installations that cover the space in which the viewer is present, the most basic ones among multimedia access tools are the Internet, multimedia tools in museum galleries and CD-ROMs (Keene, 1998, cited in Okan, 2015:192).

There are various definitions of what a virtual museum is, such as a website of a physical museum, an environment where photography and art are exhibited, a museum without walls, or a museum that contains 2D and 3D images of the works in the exhibition of the physical museum. When the literature is examined, it is possible to see that the concept of a virtual museum is defined in different ways such as an online museum, electronic museum, hyper-museum, digital museum, cyber museum, or web museum. No matter how differently it is defined, the essence of the concept of a virtual museum is to create an Internet-extended platform where there are no physical boundaries or, in other words, where the wall barrier is removed and 24/7 visits are possible. From this point of view, virtual museums offer visitors the opportunity to examine the collections in a place and time interval of their choosing, without the need to travel to any city. This also means saving time and money for visitors. Today, virtual museums are professionally constructed to better reflect the real artifacts, complemented with other multi-sensory information such as virtual exhibits, text, images, audio, or video to engage and keep the interest of audiences of all ages. Therefore, the virtual environment can represent any type of museum such as historical, scientific, technological, artistic, etc. (Anton, Nicolae, Moldoveanu, Balan, 2018: 130).

The concept and terminology of the virtual museum go back much further, even before the advent of the Internet. The early years of the virtual museum were characterized by multimedia and hypermedia applications on CD-ROMs and standalone computers. The World Wide Web opened up new possibilities for the presentation of museum information online and thus outside the museum walls (Schweibenz, 2019). Lewis (1996) summarizes the first experiences that formed the basis of virtual museums in his study “Museums’ Response to the Web” as follows:

“In the mid-1960s, several institutions, including universities and museums, began to computerize their museum collections. Two of these institutions were also interested in creating a national network of museum information. About 10 years later, first one institution in the United Kingdom and then another in the United States pioneered the establishment of

the “Documentation Association” and “Museum Computer Networks”. In addition, the French Ministry of Culture launched a broader program covering sites, monuments, and works of art. In 1972, Canada set the goal of establishing a national museum with an inventory of museum collections. By 1993, museums were making collection information and other data available online through menu-driven sites. Since the development of web technology, the number of museum websites has increased dramatically, and a worldwide web virtual library for museums has been created, where the addresses of hundreds of new museum websites can be found, as well as those that still exist”.

The International Council of Museums (ICOM), which brings together museums from around the world, summarizes Lewis’ point by stating “Museums do not have borders, they have a network” on its corporate website (<http://www.icom.org>, 2023). While these developments indicate that museums are pioneering new approaches such as the recording and digitization of information, it is also possible to say that the Internet has laid the foundation for the establishment of virtual museums as a pioneering approach to the application of the Internet for museum purposes. In recent years, multimedia techniques have been widely used to enhance users’ experience and attract more visitors to museums, as well as to provide a new medium for communicating their content and therefore their knowledge. Most modern museums offer multimedia information kiosks where visitors can get information about museum collections, special exhibitions, and other cultural events. In some cases, there is an option of a museum multimedia tour where the visitor can ‘preview’ the museum content. 3D graphics and simulation technologies can also be used to recreate lost or partially preserved objects, allowing visitors to experience something close to the original work (Charitos, Lepouras, Vassilakis, Katifori, Charissi, Halatsi, 2001).

The main purpose of virtual museums is to create a virtual environment to enrich the experience of visiting a museum. In this context, it is possible to summarize the objectives of virtual museum establishment in general terms as follows (F-MU.S.EU.M., 2009:16):

- *To offer a way to understand the content:* To offer a new way of reading the content, as themes previously discussed in traditional ways have moved to new technologies.
- *Reaching new audiences:* Reaching new audiences that are physically outside the actual museum or outside the usual target of museum initiatives.
- *Assisting the visit or reinforcing previous visits:* Helping or reinforcing the behavior of the visitor by enabling them to better understand

the significance of the objects displayed on the website and to plan a route according to their own wishes.

- *Experiencing the virtual museum:* By experiencing “virtual exhibitions” the visitor can uncover the relationship between the objects on display and their representation, and the experiences in the virtual museum are instructive about the basic nature of the real museum.

- *Having fun:* To allow visitors to use their imagination through web technology and to have fun by experiencing the different and the new.

The effects and intensive use of digitalization in real museums have created an important starting point for the spread of virtual museums. Therefore, virtual museums today include the digitized presentation of artistic, cultural, and historical resources (museum collections, paintings, photographs, newspaper articles, interviews, etc.) using the world wide web and HTML technology. In this context, virtual museums, which are identified with making digitized information available to the public, can also be considered as a digital data collection where data of scientific and historical interest come together. In this direction, it is possible to summarize the museum categories defined by Schweibenz (2004) and transformed them into virtual museums as follows:

- *The Brochure Museum* is a website containing basic information about the museum such as collection types, contact information, etc. It aims to inform potential visitors about the museum.

- *The Content Museum* is a website that presents the museum's collections and invites the virtual visitor to explore them online. The content is presented in an object-oriented way and is basically the same as the collections database. It is more useful for experts than for amateurs, as the content is not didactically enriched. Such museums aim to provide a detailed description of museum collections.

- *Learning Museum* is a website that offers its virtual visitors different access points according to their age, background, and knowledge. Information is presented in a context-oriented rather than object-oriented way. Furthermore, the site is didactically developed and linked to additional information that motivates the virtual visitor to learn more about a topic of interest and to revisit the site. The goal of the learning museum is to keep the virtual visitor coming back and establish a personal relationship with the online collection. Ideally, the virtual visitor will come to the museum to see the real objects.

- *The Virtual Museum*, as a next step after the learning museum, not only provides information about the institution's collection but also connects with the digital collections of others. In this way, digital collections

are created that have no counterpart in the real world and can be described as the implementation of André Malraux's vision of a “museum without walls”.

Since the objects presented in virtual museums are digitized, they cannot present real artifacts to visitors like real museums, but they allow access to non-permanent exhibitions or to view collections that are occasionally revealed in the museum space. With virtual museums, which can also be seen as an alternative to the problem of storing and preserving artifacts in traditional museum understanding, all collections become visible to everyone wherever there is Internet access. Thus, by facilitating the bringing together of each artifact in a historical, cultural, and environmental context, it helps to promote real museums and increases the number of potential visitors to real museums. Virtual museums, which also serve as a comprehensive archive with digital copies of the artifacts in the real museum, are not considered as an alternative to the real museum, but they are a valuable tool by acting in partnership with traditional institutions. In this context, in terms of content, virtual museums can be divided into three main groups: *digital presentation of a real museum*, *virtual tours of a real museum (3D or 360-degree photo tours)*, and *websites that offer closer thematic reviews and opportunity to share information with experts* (Anton, Nicolae, Moldoveanu, Balan, 2018: 131). However, according to Poliokas and Kekkeris (2008), virtual museums appear on the Internet in different forms:

- Digital art collections consisting of digital images with a description of the work.
- Virtual Reality Museums (3D) are virtual architectural spaces where the visitor is an avatar, thus having the feeling of interactivity and interaction with the content between the avatar and three-dimensional objects.
- Social interaction museums, where they develop their capacity for collaboration with other visitors interacting with the three-dimensional world in real-time with voice and text.
- Virtual museum portals are entry points to virtual collections active on the Internet.
- Artist blogs, and personal portfolios through blogs.

In modern museology, the development of infrastructure facilities to create virtual museums has gained importance because any exhibition or collection can be accessed from almost anywhere in the world at any time through online environments and this is possible on a global level. A series of technical processes, which are especially necessary for the integration of real museums and virtual museums, are also important in terms of design

dimensions in virtual museology. Virtual museums should be planned in a way that not only allows remote visitors to search and view the resources of the exhibitions (3D objects, images, video, etc.) over the Internet but also creates the necessary software tools for museum managers to index, categorize, and retrieve objects. In this context, virtual museum design can be summarized in three main steps: creating a suitable web interface, adding meta-data, and database layout. However, as much as virtual museum design, the visitor experience is an area that also needs to be addressed in these designs.

The Concept of Experience

Experiences enable consumers to participate in the consumption of products or services through physical, mental, emotional, social, and spiritual experiences that make their interactions with the brand meaningfully real (Grundey, 2008); include brand experience as subjective, internal consumer reactions (emotions, sensations, and cognitions) and behavioral responses evoked by brand-related stimuli that are part of brand identity, communication and environments (Same, Larimo, 2012). According to Tarssanen and Kylanen (2009:10), a meaningful experience is a positive and memorable emotional experience that can lead to a personal change. According to Pine and Gilmore (1998), one dimension of experience is defined as customer participation (active or passive involvement), and the other dimension is defined as the connection or environmental relationship that connects customers with the event or performance (absorption and immersion). Whether it is the active participation of the customer/user/participant as part of the experience or passive participation as an observer of the experience, today's individual demands an educational and valuable experience in the process, while at the same time expecting to be entertained, stimulated, emotionally and creatively challenged (Leighton, 2007). In this context, products that affect the senses, touch the heart, and stimulate the mind of the individual gain a much more impressive quality than communication and marketing campaigns (Tsaur, Chiu, Wang, 2006). In this process where the experience gains an objective meaning and becomes extremely important and unforgettable for the individual (Grundey, 2008), impressions are created by using the dimensions of *time, space, technology, authenticity, and complexity* in designing unforgettable experiences (Williams, 2006). While Pine and Gilmore (1998) classify the concept of experience under the 4E Model within the scope of four broad dimensions: *entertainment, education, esthetics, and escapism*; according to another approach stated by Shobeiri, Laroche, and Mazaheri (2013), the experience can be evaluated within the scope of two main dimensions: *internal-external and active-reactive*.

In this context, Pine and Gilmore (1998) stated the key principles to be considered in experience design as theme the experience, harmonize impressions with positive cues, eliminate negative cues, mix in memorabilia, and engage all five senses. Petkus Jr. (2004) added the element of soliciting feedback to these principles. Schmitt (1999:13) defines the concept of *Strategic Experiential Modules - SEMs as a module that can be used to create different consumer experiences and defines experience modules as modules that include sensory experiences (SENSE), emotional experiences (FEEL), creative cognitive experiences (THINK), physical experiences, behaviors, and alternative lifestyles, interactions (ACT) and the relationship (RELATE) with the reference group or culture (brand reflecting identity and lifestyle, brand communities, etc.)* about all these modules.

To understand the content of the experience, Tarssanen and Kyilanen (2009: 11-16) put forward *The Experience Pyramid Model*. Helping to analyze and understand the experience content of products in the tourism, culture, and leisure sectors, *The Experience Pyramid Model* represents an ideal output that takes into account all elements at each level of a meaningful experience. Identifying critical points or gaps in the product/service is a clear tool for designing the product to create a stronger impact. Better products give companies a more competitive advantage. The Experience Pyramid addresses experiences at the level of specific elements of the product and the visitor/participant/customer's own experience. The elements and experience levels of meaningful experiences for the model are shown in Figure 1 and briefly described below:

Elements of Meaningful Experiences:

- *Individuality:* It means uniqueness: the same or similar product is not available elsewhere. Individuality implies customer orientation, flexibility, and the potential to customize the product according to the customer's preferences and needs. The key is to design easily customizable products whose basic concepts can be replicated.
- *Authenticity:* Authenticity refers to the credibility of the product. In its simplest form, it reflects the existing lifestyle, culture and is determined by the customer themselves. Authenticity is always defined from someone's point of view. Every representation and copy we experience in a particular culture change our perception of the original.
- *Story:* Story is closely linked to the authenticity of a product. It is important to combine the various elements of the product into a coherent story to make the experience consistent and compelling. A credible and authentic story adds social relevance and context to the product, giving the customer a good reason to experience it. The story justifies what is being done and in what order. The story should appeal to the customer's

emotions, allowing them to experience the product on an intellectual and emotional level, and should be carefully written taking into account the needs of the target audience. The story of the product should be believable and designed in such a way that the details do not contradict each other. Consistent theming is an important part of a product of experience and should be present throughout all marketing stages.

- *Contrast* means difference for the customer. The product should be different from the customer's everyday life. They should be able to experience something new, exotic, and unusual. Experiencing something new and exceptional in a foreign environment allows the customer to look at themselves from a different perspective, to see and experience things differently, free from the constraints and habits of everyday life.

- *Interaction*: Interaction means successful communication between the service provider and/or other customers and their products and producers. Community spirit, experiencing things with others, plays an important role in the interaction. Experiencing something together with other customers ensures that the experience is widely accepted and appreciated.

- *Multi-sensory perception*: multi-sensory perception refers to the fact that all sensory perceptions are carefully designed to support a deep penetration into the experience as well as reinforce the chosen theme. If there are too many or distracting sensory perceptions, the customer experience can affect negatively.

Multi-sensory experience design involves the use of digital technologies in the context of virtual reality or augmented reality; hands-on objects, sounds, smells, interactive attractions (role-play situations, etc.), and dynamic devices that complement the objects on display have a significant impact on the museum visitor's experience in the flow. Multi-sensory experience design enriches the exhibition and makes the visitor experience memorable. There have been many studies analyzing the application of sensory devices in the museum context and their impact on the visitor experience. Some studies indicate that people have different tactile preferences such as autotelic^{1*} (experience-seeking) and functional touch (Bodnar, 2019:24). In this context, a historical artifact or a historical site from the earliest periods of history, only a part of which can be exhibited, can be seen, navigated, examined in every aspect, and even perceived as it was in the first period of its existence, using various digital technologies, vir-

1 * Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi introduced the concept of autotelic experience, which comes from the Greek words auto (self) and telos (goal or purpose), and the goal is self-actualization and the activity is its own reward. (<https://medium.com/t%C3%BCrkiye/ototelik-deneyimler-bize-ne-sunuyor-23ee3b99c57d#:~:text=Bir%20oyunda%2C%20Csikszentmihalyi'nin%20%E2%80%9C,Faaliyet%2C%20kendi%20kendisinin%20%C3%B6d%C3%BCld%C3%BCr.>)

tual reality or augmented realities, can be achieved through multi-sensory experience designs that appeal to many senses of the visitor. With these experience designs in virtual museums and museums with real-time real exhibition spaces, positive post-experience effects such as the cognitive recall of the visitor experience and the encouragement of the desire to repeat the experience emerge.

Levels of Experience:

- *Motivational level:* At the motivational level, customer interest is aroused. This is where expectations for the product are created through different marketing tools. As many key elements of a meaningful experience as possible should be fulfilled at the motivational level.
- *Physical level:* At the physical level, the customer experiences and perceives the product through their senses. Through our physical sensations, we become aware of where we are, what is happening, and what we are doing.
- *Intellectual level:* We physically process sensory stimuli and act on it, learn, think, apply knowledge, and form ideas. This is where we decide whether we are satisfied with the product. At this level, a good product provides the customer with a learning experience, the possibility to consciously or unconsciously learn something new, develop and gain new knowledge.
- *Emotional level:* Meaningful experience is actually lived at the emotional level. Individual emotional reactions are difficult to predict and control. Therefore, if all the key elements for a meaningful experience are well taken into account at the motivational, physical, and intellectual levels, the customer may have a positive emotional experience. Pleasure, excitement, happiness, the joy of learning and triumph, and compassion are what the individual finds meaningful in the experience process.
- *Mental level:* A positive and powerful emotional experience at the mental level can lead to an experience of personal change resulting in quite lasting changes in one's physical state, mood, or lifestyle. In this case, the person feels that they have changed, developed, or gained something new as part of their personality as an individual. Through a meaningful experience, a person may take up a new hobby, a new way of thinking, or find new resources within themselves.



Figure 1. *The Experience Pyramid Model (Tarssanen and Kylanen, 2009:11)*

Considering the elements and experience levels of meaningful experiences that Tarssanen and Kylanen (2009) put forward with *The Experience Pyramid* model, it is seen that the core values of history in the transmission process of historical heritage best meet these dimensions. The process of visiting a museum or historical archaeological site involves an individual experience that can be evaluated within the scope of curiosity, a personal goal that the visitor wants to realize, and has a unique feature for the visitor. The museum or archaeological site has a unique theme or story arising from its own nature and this is a natural force that increases the impact of the experience. History, historical artifacts, and even the simplest finds from the past contain a mystery, curiosity, and even a fascination and surprise for the visitor. The design of this natural theme or story as an effective display element in the museum theme in a real-time or virtual environment in experience design in the museum marketing process makes the visitor experience unique. At this point, digital technologies such as virtual reality and augmented reality applications are used in experience designs in the understanding of museology, which has gained a new dimension under the influence of today's digital technologies, to strengthen the visitor experience process with stimuli that appeal to multiple sensory perceptions that will make the visitor experience process more concrete in terms of entertainment, escapist and immersion experience dimensions covering physical, cognitive and emotional experience values.

The interactivity dimension, which is emphasized within the scope of The Experience Pyramid Model, constitutes a meaningful experience element that will make the experience process more meaningful and unforgettable in the perception of the visitor, and to ensure that the entertainment and learning experience dimensions are experienced more effectively. At this point, especially in virtual museums, which are shaped under the influence of digital technologies and exist on an Internet network, the bidirectional interaction experience established between the museum and the visitor through access to more information, interaction with other visitors or experts, gamification and mystery task experience strategies makes the visitor experience meaningful and repeatable.

In the experiential design of virtual museums, the sale of online souvenirs, a certificate documenting the online visitor experience, or a certificate awarded for completing an online game or museum task correspond to the harmonized impressions with positive cues and mix in memorabilia elements that are among the elements that are effective in the experience design process defined by Pine and Gilmore, as well as the experience modules of building sensory, emotional and social relationships defined by Schmitt within the scope of Strategic Experiential Modules - SEMs.

In the context of the relationship between experiential marketing and museums, it can be said that for most people, a visit to a museum is defined as a leisure activity in pursuit of personal fulfillment or to achieve goals and experiences that they find rewarding (Packer, Ballantyne, 2016:129).

Visitor Experience in Virtual Museums

The phenomenon of experience is a concept that involves the interaction between a situation, event, place, or brand and the individuals who make up its target audience in various relationship dimensions that will enable them to establish common relationships as participants, users, visitors, or customers, and that create physical, sensory, emotional and behavioral reactions. At this point, although the dimension of the experience (educational, entertaining, aesthetic, escape) and how it is realized may differ, it ultimately gains meaning in the context of the internal reactions that the individual develops towards the experience and the behavioral reactions that emerge from these reactions. Similar to the consumer experience, the visitor experience in a tourist attraction or a museum is influenced by individual characteristics, situational factors, physical experience elements, and human interaction elements (Bodnar, 2019:21).

A virtual museum is a digital entity that leverages the features of a museum to complement, enhance or replicate the museum experience through personalization, interactivity, and content richness (Pivec, Kronberger, 2016). From this point of view, virtual museums play an important role

in archiving collections, providing more information about the exhibits in museums, and contributing to the visitor experience by obtaining preliminary information before the trip with all these functions, and after the trip, accessing detailed information about the exhibits in the museum or remembering the trip experience. Pivec and Kornberger (2016) emphasize the function of the digital preservation of objects and providing public access to information in the understanding of virtual museology. These functions also pave the way for the transformation of virtual experience into cognitive, emotional, and behavioral experience value dimensions, especially in attracting visitors to museums.

Museum audiences are clearly differentiated by class, age, ethnicity, education level, and degree of travel, as well as by more subtle criteria such as taste, hobbies, interests, and important friendships. The museum visitor's own interpretation of the exhibits is influenced by his or her relationship to other institutions in his or her life experience and what he or she brings to that experience. The visitor's other past institutional experiences - including other museum experiences - provide the context for expectations about museums. In addition, experiences from other institutions, such as family, will create specific experiential needs that a museum can be expected to fulfill in that person's life (Graburn, 1977:1;3).

In making the visitor experience unforgettable for the individual, the impact of the experience design presented within the context of a real museum space or a virtual museum in terms of cognitive, sensory, emotional, and physical experience areas is important. In the creation of a unique theme that appeals to both senses and emotions in this process of experience and in the creation of a level of consciousness gained in a cognitive flow with an interpretation process based on the relationship and interaction with others, especially in virtual museums, the role of digital technologies in creating meaningful visitor experiences in the context of interactivity, multi-sensory perception, presenting information effectively and encouraging repeatable experiences for the visitor can be mentioned.

With the experiences in the museum, the individual meets the need to stay with himself, to have an extraordinary and unforgettable experience, to be in a socially relational experience, and to have an educational experience in his effort to make sense of the world (Graburn, 1977:3). In this context, when museums, which can be defined as experience-centered places that offer both emotional and cognitive stimuli related to their role in the consumption of service experience (Dirsehan, 2012:107), are considered in the context of the holistic approach of service marketing, the museum visitor experience includes a process of experience in which the service experience is mediated by several sociocultural, cognitive, psychological directives and physical and environmental conditions (Goulding,

2000:273-274):

The Multifaceted Model, which contains the dimensions of the experience and the elements that influence the experience, encompasses elements that explain the visitor experience that can be applied to many different types of tourism and leisure activities, including visiting museums. The dimensions on which this model is built provide evaluation criteria that allow for the comparison of museum visitation with other tourism and leisure activities, as well as the comparison of different types of museums. The dimensions and aspects of the visitor experience in the model characterize the nature or content of the visitor experience. It is assumed that the intensity with which each aspect is experienced will vary from one context to another and indeed from one person to another. Thus, the model provides a starting point for research designed to identify multiple facets of the visitor experience and to capture or measure both the content and intensity of the visitor experience. The model identifies ten dimensions of visitor experience: *physical experiences, sensory experiences, restorative experiences, introspective experiences, transformative experiences, hedonic experiences, emotional experiences, relational experiences, spiritual experiences, and cognitive experiences*. (Packer, Ballantyne, 2016:135-136):

Recent research has shown that museum visits are no longer simply informative cultural visits, but rather experiences and that visitors seek *a holistic experience* from museums that can include entertainment, culture, education, and social interaction. In the service sector, an experience can be created by the nature of the service itself or by designing additional experiences for core services. In experiential marketing, the key point to consider is that the holistic customer experience is different for each customer. In addition to previous models on this subject, Falk and Dierking's (1992) *Interactive Experience Model*, which is based on museum experience, considers three contexts: personal, social, and physical context. The model expresses that each context is created by the visitor and their interaction creates the visitor's experience (Dirsehan, 2012:107-108).

When evaluated within the scope of all these holistic service experience conditions, visitor experience can be defined as the overall satisfaction, memorable experience, and a function of behavioral intentions. In this context, the use of technology plays an important role in designing hedonic experiences that will increase the memorability of the visitor experience and create more power in memories (Elgammal, Feretti, Risitano, Sorrentino, 2020:50).

The above-mentioned visitor-experience-oriented models of the *Multifaceted Model and Interactive Experience Model* are comprehensive models that are similar to Pine and Gilmore's domains of experience and

Strategic Experiential Modules – SEMs, The Experience Pyramid Model and include the dimensions and elements that affect the experience mentioned in these models. Correctly analyzing the dimensions of experience and their effects on the individual in all these models will serve as a guide in designing the experience process, regardless of the purpose for which it is used.

Visitor Experience and Virtual Experience Design

The visitor experience in virtual museums can be identified as immediate or constant subjective and personal reaction of an individual to an activity, environment or event except for his/her usual environment (Packer, Ballantyne, 2016:133). Experiential design to be formed for this purpose is based upon positive association of ideas which are stored in memory and one of the corner stones of the concept includes thinking about how previous similar experiences can be integrated into new user experiences. This circumstance is based on effect of self-reference of the cognitive processes. When the user comes across with new information, he/she endeavors to associate that with the experiences formerly stored in his/her memory and each interrogation triggers the relevant memories. Thus, a strong memory of an experience can be recalled from a subsequent time when accurate triggering is ensured (Chertoff, Goldiez, LaViola Jr., 2010:104). For this reason, the museum experiences should involve unforgettable experiences that will make contribution to museum attendance of the visitors in the future, increase their learning and make them take pleasure in this (Dirsehan, 2012:108).

One of the significant fields that will strengthens visitor experience is virtual reality. Virtual reality defines how "virtuality" and "reality" are combined in different rates in order to create a visualization environment. Technologies of virtual reality are applied in tourism and these offer visitors with opportunity to experience the virtual reality applications. The experiences of virtual reality can be applied in six different dimensions as 360° photos, 360° video emulation, 360° videos, directional movement, VR with interactivity and haptic landscapes under the heading of basic virtual realities (Wu, Ai, Cheng, 2020:482). Leighton (2007) states that the history can be transferred to the visitors via some sort of surreal applications which are created by outdoor museums or use of technology in his study describing experiential marketing in terms of introduction of historical heritages. Pivec and Kronberger (2016) describe the real museum as moving to digital with presence of an internet or extending the user experience of the assets exhibited in museum by way of digital technologies (for example, interactive installations in various locations from computer in a room or kiosks in museum to caves, historical cities, antiques or virtual presentations based upon 3-d gripping stereo installations) and they also

express this involved in new museology approach with the effect of virtual reality or augmented reality technologies in recent years. The dimensions of virtual reality experiences include *immersion, interaction, usability and illusion*. **Immersion** is dimension which is mostly associated with virtual reality experiences and it is defined as forgetting time for consumers and getting involved in experience causing emphasis of consumption process instead of consumption outcomes during consumption. Natural **interaction** in virtual reality experiences begins with discovery of the field visually. While the users have a sense of immersion for an experience; interaction is limited with change of their points of view through looking around. The path of the users was previously determined in design of virtual experience and this cannot be changed. **Usability** is identified as efficiency, productivity and satisfaction where they achieve their goals. Specifically, it is the capability of comprehension, learning and usage by user when the software product is used under certain conditions and along with attractiveness for user. **Illusion** is named as a misinterpreted perception of a sensory experience.

In this context, virtual reality experiences cover a range of perceptive illusions regarding space, environment and ego (Wu, Ai, Cheng, 2020:483). Several design factors that affect virtual experience that the visitors get involved in by means of digital technologies can be also mentioned. For instance, aesthetical attractiveness dependent on visual attractiveness and satisfaction perceived by user, motivation related to expectations during use of application, utility and ease of use of the application and level of interaction and emotion of performance, entertainment element and benefit of the application can be counted among these factors. Likewise, other factors which are effective on user experience in mixed reality application can be sorted as providing with opportunity of combination of virtual content parts smoothly, response of virtual content to many variances and stimuluses from real world as far as possible, interaction real-time and movement and discovery of digital content by users to both real world and 3D field freely (Sylaiou, Kasapakis, Dzadanova, Gavalas, 2018:595). The digital technologies which are used in order to enrich, transform and develop cultural experience provide dynamic and effective communication instruments between cultural organizations and visitors. Furthermore, these gradually make knowledge more attractive and accessible by transferring in educational and entertaining ways. The developing technologies such as virtual reality and mixed reality not only enhance experiences in museum areas, they also transform interaction styles of people with each other. When it combined with the developed opportunities (for instance, camera smartphones and tablets, motion sensors, compass and GPS receiver), the digital technologies started to be used by museums in a widespread manner

since those provide a qualification that helps to overcome physical obstacles (Sylaiou, Kasapakis, Dzadanova, Gavalas, 2018:595). Interactive devices, applied objects, information technology devices and interactive edutainment applications are instruments that help museum visitor to interpret museum where he/she has experience. By means of these instruments, the visitor interprets the museum he/she tours through methods that apply different styles of multiple sensory experience, joint creation and genuineness (Bodnar, 2019:22). In this scope, the museum visitor anatomizes main theme including message of each exhibition in a communication process as target group of that exhibition. At this juncture, digital technological devices which support exhibition in real or virtual environment ensure visitor to understand the message, theme delivered with museum or purpose of museum. The visitor experience researches on visitor and museum interaction made in recent years define two museum experience typologies under mixed reality conditions: *conventional museum experiences and museum experiences blended with digital technologies 4.0*. The conventional museum experiences and experience including interaction of new technologies with visitor-museum reveal penetration (diving) to experience thoroughly and convenience of accessibility, increase of experiential visit and valuation styles of the developed education and heritage. While the innovative elements (pictures and videos, interaction with other technologies etc.) of the mixed reality which is under influence of digital technologies that intertwine with virtual reality and augmented reality enable engrossing socialization, escape and entertainment experience types; it expands museum experiential offers by integrating entertainment and gamification strategies in 4.0 experience under effect of digital technologies in the developed experience styles such as edutainment with learning factors regarding conventional experience (Trunfio, Lucia, Campana, Magnelli, 2022:4-5).

In understanding of new museology under influence of digital technologies, additional information source can be formed with relation to the works exhibited by means of adaptation of technology to real museum areas or in virtual museums or an effective visitor experience can be created through portraying the disappearing parts of the works via virtual reconstruction, ensuring access to the missing parts. In conjunction with inclusion of incentive manners of digital technologies and story telling to museum experience, the experience can be completed, developed or reproduced by means of interaction and personalization as well as enrichment, entertainment and enlightenment of the visitors. On the other hand, protection of museum collections digitally can provide valuable assistances in research and communication matters for education, entertainment and promotion of tourism. While various exhibitions which are physically distant from each other with the perceptive of museology blended with new generation digi-

tal technologies identified as 4.0 can be combined, the objects which have no physical existence and are born digitally can be also exhibited. On the basis of these opportunities, the process of meaning making and interpretation of museum collections besides new technologies have a clear impact on experience (Sylaiou, Kasapakis, Dzadanova, Gavalas, 2018:595).

When considering from museum perspective, the key elements of interpretation processes related to museum experience of the visitors establishes a deep relation with the narratives created within the scope of theme, exhibited cultural works and material objects. In the meantime, it is also required to be aware of the cognitive excessive load that may cause too much information input and necessity to promote dialogical/mutual interactions with visitors. There may be differences in experience visitors share and narrative along with expert information and narratives (Pivec, Kornberger, 2016). When considered from this point of view, the interactivity of virtual experiences created via digital environments, consistency and comprehensibility of the transferred information has a non-negligible importance in conversion of visitor experience to a positive experience that turns cognitive and sociological effect between museum-visitor and visitor-visitor into a comprehensible, recollective and repeatable behaviour. The digital media is designed by taking into consideration of wholistic experience of the user in terms of experiential marketing. The aim in this process is to be able to identify a developed entity/existence sense and to unify various factors of the experience (sensory, cognitive, affective, active/personal and relational/social) in order to create circumstances where accurate, remindful and stable schema can be created. In order to create such an experience, the usage process of these dimensions is described as experiential design. The dimensions of experiential design can be shortly summarized as follows (Chertoff, Goldiez, LaViola, Jr., 2010:104-105):

- ***Sensory experiential design dimension:*** Sensory dimension is relating to how good the senses are used during interactions between visitor experience and experiential design factors and both sensory equipment quality and sensory content have a common positive effect on entity identified with the experience.
- ***Cognitive experiential design dimension:*** Cognitive dimension includes five intuitional methods which focus on how well it supports task participation by way of clearness of task explanations, the relation of task perceived, explanation of environment rules and the environment's capability to support multiple solutions for a task.
- ***Affective experiential design dimension:*** It is related to the imitation degree of affective situation accurately in situation of a similar real world for a person's emotions in a simulated environment. Affective

experiential dimension, which is regarding how it conveys desired user emotions via dialog, non-verbal clues of the experiential design (in other words, through representative attitudes and facial expressions) audio, has a crucial impact in perception process of entity described with experience.

- **Active experiential design dimension:** It is related to the degree of empathy, identification and personal relation for the avatars, environment and scenario of the virtual environment by a person. Active experience dimension consists of four intuitional methods which are defined as commitment, degree to which the user thinks they are a character in the environment, re-use level of the content and use of narrative and these methods are about the user commitment level expected for visitor experience.

- **Relational experiential design dimension:** It is related to create and strengthen meaning by way of collaborator experiences which are functionalized as mutual experience. Relational dimension is regarding social aspects of environment and it focuses on the expected level and quality of the user interactions with the factors in experiential environment and others.

In creation of experiential design in virtual museums; the experiential designs can be performed for experiential dimensions such as immersion, entertainment, edutainment, esthetic, escapist into experience. In this context, existence of design factors that will support relational experience dimension which enables interaction between visitor-museum and museum-visitor is significant in conjunction with gamification in museums and use of mysterious museum task strategic applications; sharing of reliable, accurate and comprehensible information that will ensure visitor to access to cognitive experience value and production of content; formation of a user-friendly, travellable design within the scope of tangible design factors. In this sense, general quality factors which lead practitioners and researchers in development of website designs and which are summarized in Table 1 are among quality factors that can be also taken into account in virtual museum website designs within the scope of creation of significant visitor experience.

Table 1. Elements Guiding in Development of B2C Website (Webb, Webb, 2004:439)

Quality Factors	Factors/Sub-	Priority	Critical System Necessities
Reliability		Compulsory	When it is promised, ensuring product or service under the said conditions. Requesting services in operation as reliable. Presentation of services faultlessly.

<i>Assured Empathy</i>	Compulsory	Communicate with users in a courteous manner. Distractable factors at minimum level. Responding to the questions of users on website and predicting these questions. Personalizing website. Keeping things that users will be interested in mostly in the foreground.
<i>Perceived Usability</i>	Necessary	
<i>Tangibility</i>	Desired	Using state-of-the-art technology. Realizing an eye-pleasing design entirely. Offering a simple, smooth and professional appearance. Attaching importance of the design of component of each website for an eye-pleasing website appearance.
<i>Navigability</i>	Desired	Designing a site with an easy navigability (simple menus, link connections, explanatory ways) Saving site to search engines to be found easily Ensuring inner-site search feature.
<i>Relevant Presentation</i>	Desired	Presentation of information in the right amount without excessive loading Providing details of service at an appropriate level. Offering an experience with added value. Using contents of the standardized presentation. Using suitable formats to show information.
<i>Trustworthiness</i>	Compulsory	
<i>Accuracy</i>	Desired	Providing complete and accurate information. Offering information with credibility. Avoiding from partiality in presentation of information. Building reputation of website. Ensuring the relevant information. Ensuring complete and full information.
<i>Security</i>	Desired	Giving guarantee for confidentiality of personal information. Providing appropriate levels of user security.

In holistic museum visitor experience model blended with digital technologies, the extensive visitor experience and satisfaction are measured by combining the experiences in cultural heritage museums (valuation to

cultural heritage, education, entertainment, socialization and escape) with the cognitive dimensions explaining experience. The cognitive dimensions described in this model pays regard to museum information, format, utility, personalization, storage of information and interaction. Style dimension variances (audio, image and video, accessibility from personal mobile devices and handling etc.) and utility dimension variances (comfort, usage alternative of smart technologies for access to information and ease of use etc.) have an important role in affection of museum experiences and visitor satisfaction among dimensions/variances explaining the cognitive elements.

This holistic approach specifies new service archetypes which are based on interaction from visitor to technology, from exhibition to content that reshapes physical environments and increases the value of the cultural heritage exhibition with the main lines. Facilitation of usage intention of digital technologies as visitor experience point offers important advantages in ensuring interaction with gripping story telling and exhibition content which are effective in transfer of museum theme. The visitor groups produce positive verbal experience sharings in terms of social awareness and respect to historical memory and share these experiences with their environment by means of 4.0 visitor experience styles defined under influence of new technologies such as recreation edutainment and socialization (Trunfio, Lucia, Campana, Magnelli, 2022:5; 14-15).

Considering quality factors required to be taken into consideration in design of a website; the prominent elements from basic design factors which are effective in designing for active visitor experience in virtual museums can be summarized as follows (Sundar, Go, Kim, Zhang, 2015:387-388).

- *Interactivity*: The users in a virtual museum tend to interact with website on their own and therefore they are physically isolated from others who experience the same art collection or historical artifact collection. However, there are various message interaction instruments which can be used in order to overcome this obstacle in modern communication environments and the most common one is live chat and a virtual museum can be evaluated as an instrument that can fill the social interaction gap on website. This information and emotion exchange between the users of website and especially the ones who look at the same collection can serve to provide online equivalence of social context which is required for a satisfactory museum experience.

- *Navigability*: The quality of experiences of the visitors in a museum is based upon interactions of them with physical environment of the museum. The clearest concern related to virtual museums is that there is no

a tangible experience with regard to physical works. However, this situation is being tried to be compensated through experiencing the collections exhibited in virtual museum in a digital environment within a virtual reality by online visitors and placing 3D technology to the websites to get an idea. The opportunities of navigability enable users to take action in virtual museum gallery of the website and to touch the objects virtually, thus they perceive themselves as in a real museum.

- *Customization*: *Customization* which will be effective in creation of active visitor experience in virtual museums personally, in feeling in control perceived as individually by visitor and in improvement of positive attitude and behavioral intention for website and *personalization* which can be evaluated in this scope can be considered as a experiential design factor.

Providing connections with social media areas where the visitors can share their own contents in designs of virtual museums, presenting options that visitor can make filtrations with search criteria during his/her own experience, designing areas where museum visitor can personalize, create profile during virtual museum experience and games, avatars, blogs and micro blogs etc. can be given as example to customization and personalization applications.

In virtual museology approach, the experience in establishment of interaction with visitors has influence in terms of attention getting and memorability of entertainment dimension experience and in this point different participation levels can be designed in visitor experience. The main purpose is to bring visitors together with museum and to make interesting. Recognition by especially young generation of museums as communication places and applications such as *designing applications and games regarding museum for use at home or classroom, the virtual tours in museum for nonphysical area journeys or virtual experiences and museum tasks* can be given as example to strategic applications (Pivec, Kronberger, 2016).

Conclusion

The cultural heritage plays a crucial role in description of cultural elements which can be characterized as core of country brand of the civilizations existed in a specific geography. The museums where the tangible history and cultural elements are exhibited have a significant mission in passing down of cultural heritage. Museums ensure museum visitors to gain an impression for testifying a period with atmosphere and exhibition styles. Museums have a lot more effects when they are designed as experience fields that give the visitor experience. It is seen that there is a shift from the classical museum approach which includes exhibition styles

available in known and real environment in this point to new generation museum approach where visitor experience is strengthened more through more interactive virtual realities with development of technology. While the sightseeing experience flows under visitor control in this new generation digital museum approach, it is an experience that shapes according to museum theme at the same time. The virtual museum is an approach that it is easier for the visitor to access information and which makes it possible to testify history in virtual environment even it is not in museum in a real environment with an interactive communication. In this context, the digitalization caused emergence of new formations for museums that play part in being carrier of cultural heritage of a country. There is transformation from museum approach described in a structure in real environment or as outdoor museum into a navigable virtual museum fact in which this reality is transferred to the virtual environment by means of screen. It becomes possible to tour with virtual tours 360 degrees on official websites of the museums which is area of digital entity where it opens up to the world, to access to information about works in museum, to examine the works from different angles by getting closer the works and a virtual experience which is close to a real sightseeing experience is provided to museum visitor in virtual environment. It is stated that the museums transforms into consumption places within the scope of holistic service experience and they can be perceived as a mixture of tangible, intangible design elements (interactivity, audio, colours etc.) and those elements include visitors in a dynamic, informative and gripping experience (such as escape, learning). In this sense, the museums become more visitor-oriented from a managerial point of view; for this reason, the managers try to understand history of visitors, personal emotions during visit, satisfaction levels after visit and the perceived value (Elgammal, Feretti, Risitano, Sorrentino, 2020:49).

As a consequence, when the experience of a virtual museum visitor is taken into consideration, the perception process for each stimulus that he/she comes up against in museum tour online has an impact on how and what level of meaning he/she will attribute to his/her historical journey, the level of involvement to this process in other words how his/her experience will correspond to meaning, sensory and aesthetical experience stages which are experience stages presented by Same and Larimo. Activating experiential areas is important through analyzing experience dimensions accurately in order to make physical exhibition fields in real environment more interactive in terms of museum marketing and to make it more visitor-oriented and to convert visitor experience into a more tangible shape in virtual museums. Within this framework, the use of virtual or augmented reality applications in real environment and technological uses deepened more in terms of senses, cognitive processes, involvement to process, re-

lational experience dimensions and experience values regarding virtual reality perception in virtual museums draws attention as strategies affecting visitor experience positively.

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CHAPTER 8

**AN OVERVIEW EXAMINING THE
COMMUNICATIVE, EDUCATIONAL
AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF
THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD BRIDE
AND CHILD MOTHER IN TURKEY
AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM AND THE
QUANTITATIVE EFFECTS OF THE RISE
OF THIS PHENOMENON ON SOCIETY
AND INDIVIDUALS¹²**

Rüçhan GÖKDAĞ³

1 Due to the nature of the study, informed consent or ethics committee approval was not required.

2 The study was presented as a paper.

Gökdağ, R. (3-4 November 2022). Toplumsal Bir Sorun Olarak Ülkemizde Çocuk Gelin ve Çocuk Anne Olgusunun İletişimsel, Eğitimsel ve Psikolojik Boyutlarının ve Niceliksel Olarak Bu Olguların Yükselmesinin Toplum ve Bireyler Üzerine Etkilerinin İncelendiği Genel Bir Bakış. VIII. Sağlık İletişimi Sempozyumu (SiS-2022), Anadolu University, Eskişehir, Turkey.

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Introduction

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Turkey also became a party in 1989, every individual is considered a child up to the age of eighteen, except for special laws that may be applied to a child as well as coming to the age of majority at an earlier age. The legal age of marriage in Turkey is 18. However, when children reach the age of 17, they can get married with the permission of their parents or legal guardians. Children aged 16 can get married with special permission obtained from the court in exceptional cases and provided that there is a vital reason (Çakmak, 2009).

Although the age of marriage is gradually increasing today, child marriages are still a problem in Turkey (Figure 1). When considering the data of TURKSTAT, there have been 1 million child brides in the last 20 years. According to the data of TURKSTAT, the number of girls aged 16 and 17 years old and married with family approval between 2002 and 2021 is 731.016. The number of male children married under the same conditions in the same range is 34,795, which shows a serious quantitative difference between the two figures (“T.C. Başbakanlık Aile”, 2023). In Table 1, quantitative information on marriage ages according to the Turkey Family Structure Survey is shown in the categories of “Settlement”, “Three Big Cities”, and “Regions”.



Figure 1. Child marriage in Turkey (“Gamze Akkuş İlgezdi’den”, 2023).

Child marriage is illegal in Turkey and a man who marries an underage girl and third parties who arrange such marriage are sentenced to

imprisonment. However, there is a discrepancy in the legal framework regarding child marriage: according to the Turkish Criminal Code, the age of marriage for girls is at least 15, according to the Turkish Civil Code, it is 17 (for both sexes) and according to the Child Protection Law, it is 18 (“One in three”, 2023).

An attempt was made to pass legislation in our country that would decriminalize child rape if the perpetrator proposes marriage to his victim in 2016. This was also withdrawn since it was widely seen by the public as an attempt to “legitimize rape and promote child marriage”. The research carried out in the field has found that child marriages are more common in families with fewer education levels in Turkey. According to a study conducted at Gaziantep University in 2013, 82% of child brides in Turkey are illiterate (“Gamze Akkuş İlgezdi’den”, 2023).

Table 1. Turkey in General, Settlement, Three Major Provinces, Age at First Marriage by Regions (“T.C. Başbakanlık Aile”, 2023)

	-18	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39
Turkey	19,5	59	17,5	3,1	0,9
SETTLEMENT					
City	16,6	59,2	19,7	3,5	1
Rural	24,3	58,6	14	2,4	0,8
THREE BIG CITIES					
İstanbul	12,6	60,6	22	3,9	0,9
Ankara	16,2	58,1	19,5	4,9	1,3
İzmir	14,5	52,2	27	5	1,3
REGIONS					
İstanbul	12,6	60,6	22	3,9	0,9
West Marmara	15,4	61,1	18,3	4,1	1
Aegean	17,9	59	19,1	3	1
East Marmara	18,1	61,8	17,1	2,5	0,6
West Anatolia	18,8	62	15,6	2,8	0,7
Mediterranean	18,4	55,2	19,9	5	1,6
Middle Anatolia	25,6	58,7	13,9	1,3	0,5
West Blacksea	24	58,7	14,2	2	1,1
East Blacksea	22,6	58,5	15	2,8	1,2
Northeast Anatolia	27	53,2	16,7	2	1,2
Middle East Anatolia	28,9	53,8	14,2	2,5	0,6
Southeastern Anatolia	25,4	59,4	12,6	2	0,5

Child Marriages

Child marriages are defined as marriages performed under the age of majority, when the child is physically, biologically, and psychologically unable to understand and cope with the responsibility of the concept of marriage. Many things can be claimed as reasons for getting married at a younger age. The reasons for marriages in child age under the age of 18 are not only socio-cultural, traditional, and faith-centred but gender inequality, poverty and socioeconomic conditions could also be claimed among the reasons (Yüksel & Yüksel, 2017).

It has been revealed in the research that child marriages make the distinction between men and women more obvious in societies with high male-dominated values. (Durdu & Yelboğa, 2016). Social pressure, which is claimed to be another reason, is one of the major effects of being married at a young age. The biggest factor in the formation of social pressure is the transfer of traditions and beliefs by different interpretations and the dissemination of this within society (Sözer, 2020).

Early marriages, in which usually no marriage ceremony, for example, a wedding, engagement, etc. is held, take place in the form of religious marriages, where formality is out of the question and does not bring any legal responsibility with it. At the same time, the early marriage practice implemented with the permission of the families of 17-year-old children has also been quite common in our country. In this case, the marriage will be formalized.

Ilgezdi, one of the studies in this field, released the report ‘Turkey’s Shame of Child Mothers’ for the public. According to the report prepared by Ilgezdi, who explained Turkey’s bleeding wound, child motherhood statistics, and child exploitation, that is, sexual abuse is very high in Turkey. According to the report, the mother of 7190 babies born in Turkey in 2021 is under the age of 17. In December 2021, 13139 girls who got married between the ages of 16-17 are also “mother” candidates. In this regard, marriage data and increasing cases of abuse also make the accuracy and reliability of TURKSTAT data questionable. These data show very clearly that this is clearly “abuse” (“Gamze Akkuş İlgezdi’den”, 2023).

According to Ilgezdi’s report prepared by examining the data of mothers who gave birth in the year 2021, the distribution of the mothers giving birth under the age of 19 by provinces reveals that Şanlıurfa ranks the first with 3809 births, and then Istanbul ranks second with 3271 births, Diyarbakir ranks the third with 1618 births, and it is followed by Hatay with 1436 births, and Adana with 1374births. Those who gave birth under the age of 15 could not be included in the number of births in these provinces.

Causes of early marriages

The phenomenon of early marriage may vary from time to time, from culture to culture and from society to society. However, according to the review study by Boran, Gökçay, Devecioğlu and Eren (2015), these reasons are poor education and poverty. According to the research, it is observed that child marriages are at a lower rate among girls with higher education levels. In a UNICEF study in 2016, it was found that the marriage rate of girls aged 15-19 in 47 countries is also low among those with higher education (“United Nations Children’s”, 2023). Figure 2 presents a snapshot of child marriages in Bengal, obtained by UNICEF. Regarding the issue of poverty, women at the highest welfare level were found to have gotten married three years later than women with lower education levels (22.5 and 19.2 years, respectively). In addition, it was found that 22% of those with an income of less than 400 TL married under the age of 18.



Figure 2. Child marriage in Bengal (“Bengal Govt, UNICEF”, 2023)

Although a long time has passed, the reasons for early marriages are similar today in Turkey. Poor families think of early marriage both as a bride price with its cultural meaning and name, and as a means of earning living, and therefore approve of their children’s marriage at an early age. The bride price is still observed in the urban and especially rural parts of our country. Families can consent to early marriage, especially for this reason.

The preference and approval of marriage are not made by the child who is going to be married but made by the head of the family, that is, the

father or grandfather, which is usually considered normal in male-dominated societies and our country. The child who is going to get married usually does not have a say about either the refusal or the choice of a person to marry. In the research carried out in the literature, it has been found that early marriage is approved more frequently, especially in underdeveloped and developing societies where girls are seen as a burden in families. As a result, phenomena such as low education level, and low welfare level appear as reasons for early marriage (Malatyali, 2014).

Effects of early marriages on children and society

The phenomenon of early marriage has many negative effects on both children and society. Rights such as human and education rights are the rights that a child who is subjected to marriage at an early age is deprived of. In addition, its effects on society are longer-term, for example, the cycle of poverty and lack of education could be seen when child marriage is common. These consequences are made clear in detail below.

The Communicative, educational, and psychological effects of early marriages on child

The greatest impact of early marriage on children is primarily the abuse of childhood. The right to be a child has been taken away from the child, and this affects the child in many areas, especially in education and psychology perspective. Ignoring the child's freedom and self, wishes, and plans can lead the child to psychological depression. Children forced into early marriages are more likely to suffer from self-immolation, that is, the phenomenon of suicide and suicidal attempts. The child, whose right to be an individual has been taken away, will have difficulty communicating with her family, who forced her to marry, and she will gradually become introverted, which can also bring about possible psychological disorders.

The child's right to receive an education will be taken away as well as the right to be an individual in society. In some cases of early marriage, children were enforced to marry before even completing their compulsory education. In such cases of early marriage, the child is deprived of the right to receive an education. A child who cannot complete her education will remain with a low level of education. In some cases, child brides do not even know how to read and write. As a result, the child who will be born in this marriage will also be born into a family with a low level of education, which could be considered a severe social impact.

In addition, a child who is exposed to early marriage may suffer from life-threatening risks when giving birth, as her physiological development has not yet been completed, and this may end with consequences such as

the death of herself or the baby at birth. In addition, a child who is unaware of the methods of birth control at a small age may experience the phenomenon of frequent pregnancy. This can be characterized as both a physiological and a social problem. In a forced marriage, conflicts between partners can take place. This may cause an increase in cases of domestic violence, injuries and even deaths. This phenomenon can be characterized as a social threat. As a result, all these phenomena lead women to isolation in society, and they become lonely and do not receive the support that they need. The children who will be born by these women will be affected by the educational level and psychological state of their family, and this will cause a vicious circle.

The Communicative, educational, and psychological effects of early marriages on society

The biggest social impact of early marriage is the problems that are likely to arise due to the developmental level of society in the long term. The first threat posed by this phenomenon is the decline in literacy and education rates. As children are married before the age of majority, it is likely that the level of education in our society, especially girls, will gradually decrease. With the decrease in the level of education, many social problems may arise. While social responsibility projects and studies on the individualization and empowerment of women have increased all over the world, early marriage keeps women at home and weakens them both economically and in terms of education (Duman & Coşkun, 2019).

Another social effect of early marriage is the health problems that are likely to occur during births given by child brides. Both death at birth and sexually transmitted diseases caused by the unconsciousness of child brides can be given as examples of this. Marriage at an early age creates a cycle of poverty and lack of education. This affects society both educationally and psychologically. While the number of births is increasing, the opportunity for children born from child brides to access education is also becoming more restricted. With the deterioration of maternal health both psychologically and physiologically, both the children to be born and the mother and society are negatively affected accordingly (“Solutions to end”, 2023).

Prevention of Early Marriages

According to the study conducted by Boran et al. (2015), it was observed that 5 main goals were identified in the article reviewed by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) in 2011, in which intervention programs aimed to prevent early marriages. These objectives are as follows: empowering girls with knowledge, skills and support networks, training parents and community members, increasing the quality of formal

education for girls and accessibility to education, providing economic support for girls and their families, and establishing the legal framework and objectives of the program.

The most prominent one among these strategies is the education of girls to prevent early marriages. However, unfortunately, many sects and community formations (jamaat) and their followers do not accept girls' right to receive education and consider girls only as a means of reproduction by limiting their life to the home. Such radical Islamist incidents and phenomena are increasing quantitatively every day. When the issue of education is evaluated in this context, it is the most important factor in preventing early marriage.

Discussion and Conclusion

In brief, children in society should not be considered as an economic burden, but as valuable individuals of society. Opportunities should be provided in the family, then in society, especially for the education of girls, and women should be encouraged to take part in business life. Women who have children and men should be trained and their consciousness regarding this issue should be increased. Training, seminars, symposiums, and conferences should be organized in secondary schools, high schools and universities to raise awareness of the young generations regarding this issue.

Awareness-raising activities should not be only educational institutions' business, and communication programs informing about this issue should be prepared for families. Sometimes, families may consider early marriage as normal due to incorrect beliefs and lack of information, and the thoughts underlying this may be due to traditions and beliefs. The opinions of families on this issue should be gathered and then relevant efforts should be made to correct such incorrect religious and social beliefs. However, families should never be blamed for doing this, because the system is the only one to blame for this as it has turned a blind eye, and sometimes supported this phenomenon for its benefit. As an example, I, as a scientist, believe that the contracts and laws such as the Istanbul Convention strictly protected women and young girls in real life and that contracts should immediately be put in practice.

Raising society's awareness about early marriage is a very important issue in preventing marriage at an early age. When society stands by girls, wrong perceptions will be corrected and the future of society and girls in society will be shaped for the better. Otherwise, society will suffer from great problems, and this will turn into a vicious circle. The cost of such problems resulting from early marriage will be very high.

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CHAPTER 9

AN INTEGRATED LOPCOW- WISP MODEL FOR ANALYZING PERFORMANCE OF BANKING SECTOR IN ROMANIA

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Introduction

Evaluating the performance of the banking sector in a specific country over time is extremely important in terms of understanding the overall development in that country's financial system. The development of banking performance in time also provides very important data in terms of the macroeconomic performance of the relevant country. Banking in Romania has been developing in recent years and is attracting the attention of other countries. In this study, the development of the financial performance of the banking sector in Romania over the years was analyzed by the combination of the LOPCOW (Logarithmic Percentage Change-Driven Objective Weighting) and WISP (Simple Weighted Sum Product) methods, which are multi-criteria decision-making (MCDM) techniques, within the framework of selected criteria. LOPCOW was used to determine the selected criteria weight coefficients and WISP was used to rank the alternatives.

1.Literature Review

Studies with integrated LOPCOW-WISP method, which are multi-criteria decision-making techniques, are limited in the literature due to the fact that both techniques are very new. So far, only one study on banking has been found. A summary of studies with either of these two techniques is given can be seen;

When we look at the studies where LOPCOW method is used in the following studies below;

Ecer and Pamucar (2022) used the first time the LOPCOW method to assess banks in terms of sustainability and clarifies their levels of corporate sustainability performances. In addition, the novel DOBI ranking method is used to decide the ranking of the alternatives. Nine Turkish banks which released sustainability reports were analyzed regarding to the 17 criteria in terms of sustainability. The “average return on shareholders’ equity”, “electricity consumption”, “the branch number” and “the staff number” are concluded the top four key criteria for banks’ sustainability. As a result of study, it is found that Garanti BBVA outperformed the others.

Ecer et al. (2023) used to an integrated LOPCOW and VIKOR method to determine the best agricultural unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV). The LOPCOW method was used for criteria weight calculation and the ranking of agricultural UAVs is made by the VIKOR method combined with Copeland. The analysis showed that the most important criterion in agricultural UAV selection is “camera”. Further, it was concluded that the best UAV is the DJ AGRAS T30.

Ulutaş et al. (2023) analyzed natural fibre insulating materials used in construction insulation to maintain energy efficiency in order to recommend the most efficient natural fibre insulation material. They used four different weighting methods including PSI, MEREC, LOPCOW and MCRAT. Of them, MEREC, LOPCOW and MCRAT were objective weighting methods.

WISP method is used in the following studies below;

- Deveci et al. (2022) used WISP method for evaluating the approaches and factors to be used in the integration of virtual universe applications in sustainable urban transportation.
- Karabasevic et al. (2022) used WISP method in the development of the fuzzy version of the method.
- Ulutaş et al. (2022) used WISP method in the selection of the tracked carrier system.
- Stanujkic et al. (2022) used WISP method in the development of the monovalent neutrophilic state of the method.
- Zavadskas et al. (2022) used WISP method in the development of the heuristic cluster version of the method in the WISP approach.

In addition, Pala (2023) used WISP method to measure the financial performance of companies operating in the food sector between the years 2019 and 2021. While the financial indicators used as criteria in the problem were prioritized with the SD (Standard Deviation) approach, the rankings of the businesses were obtained by the WISP method. According to the results, the performance rankings differed between the pre-pandemic period and the period of the pandemic.

2. Methodology

In this study, LOPCOW method is applied to calculate the criterion weights and WISP method is applied to compare the alternatives. Theoretical explanations of these methods are presented below.

2.1. LOPCOW Method

LOPCOW (Logarithmic Percentage Change-Driven Objective Weighting) method was first introduced by Ecer and Pamucar in 2022. It is an objective method of the criterion weighting. The application steps of LOPCOW can be seen as follows (Ecer and Pamucar, 2022; Ecer et al., 2023; Ulutaş et al., 2023).

Step 1. Forming the decision matrix. The goal is to solve a selection problem including the quantity of m alternatives and the quantity of n criteria.

$$X_{ij} = \begin{bmatrix} X_{11} & \cdots & X_{1n} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ X_{m1} & \cdots & X_{mn} \end{bmatrix} \quad (1)$$

Step 2. Normalizing the decision matrix. The linear (max-min) normalization approach is applied to have the normalized values of the matrix. If j is a cost criterion, Equation 2 is used.

$$r_{ij} = \frac{x_{max} - x_{ij}}{x_{max} - x_{min}} \quad (2)$$

If j is a benefit criterion, Equation 3 is used.

$$r_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij} - x_{min}}{x_{max} - x_{min}} \quad (3)$$

Step 3. Calculating the PV (percentage values) for each criterion. For this, the mean square value of each criterion as a percentage of their standard deviations is found. Thus, the difference (gap) caused by the data size is eliminated. In this step, Equation 4 is used.

$$PV_{ij} = \left| \ln \left(\frac{\sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^m r_{ij}^2}{m}}}{\sigma} \right) \cdot 100 \right| \quad (4)$$

In this equation, the term (σ) refers the standard deviation and the term (m) indicates number of alternatives.

Step 4. Computing the weights. Finally, the objective weights of each criterion were found with the help of Equation 5.

$$W_j = \frac{PV_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^n PV_{ij}} \quad (5)$$

2.2. WISP Method

Stanujkic et al. (2021) basically created the WISP (Simple Weighted Sum Product) method by combining weighted sum and weighted multiplication approaches and structures found in different MCDM methods and proposed its use in MCDM problems. The steps of WISP method are as follows (Stanujkic et al., 2021; Zavadskas et al., 2022; Pala, 2023).

Step 1. Building the decision matrix. In Equation 6, there are k numbers of alternatives and p numbers of criteria in a MCDM problem.

$$G = g_{ij} = \begin{bmatrix} G_{11} & \cdots & G_{1p} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ G_{k1} & \cdots & G_{kp} \end{bmatrix} \quad (6)$$

Step 2. Normalizing the decision matrix. The normalization for the initial decision matrix G (V_{ij}) is made by Equation 7.

$$V_{ij} = \frac{g_{ij}}{g^{\max}_j} \quad (7)$$

Step 3. Defining the utility scores. The four different utility scores are defined as in Equation 8-11. where Ω_{\max} and Ω_{\min} are the maximum and minimum directional criteria, f_i^{sd} and f_i^{md} are the sum and multiplicative difference points of the alternative respectively, and f_i^{sr} and f_i^{mr} are the sum and multiplication ratios respectively.

$$f_i^{sd} = \sum_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{max}}^p V_{ij} W_j - \sum_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{min}}^p V_{ij} W_j, i = 1, \dots, k \quad (8)$$

$$f_i^{md} = \prod_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{max}}^p V_{ij} W_j - \prod_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{min}}^p V_{ij} W_j, i = 1, \dots, k \quad (9)$$

$$f_i^{sr} = \frac{\sum_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{max}}^p V_{ij} W_j}{\sum_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{min}}^p V_{ij} W_j}, \quad i = 1, \dots, k \quad (10)$$

$$f_i^{mr} = \frac{\prod_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{max}}^p V_{ij} W_j}{\prod_{j=1, j \in \Omega_{min}}^p V_{ij} W_j}, \quad i = 1, \dots, k \quad (11)$$

Step 4. Standardization of utility scores. The utility scores obtained in the previous stage are standardized as in Equation 12-15.

$$\bar{f}_i^{sd} = \frac{1+f_i^{sd}}{1+\max\{f^{sd}\}} \quad (12)$$

$$\bar{f}_i^{md} = \frac{1+f_i^{md}}{1+\max\{f^{md}\}} \quad (13)$$

$$\bar{f}_i^{sr} = \frac{1+f_i^{sr}}{1+\max\{f^{sr}\}} \quad (14)$$

$$\bar{f}_i^{mr} = \frac{1+f_i^{mr}}{1+\max\{f^{mr}\}} \quad (15)$$

Step 5. Ranking of alternatives. In this step, final scores of the alternatives are calculated. This is made via Equation 16. The alternative with the highest score is expressed as the best option.

$$f_i = \frac{\bar{f}_i^{sd} + \bar{f}_i^{md} + \bar{f}_i^{sr} + \bar{f}_i^{mr}}{4} \quad (16)$$

3.Application

Statistics on the performance of banking sector in Romania are obtained from the report titled as “Monetary and financial statistics-Aggregate Indicators for Credit Institutions” from the website of NBR-the National Bank of Romania (Banca Națională A României) (<https://bnr.ro/Statistics-report-1124.aspx>). These statistics include the

basic financial ratios (criteria) of banking sector in Romania for last 15 years between 2008-2022. The nine financial ratios were selected as the performance criteria including “number of banks”, “total net assets”, “capital adequacy ratio”, “leverage ratio”, “return on assets”, “return on equity”, “operating income/operating expenses”, “loans to deposits”, “non-performing loans ratio”. These financial indicators (ratios) were evaluated in the research as criteria on which performance analysis is based.

Table 1. Selected Criteria (Financial Ratios)

Sequence	Name	Code	Direction	Weight
1	Number of Banks	NOB	Max	0.106
2	Total Net Assets	TNA	Max	0.062
3	Capital Adequacy Ratio	CAR	Max	0.089
4	Leverage Ratio	LR	Max	0.086
5	Return On Assets	ROA	Max	0.151
6	Return On Equity	ROE	Max	0.147
7	Operating Income / Operating Expenses	ITE	Max	0.148
8	Loans-to-Deposits	LTD	Max	0.080
9	Non-performing Loans Ratio	NPL	Min	0.130

Source: NBR-National Bank of Romania Monetary and financial statistics-Aggregate Indicators for Credit Institutions. <https://bnr.ro/Statistics-report-1124.aspx>.

Table 1 above shows the order of criteria, name, code, direction and weight coefficient. Only the Non-performing Loans Ratio is minimum directional, while all other criteria are maximum-directional. For maximum directional criteria, bigger is better. The reverse is true for minimum directional criteria. So smaller is better. The weight coefficients calculated by the LOPCOW method will be described later. Table 2 below shows the years included in the analysis.

Table 2. Alternatives (Financial Years) in The Study

Sequence	Alternatives (Years)
1	2022
2	2021
3	2020
4	2019
5	2018
6	2017
7	2016
8	2015
9	2014
10	2013
11	2012
12	2011
13	2010
14	2009
15	2008

The performance analysis of the sector in Romania will be carried out by the integrated LOPCOW-WISP method. In the first stage, the initial decision matrix was formed. Via Equation 1, the initial decision matrix was made in Table 3. In this table, there are 135 ($15 \times 9 = 135$) elements as part of the Initial Decision Matrix (IDM) that includes the criteria in the columns and the alternatives (years) in the rows. There are nine ($n=9$) criteria and fifteen ($m=15$) alternatives in this matrix.

**Table 3. Initial Decision Matrix
(Financial Ratios of Banking Sector in Romania 2008-22)**

Year	NO B	TNA	CAR	LR	ROA	ROE	ITE	LTD	NPL
2022	32	701,381.73	21.83	7.84	1.52	16.59	192.65	70.52	2.65
2021	34	639,754.48	23.32	8.62	1.36	13.28	185.48	68.78	3.35
2020	34	560,034.17	25.14	10.30	0.95	8.66	185.74	65.89	3.83
2019	34	495,214.22	22.00	10.20	1.34	12.21	184.09	70.99	4.09
2018	34	451,169.69	20.71	9.34	1.55	14.58	188.07	73.64	4.96
2017	35	427,792.57	19.97	8.89	1.30	12.51	181.62	74.74	6.41
2016	37	393,647.91	19.68	8.92	1.08	10.42	188.57	79.05	9.62
2015	36	377,187.20	19.16	8.18	1.24	11.77	171.31	85.39	13.51
2014	40	364,143.30	17.59	7.38	-1.32	-12.45	180.19	91.33	20.71
2013	40	362,259.20	15.46	7.96	0.01	0.13	176.85	104.59	21.87
2012	40	365,618.10	14.94	8.02	-0.64	-5.92	170.31	117.37	18.24
2011	41	353,910.90	14.87	8.07	-0.23	-2.56	147.53	116.65	14.33
2010	42	341,946.34	15.02	8.11	-0.16	-1.73	154.20	113.46	11.85
2009	42	330,183.50	14.67	7.55	0.25	2.89	156.53	112.80	7.89
2008	43	314,441.50	13.76	8.13	1.56	17.04	179.56	122.03	6.52

Source: NBR-National Bank of Romania Monetary and financial statistics-Aggregate Indicators for Credit Institutions. <https://bnr.ro/Statistics-report-1124.aspx>.

Since there are negative values in the table, these negative values were converted into positive values by z score method. The z-scoring version of the matrix is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Z-Scoring Values

	NOB	TNA	CAR	LR	ROA	ROE	ITE	LTD	NPL
	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	min
2022	0.614	4.429	3.041	1.385	3.072	3.246	3.341	1.153	1.000
2021	1.157	3.905	3.451	2.271	2.899	2.882	2.816	1.070	1.108
2020	1.157	3.226	3.952	4.178	2.456	2.374	2.835	0.932	1.182
2019	1.157	2.674	3.088	4.064	2.878	2.764	2.715	1.175	1.222
2018	1.157	2.300	2.733	3.088	3.105	3.025	3.006	1.301	1.357
2017	1.429	2.101	2.529	2.577	2.834	2.797	2.534	1.354	1.582
2016	1.973	1.810	2.449	2.611	2.596	2.567	3.043	1.559	2.078
2015	1.701	1.670	2.306	1.771	2.769	2.716	1.779	1.861	2.681
2014	2.788	1.559	1.874	0.863	0.000	0.052	2.429	2.144	3.795
2013	2.788	1.543	1.287	1.522	1.439	1.436	2.185	2.776	3.975
2012	2.788	1.571	1.144	1.590	0.736	0.770	1.706	3.385	3.413
2011	3.060	1.472	1.125	1.646	1.179	1.140	0.038	3.351	2.808
2010	3.331	1.370	1.166	1.696	1.257	1.231	0.526	3.199	2.424
2009	3.331	1.270	1.070	1.056	1.698	1.739	0.697	3.167	1.811
2008	3.603	1.136	0.819	1.715	3.116	3.295	2.383	3.607	1.599
Max	3.603	4.429	3.952	4.178	3.116	3.295	3.341	3.607	3.975
Min	0.614	1.136	0.819	0.863	0.000	0.052	0.038	0.932	1.000
Max-Min	2.989	3.293	3.133	3.314	3.116	3.243	3.303	2.675	2.975

In the third stage, the normalization of the matrix was made by using Equation 2 and 3. For this, the difference between the maximum and minimum values of the criteria and the maximum-minimum values is calculated. Later, the weight coefficients of the performance criteria were determined by Equation 4 and 5. The calculation results are shown in Table (5).

Table 5. Normalized Matrix and Weights (wj)

	NOB	TNA	CAR	LR	ROA	ROE	ITE	LTD	NPL
Year	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	min
2022	0.000	1.000	0.709	0.158	0.986	0.985	1.000	0.082	1.000
2021	0.182	0.841	0.840	0.425	0.931	0.872	0.841	0.051	0.964
2020	0.182	0.635	1.000	1.000	0.788	0.716	0.847	0.000	0.939
2019	0.182	0.467	0.724	0.966	0.924	0.836	0.810	0.091	0.925
2018	0.182	0.353	0.611	0.671	0.997	0.917	0.898	0.138	0.880
2017	0.273	0.293	0.546	0.517	0.910	0.846	0.756	0.158	0.804
2016	0.455	0.205	0.520	0.527	0.833	0.776	0.910	0.234	0.637
2015	0.364	0.162	0.475	0.274	0.889	0.821	0.527	0.347	0.435
2014	0.727	0.128	0.337	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.724	0.453	0.060
2013	0.727	0.124	0.149	0.199	0.462	0.427	0.650	0.689	0.000
2012	0.727	0.132	0.104	0.219	0.236	0.221	0.505	0.917	0.189
2011	0.818	0.102	0.098	0.236	0.378	0.335	0.000	0.904	0.392
2010	0.909	0.071	0.111	0.251	0.403	0.363	0.148	0.847	0.521
2009	0.909	0.041	0.080	0.058	0.545	0.520	0.199	0.836	0.727
2008	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.257	1.000	1.000	0.710	1.000	0.799
<i>Sum square</i>	<i>5.455</i>	<i>2.673</i>	<i>4.074</i>	<i>3.485</i>	<i>8.490</i>	<i>7.521</i>	<i>7.331</i>	<i>4.992</i>	<i>7.313</i>
<i>Sum square/m</i>	<i>0.364</i>	<i>0.178</i>	<i>0.272</i>	<i>0.232</i>	<i>0.566</i>	<i>0.501</i>	<i>0.489</i>	<i>0.333</i>	<i>0.488</i>
<i>Square Root sumsq/m</i>	<i>0.603</i>	<i>0.422</i>	<i>0.521</i>	<i>0.482</i>	<i>0.752</i>	<i>0.708</i>	<i>0.699</i>	<i>0.577</i>	<i>0.698</i>
<i>Stand Dev.(sd)</i>	<i>0.323</i>	<i>0.293</i>	<i>0.308</i>	<i>0.291</i>	<i>0.310</i>	<i>0.298</i>	<i>0.292</i>	<i>0.361</i>	<i>0.325</i>
<i>(Square Root sumsq/m)/sd</i>	<i>1.866</i>	<i>1.439</i>	<i>1.690</i>	<i>1.654</i>	<i>2.426</i>	<i>2.377</i>	<i>2.390</i>	<i>1.598</i>	<i>2.150</i>
<i>pij=ln((Square Root of ((sumsq/m) /sd) *100)</i>	<i>62.37</i>	<i>36.40</i>	<i>52.48</i>	<i>50.30</i>	<i>88.63</i>	<i>86.59</i>	<i>87.14</i>	<i>46.85</i>	<i>76.57</i>
<i>wj</i>	<i>0.106</i>	<i>0.062</i>	<i>0.089</i>	<i>0.086</i>	<i>0.151</i>	<i>0.147</i>	<i>0.148</i>	<i>0.080</i>	<i>0.130</i>
<i>Pij values</i>	<i>62.366</i>	<i>36.405</i>	<i>52.482</i>	<i>50.296</i>	<i>88.634</i>	<i>86.592</i>	<i>87.137</i>	<i>46.853</i>	<i>76.565</i>

Source: Values calculated by the author.

In the study, the weight coefficients (wj) of the criteria were calculated by LOPCOW method. According to Table 5, the most important criterion is the ROA criterion, which has a weight coefficient of 15.1 percent. The second most important criterion is the ITE criterion, which has a weight coefficient of 14.8 percent. In third place there is the ROE criterion, which has a weight coefficient of 14.7 percent. The least important criterion is the TNA criterion, which has a weight of 6.2 percent.

After the criterion weights were determined by the LOPCOW method, the WISP method was used for the financial performance ranking of 15 years to be compared with each other. In the WISP method, the z-score values must first be normalized. Equation 7 is used

in the normalization process. The normalized values are shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Normalized Matrix

	NOB	TNA	CAR	LR	ROA	ROE	ITE	LTD	NPL
	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	max	min
<i>w_j</i>	0.106	0.062	0.089	0.086	0.151	0.147	0.148	0.080	0.130
2022	0.1704	1.0000	0.7694	0.3316	0.9861	0.9850	1.0000	0.3195	0.2515
2021	0.3212	0.8816	0.8732	0.5435	0.9306	0.8745	0.8429	0.2965	0.2787
2020	0.3212	0.7284	1.0000	1.0000	0.7882	0.7203	0.8486	0.2583	0.2974
2019	0.3212	0.6038	0.7813	0.9728	0.9236	0.8388	0.8125	0.3257	0.3076
2018	0.3212	0.5192	0.6914	0.7392	0.9965	0.9179	0.8997	0.3607	0.3414
2017	0.3966	0.4742	0.6399	0.6169	0.9097	0.8488	0.7583	0.3752	0.3979
2016	0.5475	0.4086	0.6197	0.6251	0.8333	0.7791	0.9106	0.4322	0.5229
2015	0.4721	0.3770	0.5834	0.4240	0.8889	0.8241	0.5325	0.5159	0.6744
2014	0.7737	0.3519	0.4741	0.2066	0.0000	0.0158	0.7270	0.5944	0.9548
2013	0.7737	0.3483	0.3257	0.3642	0.4618	0.4357	0.6538	0.7696	1.0000
2012	0.7737	0.3548	0.2895	0.3805	0.2361	0.2337	0.5105	0.9384	0.8586
2011	0.8492	0.3323	0.2846	0.3941	0.3785	0.3459	0.0115	0.9289	0.7064
2010	0.9246	0.3093	0.2949	0.4060	0.4034	0.3735	0.1576	0.8867	0.6099
2009	0.9246	0.2867	0.2707	0.2528	0.5451	0.5278	0.2086	0.8781	0.4555
2008	1.0000	0.2564	0.2073	0.4104	1.0000	1.0000	0.7132	1.0000	0.4022

After the normalization process, the utility scores were calculated via Equations 8-11. The utility scores are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Utility Scores

	f_i^{sd}	f_i^{md}	f_i^{sr}	f_i^{mr}
2022	0.6123	-0.0328	19.6786	0.0000000055
2021	0.5951	-0.0363	17.3766	0.0000000100
2020	0.5871	-0.0388	16.1428	0.0000000100
2019	0.5941	-0.0401	15.8188	0.0000000100
2018	0.5948	-0.0445	14.3638	0.0000000075
2017	0.5345	-0.0519	11.3047	0.0000000042
2016	0.5344	-0.0682	8.8392	0.0000000043
2015	0.4498	-0.0879	6.1164	0.0000000013
2014	0.1972	-0.1245	2.5840	0.0000000000
2013	0.3260	-0.1304	3.5007	0.0000000003
2012	0.2714	-0.1119	3.4244	0.0000000001
2011	0.2618	-0.0921	3.8429	0.0000000000
2010	0.3090	-0.0795	4.8866	0.0000000001
2009	0.3635	-0.0594	7.1206	0.0000000002
2008	0.6072	-0.0524	12.5820	0.0000000039
Max	0.6123	-0.0328	19.6786	0.000000010

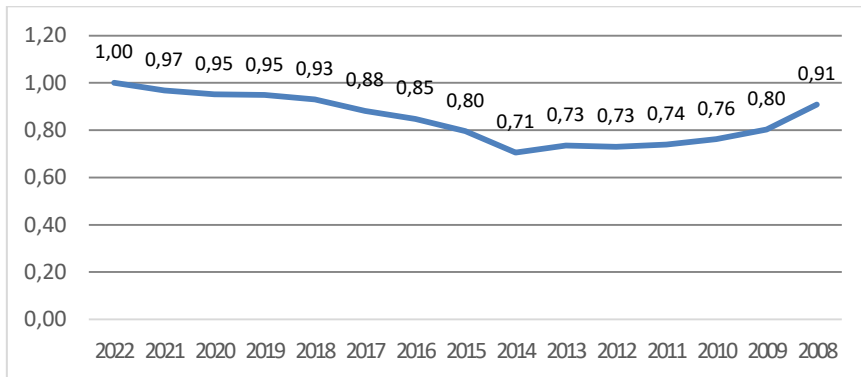
Later, standardization of utility scores was made. The utility scores obtained in the previous stage are standardized via Equations 12-15. The standardized utility scores are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 8. Standardized Utility Scores, Final Scores and Ranking

	\bar{f}_i^{sd}	\bar{f}_i^{md}	\bar{f}_i^{sr}	\bar{f}_i^{mr}	f_i	Rank
2022	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1
2021	0.9893	0.9963	0.8887	1.0000	0.9686	2
2020	0.9844	0.9938	0.8290	1.0000	0.9518	3
2019	0.9887	0.9924	0.8133	1.0000	0.9486	4
2018	0.9891	0.9879	0.7430	1.0000	0.9300	5
2017	0.9517	0.9803	0.5950	1.0000	0.8818	7
2016	0.9517	0.9634	0.4758	1.0000	0.8477	8
2015	0.8992	0.9430	0.3441	1.0000	0.7966	10
2014	0.7425	0.9052	0.1733	1.0000	0.7053	15
2013	0.8224	0.8991	0.2177	1.0000	0.7348	13
2012	0.7885	0.9182	0.2140	1.0000	0.7302	14
2011	0.7826	0.9387	0.2342	1.0000	0.7389	12
2010	0.8119	0.9517	0.2847	1.0000	0.7621	11
2009	0.8457	0.9725	0.3927	1.0000	0.8027	9
2008	0.9968	0.9797	0.6568	1.0000	0.9083	6

Source: Values calculated by the author.

In the table, the year 2022 was the highest performing year. In this year, the banks in Romania as a sector outperformed over the other years. The second successful year was the year 2021 being before the year 2020. The years of the lowest performance have been the years 2014, 2012 and 2013, respectively. The result of the research can be also seen in Graph 1 below:



Graph 1. Financial Scores (fi) of Romanian Banking between 2008-2022.

In Graph 1, the vertical axis shows financial performance or fi values of the banking sector in Romania. The horizontal axis in the Graph 1 indicates the time period, in other words, the last 15 years. Minimum level in the fi curve indicate minimum performance of the sector and vice versa. As can be seen from the graph, 2014 was the year in which the financial performance of the banking sector in Romania was the lowest. However, the financial performance of the banking sector has gradually increased in the last 5 years.

Conclusion

Evaluating the change in banking performance in a country over time is one of the most valuable effort in order to understand the overall development in the economy. In this study, the change in the financial performance of the banking sector in Romania between 2008-2022 was analyzed by the integrated LOPCOW-WISP method based on the selected criteria consisting of financial ratios. LOPCOW was used to determine the weighting of the criteria and WISP was used to make

ranking among the consequent years. The aim of this study is to find the most successful year in terms of financial performance of banking sector in Romania.

According to the LOPCOW method results, the most important criterion is “Return on assets”, the second is “Operating income / operating expenses” and third is “Return on equity”. The least important criterion is “Total net assets”. According to the WISP method results, the financial performance of the banking sector has gradually increased in the last 5 years. 2022 was the best year. The second best year was 2021, while the third best year was 2020. The lowest performance years were 2014, 2012 and 2013, respectively. It is important to note that the results of the research may vary according to the method, the criteria and countries chosen.

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CHAPTER 10

A PERSPECTIVE ON MATERIAL CULTURE COMPONENTS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Evaluation of archaeological formation processes is a necessary component of all kinds of research providing supported statements regarding the past based on archaeological ruins. As long as researchers strive to express their multidimensional views on the past, the study of archaeological formation processes will be important too. Only recently did archaeologists realize the full potential of integrated archaeological and anthropological material culture studies to shed light on humans and their relationships with their material world (Cochran-Beaudry, 2006). There is already a broad body of literature on the unique material traces left by different human behaviours and formation processes. Most of these data are obtained by direct observation of authentic processes. Obtaining knowledge of these processes is thought to be the first step in evaluating the influence on a group of findings (Renfrew-Bahn, 2013: 33-35). While in the first stages of archaeology, archaeologists explained cultural changes by identifying ethnic groups and in line with human expansion and migration, cultural-historical archaeology is mostly centred on classifying material culture elements and tracing their temporal and spatial distribution (Shennan, 2002: 266). In order to establish the cultural context of the studied works, characteristics, settlements, and patterns, first we must understand how material culture, rituals, and daily life are interwoven (Gazin-Schwartz, 2001: 263).

As historical archaeology emerged as a field of study, understanding and interpreting material culture gained more importance than simply identifying and classifying objects unearthed. One of the chronic problems in historical archaeology is the tendency to use written resources in order to support the information that cannot be obtained from the archaeological data and to use the archaeological data in order to fill the gaps in the written texts. Archaeologists generally use texts to fulfil their need to create detailed analyses, which are required to obtain information from archaeological data. "Cultural-historical archaeology" is included alongside this method. Moving from the idea that cultures are constant reflections of ethnicity, according to this approach similarities and differences in material culture are associated with ethnic similarities and differences (Trigger, 2014: 225, 476).

Examination of the relationship between the mind and material culture reveals a complex and satisfactory analysis of the relationship between human memory and material culture (Jones, 2007). The first aim of this approach is to re-evaluate, identify, and classify the material; define the style and behaviours of past societies; and understand the reasons behind those acts (Bahn, 1992:28). It is known that there are various approaches in archaeology for understanding cultures. In addition to the approaches mentioned, we are planning to establish a chain with the aim of understanding

and interpreting cultures through the boundaries established by the cultural interaction cycle, material culture ties, and material culture indicators. We hope that chain will provide a perspective and constitute a step in shaping the archaeological formations. It is obvious that there are certain factors and determiners involved in understanding culture. As well as being connected to one another, these elements help us draw certain conclusions via indicators. Cultural interaction represents the network of material cultural-geographic determiners and, thus, the chronological differentiation. We can explain the concept of material culture within the triangle of cultural interaction-functionality-social division of labour (organization). Additionally, elements of material culture provide traces of socio-culture, prestige elements, and cultural vision. All these factors and determiners create a perspective for us to understand the culture. It is thought that a general opinion can be formed with a specific-to-general pattern for the elements shaping the concept of culture in archaeology. The evaluations in this regard establish significant steps towards understanding the shareholders of culture.

2. CULTURAL INTERACTION CYCLE

Interconnected **material culture**, **chronological differentiation**, and **geographical determiners** produce a **cultural interaction**-centred point of view (Fig. 1). The cultural interaction border between different regions can be defined to a certain level with a good evaluation of the material culture, considering the chronological differentiation and within the framework of geographical determiners.

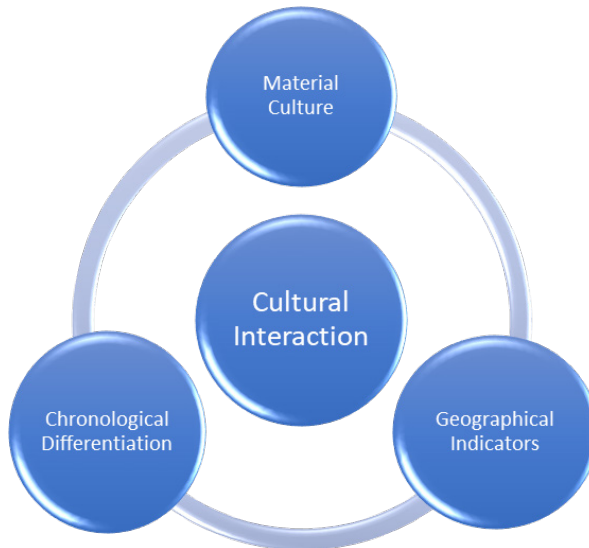


Fig. 1: *Cultural Interaction Cycle*

In cultural borders and waste accumulation, the material culture is related to whether an exclusive finding represents the border of an ethnic group or not, the opinions of the people in that society on what is the appropriate conclusion for the different findings and ethnic group indicators, and the relationship between waste and social organization. If material culture has a symbolic aspect that affects the relationship between humans and objects, archaeology, as a whole, should be included in this aspect as well (Hodder-Hutson, 2010: 30). It is thought that examining material culture and understanding the different categories of human behaviour and the stylistic place of data will contribute to a better understanding of how human beliefs and customs are associated with material culture (Trigger, 2014: 499). When the context of an object is known, that object is no longer silent. The context of the object hints at its meaning. It is not even possible to suggest that objects convey their cultural meaning to us within the context. Interpreting an object's meaning is limited to interpreting its context (Hodder-Hutson, 2010: 31).

The geography in which societies live provides an essential context for people's living conditions, cycles, and continuity. Based on their living schemes, it can be inferred that these people have a specific cultural interaction network with distant groups of people or those at their periphery and their cultures. The most fundamental existence point of communities is the place and time they exist in. A story of existence in terms of location is where cultures develop with interactions and gain new pathways.

The other existence point, time, on the other hand, can be defined as the interpreter of the time sequences that archaeologists name chronology. Chronological differentiations indicate that time scale is a determiner in the context of cultural interaction. We, as archaeologists, need to figure out from which groups and when communities accepted interactions into their cultures. In conclusion, the cycle given as a scheme above is thought to show that material culture, geographical determiners, and chronological differentiations indicate a relation and cultural interaction.

3. MATERIAL CULTURE TIES

Archaeology cannot be limited to material culture that is not used anymore or material culture that is unearthed through excavations or rediscovered. Just the opposite, material culture, still in use, has a spatial history and time depth that the ruins of disconnected customs cannot display; therefore, this reality substantially impacts understanding of the material culture in society (Oestigaard, 2004: 47). Most importantly, material culture focuses on objects and their meanings; it consists of a source material made out of an object and spaces via which people construct and define their cultural practices and identities. Apart from the material properties

of these objects, their usage, consumption, production, and changes can be included in this definition (Dyer, 2021: 283). According to Oestigaard, defining archaeology from a material point of view shows that the world is a human product and represents four different interaction areas: past, present, nature/materiality, and culture. These four areas define material culture and archaeology as an academic discipline. Archaeology, as a whole, is a material culture study consisting of these five areas. Focusing on one or two of these areas helps us define excavation archaeology, environmental archaeology, theoretical archaeology, etc., which are the archaeological sub-disciplines (Oestigaard, 2004). **Material culture** interpretation can be considered within a relationship based on understanding of **the functionality, cultural interaction, and social division of labour (organization)** (Fig. 2).

Functionality is a significant factor in shaping the usage tendency of the material culture within the context of architectural findings and in providing a healthier environmental analysis under the characteristics of production material and quantity. Functionality can be examined from the angle that it is a prominent competence as both a utility and interaction tool, firstly in shaping an individual's daily life and then in their commercial activity. Instead of focusing on things that make a settlement, characteristics, or an artwork unique, special, or abnormal, it is required to consider multiple contexts for the use of behaviours, materials, and characteristics (Renfrew, 1994). **Cultural interaction** can be defined as the process of restricting or expanding the behaviours of resistance or conformity as a result of the commercial activity of the society mentioned in functionality. The place of cultural interaction in material culture is a distinguishing factor in interpreting the identity that reflects the uniqueness of possible cultural connections and settlements by classifying those. Moving from the motive of the masses to act together in meeting daily needs or producing commercial materials, **the social division of labour (organization)** can be seen as a doctrine of past experience inherent in settlements of the construction/production units that emerged and were contained in the settlement.

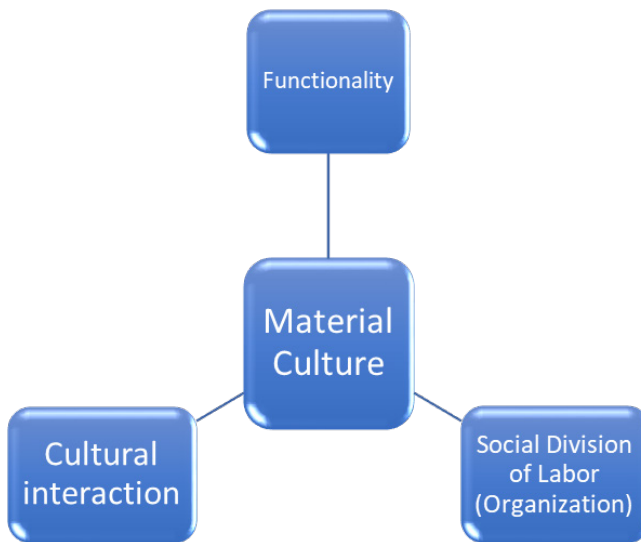


Fig. 2: *Material Cultural Ties*

4. MATERIAL CULTURE INDICATORS

According to Trigger, an extensive theory that explains the human behaviour and material culture should synthesize the understandings of cultural ecology and cognitive anthropology (Trigger 2000: 368). Examinations made on the material culture and the consequences of production, use, throwing away, and reusing enable an interpretation of the location of the finding (Hodder, 1994: 395). Produced works reflect a natural aspect of humans (Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2012: 6) and a community's beliefs, values, opinions, behaviours, and assumptions (Prown, 1982: 1). Many researchers have shared their opinions on material culture since 1800 and sought to explain the social interaction process, which stems from technology and touches upon material culture (Hicks, 2010). Moving from the idea that humans and material culture produce one another (Hodder and Hutson, 2010: 15) and that objects create subjects (Olsen, 2003: 100), evaluations on which indicator might have created the production tendency of the material culture in a certain settlement represent a mass event that expands from the individual towards society. Archaeology focusing on understanding past social patterns highlights that the way to trace back the events belonging to the past lies in understanding the material culture (Duru, 2017: 27). The cultural works in this system can be seen as the follower of interaction and change and the mirror of related sociological and socio-economic topics (Muthesius, 2007: 29). It is thought that cultural customs do not only gather in complex forms but also their continuity is generally related to their relationship with other cultural developments (Eldredge, 2009).

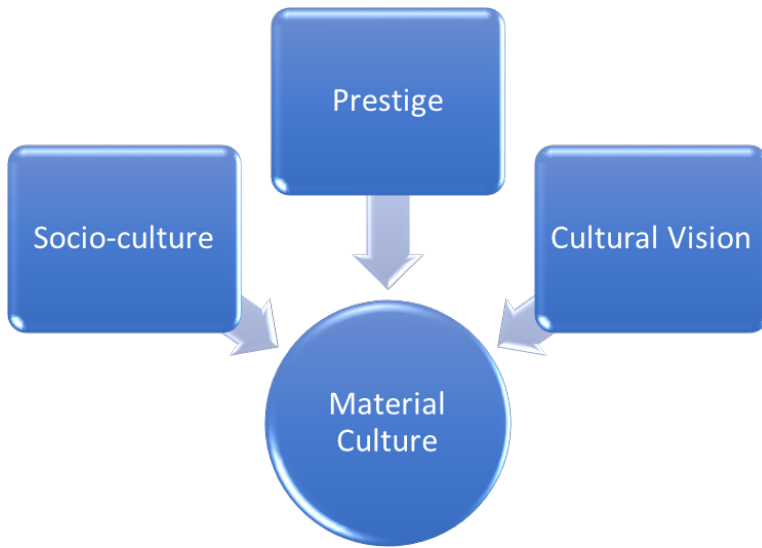


Fig. 3: *Material Culture Indicators*

It is also thought that **socio-culture**, **prestige** elements, and the analysis of **cultural vision** can reveal the **material culture** (Fig. 3). When we assess all three indicators, **socio-culture** is the reflection of the socio-cultural parameters of settlements to move away from individuality, be active together (communal), and exist with the motive of displaying an entirety on the material culture, because being social requires being within a group or mass. When we concentrate on the socio-cultural meaning, we see that the effects and results of the total of behaviours such as rules, customs, and habits on settlers represent variables that influence the material, shape, and ornament characteristics of the material culture.

Prestige creates symbolic indicators within the cultural region in which the settlers are present. Material cultures come to the forefront regarding the determiners of the symbolic elements. The material culture, which limits the culture of the settlement, creates prestige objects, especially in terms of the possible class differences in the settlements. The said objects especially help us understand the class differences between the settlers. Elements of material culture that serve certain purposes (line of work, class elements, and family borders within the settlements) are a property that helps us understand whether the relationships of regions with one another have a powerful or weak cultural border in terms of prestige within the same cultural integrity but between different cultural regions.

Cultural vision can be considered a dynamic that is shaped according to the region and period within the cultural integrity of the settlement and

that creates a point of view regarding the region and period. While cultural information is conveyed from one individual to another, these can alter due to reasons such as bad memory and misunderstanding of concepts. Content, context, and conveyance method can affect to what extent the cultural information is subject to these random changes (Apel-Danmark 2009: 19). Therefore, cultural vision, one of the indicators indicating the material culture, is a factor in determining the stylistic characteristics and quantitative value variables of material culture. The meaning and usage tendencies of the material culture elements produced by settlers as functional or ornamental objects are associated with how wide or how narrow the cultural vision range is.

CONCLUSION

Material culture studies have a long intellectual history in social sciences that dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Increasing interdisciplinary interest in material culture and, especially, the analytic point of view emerging in anthropological material culture studies has a great potential for historical archaeology (Cochran-Beaudry, 2006). The aim in archaeology is to examine the relationship between material culture and people because material culture not only reflects the culture but also actively creates the culture (Hodder, 1982b). Many culture-oriented approaches, such as material culture, cultural-historical archaeology, and cultural patterns, can be deemed the first step in interpreting all kinds of archaeological formations occurring around humans and those produced by or from humans. The aim of the present study is to focus on understanding how communities are in an interaction with cultural values and what are the determiners of the said interaction.

In conclusion, with a broad definition, the world is a work and an archaeological object that needs to be studied. Naturally, the world the people live in should be included in archaeological analysis because, otherwise, the related variables to understand how material culture actively creates cultures, human perceptions, and the world they live in cannot be grasped (Oestigaard 2004: 29). In this context, it is seen that the cultural interaction cycle creates integrity in terms of material culture, chronological differentiation, and geographical determiners. The parameters of the interaction network are “location” in terms of the geography that the cultures exist in, “chronological time sequence” in terms of the chronology they live in, and “things” in terms of the values of the material culture.

Material culture ties are shaped by understanding of the functionality of communities, their interaction values with other cultures, and the social division of labour. In addition to the material culture ties, we can evaluate the material culture results with the help of material culture indicators (so-

cio-culture, prestige, and cultural vision). More indicators and factors lie beneath understanding cultures. This study can be considered only a first step to forming a cultural point of view with the determined elements.

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CHAPTER 11

AN ELEMENT CARRIED FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE PRESENT IN THE CONTEXT OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE (?): AMULET

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Introduction

Anatolia has hosted many civilizations since ancient times thanks to its' geographical location and features, rich flora, and fauna. The communities that inhabited this land passed on many tangible and intangible elements they created and believed in to subsequent cultures. Anything related to human beings, including tangible elements such as tools, pottery, and spatial plans produced for various needs have had their share in this process of creation and development. Regarding intangible elements, although societies adopted different beliefs and religions over time, it has generally been possible to find traces of the previous society in the succeeding one. These traces have survived, sometimes unaffected and sometimes having undergone changes both in form and meaning.

One of the special elements necessary for the strong preservation and transmission of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage from past to present is nazar (evil eye) and the protective practices that were developed based on this belief. The term “nazar”, borrowed by Turkish from Arabic, means “glance” and refers to the harm caused to living or non-living by people whose gaze or words have negative connotations such as envy or malice (Dundes, 1981: 258; Boratav, 1984: 103-104; Begiç, 2022: 171; Türkteş, 2016: 407-408; Kızıldağ, 2022: 434, fn. 1). Since ancient times, the humankind, grappling with uncertainty, facing various forms of harm, suffering and anxiety, must have sought refuge in a power to protect themselves. Alongside prayers and rituals, they have carried with them an object that they imbued with various meanings, always keeping it by their side, ensuring their own safety and that of those they wanted to protect. The object chosen was sometimes a bead/amulet in the form of an eye to protect against the negative effects of the eye, sometimes a talisman with prayers inside (Begiç 2020: 101, Fig. 3; Ekici&Fedakar 2014: 44-45), a part of an animal, or a plant (Türkteş 2016: 407-417). The material of the chosen protective object was shaped and used based on ideas such as the strength of the animal and the durability of the tree or plant, or the meanings attributed to the material by the community where the belief originated. This belief, originating in ancient times, survived strongly among people, undergoing changes in form and meaning from time to time. In Islam, the existence of the evil eye is acknowledged, however protection must be sought through prayers. The remaining practices are declared as superstitious and are prohibited in Islam, yet they have retained their power probably due to their deep-rooted nature (Eyüboğlu, 1998: 102; Çıblak, 2004: 104-105; For references to the evil eye in hadiths see: Kızıldağ 2022: 434, fn. 5; Begiç 2020: 100; Begiç 2022: 172).

The belief in nazar, the practices performed, and charms used for protection beforehand, and the purification methods to be applied after being

affected by the evil eye are the richest elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Anatolia (Gündüz-Alptürker 2020: 708). In response to the threats of deterioration, extinction, and destruction of ICH due to globalization and social change, UNESCO adopted the “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” on 17 October 2003. The “Law on the Approval of the Convention for the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” (No. 5448) entered into force after being published in the Official Gazette dated January 21, 2006, and numbered 26056, and Turkey’s accession process was completed on 27 March 2006. In the article 2.1 of General Provisions of this convention, ICH is defined as “*practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as a part of their cultural heritage*”. ICHC, transmitted from generation to generation, “*is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.*” According to the article 2.2 of the convention, the elements included in this heritage are as follows: *a) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) Performing arts; (c) Social practices, rituals, and festive events; (d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) Traditional craftsmanship.* Article 3. explains the term “safeguarding of ICH” as: “*measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.*” (Oğuz, 2018: 201-203).

Considering the provisions of the convention, the archaeological material obtained in excavations carried out in Anatolia has the potential to contribute to the emergence of numerous traditions within the framework of ICH. With this aim, this article will analyse an amulet necklace from 2nd -1st century BC, comparing it to a type of talisman (çitlik branch/çitlembik branch/menengiç branch/çetere) still in use in some regions today. First, the finding condition and characteristics of the example from Hellenistic period will be described followed by the presentation of other archaeological finds with similarities to this object. Finally, examples of similar items used in present-day Anatolia and the Turkish world will be presented based on existing literature.

Antandros and Antandros Amulet Necklace

Numerous archaeological excavations have yielded apotropaic objects against the evil eye or harm, made in the ancient times. (Lankton 2003:

49, 53, 85, figure 5.3, fig. 9.8, figure 6.1; Özeren et al., 1996: 173, Fig. 10; Martin 1997: 369, fig. 18; Fless & Treister, 2007: 170, abb. 5.20-26; Atasoy, 1974: 262, fig. 7; Haerinck, 1991: 50, fig. 28.7; Dumoulin, 1958: 219, fig. 25.2, 228, fig. 37; Kallintzi & Papaikononou, 2006: 483, fig.4; Johns, 1982: 73, fig.57. Robinson, 1941: 124-125, 128-132, pl. XXV, No. 423-444; Sgourov & Agelarakis, 2001: 343-344, 354-355, fig. 30; Dusenbery, 1998: 445, H7-4; Colstream, 1973: 135-136, fig. 30, no.38, 43, 47, pl. 86, no. 40-51; Jelski, 1984: 263, pl. 1.11; Vinogradov, 1994: 25, fig. 7). One of the excavation sites to mention is the ancient city of Antandros, an important city of the Troas region, located in Altınoluk neighbourhood, Edremit district of Balıkesir Province (**Fig. 1**). The scientific archaeological research which commenced in the ancient city in 2001, focuses on three main sectors namely the Necropolis, The Roman Terrace Villa (Yamaç Ev) and the settlement layers of Yol Üstü (**Fig. 2**). Among these areas, the Necropolis of Antandros holds significant importance due to its uninterrupted use for a long period, spanning from the 8th century BC to the 1st century AD (Polat, 2003: 21-30; Polat&Polat, 2004: 453-462; Polat&Polat, 2006: 89-104; Polat, Polat&Yağız, 2007: 43-62; Polat et al., 2008: 455-476; Polat et al., 2009: 39-60; Polat et al., 2010: 1-22; Polat et al., 2011: 98-121; Polat et al, 2012: 271-294; Polat et al., 2015: 135-158; Polat et al., 2016: 345-362, Polat et al., 2018: 477-502; Polat et al., 2020: 259-276; Polat&Polat, 2007: 1-20). The main reason of this importance is the ability to uncover the burial traditions practiced over a prolonged period of 700 years, as a result of the continuous use of the necropolis. (Polat&Polat, 2007: 1-20).

In 2008 a child grave made of terracotta roof tiles was unearthed during fieldwork at the Necropolis of Antandros (grave number 274). A coin, four terracotta figurines and an amulet necklace made of 15 bronze and glass beads/pendants were left as grave goods (**Fig. 3**). It was possible to date the grave, and thus the necklace back to 2nd-1st century BC thanks to the coin (Mannspenger, 1989: SNG Tübingen 4, Taf. 86, No. 2418-2420, 2422-2423; Chameray, 2012: 175, Abb. 1, No. 27, 29), and the four terracotta figurines (Burr-Thompson, 1963: Pl. 34, Fig. 155; Mollard-Besques, 1963: Pl.31.1; Miller, 1974: 218-219, 242, Pl. 41.103; Besques, 1986: 37-38, Pl.28.D3490; Queyrel, 1988: 184, pl.71.785; Paul, 1959: 83, Taf. 49.188; Burr-Thompson, 1963: 87-93, XVI, No.59-63; Conze et al., 1913: 264-265, 264.63; Ziegenaus&Luca, 1975: 76, Taf. 50.3; Töpferwein, 1976: 216, Taf. 37, No.223) which were also obtained from the grave. The Antandros amulets are considered to be productions of local workshops as no specimen with full resemblance to the pendant and beads that were used here were found in other excavations (**Fig. 4**).

The elements of the necklace (**Fig. 4**) positioned on the neck and chest area of the individual in grave number 274 are: two spherical beads, one

blue and one green, with a central perforation (Code of Find: FAP 6, 9); a dark or parliament blue coloured bicone bead (FAP 8); a broken spherical bead pressed on top, of very dark blue colour with visible thin, white lines on the surface (FAP 17); a plain cream coloured spherical bead (FAP 20); a cylindrical bead with white marble patterns on dark blue (FAP 7).

Two more glass pendants with different forms were found alongside these classic and well-known glass beads¹. The first one is a hand pendant made of light green glass (FAP 10). The thumb of this fist shaped hand extends between the index and middle fingers (Mano Fica). The other pendant is in the form of male genitalia, made of dark blue and yellow glass (Phallos) (FAP 14). The necklace has seven more pendants made of bronze, each in a different form. While some of them have known forms, the rest are unidentifiable. An arrowhead or leaf (FAP 19), a double axe (Labrys) (FAP 13), a crescent (Lunula/Selenis) (FAP 16) are among the identifiable ones. While the leaf and the crescent have a bail in their upper parts, the double axe has a suspension hole in the centre. A specimen, in the form of a flat plate with a central perforation, can be identified as a flower rosette (FAP 12). An “L” shaped pendant with a bail at the end of the handle, possibly a door key (FAP 15) is a rare example. The last two specimens have unidentifiable forms. The first one is an angular inverted conical pendant with a bail on its upper part (FAP 18), while the second one is a pendulum with a bail on its upper part, consisting of five nodes (FAP 11) (**Fig. 5**). The first three nodes of this pendant are in the shape of an angular inverted cone, while the fourth one is disc shaped. The pendant ends with a spherical node at the very bottom². The latter specimen with five nodes constitutes the main subject of the article. The reason behind the choice of this specimen over numerous beads/pendants are the similarity of its characteristics to a kind of amulet which is still in use in the present day, although not as commonly as the evil eye beads or the hand of Fatima.

Examples of authentic amulet necklaces of these type, which were clearly intended for the protection of children, have been obtained from various excavation works³. Alongside a few talismanic necklaces or beads, examples depicted as decorative elements on ceramics or worn on child figures are more common. These examples are presented under the following section.

1 Globular and cylindrical glass examples, i.e., the ones with a perforation in the centre of their bodies will be referred to as beads; the remaining pieces such as crescents, double axes, and rosettes with a bail or protrusion at their ends, which differ from traditional beads in terms of their forms, will be referred to as pendants.

2 An article that will examine the in-grave finds and the amulet necklace in detail as a context is prepared for publication by the author.

3 A comprehensive list of references is provided in the first paragraph of this section.

Depictions of Amulet Necklaces on Ancient Artifacts

The Antandros amulet necklace is an important find that reflects the belief in protection against the evil eye, which has been passed on from the past to the present (**Fig. 4**). Numerous artifacts dating from the 5th century BC indicate that this necklace was clearly used as an amulet for children. The first of these groups of artifacts are the Attic choes (Richter&Milne, 1935: 19, Fig. 118-121, Type III). The red figure choes mostly bearing depictions of children became particularly popular from the third quarter of the 5th century BC (**Fig. 8**) (Moore, 1997: 40, Pl. 77-81, No. 735-791; Boardman, 1997: 170, Fig. 369-370; Hamilton, 1995: 84-87). Besides choes, babies on Attic ceramics depicting the scenes of the birth of Erikrhthonios, the local ancestor of the Athenians, and Dionysos also wear amulet necklaces (**Fig. 9 a-c**) (Boardman, 1997: 98, Fig. 238, 167, Fig. 322; Erhat, 1978: 102; Simon, 1980: 272; Bonnefoy, 2000: 173; Karaosmanoğlu, 2005: 103, Fig. 238; National Archaeological Museum of Tarento Volute-Krater AKG326671).

Apart from ceramics, similar necklaces can be found on hero depictions on coins. Infant Heracles wears a similar amulet necklace on the coins from Samos and Kyzikos, dating from the late 5th-early 4th century BC (Seltman, 1933: Pl.32, No. 8, 10; Head, 1964: 362, Pl. 35.13 (MÖ 394-365); the same applies to Taras, the son of Poseidon, on a gold stater from Tarentum, dating to 340 BC (Miller-Ammerman, 2007: 147, Fig. 7.20).

Another group of artifacts depicting children wearing amulet necklaces are the temple boy statues obtained in Cyprus, with sizes ranging from real-life dimensions to miniatures. These statues, which were abundant between the 5th and 4th centuries, and gradually decreased in numbers at the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, were left as offerings in temples. These children, usually depicted in a seated position, some clothed and some naked, are similarly wearing amulet necklaces (**Fig. 10**). (Caneva&Delli-Pizzi, 2014: 496-497, Fig. 1-2; Costanza&Dubois, 2014: 163, 170, Fig.8, 11).

Another group of artifacts similar to the Cypriot child statues are the terracotta figurines known as “temple boys”, depicting seated or reclining children and found in various centres. Although these figurines are similar to the temple boy statues from Cyprus in their poses, it is not known whether they wore amulet necklaces, since the paint on them has not been preserved. However, two specimens with preserved paint, found in the Assos Western Necropolis and the Demeter Sanctuary in Kaunos, clearly show that at least some of the temple boy figurines were depicted wearing amulet necklaces (**Fig. 11 a, b**) (Ergun, 2013: 96, pl.15, 1995.2.8; Bulba, 2019: 155, pl.22).

Numerous figurines of swaddled infants can be found among thou-

sands of votive offerings in Paestum, a Greek colony in Southern Italy where eight sanctuaries were defined (Miller-Ammerman, 2007: 131, 142-143, 150). Alongside these baby figurines clay models of the uterus, i.e., the womb, and figurines of women carrying children in their laps, i.e., kouroutrophos figures, were also discovered in the same area. The nature of these offerings clearly indicates that they were dedicated to the gods/goddesses with the intention of protecting childbirth, infants, and maternal health. One of the swaddled baby figurines bears the depiction of a relief amulet necklace on the chest (**Fig. 12 a, b**). This swaddled baby figurine that perfectly matches the Antandros necklace with its' double axe, crescent, and pendant with five knots clearly demonstrates that these necklaces were not only used for the protection of children around the ages of 2-3, but for the protection of infants as well, as seen in the above examples.

Depictions of amulet necklaces, separate from a figure and used as an isolated decorative element (charm necklaces) was applied on a Gold Decorated pyxis (330-320 BC) and on West Slope pottery, one of the most well-known ceramic groups of the Hellenistic Period (290-250 BC) (**Fig. 13-14**). In both ceramic groups, the decorations are applied on an entirely black glazed surface. In the Gold Decorated ceramics, as the name suggests, gold gilding, incising, and additional red paint were used, while in the West Slope pottery, decoration was applied using orange-red, additional white paint, and incising. The areas of the vessels that narrowed, resembling the human neck, were preferred for decoration. The most favoured type of necklace on these vessels is the spearhead pendant. A pendant similar to an amulet necklace found in the Necropolis of Antandros, was also used as a decorative element on these vessels, although to a lesser extent (**Fig. 13-14**) (Ζήβα, 2013: 23, 28, 30-31, 34, 36, Fig. 2, 9, 10, 13-15, 17, 22-23, 25; Rotroff, 1997: 60, Ill.1, Fig.8.73, 11.106, 12.120, 13.135,17.188, 32.311, 94.1266).

All artifacts presented above are depictions of children wearing amulet necklaces, and ceramics where a necklace independent of a figure is used only as a decorative element. When considering the necklaces as the whole with all their elements, it can be observed that besides the types similar to those found on the Antandros necklace, different types of beads/pendants were also used. No real pendants matching the multi-knotted pendulum-shaped types, which are the focus of this article, have been found. As for the depictions, the closest resemblance can be seen in the pendant on the right shoulder of the child figurine found in Paestum (**Fig. 12**). Apart from this example, in the decorations on the West Slope pottery, where beads and pendulums of various forms are alternately arranged side by side, short lines are stacked horizontally and descend downwards towards the end of the necklaces (**Fig. 14**). Although highly schematic, these draw-

ings suggest that they could represent amulet pendants/pendulums sharing similarities with the Antandros example.

An Amulet Necklace from Present-Day Anatolia

Nazar, as explained above, means “hex or evil eye, which is believed to be found in certain people, and bring evil upon people, houses, properties and even inanimate objects when they are looked at with jealousy or admiration”⁴. It is commonly believed that infants and children are the ones mostly exposed to nazar that affects through gaze or words. They are followed by women, large and small livestock, and fertile fields. That is because women are more fragile than men, and more susceptible to harm. The essential elements of nutrition, i.e the remaining building blocks of life should also be protected against the evil eye, just like humans. However, it is known that men who frequently fall ill or engage in dangerous work also use talismans or evil eye amulets. This kind of protection should be provided through various types of amulets. The purpose of these practices, that is, using talismans/amulets, is to place barriers between the evil eye and the object to be protected, whether it is a baby, a woman, an animal, a plant, or a house (Acıpayamlı, 1962: 18). In addition to attempting protection through amulets made of special materials and in specific forms, it is also known that practices such as applying soot/dirt to a child’s face, dressing them in poor clothes or making them wear their clothes inside out are used. The practices excluding the amulets are aimed at reducing the child’s attractiveness, thus decreasing the likelihood of being exposed to envious eyes and words (Örnek, 2000: 169; Acıpayamlı, 1962: 2, 18). Various studies have revealed that this belief, particularly adopted by rural people and predominantly by women, is still practiced in modern urban life, even by educated individuals (Çıblak, 2004: 103-125; Köse&Ayten, 2009: 54-68).

Acıpayamlı’s article titled *Anadolu’da Nazarla İlgili Bazı Adet ve İnanmalar (Some Customs and Beliefs Regarding the Evil Eye in Anatolia)* provides a detailed description of the types of amulets, the materials used and the purposes behind the use of amulets as well as the specific practices adopted in various cities and regions. This article, along with many other publications, clearly demonstrates that Anatolia is a geography rich in terms of evil eye rituals (Acıpayamlı, 1962). As evident from these sources, amulets made of plant or animal-origin natural materials have been widely used and are still used in Anatolia to ward off the evil eye before it strikes. In fact, it can be stated with certainty that organic materials are by far the most prevalent ones used in the making of amulets. Bitter almonds, cornelian cherries, wild dates, oleaster seeds, terebinth trees (çetere), cloves, fenugreek seeds, hermal seeds, pine cones, garlic, black

4 TDK Dictionary (<http://www.tdk.gov.tr>, Date accessed: 06.06.2022).

cumin; various seashells (cowries/ cılkak/kalaç), animal teeth, skulls, and bones are among the most well-known of these materials (Acıpayamlı, 1962: 3-4, 18; Kudar, 2019: 93-95; Bülent, 2007: 316; Çıblak, 2004: 110-115; Türkteş, 2016: 409-411; Kızıldağ, 2022: 436; Ergun, 2017: 398-417). The reason for the use of these materials in contemporary Turkish beliefs is explained by Ergun as follows: “*Objects carrying divine blessing (kut), when present as a whole, bring fortune, happiness, and fruitfulness, and the presence of the object representing the divine blessing (kut) on a person, on the wall of a house, or on a tree in the garden, serves the same purpose. Presence of a part of any divine entity, be it the face of a blessed wolf, the divine messenger eagle, the steppe, the hermal seed, the sacred tree, on a house, a person, an animal, or any other location, ensures the continuity of the divine blessing (kut), and people attempt to protect themselves, their animals, their vineyards, gardens, and fields by making them sacred.*” (Ergun, 2017: 398).

Among the plant-based amulets of today, an example with an elongated form, with slight variations from region to region, closely resembles the described amulet necklace found in Antandros. This example, referred to as “Çetereli Kolye” or nazarlık (amulet) in some regions, is shaped by carving a piece of çitlembik (terebinth) /çıtlık (hackberry) /dağan/dağın/menengiç (terebinth) tree branch (**Fig. 6-7**). Çitlembik or the other trees mentioned are preferred, with the condition of not being exposed to a rooster crowing. This amulet, which can vary in length or number of layers, is created by cutting, or rather by, notching a branch which was previously given a rectangular prism shape, in a way to make it layered as in a pine tree. The piled-up layers can create a pyramidal or conical structure. Size of the object varies depending on the intended user. Specimens that are 2-3 cm long with 5-7 nodes are used by people, while larger ones measuring 10-12 cm are used for animals (Simav Tarihinden Yapraklar (Leaves/Pages from the History of Simav) Facebook/Ahmet Demircan) (**Fig. 7 b**).

One of the most important reasons for attributing special meanings to certain plants and using them in amulet making, alongside the belief that they carry the power of the divine blessing (kut), is undoubtedly the strength and durability of these plants. Thus, the power contained in the object is transferred to the person who comes into contact with it, strengthening them. The strong nature of the tree will enable the individual to become stronger and, consequently, less susceptible to the evil eye’s effects (Gündüz-Alptürker, 2020: 714).

The tree species particularly used for making these special types amulets are Çitlembik (terebinth), Çıtlık (hackberry) and Çaltı (paliurus spina-christi). Both *Celtis australis* (hackberry) and *Pistacia terebinthus* (terebinth) are referred to by the same name (çitlembik) in folk terminology.

Therefore, it is unclear which species is being referred to when *çitlik* or *çitlembik* is mentioned in publications, unless specified. However, through information obtained from reliable sources, it has been confirmed that the tree referred to as *çitlik* in Denizli is *Celtis australis*, while in Mount Ida, it is *Pistacia terebinthus*⁵. Despite being two different trees, they are apparently referred to by the same name in vernacular. Therefore, it is crucial for researchers to have the local sources describe the tree and specify the exact species for the reliability of the data. The table presented in the article titled *Ege Bölgesinde Geleneksel Kullanımı olan Ağaç Türlerinin Yöresel adları (Local Names of Tree Species Traditionally Used in the Aegean Region)* by Sevgi and Akkemik clearly demonstrates the extent of these similarities (Sevgi & Akkemik, 2022: 96-98).

Celtis australis: Çetlemik, çitlik, çitlik ağacı, çitemik, çitlembik, çitlenbik, karaçitlik, melengeç, menengeç, şertlemik (Sevgi & Akkemik, 2022: 96). Additionally, it is also referred to as çitlak, çitemek, çitlenbek, dadağan, dagum, dağ dağan, dağan, dağdığan, dardağan, dardahan, davılga, davin, davum, dogun, doğdoğan, gıngires, gıngirez, ılıç, melengiç, and yabani kiraz (İkinci, Şimşek & Gülsoy, 2018: 22).

Pistacia terebinthus: Çetemek, çitlik, çitlik ağacı, çirtlemek, çitemik, çitimek, çitlembik, çitlenbik, künlük diken, melengeç, menengeç, menengiç, meneviç, meneviş, minimeç, and yabani sakız (Sevgi & Akkemik, 2022: 98).

Celtis australis grows in temperate and tropical regions worldwide, and its general distribution area covers Northwest Africa, Southern Europe, and North Caucasus. The other three species of terebinth that naturally grow in our country are *Celtis australis* L., known as “adi çitlembik” (common terebinth), *Celtis glabrata* Steven ex Planchón, known as “parlak yapraklı çitlembik” (shiny-leaved terebinth), *Celtis tournefortii* Lam., known as “doğu çitlembiği” (eastern terebinth), and *Celtis caucasica*, known as “Kafkas çitlembiği” (Caucasian terebinth). The leaves of this genus are lanceolate and greyish green in colour. The juicy drupe matures in autumn, starting out green, then turning to bright orange and finally darkening to a deep blackish colour when fully ripe. These highly adaptive trees are resistant to drought, diseases, and pests. They are used for making hoops, churn sticks, spoons, canes, paddles, agricultural tools, in construction, carving, and paper production due to their durable and flexible wood (İkinci, Şimşek & Gülsoy, 2018: 22-23).

Pistacia terebinthus, also known as terebentin/çitlembik/menengiç ağacı, is a deciduous tree native to Asia and the Mediterranean region. It

⁵ Both sources are local people. For Denizli; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şakir Çakmak (Art Historian), for Kazdağları; Research Assistant Evren Açar (Archaeologist).

has shiny leaves with a strong resinous scent. The flowers, which appear between March and April, have reddish-purple closely compound panicles that grow from the tips of the previous year's shoots. The cold hardness of the tree is similar to almond and olive trees. It exhibits resistance to various pests (nematode species) and soil-borne fungi. The plant is rich in tannins and resinous substances and has been known for its aromatic and medicinal properties since ancient times. The commonly used parts of the plant are young shoots, fruits, and roots. Archaeological evidence in Turkey shows that its fruit was used as food as early as 7000 BC. In folk medicine, both the fruit and leaves are used for the treatment of stomach ailments, rheumatic diseases, coughs, and as a stimulant and diuretic (Özcan, 2004: 517-520). Considering its' features, the tree is evidently resilient to diseases and has a strong structure. Begiç mentions that the tree is carved in a specific form and used as an amulet, especially for new-borns, and it is believed that such a tree that even insects do not approach will protect against evil eye (Begic, 2020: 110).

Paliurus spina-christi, has numerous names in both folk and scientific literature, such as çalı dikenî (shrub thorn), çalı tohumu (shrub seed), çaltı dikenî (bush seed), çeşmezen, İsa dikenî (Christ's thorn), kara diken (black thorn), kunar, karaçalı (black shrub) and kör diken (blind thorn). Çaltı is a deciduous, spiny, and densely branched species widely distributed in various regions of Turkey, which blooms with yellow flowers between May and August and can grow up to three meters tall. The presence of settlements called Çaltı in many provinces of Turkey such as Mersin, Isparta, Konya, İzmir, Elazığ, Bilecik reflects the wide distribution of this species. It is known that the roots and fruits of the plant are boiled, and the infusion is consumed for the treatment of diabetes, asthma, haemorrhoids, kidney inflammation, expelling kidney stones, and alleviation of psychological disorders. It is also an essential plant species for goat nutrition and improvement of milk quality as well as honey production. It is believed to provide protection against evil eye when its branches and flowers are hung on doors at the entrance of houses, its thin branches are carried in pockets or are pierced on one end and are attached to clothes with a safety pin. The seeds of the "çaltı" plant are threaded onto a string and hung on the baby's shoulder or on a visible part of the body to prevent the evil eye from affecting postpartum women and new-borns (Gündüz-Alptürker, 2020: 709).

The plant trio mentioned above, namely çitlembik, adi çitlembik, and çaltı, are almost always the ones preferred in the production of evil eye amulets similar to the Antandros amulet. All three plants grow effortlessly in nature, are resistant to diseases, and their fruits are used for nourishment, healing ailments, and obtaining various products. Their sturdy wood also serves important needs. It would be accurate to say that the plants valued

by present-day rural communities were valuable in the same way for ancient societies. (Eyüboğlu, 1998: 156)⁶.

One can question the reason why this specific form, which can be defined as “stepped/lobed/layered”, is preferred in this type of amulet that is specifically made by notching the genuine çitlembik tree. An oral transmission indicates the influence of the Sacred Tree-Great Tree Cult of Turkish mythology⁷. Ergun states that notches are carved into the amulets made from sacred trees to represent the celestial layers (Ergun, 2017: 400). In Shamanic ceremonies, trees held significant importance and were used as ladders during the shaman’s journey to the skies. The notches on the trunk or branches of the tree represented celestial layers besides serving as a ladder. The tree used for the journey to the skies occasionally had seven or nine branches, symbolizing the celestial layers (Kıyak, 2011: 96). Eliade mentions that during the second and most important day of the Altai horse sacrifice ritual, the shaman (kam) would wear shamanic attire, call upon numerous spirits by drumming and shouting, and perform movements as if ascending to the sky. In a state of trance, the shaman would reach the first notches on the trunk of a beech tree, enter different celestial layers one after another, and ascend to the ninth layer. A truly powerful shaman could ascend to the twelfth layer or even higher (Eliade, 2003: 25). The beech tree in the mentioned ritual suggests a possible connection with the notches on the amulets.

Another shared characteristic is that the plant which will be cut to be used in the production of this specific amulet, should not have heard the crowing of a rooster. This refers to cutting a branch of a tree, located in an area such distant from human settlements that it is beyond the reach of rooster crowing. Additionally, the cutting process must be done before sunrise. Sometimes, it is mentioned that the tree should be cut from a place where the sound of water cannot be heard, indicating that it should be cut from a steppe-like area (Ergun, 2017: 400, 739, 958; Gündüz-Alptürker, 2020: 708).

“The tree of çitlık is found in a place where the crowing of a rooster is not heard. They cut a tiny branch from the tree, which is about an hour away from the village. They shape it like a serrated cup using a special knife. They put it on the child’s shoulder, together with blue beads. Then they say, ‘Now the child is protected from the evil eye.’” (Ergun, 2017: 739). This narrative provides one of the clearest descriptions regarding the form, function, and conditions for making these amulets.

⁶ Plants that are useful and suitable for making medicine were considered auspicious.

⁷ Source: Ahmet Demircan (Simav Tarihinden Yapraklar, an interview on a web post from 26.01.2014)

The belief in the çitlembik (*Pistacia terebinthus*) tree is also prevalent in the districts of Fethiye, Seydikemer, and Marmaris. Gökçe and Kurt state thinking that Turkmen people became aware of this tree when they came to Anatolia, as in the case of olive trees. The locals create small amulets carved from the leaves and branches of this tree. They believe that this tree protects their family members, new-born babies, pregnant women, livestock in their stables, and their vineyards and gardens from the evil eye. Moreover, cradles for new-born babies in the region are also made from this tree (Gökçe & Kurt, 2019: 134, 142).

In some places in Denizli, the çitlik tree is also referred to as “dağın” or “dağın.” Small sculptural figures such as ladders for cats, babies, cups, or jugs are made from the branches of this tree, which is lumbered in areas where no crowing is heard. Some of these figures are hung on cribs or shoulders of babies, while others are hung on the horns or necks of animals (Türktaş, 2016: 410).

Another place where this type of amulet is used in various sizes for children and animals is Simav. According to information obtained through oral interviews, it is believed in Simav that the çitlembik tree has protective properties, it draws attention and protects against the evil eye when a brightly coloured fabric is attached to it, and this practice is widely adopted by shepherds⁸.

These amulets are also produced by Sarıkeçili nomads, although they differ in details and the type of tree used. The Sarıkeçili nomads believe that çaltı (*Paliurus spina-christi*) is highly effective in protecting against the evil eye, therefore they make their amulets from branches of this plant. This community additionally believes that wild fig branches also have protective properties. The amulet made from a piece of çaltı/karadiken (black thorn) branch is roughly pierced at the top to be attached to a needle or to be threaded for hanging, and is engraved with irregularly arranged, stacked horizontal or diagonal short lines. The narrations describing the belief in the protection of çaltı are quite remarkable. “*Fatma Ebe narrates that there was a man named Mehmet Ağa in their region, who could even bring a camel down with his gaze. One day, someone approaches and says, ‘If you can really cast the evil eye, make this camel fall to the ground. He, then, casts the evil eye on the camel, but it only stumbles. ‘Go and check that brown camel’, he says, ‘either its comb must be made of “çaltı” or its torment’. When they go there and look, they happen to find out that the comb was made of çaltı.*” (Büyükhahin, 2017: 142-143; Gündüz-Alptürker, 2020: 710).

8 Source: Ahmet Demircan (Simav Tarihinden Yapraklar, an interview on a web post from 26.01.2014)

Conclusion

Fear, worry, anxiety, uncertainty, helplessness! It is difficult to live with all these negative thoughts triggered by numerous events in the daily routine of human life. To make life easier and remain hopeful, human beings have to develop a defence mechanism. One of the most common and universal defence mechanisms developed against events that threaten loved ones and oneself, such as illness, accidents, and injuries, is undoubtedly the belief in the evil eye and the use of amulets. According to this belief, which can be traced back to thousands of years, fields, animals, women, and most importantly, children must be protected from the evil eye.

The amulet obtained from the children's grave at Antandros Necropolis mentioned above is an important example that provides valuable information about the types of talismans worn by children in the 2nd -1st centuries BC (**Fig. 4**). Although not many in number, there are some other ancient settlements where multi element amulet necklaces made of durable materials, similar to the specimen from Antandros, are obtained. However, the scarcity of the finds in the thousands or perhaps millions of children and adult graves unearthed during years of excavation work is striking. Just like today, it is unthinkable that any child in ancient times, regardless of their family's income level, would be left spiritually unprotected. The only possible explanation would be that the amulets were not always made of durable materials (Kudar, 2019: 88-115; Ünal&Çallı, 2016: 29-44)⁹, but rather they were, like today's amulets, mostly made of organic and fragile materials such as seeds, wood, and string, which did not survive over time (Dasen, 2003: 275-276). Organic amulet elements that are destined to decay and disappear in the soil over time result in lack of knowledge about ancient amulets. Through the accounts of ancient writers like Pliny, it is partially possible to fill this knowledge gap about amulets which are made of organic materials and bear the power to protect and heal (Pliny N.H.XXX.47, XXXVII.12)¹⁰. Apart from the hand shaped amulets, perhaps the most unique examples that have remained virtually unchanged for thousands of years are the coloured glass eye beads used as amulets. These amulets have preserved both their forms and their meanings and have spread across a wide geography. The fact that they are made of durable materials surely allowed these evil eye amulets to survive in a wide geography for thousands of years.

The elongated and stepped Antandros amulet that has been preserved from ancient times to the present is the only real object example, as men-

⁹ Amulets carved from cumin, cloves, olives, cones, plums, oleasters, date seeds, and hackberry trees.

¹⁰ Referring to amulets made from various pieces obtained from animals and amber to help children overcome various health problems.

tioned above. The others resembling this example are only depictions. The amulet worn on the shoulder of the figurine of a swaddled child in Paestum, Italy, is undoubtedly identical to the Antandros example. The elements depicted as a few stacked horizontal short lines in the decorative amulet necklace on West Slope pottery are likely schematic reflections of this model.

Eyüboğlu explains the intercultural interactions regarding evil eye, which can be considered within belief systems, in his book *Anadolu İnançları, Anadolu Üçlemesi I (Anatolian Beliefs, Anatolian Trilogy-I)* as follows: “*There are three ways in which supernatural events such as being struck by evil eye are shaped. The first are the ancient beliefs that have been passed on from age to age and have survived to the present day; these are the beliefs that the Anatolian natives have witnessed and practiced and have transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition. The second are those that emerged after the birth of monotheistic religions but contain the remnants of ancient beliefs in their essence. These are the beliefs embraced by the Anatolian communities living together, regardless of religion or belief distinctions. The third are the foreign and immigrant beliefs that came from outside due to various migrations and were shaped in Anatolia by merging with the locals, forming a fusion of foreign and local beliefs. We see that this fusion has been assimilated into Anatolian society, acquiring a new clarity, and embodying the identity and personality of Anatolia. The ancient Anatolian beliefs are the ones that enable this assimilation process.*” (Eyüboğlu, 1998: 102-103, 159). What Eyüboğlu says is undoubtedly applicable to amulets, which provide protection against the evil eye.

Considering all the explanations above, especially focusing on present-day beliefs, it is once again worth noticing the extent of the data possibly lost, that cannot be documented from ancient times to the present. Which beliefs and belief objects are still being used today, in these rich lands where many ethnic communities have lived for thousands of years, as in the case of glass eye beads? Could the bronze pendulum shaped Antandros amulet element be still alive in çitlembik amulets, just like it does in glass evil eye beads? Undoubtedly, with the available data, it is not currently possible to answer these questions. However, the purpose here is not to claim that the çitlembik amulet originated from ancient times, but rather to emphasize that different sources may play a role in each belief element, keeping in mind that our country possesses a cultural mosaic that spans millennia.

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Figure 1: Location of Antandros

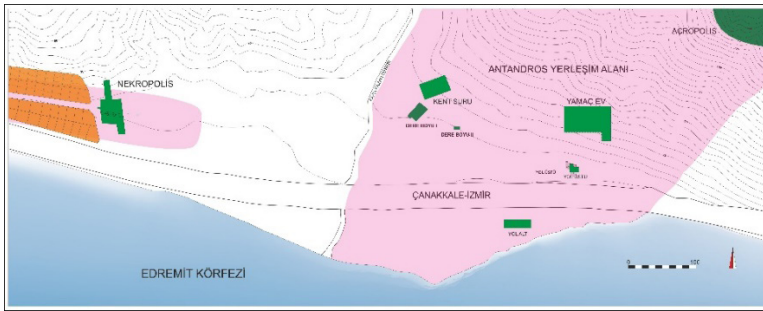


Figure 2: Sectors Under Study in Antandros



Figure 3: Antandros Grave 274 (Antandros Photo Archive)



Figure 4: The Necropolis of Antandros. The amulet necklace from Grave 274. (Antandros Photo Archive)



Figure 5: Antandros amulet necklace pendant (Antandros Photo Archive)



Figure 6 a, b: Organic (plant) Amulets from present-day Anatolia (Begić 2022, res.22)



Figure 7: a) Organic (plant) Amulets from present-day Anatolia (Ünal&Çallı, 2016: 139, fot. 9)

b) [https://www.facebook.com/SimavTarihindenYapraklar/photos/a.127525554111664/206174472913438/?_cft__\[0\]=AZWHNSLiG0k0Q_xZd-LqdLvNg71i0J9s0XxC_aTeb3Kq-V5sGGwFasMyn4m2x7V6RQV2pV8TH-R2WlvMXVms5O43yYm278j7CEqROC15XtcAwooCmQ__ye_cnvvFPtbu02s1G-C1eBS4RQL6FNIZwlu0Bk&__tn__=EH-R](https://www.facebook.com/SimavTarihindenYapraklar/photos/a.127525554111664/206174472913438/?_cft__[0]=AZWHNSLiG0k0Q_xZd-LqdLvNg71i0J9s0XxC_aTeb3Kq-V5sGGwFasMyn4m2x7V6RQV2pV8TH-R2WlvMXVms5O43yYm278j7CEqROC15XtcAwooCmQ__ye_cnvvFPtbu02s1G-C1eBS4RQL6FNIZwlu0Bk&__tn__=EH-R) (Erişim Tarihi: 17.06.2023)



Figure 8: Attic Chous (British Museum, Museum Number. 1873,0111.11)



Figure 9: Birth scenes of heroes (a, b. Erichthonios) and gods (c. Dionysos) on Attic and Apulian Red Figure pottery. (Antikensammlung Berlin, Altes Museum, F 2537; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond 81.70; National Archaeological Museum of Toronto 8264)

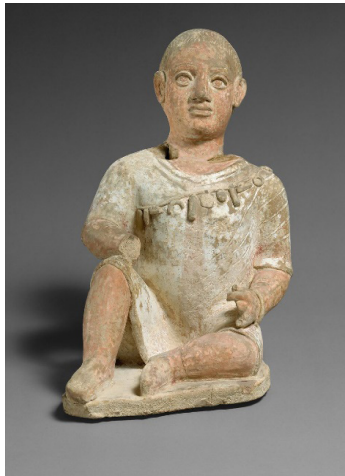


Figure 10: Cypriot Temple-Boy sculpture (Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.1449)



Figure 11 a, b: The Temple-Boy figurines from Kaunos and Assos (Bulba 2019, lev. 22; Ergün 2013, lev. 15, 1995.2.8)



Figure 12 a, b: Swaddled infant figurine from southern urban sanctuary near Italic Temple. National Archaeological Museum of Paestum (Miller-Ammerman, 2007: 143, fig. 7.13)



Figure 13: Charm necklace decoration with embossed decoration by gold gilded on pyxis. (Ζήβα, 2013: 23,36, fig. 2, fig. 25)

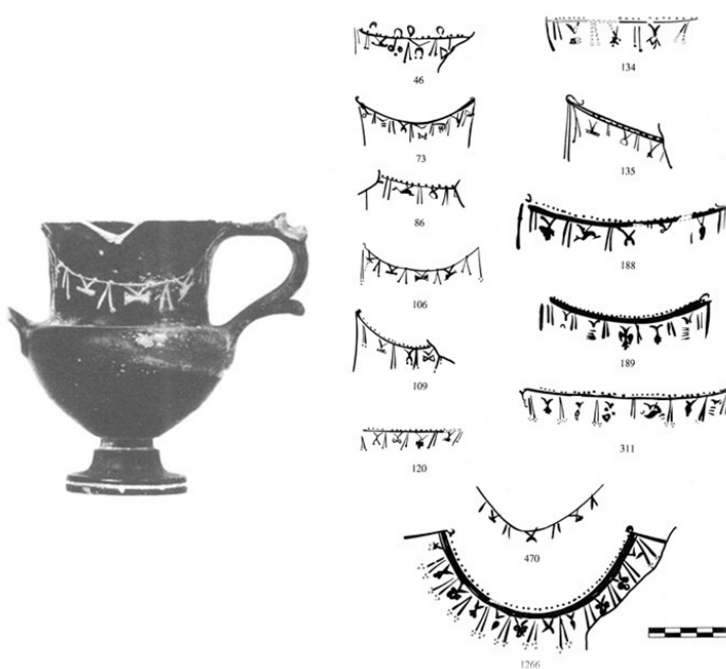


Figure 14: Charm necklace decoration on Hellenistic West Slope Pottery (Rotroff, 1997: 60, pl. 11, no.106, ill.1)