



SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Editors

Prof. Dr. Bahar GÜNEŞ

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Shalala RAMAZANOVA



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Editors: Prof. Dr. Bahar GÜNEŞ, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Shalala RAMAZANOVA

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Chapter 1

British Historical Drama and Early Feminist Movement *Suffragette*

Serap SARIBAŞ¹

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Abstract:

This study delves into the portrayal of the women's suffrage movement in the film *Suffragette*. Anchored in historical authenticity, *Suffragette* is a poignant drama authored by Abi Morgan, drawing inspiration from the early 20th-century suffragette campaign advocating for women's enfranchisement. Women's suffrage denotes the voluntary participation of women in electoral processes as equal citizens. While the movement adopted a more radical and militant approach during the 20th century, the broader struggle endured for nearly a century. In the film, women are depicted as indefatigable and resolute, willing to make significant personal sacrifices in their pursuit of political and social equality. The narrative vividly encapsulates the plight of women subjugated under patriarchal dominance, laboring in oppressive conditions, deprived of agency in domestic affairs, silenced in expressing their opinions, and denied custody rights over their children. *Suffragette* honors the resilience of women who transcended societal limitations, embodying a relentless fight for equality through their courage and selflessness. This study critically examines the film's representation of the women's suffrage movement, the socio-political landscape of the 20th century, and the formidable challenges encountered in the protracted quest for voting rights.

Keywords: Women, Suffrage, struggle, Equality, Civil Rights

İngiliz Tarihi Draması ve Erken Dönem Feminist Hareketi *Diren*

Özet:

Bu çalışma, *Diren* filminde kadınların oy hakkı mücadelesinin nasıl resmedildiğini analiz etmektedir. Tarihsel gerçekliğe sıkı sıkıya bağlı olan *Diren*, Abi Morgan tarafından kaleme alınmış ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıkan "suffragette" kadın hareketinden ilham alan çarpıcı bir dram filmidir. Kadınların oy hakkı, onların demokratik seçim süreçlerine eşit yurttaşlar olarak özgür iradeleriyle katılma hakkını ifade eder. Her ne kadar bu hareket 20. yüzyılda daha radikal ve militan bir niteliğe bürünmüş olsa da, kadınların bu hakkı kazanma mücadelesi yaklaşık bir asır boyunca sürmüştür. Filmde kadınlar, siyasi ve toplumsal eşitlik uğruna büyük bireysel fedakârlıklar yaparak yorulmak bilmez ve kararlı bir mücadele örneği sergiler. Anlatı, erkek egemenliğinin tahakkümü altında ezilen, ağır çalışma koşullarında mücadele eden, evlerinde söz hakkından mahrum bırakılan, düşüncelerini ifade edemeyen ve çocuklarının velayet hakkından yoksun bırakılan kadınların dramını çarpıcı bir şekilde gözler önüne serer. *Diren*, toplumsal sınırları aşan cesareti ve fedakârlığıyla eşitlik mücadelesine öncülük eden kadınların azmini yüceltir. Bu çalışma, filmin kadınların oy hakkı mücadelesini nasıl temsil ettiğini, 20. yüzyılın sosyo-politik bağlamını ve oy hakkını kazanmak için verilen zorlu ve uzun soluklu mücadeleyi derinlemesine incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, Oy hakkı, Mücadele, Eşitlik, Medeni Haklar

Introduction

This study seeks to analyze the representation of the women's suffrage movement as portrayed in the film *Suffragette*. The women's suffrage struggle stands as a pivotal moment in the dismantling of the entrenched political and social hierarchies upheld by male dominance for centuries in England. It marked a transformative process of redefining gender roles, challenging the notion that women should merely conform to the ideal of being "angels in the house." Widely regarded as a revolutionary movement of the 20th century, the campaign for women's enfranchisement reshaped societal norms and expectations. The film *Suffragette* captures the harsh realities of this arduous struggle, shedding light on the societal and political upheavals that women endured in their quest for equality. During this era, women not only aspired to achieve political parity but also sought recognition as autonomous individuals with rights, rejecting their treatment as subservient entities. The movie illustrates the patriarchal structures of late 19th- and early 20th-century society, wherein women toiled under relentless oppression and were systematically deprived of basic liberties.

This study examines the personal and societal implications of the women's suffrage movement as depicted in *Suffragette*, emphasizing how the campaign was powerfully and decisively shaped. Emmeline Pankhurst, portrayed by Meryl Streep in the film directed by Sarah Gavron, emerges as a historical figure of profound significance, leading the suffragette movement through her organizational efforts. Consequently, *Suffragette* is a work that not only draws from historical events but also conveys a rich narrative of social and political transformation. The film delves into the evolution of women's courageous, resilient, and militant fight for change, portraying how their peaceful and moderate demands for the right to vote were persistently ignored by the government. Over time, this struggle, initially perceived as unethical even by some women, gained momentum, leading to profound personal and collective transformation. The portrayal of the female characters' oppression and their resistance against a patriarchal parliamentary system aligns closely with the historical realities of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By analyzing the film *Suffragette*, this thesis seeks to contribute to the discourse on women's suffrage and underscores the significance of women's rights, drawing insights from the representation of their enduring and transformative fight for equality.

Background of the Suffragette

The film *Suffragette*, penned by acclaimed British screenwriter Abi Morgan and directed by Sarah Gavron, premiered on January 15, 2015. Abi Morgan, a

renowned figure in British cinema and television, is known for her focus on themes such as justice, equality, and women's rights. In *Suffragette*, Morgan meticulously reconstructs the struggle for voting rights in early 20th-century England, blending historical accuracy with compelling narrative. The script draws upon detailed research into the socio-political landscape of the time, the sacrifices made by individuals, and the organizational efforts that propelled the movement. Morgan's portrayal of the suffrage movement is heavily inspired by Emmeline Pankhurst, the leader of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Played by Meryl Streep, Pankhurst's militant activism serves as a central theme in the film, which dramatizes the systemic oppression faced by women and their unyielding fight for equality. Through its narrative, the film underscores the intersection of personal sacrifice and political activism, offering a poignant depiction of this transformative period.

Set in 1913 London, *Suffragette* illustrates the suffrage movement's challenge to the deeply entrenched patriarchal structures of Edwardian England. While industrialization in the 19th century began to expand women's roles in society, the struggle for suffrage had its roots in the mid-19th century. Beginning in the 1850s, suffrage efforts gained momentum as women participated in abolitionist organizations and questioned societal norms that confined them to domestic roles. The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 was a landmark event in the history of women's rights, where women articulated the need for political equality and laid the foundation for the suffrage movement. Despite these early efforts, women's exclusion from the 14th Amendment in 1868, which defined citizenship in explicitly male terms, further fueled their resolve to fight for the vote.

In response to such systemic exclusion, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1868, focusing on amending the constitution to include women. Their activism not only demanded voting rights but also highlighted broader legal and social inequalities. By the late 19th century, suffragists began emphasizing women's moral and maternal roles, arguing that their participation in politics would lead to a more ethical and harmonious society. In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst established the WSPU, adopting the slogan "Deeds, not words" to emphasize action over rhetoric. The WSPU's tactics became increasingly militant, involving arson, bombings, and hunger strikes to draw attention to the cause. One of the movement's defining moments occurred in 1908, when a Hyde Park rally attracted over 250,000 supporters, demonstrating the growing strength of the suffrage movement.

Between 1910 and 1920, suffragists intensified their efforts, despite facing brutal repression. The film *Suffragette* portrays this period through characters such as Maud Watts, who endures force-feeding in prison—a practice used to suppress hunger strikes and silence dissent (Gavron, 2015). The outbreak of World War I in 1914 temporarily shifted focus away from suffrage activism but allowed women to prove their capabilities in the workforce and public service, challenging traditional gender roles and bolstering their claim to citizenship rights. The struggle culminated in the passage of the Representation of the People Act in 1918, granting voting rights to women over 30. While this was a significant milestone, full enfranchisement was only achieved in 1920, enfranchising millions of women. *Suffragette* captures the essence of this movement, blending historical figures such as Emmeline Pankhurst and Emily Davison with fictionalized narratives to emphasize the suffragettes' resilience and sacrifices. By dramatizing their journey, the film highlights the socio-political context of the era and underscores the lasting importance of the suffrage movement. As a historical and cultural artifact, *Suffragette* continues to inspire discussions about equality and the ongoing fight for women's rights.

Struggle for Voting Rights

In *Suffragette*, female characters embody the multifaceted struggle for women's suffrage, presenting both societal and personal battles. Their narratives illustrate how diverse social classes contributed to the movement, highlighting its profound individual and collective repercussions. The film vividly captures the transformation of women within the suffrage movement in London between 1912 and 1913, portraying their defiance against deeply entrenched societal norms. While it explores the devastating personal costs of the struggle, it also underscores the unwavering determination of women to fight for their rights. The story primarily follows Maud Watts, while simultaneously shedding light on other key female figures who reflect different aspects of the suffragist cause.

Maud Watts, a 24-year-old working-class woman, epitomizes the relentless hardships endured by women in the suffrage movement. She works under grueling conditions at the Glasshouse laundry, having started part-time at the age of seven and full-time by twelve. Her experiences represent the exploitation of working-class women, who toiled long hours in appalling environments for wages far lower than those of men, while also bearing the burdens of household responsibilities. These women were expected to conform to the ideal of "angels" of the home, yet endured systemic abuse both at work and within their families. Maud recalls how women at the laundry, unable to afford childcare,

often brought their babies to work, tying them to their backs or placing them in copper tubs to sleep.

Maud's life, dominated by the oppressive environment of the laundry, has been overshadowed by sexual abuse from her employer, Mr. Taylor, since her youth. Even after marriage, she continues to suffer his harassment, remaining silent for fear of losing her job. Her husband, aware of the abuse, turns a blind eye, viewing her merely as a source of income and a domestic caretaker. Witnessing the harassment of her friend Violet's daughter, Maggie, triggers Maud's suppressed trauma, prompting her to reflect on her own experiences. Watching Maggie inspires her to attend a speech on voting rights, as she begins to believe in the possibility of escaping her grim reality. When her husband reacts negatively, she defends her attendance by claiming she merely wishes to listen.

During this period, women's suffrage was widely deemed unethical, with men holding dominion over all societal matters. Initially, Maud is hesitant about the more radical methods, such as smashing windows and damaging property. She perceives herself as a dutiful wife, bereft of rights, whose sole contribution lies in sustaining the family economy. Subjugated by societal expectations and her husband's authority, she quietly endures her plight, performing her imposed duties without protest, even in the face of glaring injustices. After her arduous workdays, she devotes herself to household chores, catering to her husband and child. Despite earning less than her husband and surrendering her entire paycheck to him, she is overlooked and disregarded. She has no freedom to spend her earnings and wistfully watches other children receive gifts her own son cannot have.

Initially, Maud views the suffrage movement as a potential means of escape from her dire circumstances. However, as she witnesses the struggles of other women and becomes more cognizant of systemic injustices, she gradually aligns herself with the cause. When Maud voices her disapproval of window-breaking protests, her activist friend Violet counters with, "If they want respect, then they should make the laws respectable." (Gavron, 2015, 0:10). This sentiment resonates with Maud, yet she remains hesitant due to her internalized attachment to societal norms. The oppressive environment in which she exists is characterized by men's dominance over every facet of society and politics. The film starkly depicts how female workers at the laundry are demeaned and subjugated by male colleagues, who view themselves as the sole legitimate citizens while relegating women to servitude. This dynamic underscores the pervasive gender discrimination of the era.

Maud's journey also symbolizes women's defiance against Parliament. Initially, women lobbied peacefully for change, but their pleas were disregarded, compelling them to adopt militant tactics. During a parliamentary hearing, Maud voices her skepticism that women will ever gain voting rights but insists there must be an alternative path forward. Although the minister feigns empathy, he ultimately dismisses their cause, citing insufficient evidence to warrant reform. When Maud and other protestors denounce the minister as a liar, the police respond with violent suppression, beating and dragging the women away. Maud articulates their desperation, stating, "We break windows, we burn things because war is the only language men listen to." (Gavron, 2015, 00:45). Her words underscore the frustration and despair driving women to radical action, given the failure of peaceful advocacy. Despite brutal reprisals, the women remain resolute. Maud and her fellow activists are arrested, enduring significant abuse while imprisoned. Refusing to be treated as ordinary criminals, they declare hunger strikes to demand recognition as political prisoners. As Maud asserts, "What are you gonna do? Lock us all up? We are in every home. We are half the human race; you cannot stop us all." (Gavron, 2015, 01:35). These words encapsulate the unyielding solidarity and resilience of the suffragette movement, while emphasizing that women constitute half of humanity and cannot be silenced.

Following her release, Maud faces severe repercussions at home. Yet, she persists in her sacrifices, attending suffragette meetings at the cost of estrangement from her family. She listens to a speech by the movement's leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, which solidifies her resolve. Maud recognizes that the fight for voting rights extends beyond the present generation, holding profound implications for future ones. She declares the necessity of confronting an unjust government. Detained once more, she is ultimately released outside her home, only to find her husband denying her entry. This relentless struggle culminates in the disintegration of her family life.

EMMELINE PANKHURST

In the film *Suffragette*, the historical figure Emmeline Pankhurst, portrayed by Meryl Streep, stands as a pivotal leader in the women's suffrage movement. Recognized in real life as a militant activist for women's voting rights in early 20th-century England, Pankhurst played an instrumental role in shaping the fight for women's political and personal rights by establishing influential organizations both in Britain and internationally. Having championed women's suffrage since the age of 14, she founded the Women's Social and Political

Union (WSPU) in 1903. Adopting the motto “deeds, not words,” this radical movement spearheaded a militant campaign for suffrage.

Pankhurst’s strategy marked a stark departure from previous movements of her time. Before World War I, despite moderate and constructive efforts, women were systematically ignored by the government and patriarchal society. Thanks to Pankhurst’s leadership and the organization she created, women across the nation became aware of their disenfranchisement and began raising their voices through the suffrage movement. The struggle depicted in *Suffragette* reflects these historical events. Women involved in the WSPU, known as suffragettes, sought not only to achieve voting rights but also to amplify women’s voices globally. Under Pankhurst’s guidance, the WSPU employed radical measures, including protests, attacks on parliamentary buildings, and arson, to advance their cause. These bold and uncompromising tactics garnered significant public attention, propelling women’s rights to the forefront of societal discourse.

In the film, Pankhurst’s fearless and resolute demeanor inspires countless women. Despite severe reprisals, thousands rally behind her leadership and participate in her demonstrations. Married with eight children, Pankhurst devoted herself entirely to the cause of women’s rights. Her portrayal in the film exemplifies her as a bold, uncompromising, and visionary leader organizing daring actions in the fight for justice and equality. Pankhurst’s influence motivates women like Edith Ellyn and Emily Davidson, who regard themselves as her “soldiers.” They proclaim, “Orders from Mrs. Pankhurst are we are to follow” (Gavron, 2015, 36:18).

Despite relentless persecution by the government and police, Pankhurst continues to deliver speeches and orchestrate protests undeterred. In the film, her addresses draw enthusiastic crowds of women who support her unwavering resolve. Her words resonate deeply, fostering solidarity among her followers. She states, “Despite His Majesty’s government, I am here tonight. I know the sacrifice you have made to be here. Many of you, I know, are estranged from the lives you once had. For 50 years, we have labored peacefully to secure the vote for women. But we have been ridiculed, battered, and ignored. Now we have realized that deeds and sacrifice must be the order of the day” (Gavron, 2015, 44:19).

Pankhurst vehemently critiques gender discrimination and societal inequalities, advocating for equal rights between men and women. In the film, she declares, “We are fighting for a time in which every little girl born into the world will have an equal chance with her brothers. Never underestimate the power women have to define our destinies. We do not want to be lawbreakers. We want to be lawmakers” (Gavron, 2015, 45:03).

She galvanizes women to embrace militancy in their struggle for voting rights, urging, “Be militant, each of you, in your way; those of you who can break windows, break them. Those of you who can further attack the sacred idol of property, do so. We have been left with no alternative but to defy this government” (Gavron, 2015, 45:41). Pankhurst’s call to radical action, along with her impassioned speeches, symbolizes the indomitable determination of the women’s suffrage movement.

As a formidable leader, Pankhurst epitomizes the fight for women’s rights within society and politics. Prior to her activism, discussions of women’s rights were largely absent from public discourse. Under her leadership, these issues became prominent, inspiring women to surpass their perceived limitations in this struggle. In the film, she proclaims, “If we must go to prison to obtain the vote, let it be the windows of government, not the bodies of women, which shall be broken. I see in this meeting all the women in Britain rebelling. I would rather be a rebel than a slave” (Gavron, 2015, 45:54).

Her words emphasize the strength of women and their rightful place in society, urging them to make their voices heard. She calls on activists to persevere and remain steadfast in their fight. As portrayed in *Suffragette*, Emmeline Pankhurst became a powerful voice not only for British women but for women worldwide, playing a critical role in the success of the suffrage movement. Through her militant and radical strategies, including graphic protests, bombings, and hunger strikes, she brought international attention to the cause of women’s suffrage. Pankhurst’s courageous, ambitious, and determined leadership embodies the spirit and resilience of the women’s suffrage movement.

VIOLET MILLER

In *Suffragette*, Violet Miller epitomizes the resilience and courage of working-class women within the broader women's suffrage movement. Employed in a laundry under harsh conditions, she endures persistent domestic violence from her husband while striving to care for her children. Despite facing severe economic struggles and systemic abuse, Violet emerges as a pivotal figure in the fight for women's voting rights. Her character serves as a voice for marginalized women—those forced to work without rights, reduced to mere reproductive roles, and expected to maintain the facade of being "angels" at home.

Violet’s character vividly portrays the societal, political, and social constraints of early 20th-century women. Her active participation in the suffrage movement, despite personal challenges and societal oppression, underscores her

unwavering commitment to gender equality. Through her nurturing yet determined demeanor, she becomes an inspiration to other women, including Maud Watts. Violet's advocacy for equal rights reflects her recognition of the deeply rooted injustices within her patriarchal society, and her efforts shed light on the plight of working-class women, who were doubly burdened by labor exploitation and domestic responsibilities.

The challenges Violet faces are illustrated in a scene where Mr. Taylor, her oppressive boss, says, "*Shut your mouth, you listen to me, don't answer me back. Do you want me to dismiss you? Is that it?*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:07). Violet remains unable to confront his bullying, constrained by her precarious economic situation. In a world where women are silenced at both home and work, Violet embodies resistance, advocating for societal change that would empower women and make life more equitable. Her determination is evident when she persuades her friend Maud to testify in Parliament, asserting, "*I have been doing laundry ever since I was 13; my daughter Maggie is only 12, and she's in here already. It's as though for us women it's always been the same—we have got to do whatever we can. You want me to respect the law and make the law respectable?*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:10). This dialogue highlights the hypocrisy of a system that demands women uphold laws that fail to afford them basic respect and rights.

Violet also exemplifies the personal sacrifices demanded by the suffrage movement. Her activism persists despite the violence inflicted by her husband, who neglects their 12-year-old daughter, Maggie. While Maggie reluctantly participates in suffrage meetings, she is also burdened with overtime labor and subjected to sexual harassment from her boss. Witnessing her mother's struggles, Maggie feels the weight of these injustices but also perceives hope in the solidarity among women fighting for suffrage. Her experiences emphasize the critical importance of voting rights for future generations, serving as a poignant reminder of the systemic challenges faced by young working-class girls.

In her interactions with others, Violet displays remarkable empathy and strength. For instance, she supports Maud in prison, helping her endure the emotional trauma of separation from her son and dissuading her from resorting to a hunger strike. Later, when Maud is abandoned by her husband, Violet offers unwavering support, urging her to remain resilient in the face of adversity. Violet's character radiates both personal strength and collective solidarity, embodying the courage and determination of women in the suffrage movement.

Her tireless efforts in protests, rallies, and militant actions reflect her commitment to fostering social awareness and advancing the rights of all

women, transcending her individual struggles. Violet Miller symbolizes the physical and psychological resilience of women and mothers who sacrificed immensely in the pursuit of equality and justice. Through her portrayal, *Suffragette* powerfully captures the unyielding spirit of those who fought for the rights of generations yet to come.

EDITH ELYN

In *Suffragette*, Edith Elyn offers a compelling perspective on the suffrage movement, distinct from the experiences of working-class women such as Maud Watts and Violet Miller. As an upper-class pharmacist, Edith exemplifies the vital contributions of privileged women to the struggle for women's voting rights, bridging class divides in pursuit of a common cause. Her character underscores the unifying potential of the suffrage movement, which transcended social and economic barriers.

Edith leverages her societal status and professional position to advance the cause of women's suffrage. Despite her comfortable lifestyle, she rejects the injustices perpetuated by patriarchal norms and dedicates herself to fostering solidarity among women. Her pharmacy becomes not only a space for work but also a hub for organizing and strategizing suffragist actions. Edith's unwavering determination and courage inspire other women, demonstrating that the right to vote is an essential step toward dismantling systemic inequalities.

Although her upper-class background affords her certain privileges, Edith remains acutely aware of the struggles faced by working-class women, using her position to highlight their plight. Her commitment to the movement illustrates the potential for unity among women from diverse social strata, emphasizing that disenfranchisement affected all women regardless of class. This unifying ethos is particularly significant, as societal norms of the time marginalized women across the board, denying them the right to vote and equal opportunities with men.

Through her role as a pharmacist, Edith not only asserts women's capacity to participate in professions traditionally dominated by men but also broadens the scope of the movement. She actively engages with women from all walks of life, emphasizing the importance of their collective fight for equality. Her pharmacy, as depicted in the film, serves as a gathering place for suffragettes, where discussions about rights and strategies unfold. When Maud Watts brings her son to Edith's pharmacy, she is drawn into the suffrage movement, underscoring Edith's role in connecting women from varying backgrounds.

Edith's allegiance to the movement's leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, further exemplifies her resolve. A photograph of Pankhurst in her pharmacy,

accompanied by the iconic quote, *"It's deeds, not words, that will get us the vote,"* serves as a testament to her commitment. Edith sees herself as a soldier in this fight, using her position and resources to inspire others and sustain the momentum of the movement.

Her conversations with working-class women reflect her dedication to breaking patriarchal barriers. Edith recounts personal struggles, such as her thwarted dream of becoming a doctor due to her father's disapproval, illustrating the societal limitations imposed on women. *"One must look to the next generation,"* she asserts, emphasizing her belief in securing rights for future generations to avoid the oppression she and her contemporaries endured (Gavron, 2015, 0:26).

Edith's commitment extends to her participation in militant protests, where she demonstrates exceptional resilience and courage. When suffragettes are imprisoned, she rallies the women, declaring, *"We are political prisoners. We have the right to wear our clothes."* This defiance not only empowers the women but also reinforces the movement's legitimacy. Reflecting on her childhood, she remarks, *"When I was a child, I barely saw my mother. She worked day and night fighting for me to be educated just like my brother, but that did not come without sacrifice"* (Gavron, 2015, 0:36). These insights underline her understanding of the generational struggle for equality and the sacrifices required to achieve progress.

Despite battling illness, Edith remains steadfast in her activism. She expresses her desire to *"raise our flag in front of the world's cameras"* during a high-profile event involving the king, underscoring her determination to garner global attention for the cause (Gavron, 2015, 1:24). Her strategic ingenuity, such as devising plans to blow up mailboxes to attract media coverage, highlights her evolving militancy. Initially moderate in her approach, Edith's increasing radicalism reflects her growing conviction and readiness to challenge the patriarchal order.

Edith's husband, a steadfast supporter of her activism, further amplifies her strength, demonstrating the importance of solidarity within her personal life. Together, they embody the spirit of perseverance and defiance that fueled the suffrage movement. Edith's transformation into a militant and resolute leader illustrates the multifaceted nature of the struggle, inspiring women across class divides to persist in their fight for justice and equality.

ALICE HAUGHTON

In *Suffragette*, Alice Haughton exemplifies the intersection of class and gender in the suffrage movement, presenting a perspective shaped by her upper-

class status as the wife of a Member of Parliament. Alice leverages her privileged position to amplify the voices of marginalized women and to advocate for systemic reform. Despite her social advantages, she remains acutely aware of the pervasive injustices faced by women, emphasizing that the fight for suffrage transcends class boundaries.

Alice's speeches highlight the entrenched gender inequalities of the time. She pointedly remarks, "*It is a man who has all legal rights over our children. It is a man who controls our economic existence,*" underscoring the legal and societal subjugation of women, regardless of their social standing (Gavron, 2015, 0:08). By addressing working-class women outside laundries, Alice bridges the gap between the upper and lower classes, demonstrating solidarity and a shared commitment to change.

Her advocacy extends to influencing policymakers, as seen when she petitions ministers to allow women to testify in Parliament. Alice articulates her vision for equality, asserting, "*We have an opportunity to demonstrate that as women are equal to men in their labor, so they should be equal to men in their right to vote*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:10). This statement reflects her conviction that women's contributions to society demand recognition and legal parity.

Despite her comfortable life, Alice's personal experiences reveal the restrictive legal framework that binds even upper-class women. She has no custody rights over her children, and her financial assets are entirely controlled by her husband. These constraints highlight that gender inequality pervades all social strata, framing the suffrage movement as a universal struggle. Her realization that this fight is not merely a class issue drives her deeper involvement in the movement.

Alice's efforts to expose economic disparities include addressing the lower wages paid to women for equivalent labor, which she condemns as an affront to their dignity. Her arrest during a protest underscores her willingness to sacrifice her social standing for the cause. When her husband attempts to pay her bail, Alice insists, "*Benedict, you must bail all the women; I cannot be the only one to go free. It's my money*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:31). This poignant moment reveals the legal impotence of women, as Alice's finances remain under her husband's control. His subsequent threat—"*You are my wife, and you will act accordingly. I have tolerated this until now, but enough is enough*"—further illustrates the patriarchal dominance she seeks to dismantle (Gavron, 2015, 0:35).

Alice's increasing activism is fueled by her interactions with working-class suffragettes, particularly Maud Watts. Witnessing their resilience and suffering inspires her to take greater risks, including leveraging her connections to gather intelligence and facilitate militant actions. In confronting her husband, Alice

asserts her disillusionment with his moral failings, affirming that her status does not shield her from the systemic oppression endured by all women.

Through Alice Haughton, *Suffragette* underscores that the suffrage movement was not confined to the working class but was a universal fight for equality. Alice's character demonstrates that even privileged women were voiceless under patriarchal law and societal norms. Her ability to use her influence for radical change highlights the necessity of cross-class alliances in driving progress.

Alice's unwavering commitment to gender equality and her strategic efforts to elevate the suffrage movement underscore her importance within the narrative. Her role symbolizes the transformative potential of solidarity, as she uses her position to challenge societal norms and amplify women's voices. Ultimately, Alice Haughton's story represents the collective struggle for suffrage and the imperative for societal reform that transcends class divisions.

EMILY DAVIDSON

Emily Davison is a pivotal figure in both history and the film *Suffragette*, symbolizing the ultimate sacrifice in the relentless fight for women's voting rights. In the movie, her character epitomizes the radical determination of suffragettes, drawing inspiration from the real-life activist Emily Davison, whose uncompromising actions propelled the movement to unprecedented heights.

Historically, Emily Davison was a fervent advocate for gender equality, known for her militant strategies and willingness to endure severe personal consequences. Her activism included hunger strikes and bold public demonstrations, all aimed at disrupting societal norms and forcing attention on the suffrage cause. The film captures this defiance through Emily's portrayal as a resolute and inspiring figure, whose unwavering commitment motivates fellow activists. Her declaration, "*The eyes of the world are upon us; no matter the risk, we must not fail*", encapsulates her readiness to confront any obstacle for the sake of equality (Gavron, 2015, 01:28).

Emily's actions embody the principle of individual sacrifice for collective progress. By putting the suffrage movement above her personal well-being, she transforms into a symbol of courage and perseverance. In both history and the film, her methods grow increasingly militant, adhering to Emmeline Pankhurst's mantra of "deeds, not words." Emily's willingness to act independently highlights her belief in the power of collective resistance, even when it demands personal risk.

One of Emily's most defining historical actions was her dramatic protest at the 1913 Epsom Derby. She ran onto the racetrack carrying a suffrage banner and collided with the king's horse, an act of martyrdom that drew worldwide attention to the movement. This climactic moment is powerfully depicted in *Suffragette*. Emily, ignoring Maud's pleas, walks resolutely toward the racetrack, stating, "*Never surrender, never give up the fight*" (Gavron, 2015, 01:31). Her subsequent death becomes a galvanizing moment, emphasizing the ultimate cost of the struggle for equality.

Emily Davison's sacrifice not only amplified the visibility of the suffrage movement but also accelerated societal change. Her death, widely publicized, forced the world to confront the injustices faced by women. It catalyzed significant milestones in women's rights: voting rights for women over 30 in 1918, the recognition of mothers' legal rights over their children in 1925, and universal suffrage for women over 21 in 1928.

In *Suffragette*, Emily's character embodies the spirit of determination, resilience, and selflessness. Her portrayal underscores the profound sacrifices made by suffragettes, whose courage and tenacity laid the groundwork for subsequent generations' freedoms. Her death resonates as a powerful reminder of the cost of societal progress and the indomitable strength of women who refuse to accept inequality.

Ultimately, Emily Davison's legacy in both history and the film highlights the transformative power of unwavering dedication to justice. Through her martyrdom, she etched her name into the annals of history, leaving an enduring impact on the fight for women's rights. *Suffragette* serves as a tribute to her and countless others who fought for equality with unrelenting courage and conviction.

MALE CHARACTERS

In the film *Suffragette*, the historical context of the women's struggle for voting rights is juxtaposed with the male opposition to this movement, highlighting different perspectives on women's suffrage. While most men in the film express a belief in the justice of the women's cause, societal norms of the era prevent them from openly supporting the movement.

Within this framework, the husbands of the suffragettes Edith Ellyn and Maud Watts embody two distinct viewpoints on women's suffrage. Maud's husband, Sonny, reacts negatively to her involvement, perceiving women's enfranchisement as a direct challenge to the patriarchal order. He insists that women's proper place is within the domestic sphere, confined to serving their husbands and children and focusing solely on household duties. He argues that

women's involvement in politics is irrational, perpetuating the widely held belief that women were incapable of political reasoning. In this view, men, as the dominant figures in society, have the right to determine the course of political affairs, and women's voices should remain unheard. Sonny, like many others, maintains that women's needs and interests are sufficiently represented by their fathers and husbands, positioning the suffrage movement as an unnecessary disruption to the established social structure.

Despite claiming to act in Maud's best interests, Sonny attempts to protect her from the suffrage movement by silencing her. This manipulation, however, extends beyond the political realm and into her personal life, where Sonny tolerates the sexual harassment Maud endures at the hands of her employer, Mr. Taylor, to prevent her from losing her job. His so-called protection is a façade, masking a deeper issue of control. Sonny's refusal to acknowledge Maud's strength and autonomy underlines the pervasive patriarchal mindset of the time, where men saw themselves as the unquestioned authorities in their households and believed women's aspirations were secondary to their roles as wives and mothers.

At the outset of Maud's activism, she is conflicted, with Sonny framing her participation in the movement as a source of shame and disgrace. His remark, "*You won't ever shame me like that again*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:39), underscores his view of Maud's actions as a personal affront to traditional gender roles. When Maud raises the hypothetical scenario of having a daughter, Sonny dismisses the idea, asserting that her life would mirror her own, thus reinforcing the cyclical nature of gender oppression. It is only through her involvement in the suffrage movement that Maud comes to see an avenue for liberation from the suffocating constraints of her domestic existence.

Sonny's statement, "*I thought I could straighten you out. You are a mother, a wife, my wife—no, that's what you are meant to be*" (Gavron, 2015, 0:48), encapsulates his authoritarian view of Maud's identity. This declaration positions her solely within the confines of marriage and motherhood, relegating her to roles that are entirely defined by her relationship to him. Ultimately, he expels her from their home, withholding their son from her care, exercising his legal right to sole custody. This action starkly illustrates the patriarchal control men held over women, particularly regarding familial and property rights. In his eyes, Maud's activism is the destruction of their family, and their son becomes an object to be controlled rather than a child to be nurtured.

Contrastingly, Edith Ellyn's husband, George, offers a more progressive perspective. As a pharmacist, George supports Edith's involvement in the suffrage movement, recognizing the inherent injustice of the existing gender

disparity. Witnessing the determination and courage of his wife and the other suffragettes, George's worldview begins to shift. He becomes an ally in their fight, helping organize protests and supporting the radical actions of the suffragettes. His increasing empathy toward the struggles of women showcases his personal transformation and his growing commitment to the cause of gender equality.

In *Suffragette*, George represents the possibility of male solidarity with the suffrage movement, illustrating that not all men adhered to the patriarchal norms of the time. Though born into a male-dominated society, George's character highlights the potential for change within the male perspective, demonstrating that men could support women's rights and challenge traditional gender roles when motivated by a sense of justice.

Thus, the characters of Sonny and George exemplify the contrasting responses to the suffrage movement from male figures. While Sonny embodies the entrenched patriarchal values that sought to suppress women's rights, George represents the men who, though part of the same societal structure, chose to stand in support of equality. Through their divergent viewpoints, the film highlights the broader social forces at play during the suffrage movement and underscores the critical role of both women and progressive men in challenging the status quo. In the end, *Suffragette* reveals that the fight for voting rights was not solely a battle for women but also a call to men to examine their own roles within an unequal system.

CONCLUSION

The film *Suffragette* powerfully illustrates the intense struggle of women striving to secure the right to vote. It highlights various facets of the women's suffrage movement, showcasing how women from disparate social classes united in their collective endeavor to attain suffrage. Drawing inspiration from the *Suffragette* movement of the early 20th century, the film encapsulates this pivotal period within its historical context, offering valuable insights into both individual lives and the prevailing social conditions of the era. Furthermore, it delves into the political landscape of the early 1900s, exposing the deep-seated injustices within the governmental structure.

While *Suffragette* predominantly focuses on the life of Maud Watts, a working-class woman, the female characters in the film represent women from a variety of social strata. These characters serve as embodiments of the broader reality that the fight for women's suffrage was not confined to one particular class, but was a movement that transcended social divisions. This underscores the centrality of the suffrage struggle for women in an oppressive, patriarchal

society. The film vividly depicts the efforts of women striving to carve out a place for themselves in a male-dominated society where they had no legal rights. In the early 20th century, women were deprived of rights within both the family and marriage. They were systematically excluded from educational opportunities, denied property rights, and were paid significantly less than their male counterparts, despite often working harder. Women were expected to contribute to the household economy, but their wages were handed over to their husbands, and their roles were largely confined to domestic duties, serving their children and husbands as "angels of the home." Additionally, women were denied legal rights over their children, with custody usually belonging to the father. In the film, Maud Watts, the protagonist, exemplifies this reality, as she gives her wages to her husband and has no rights to custody of their son. The systemic injustices Maud faces both at work and within her personal life serve as catalysts for her involvement in the suffrage movement, which she comes to view as her escape from an oppressive existence. Women from various backgrounds saw the right to vote not only as a political right but also as a powerful tool to challenge gender inequality.

In this respect, the film portrays voting rights as more than just a political struggle; it is a fight for profound societal change. The women depicted in *Suffragette* adopt a militant, collective approach, making personal sacrifices and even risking their lives to advance the cause. Amid this era of evolving gender roles, the film offers contemporary audiences an opportunity to appreciate that the suffrage movement was not merely a historical turning point but also a time of personal and societal transformation for women. Through their unwavering struggle, the female characters in the film convey a powerful message: women should not be relegated to second-class status but should enjoy the same rights as men within society.

Additionally, the film examines the role of men in the fight for women's suffrage. While some men oppose the movement, others lend their support. In a patriarchal society, men have traditionally held positions of power and privilege, while women have been denied equal rights and subjected to various forms of oppression. This male-dominated system is illustrated through the actions of the male characters in the film. Those who resist women's suffrage—including the government, the police, and the husbands of the suffragettes—inflict both physical and psychological violence upon the women. These male characters portray themselves as the protectors of social morality, viewing the women's movement as a direct threat to the established patriarchal order. In their worldview, women should remain confined to their traditional roles within the domestic sphere, and they cannot fathom an alternative societal structure.

However, the film also introduces male characters who support the suffrage movement, underscoring that men, too, can play a pivotal role in dismantling gender inequality. The presence of both supportive and opposing male characters serves to illustrate that the fight for equality and justice is not solely a women's issue but a societal issue that affects everyone.

In conclusion, *Suffragette* is a historical film that emphasizes the significance of gender equality and the women's suffrage movement of the 20th century. While it is set in a historical context, the film reflects the ongoing struggle for women's rights. The fight for women's rights is not confined to one specific class or country but is a global issue that transcends borders. The right to vote, which women secured after enduring both physical and psychological abuse, is not just a political victory; it is a hard-won right symbolizing broader equality in society. The film highlights the personal sacrifices made by women who gave up their families and lives for the cause, showcasing their crucial roles in shaping societal change. Their struggle laid the foundation for the continued battle against gender norms and inequality that persists to this day. In this way, *Suffragette* captures the essence of the ongoing fight for women's rights in multifaceted ways.

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Chapter 2

Investigation of Room Price Determinants in the Hotel Industry with Regression Models

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ÖZ

Çalışmanın amacı otel oda fiyatlarını belirleyen değişkenlerin regresyon modelleri ile analiz edilmesidir. Çalışma kapsamında Antalya ilinde yer alan 299 otelin oda fiyatları ve oda fiyatlarını etkileyebilecek değişkenler elde edilmiştir. Analiz kapsamında, temel doğrusal regresyon modelleri arasında yer alan tam model ile değişken ekleme modeli ve kuantil regresyon modeli oluşturulmuştur. Çalışma sonucunda otel kategorisi tüm modellerde oda fiyatını etkileyen en önemli değişken olarak öne çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Otel endüstrisi, Otel fiyatlandırması, Kuantil regresyon
JEL Sınıflaması: Z31, L83, C21

ABSTRACT

The study aims to examine the variables that determine price of hotel room by establishing regression models. Within the scope of the study, the room prices of 299 hotels in Antalya province and the variables that may affect the room prices were obtained. In the analysis, the results of full model and forward selection model, which are among the linear regression models and the quantile regression model are presented. As a result of the study, it was determined that the most important variable related to the room price in all models was the hotel category.

Keywords: Hotel industry, Hotel pricing, Quantile regression
JEL Classification: Z31, L83, C21

1. Introduction

The economic fluctuation and the development of communication and transportation after the Second World War caused tourism to accelerate around the world. In accordance with World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) data, the number of people participating in world tourism was around 450 million in 1990 and reached 1.5 billion in 2019. The number of tourists, which decreased with the epidemic, decreased to 900 million in 2022 (UN Tourism [UNT], 2023).

In accordance with World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) data, Turkey ranks 3rd in the world behind France and Spain with the number of 50 million tourists in 2022. Income from tourism reached 46 billion dollars in 2022. Tourism revenues have a remarkable impact on regional economic development and developing countries increased their investments in tourism (Yurdakul & Özgencil, 2017). One of the indicators showing the place of tourism in the country's economy is the share of tourism revenues in national income. According to the data of the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (Türkiye Seyahat Acentaları Birliği [TSAB], 2023a & 2023b), tourism's share in national income was 5.1% in 2022, and the share of tourism revenues in export revenues was 18.2%. In 1980, while the share of tourism in national income was only 0.6%, the share of tourism revenues in export revenues was 11.2% (Table 1).

Table 1: Share of Tourism Revenues in GNP and Ratio to Exports

Years	Share of Tourism Revenues in GNP (%)	Ratio of Tourism Revenues to Exports (%)
1980	0.6	11.2
1985	2.8	18.6
1990	2.1	24.9
1995	2.9	22.9
2000	2.9	27.5
2005	4.2	27.7
2010	3.4	21.9
2015	6.2	21.5
2017	2.2	16.4
2020	2.0	8.7
2021	3.7	13.4
2022	5.1	18.2

Source: Created by the authors from sources TSAB (2023a) and TSAB (2023b).

The Tourism Promotion Law (Law No. 2634), enacted in 1983, is the most important of the decisions taken for the development of tourism after 1980

(Kozak & Kozak, 1997). This law has brought many incentives within the scope of tourism, regulated the tourism sector and gave it a structure that will increase its contribution to the country's economy. Thanks to this law, tourism investments increased and there was a rapid increase in the tourism industry. In accordance with Association of Turkish Travel Agencies data, number of facilities with a tourism businesses certificate increased from 511 in 1980 to 3,982 in 2019, and the number of beds increased from 56,044 to 983,386.

The components of the tourism industry can be classified as transportation businesses, accommodation businesses, travel businesses and food and beverage businesses. Within the scope of this study, variables affecting the room prices of hotels, which are among the accommodation establishments, are analysed. As a result of increasing competition in the accommodation sector, pricing strategies have become a multidimensional issue for decision makers. Steed and Gu (2005) inspected hotel room pricing methods and identified them under four categories: market based, cost based, mix of cost and market based and forecast based.

In this study, variables affecting room prices were analysed using linear regression model and quantile regression model, which are predictive models.

2. Model, Method and Data

2.1. Classical Linear Regression Model

Linear regression is a statistical technique used to learn more about the relationship between one or more independent variables (X_j) and a dependent variable (Y). Given a data set consisting of n observations as $\{x_{i1}, x_{i2}, \dots, x_{ip}\}_{i=1}^n$, the linear regression model is expressed as follows.

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i1} + \beta_2 x_{i2} + \dots + \beta_p x_{ip} + \varepsilon_i = \mathbf{X}_i^T \boldsymbol{\beta} + \varepsilon_i, \quad i = 1, 2, \dots, n \quad (1)$$

y_i : value of the dependent variable for i . observation.

β_j : regression coefficient of the j . independent variable.

x_{ij} : for independent variable j , the value of i . observation.

ε_i : the error value for i . observation.

The above equality is also shown in the formula below in matrix form.

$$\mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{X}^T \boldsymbol{\beta} + \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad (2)$$

In linear regression, the regression coefficients are the values that minimize the sum of squared error. (Sum of Squared Errors = SSE). In general, the main advantage of this model is the high interpretability of the regression coefficients.

Since it is a linear model, the results found will be on the hyperplane (Kuhn & Johnson, 2013). In the case of one X_j , the result is shown on a line.

In the first part of the study, the full model and variable addition method, which are among the basic linear regression models, are used.

The full model is the most commonly used model for variable selection. In the full model, the researcher specifies X_j 's that make up the model. Then, the success of this model in predicting Y is evaluated. In the variable addition method, the X_j 's enter the model sequentially according to the strength of their correlation with Y . The impact of each variable entering the model is measured, and variables that do not affect the model significantly are removed from the model.

2.2. Quantile Regression (QR)

With ordinary least squares regression, it is aimed to approximate conditional mean of the distribution. Such regression analysis gives an incomplete definition of the conditional distribution (Mosteller & Tukey, 1977). QR is used to calculate various quantiles in the data set. QR, proposed by Koenker and Bassett (1978), delivers an appropriate method for modelling conditional quantile functions (Koenker & Hallock, 2001). When conditional quantiles differ, QR is used to calculate regression coefficients that are depending on the quantiles (Chen & Wei, 2005).

In addition to fully characterizing the conditional distribution, QR also has the following properties (Buchinsky, 1998):

- QR model uses linear programming notation.
- QR objective function is the weighted sum of absolute deviations. Therefore, the estimated coefficient vector is not sensitive to outliers.
- QR estimators can obtain better results when the error term does not follow a normal distribution.

$$y_i = \mathbf{x}'_i \boldsymbol{\beta}_\theta + \mathbf{u}_{\theta i}, \text{Quant}_\theta(y_i | \mathbf{x}_i) = \mathbf{x}'_i \boldsymbol{\beta}_\theta \quad (3)$$

x_i is the vector of independent variables, β_θ is the vector of parameters to be estimated and $u_{\theta i}$ is the error vector. Given x_i for y_i $\text{Quant}_\theta(y_i | x_i)$ is value of θ . Conditional quantile is obtained by solving the following equation.

$$\min_{\beta} = \sum_i \theta |y_i - x'_i \beta| + \sum_i (1 - \theta) |y_i - x'_i \beta| = \min_{\beta} \sum_i \phi_{\theta} u_{\theta i}, \theta \in (0,1) \quad (4)$$

ϕ is defined as control function and is shown by the formula below.

$$\phi_{\theta}(u) = \theta u \quad \text{if } u \geq 0 \quad (5)$$

$$\phi_{\theta}(u) = (\theta-1)u \quad \text{if } u < 0$$

2.3. Data

Within the scope of the study, data from 299 hotels in the city of Antalya is used. While the hotel room price is taken as the dependent variable, hotel category, evaluation score of the hotel, room size, number of restaurants, number of pools, hotel distance to the airport, hotel distance to the city centre, hotel distance to the sea, beach length, installed area size of the hotel, facility capacity, facility age, region where the hotel is located and beach type are used as independent variables.

Of the hotels, 98 are in 3 star, 101 are in 4 star, and 100 are in 5 star category. Room prices are taken from the websites (<https://tr.hotels.com> and <https://www.trivago.com.tr>) as overnight standard room accommodation. Independent variables' data were got from the same websites and by phone interviews when necessary. The hotel evaluation score was taken from the website <https://www.tripadvisor.com.tr>. Summary statistics of continuous independent variables are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary Statistics of Continuous Independent Variables

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Evaluation Score	6	10	8.36	0.88
Room Size (m ²)	0	64	26.95	6.38
Number of Restaurants	0	12	3.09	1.76
Number of Pools	1	12	2.46	1.48
Distance of Hotel to the Airport (km)	0	160	61.31	27.64
Distance of Hotel to the City Centre (km)	0	32	9.48	7.55
Distance of Hotel to the Sea (m)	0	1,000	123.57	220.14
Beach Length (m)	0	1,000	199.13	150.87
Installed Area Size (m ²)	1,500	250,000	40,736.19	40,985.97
Facility Capacity (people)	52	908	353.94	178.43
Facility Age (year)	1	53	16.09	7.97

3. Literature Research

Perez et al. (2019) analysed the variables affecting the prices of hotel rooms were analysed with multiple regression and quantile regression methods using data from 3,800 hotels selected from France, Spain, Italy and England. While hotel room price is dependent variable, the independent variables are the hotel category, hotel local competition data, customer score, country, hotel size, hotel

type and whether it is a city hotel. It was concluded that the multiple regression model would be inadequate in predicting the room price because the assumptions of the multiple regression model (multicollinearity, normal distribution of errors) were not met. In accordance with the results of the quantile regression model, all percentage values are significant for hotels with 5 star hotel category, number of competitor and hotels in France. While hotel category has a positive effect on room prices, the room prices of hotels in the UK in all percentiles except the 99th percentile are higher than hotels in other countries.

Lien and Wen (2015) analysed the effects of perceived price, brand image, perceived value and trust on hotel room purchase intention. In Taiwan, 366 people over the age of 18 who booked a hotel room online in the last 12 months were asked to answer a 21-question survey about the variables used in the model. As a result of the structural equation model, a positive effect of perceived price was found on perceived value and purchase intention. Perceived value has a positive and significant effect on purchase intention. Although trust has a positive effect on purchase intention in the data set, it is not statistically significant. The effect of brand image on purchase intention through trust is also statistically insignificant.

In the research conducted by Becerra et al. (2013) on hotels in Spain, the pricing strategies of vertically differentiated (multi-star hotels) and horizontally differentiated hotels (brand hotels) were analysed by establishing a multiple regression model. While hotel category, competition, hotel type, number of rooms and hotel age were independent variables, room price was used as the dependent variable. The results of the analysis were also tested with the structural equation model. Three regression models were built, the first model included only control and dummy variables. When hotel category and competition data were added to the second model, a high positive effect of hotel category on hotel price was found and it was determined that the room price of chain hotels was higher than that of independent hotels. In the third model, where the interactions of the independent variables were added, it was found that when the number of competitors increased, hotels that have higher stars set higher prices than the hotels that have lower stars, and hotels in hotel chains set higher prices than independent hotels.

Hung et al. (2010) used quantile regression analysis to find out dependent variables influencing room prices of 58 international hotels in Taiwan and compared results with a multiple regression model. Hotel age, number of rooms, hotel type, foreign tourist rate, hotel distance to the city centre and number of cleaning staff per room were considered as independent variables. According to the multiple regression model, hotel age, number of rooms, and number of

cleaning staff per room are the main variables that affect the room price. According to the quantile regression results, while the number of rooms and the number of cleaning staff per room were not effective in the 10% quantile, hotel age was found to be effective in high price categories. According to the multiple regression analysis, while the foreign tourist rate and distance to the city centre were not significant variables, in accordance with quantile regression, it was decided that foreign tourist rate had a positive and significant effect for high price categories.

Napierala and Pawlicz (2017) examined the effects of variables on hotel room prices of 79 hotels in Warsaw, using multiple regression analysis and spatial analysis. The independent variables used are the number of rooms, hotel category, hotel management type, hotel distance to the city centre, hotel distance to the nearest rival hotel and distance to the nearest airport. According to the results of multiple regression analysis, the most effective variable on room prices was determined as hotel category. While the number of rooms in hotel effected room price positively, the hotel distance to the city centre effected room price negatively.

In their paper, Abrate and Viglia (2016) analysed the room prices of 57 hotels in the city of Milan at different times and the variables affecting the price of the hotel room. The independent variables used are classified as hotel attributes (spa, room size, balcony ownership, convention centre presence, number of rooms, free internet), reputational features (hotel category, hotel score) and contextual attributes (free cancellation, number of competitor hotels, competitors' price index). In the first model, hotel room price was used as the dependent variable. In the second model, the median of the prices received at different times was used. As a result of the multiple regression analysis used in both models, it was determined that only the size of hotel room effected price of the room. All of the reputational features have an impact on room rates in both models.

Zhang et al. (2011a) analysed the variables affecting room prices using three hedonic regression models for 228 hotels in Beijing. Linear regression, loglinear regression and semi-log regression models were used as hedonic regression models. While the dependent variable is the room price, the independent variables are the number of rooms, hotel category, hotel age, distance to the nearest transportation centre and proximity of the hotel to the nearest tourist centre. Among the three models, the loglinear regression model was found to be the most successful model. It was determined that the variables of hotel category and the hotel age had a significant-positive effect on the room price, while the number of rooms and hotel's proximity to the nearest tourist centre had a significant-negative effect on the room price.

Espinet et al. (2003) analysed variables affecting hotel room prices in three tourism regions in the Costa Brava region of Spain using 82,000 days of data between 1991 and 1998. The hedonic price function includes a multiple regression model. Hotel category, the city where the hotel is located, number of rooms, distance to the city centre and seven hotel features (air-conditioned room, room with terrace, outdoor pool, distance to the beach, sports facilities offered by the hotel, renovation status of the hotel and availability of parking space in the hotel) were taken as independent variables. It was concluded that the hotel category is a very important variable effecting hotel room price. Hotel location, the number of rooms, distance to the beach and parking space are other variables that affect the room price.

Zhang et al. (2011b) used a multiple regression model to identify variables that affect daily hotel room prices using data from 243 hotels in New York City. In the analysis, hotel category, Tripadvisor room quality score, hotel location, hotel's cleanliness score and hotel service quality score were used as independent variables. In the first model, when all independent variables were used in regression model, it was determined that category of hotel was leading variable determining the room price. Other variables that affect the price are the hotel service quality score and hotel location. Secondly, hotels were categorised into three classes (economy, medium and luxury) according to their categories and a multiple regression model was established for each class. For economy class hotels, the variable affecting the price is room quality, for hotels in the middle class, the variables affecting the price are room quality and hotel location, and for luxury class hotels, the variables affecting the price are the hotel location and service quality.

Mathur and Dubey (2019) used 570 hotels data located in 18 different cities in India. Logarithmic regression model was used as a hedonic pricing model to analyse the variables related to room prices. Number of rooms, distance to the airport, having a swimming pool, weekend information, customer evaluation score, free breakfast, city population and cost of living in the city were used as independent variables. Since the homogeneous variance condition, one of the assumptions of regression analysis, was not met, the generalized least squares method was used. The most important variable affecting the room price was found as having a swimming pool. Other variables affecting the room price were found to be free breakfast, number of rooms, city population and distance to the airport.

Soler et al. (2019) used 9,992 data from hotels in the Alvarge region of Portugal in their study. Multiple regression analysis was used as a hedonic pricing model. In the study where room price was determined as dependent variable,

hotel category, number of rooms, distance to the city centre, hotel management style, Tripadvisor evaluation score, travel choice award, number of photos, Tripadvisor rank, city centre information, hotel type and hotel features were selected as independent variables. Hotel category and travel choice award were found to be the most important variables affecting room prices. The location of the hotel in the Falesia region has a positive and significant effect on room prices. Among the hotel types, hotels offering all-inclusive services have a significant and positive effect on room price.

In their study, Yalçın and Mert (2018) determined the variables affecting room prices using data from 1,444 hotels in 21 tourism regions in Antalya. Multiple regression model, stepwise regression model and spatial lag model were used to predict the dependent variable, room prices. 65 independent variables, including hotel category, number of rooms, customer rating score, hotel type, distance to the beach, and hotel services, are included in the model. In the spatial lag model, hotel type, hotel management style, laundry service, outdoor pool, private beach, number of rooms and hotel category were found to be significant variables. In the stepwise regression model, in addition to the spatial lag model, significant variables were found to be the presence of a golf course, sauna and distance to the beach.

3. Findings

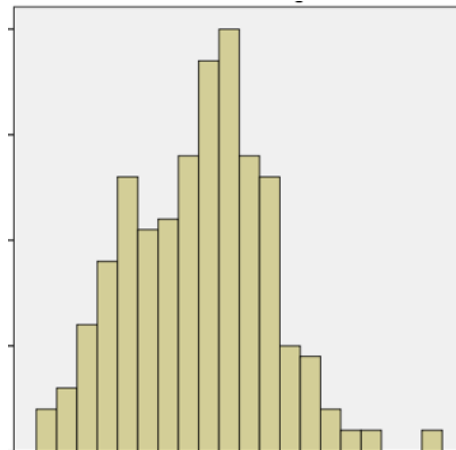
In determining room prices, multiple regression full model, multiple regression variable addition method and quantile regression model were created and the results were analysed.

When the full model of the multiple regression was examined, significant variables were found to hotel category, the hotel's evaluation score, distance to airport, distance to sea and installed area size ($p < 0.05$). Considering the direction and size of the relationships, the hotel category is the variable that affects the room price positively and most (Beta = 0.592). The installed area size of the hotel is the variable that affects the room price positively and in the second place (Beta = 0.103). While the evaluation score of the hotel (Beta = 0.075) is the variable that affects it positively, the distance to airport (Beta = -0.102) and the distance to the sea (Beta = -0.081) are the variables that affect it negatively (Table 3).

Table 3: Coefficients for Full Model

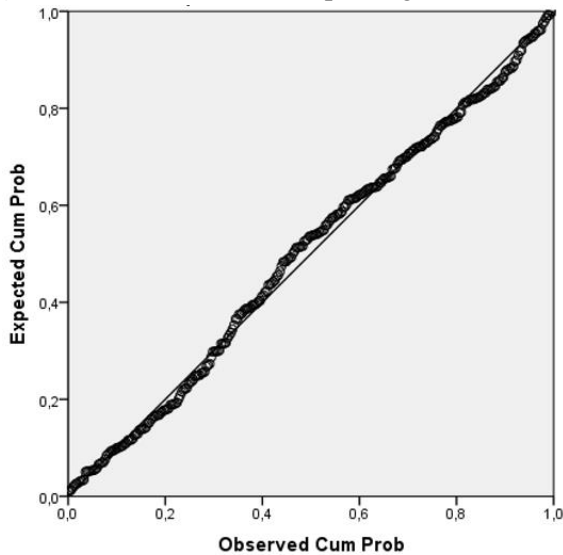
	B Coef	Standard Error	Beta Coef.	t value	P value
(Constant)	-404.107	103.461		-3.906	0.000
Category	197.188	15.973	0.592	12.345	0.000
Evaluation Score	23.018	11.515	0.075	1.999	0.047
Room Size (m ²)	1.708	1.447	0.040	1.180	0.239
Number of Restaurants	9.106	6.781	0.059	1.343	0.180
Number of Pools	13.009	6.671	0.071	1.950	0.052
Distance of Hotel to Airport (km)	-1.003	0.344	-0.102	-2.915	0.004
Distance of Hotel to City Centre (km)	-0.892	1.198	-0.025	-0.745	0.457
Distance of Hotel to Sea (m)	-0.099	0.043	-0.081	-2.324	0.021
Beach Length (m)	0.032	0.065	0.018	0.484	0.629
Installed Area Size (m ²)	0.001	0.000	0.103	2.253	0.025
Facility Capacity (people)	0.022	0.068	0.014	0.319	0.750
Facility Age (year)	1.802	1.106	0.053	1.630	0.104
Main Region	-17.582	23.121	-0.031	-0.760	0.448
Beach Type	-15.509	19.115	-0.029	-0.811	0.418

Since the Durbin-Watson value was found to be 1.727, it was assumed that the errors were distributed independently. According to the Kolmogorov – Smirnov test result, the errors are normally distributed ($p > 0.05$).

Figure 1: Distribution of Errors for Multiple Regression Model

The P-P chart given in Figure 2 also supports the normal distribution of errors.

Figure 2: P-P Chart for Multiple Regression Model



When multiple regression model was analysed with variable addition method, the variables that contributed significantly in determining the room price were found to be hotel category (Beta = 0.614), installed area size (Beta = 0.141), distance to airport (Beta = -0.110), hotel evaluation score (Beta = 0.092), distance to sea (Beta = -0.079) and number of pools (Beta = 0.073) (Table 4). Considering the direction and size of the relationships, hotel category is the variable that positively and most affects the room price.

Table 4: Coefficients for Variable Addition Method

	B Coef.	Standard Error	Beta Coef.	t value	p value
(Constant)	-387.099	89.811		-4.310	0.000
Category	204.643	14.952	0.614	13.687	0.000
Installed Area Size (m ²)	0.001	0.000	0.141	3.534	0.000
Distance of Hotel to the Airport (km)	-1.082	0.319	-0.110	-3.392	0.001
Evaluation Score	28.125	10.897	0.092	2.581	0.010
Distance of Hotel to the Sea (m)	-0.097	0.041	-0.079	-2.354	0.019
Number of Pools	13.295	6.441	0.073	2.064	0.040

The quantile values (Tau) used in quantile regression are 0.10, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75 and 0.90. For Tau = 0.10, hotel category, evaluation score of the hotel, distance to the airport, distance to the sea and facility capacity; For Tau = 0.25, hotel category, the number of pools, distance to the airport, distance to the sea, facility capacity and the main region where the hotel is located; For Tau = 0.50, hotel category, distance to the sea, facility capacity and hotel region; For Tau = 0.75, hotel category and the installed area size of the hotel; For Tau = 0.90, the variables of hotel category, number of restaurants in the hotel, and installed area size of hotel were found to be statistically significant at the 5% significance level (Table 5).

Table 5: p values of Model Coefficients for Different Quantile Values

Variable	Tau=0,1	Tau=0,25	Tau=0,5	Tau=0,75	Tau=0,9
Intercept	0.000	0.003	0.000	0.002	0.017
Category	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Evaluation Score	0.021	0.215	0.097	0.439	0.320
Room Size (m ²)	0.255	0.842	0.785	0.613	0.333
Number of Restaurants	0.393	0.329	0.672	0.082	0.000
Number of Pools	0.111	0.004	0.792	0.201	0.119
Distance of Hotel to Airport (km)	0.016	0.008	0.770	0.712	0.528
Distance of Hotel to City Centre (km)	0.750	0.979	0.759	0.926	0.081
Distance of Hotel to Sea (m)	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.066	0.209
Beach Length (m)	0.199	0.296	0.192	0.099	0.166
Installed Area Size (m ²)	0.666	0.694	0.333	0.003	0.000
Facility Capacity (people)	0.044	0.010	0.015	0.368	0.774
Facility Age (year)	0.198	0.551	0.175	0.404	0.284
Main Region	0.547	0.041	0.003	0.086	0.634
Beach Type	0.196	0.412	0.973	0.838	0.556

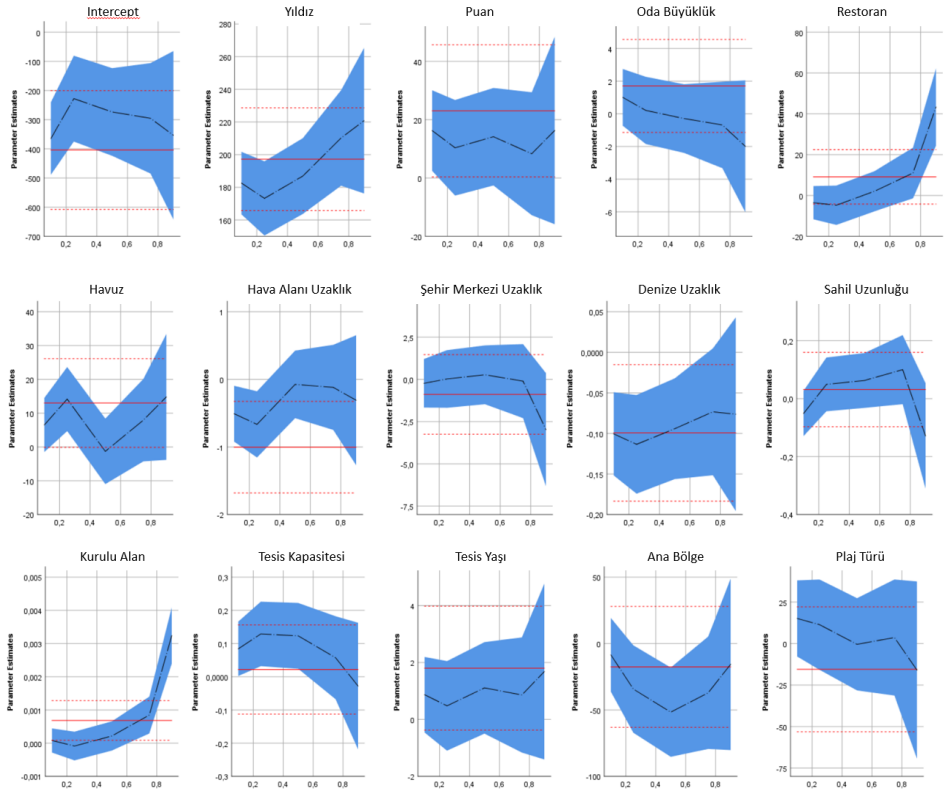
For low Tau values (Tau = 0.1, 0.25 and 0.5), the variables of distance to the airport and distance to the sea have a negative coefficient, while the coefficients of all other variables are positive. Quantile regression model coefficients are given in Table 6 for different Tau values.

Table 6: Regression Coefficients for Different Quantile Values

Variable	Tau=0,1	Tau=0,25	Tau=0,5	Tau=0,75	Tau=0,9
(Constant)	-364.741	-227.922	-273.726	-295.253	-353.648
Category	182.566	173.209	186.861	210.204	220.814
Evaluation Score	16.256	10.344	14.150	8.305	16.284
Room Size (m ²)	1.007	0.209	-0.291	-0.682	-1.992
Number of Restaurants	-3.539	-4.790	2.121	10.994	43.336
Number of Pools	6.505	14.171	-1.300	7.953	14.805
Distance of Hotel to Airport (km)	-0.508	-0.666	-0.074	-0.118	-0.309
Distance of Hotel to City Centre (km)	-0.233	0.023	0.272	-0.104	-2.975
Distance of Hotel to Sea (m)	-0.101	-0.113	-0.094	-0.073	-0.076
Beach Length (m)	-0.051	0.049	0.063	0.100	-0.129
Installed Area Size (m ²)	7.99E-05	-8.63E-05	0.000	0.001	0.003
Facility Capacity (people)	0.084	0.129	0.123	0.057	-0.028
Facility Age (year)	0.870	0.477	1.109	0.860	1.683
Main Region	-8.513	-34.241	-51.664	-37.075	-15.641
Beach Type	15.112	11.363	-0.469	3.631	-15.974

The coefficients and confidence bands for the quantiles of the independent variables and the intercept are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Coefficients and Confidence Bands for Quantile Values of Variables



4. Conclusion and Evaluation

This study was conducted to analyse the variables that affects hotel room price. Internal hotel characteristics, hotel location characteristics and customer evaluation score were considered as independent variables. According to the analysis, although linear regression model and the quantile regression model have similar findings, there are also points where they differ. The most important variable affecting the room price is hotel category in all regression models.

Considering the direction and magnitude of the relationships in the full model of the multiple regression analysis, hotel category is the variable that affects the room price positively and most. Hotel customers accept higher room prices for the hotels in higher category. While the installed area size of hotel and hotel's evaluation score are variables that affect it positively, distance to airport and distance to sea are variables that affect it negatively. In the variable addition method of multiple regression analysis, the number of pools was found to be a positively contributing variable in addition to the full model. When analysing prices, hotel customers care about the location of the hotel in a large area and the

evaluation score on websites. Hotel managers should consider that if they set high room prices in hotels that are far from the sea or the airport, this will have a negative aspect.

The results of quantile regression analysis allow us to analyse on the basis of room price segments. For all price segments, hotel category has a significant contribution to the room price. For hotels in the upper-price segment, the installed area size was found to be statistically significant in determining the room price. In this context, managers of hotels in the upper price segment with a large installed area may consider a strategy of increasing room prices.

For the customers of hotels in the middle and low-price segments, the hotel's distance from the sea negatively affects the price. When making a decision to increase the prices of hotels far from the sea, relevant hotel managers should consider that this may have negative consequences. Again, for hotels in the middle and low-price segments, the hotel's facility capacity is effective in determining prices.

In the low-price segment, the hotel's distance to airport has a negative effect on prices. As hotel's distance to the airport increases, lowering the prices may cause customers to prefer the hotel.

Finally, there are some limitations in this study. Since the study was conducted only for hotels in Antalya region, the results may not be generalizable for hotels in different geographical regions. Additionally, since only standard room prices are considered in the model created, the variables determining the prices of other room types may differ.

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Chapter 3

The Legacy and Critique Of Parsons and Marx in Contemporary Sociology

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Introduction

Sociology, as a social science, is primarily concerned with understanding social activity and systematically developing knowledge about society. The inherent characteristics of a social science necessitate a profound understanding of the social world, which sociologists endeavor to achieve by gathering data from various social environments. In this process of data collection, theories play a pivotal role, as they offer distinct ways of interpreting and perceiving the social world. In essence, each theoretical perspective presents a unique point of view and provides diverse interpretations of societal phenomena. Within this framework, sociology has its own cadre of theorists who have contributed to the development of the discipline, formulating foundational sociological theories.

The chapter will focus on the intellectual contributions of Karl Marx and Talcott Parsons, two towering figures in the history of sociological thought. Both Marx and Parsons have had a profound and lasting impact on the development of sociological theory, and their ideas have shaped the work of many subsequent theorists. However, theorists such as C. Wright Mills, Robert Merton, and Ralf Dahrendorf not only drew on the ideas of these classical sociologists but also critiqued and challenged them in significant ways.

The first section of the chapter will explore the intellectual legacy of Talcott Parsons, with a particular focus on his theory of structural functionalism. This theory, which dominated sociological thought for a considerable period, will be examined in relation to the critiques offered by Merton and Dahrendorf. The objective of this comparison is to highlight the extent to which these thinkers both adopted and critiqued Parsons' conceptualization of society, particularly his static view of social systems.

Subsequently, the study will turn to Marxian theory, another cornerstone of sociological thought. Marx's ideas, particularly his historical materialism, have been instrumental in shaping sociological discourse. The theories of C. Wright Mills and Jürgen Habermas will be analyzed to assess how much of their work is rooted in Marxian thought. Furthermore, the critiques of Marxist theory offered by Mills and Habermas will be discussed, providing a nuanced understanding of the differences between their approaches and those of Marx.

Finally, the essay will conclude by synthesizing the insights gained from these theoretical explorations, reflecting on the continuities and divergences between classical and contemporary sociological thought.

Perspectives on Structural Functionalist Approaches

In this part, the chapter will look closer to works of Talcott Parsons. Firstly, theory of Parsons, structural functionalism, will be depicted to provide a

comprehension of his interpretation of social world. Parsons has considerable importance in the sociological thinking in terms of realm of his influence on following sociological theorists. As an American sociologist his ideas have been influential not only in the States but also on the other coast of the Atlantic (Hamilton, 1983, p.13). Moreover, his ideas spread via his students who carried his theory universities around the US. Theory of Parsons became prominent until 1960s in the States. Moreover, it is commonly emphasised in the literature that structural functional theory is one the most significant sociological theory in 20th century (Gouldner, 1970, p.84). Considering his ideas has a value about comprehending academic climate of his time. He offered a reformulated way of sociological enquiry and developed a new theoretical sketch. He made a reasonable effort to create a coherent method for sociology. In this regard, he aimed to establish a general sociological theory (Hamilton, 1983, p.14). Parsons was tried to establish a general sociological theory in his book, *The Social System*, a theory which can cover understand, analyse and explain human action in society (Hamilton, 1983, p.85). In this work he depicted salience of functional social system, and he put the social system to centre of his theory. Moreover, he added that a sociological theory should cover *static* and *dynamic* elements of systems which their aim is to explain social system. In these modelling, *static* elements involve structures of system, also called as subsystems by Parsons, and they consist of pattern for the system. *Dynamic* elements are also crucial for a system, and they link static structures (Parsons, 1954, p.216).

In essence, theoretical system of Parsons can be termed as “structural-functional” which basically aims maintenance and development in the system. Furthermore, he feels discontent with dysfunctional procedures that can impede integration and effectiveness of the system (Hamilton, 1983, p.90). Mainly, he wanted to construct a sociological theory that capable to explain how social order and coherence possible in society. One of his prominent questions is that how an order possible and how social systems can be hanged together. Furthermore, he believed that surviving and sustaining itself are characteristics of all human social organisations and they are empirically observable. Therefore, one can catch patterns in society through recurring cultural and structural features. At this juncture, according to him sociological theory should construct a conceptual scaffolding that can capture nature of society (Hamilton, 1983, p.97). In other words, he tried to establish a systematic and generalised theory for analyse social systems and their structures.

He used to AGIL acronym to formulate four integral parts of a social system (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.231). The letter A refers to *adaptation* which means that a system should adapt its environment. He uses G for *goal attainment* which

suggests definition of accomplishment of aims of the system. I letter refers to *integration* that meant a system must coordinate its fundamental parts. And lastly, L represents *latency*, and this part refers to maintain and renew patterns in society (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.232). Parsons elaborated and highlighted structural functionalism in his book, *The Structure of Social Action*. According to him social systems have order and interconnection between its components. Secondly, systems are prone to continue self-maintaining order and equilibrium. He also claimed that systems might be static and if not changes occur in an ordered process. Moreover, he stated that if one part of system has an impact, other parts will also take this effect. Parsons also suggested that integration and allocation are two integral components for sustaining equilibrium of system (Parsons, 1968, p.27). Another characteristic of theory of Parsons is that concerning the system rather than actor in the system. He dealt with how system affects and controls individuals, not how actors create or understand system. Parsons also suggested that culture controls interaction among actors and it is also binding element of social world. Moreover, he propositioned that the personality system is controlled by cultural system (Parsons, 1970, p.80).

One of the other contributions of the Parsons to the sociological theory is that his book *The Structure of Social Action* which published in 1937 (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.203). Considerable part of the book dedicated to explaining European classical sociological theorists such as Durkheim and Weber. His evaluation and comment on these theorists shaped their perception in the American sociology for many years. On the other hand, he had almost no concerning about Marx and Simmel and that caused continuation of exclusion of Marxist theory from legitimate sociology (Levine, 1991, p.1104). After from this book Parsons started to be known as structural-functionalist who focuses on large-scale social and cultural systems. Moreover, he attained leading position in the sociological theory and kept that position until 1960s (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.204). Even though theory of Parsons had severe criticisms which will be demonstrated in following part of the chapter, some strong points emphasised in the literature. For instance, Turner stated that expressing existing contradictions and problems in the society is easier than to illustrate how social order sustains and varies. (Turner, 2002, p.259). Although theory of Parsons had enjoyed hegemonic power of his theory, many criticisms raised over structural functional model especially between 1960s and 70s. As elaborated in the above section, theory of Parsons has constituted a basis for American sociology. In the direction of title of the essay, following theories mostly challenged with the work of this classical sociological theorist. Following part of the essay will try to look closer

how latter theorist criticised his theory and what extent they had built up their theory on Parsons.

It can be claimed that one of the most important critiques on theory of Parsons is about its structure which is not capable to deal with social change. For instance, some theorists critiqued Parsons, and they criticised his deductive methodology and they opposed with the term of “armchair theorising” (Glaser & Strauss, 1969, p.33). Furthermore, structural functional theory has been criticised as a whole because of its defectiveness in dealing with social change (Cohen, 1983, p.124). Cohen also stated that the theory also incapable of handle conflicts that can reveal in every society. Due to these two characteristics (not able to deal with social change and conflicts) structural functional theory was also admitted as conservative (Cohen, 1983, p.147).

He highly criticised because of this unchanging model of theory, and he could not resist critiques (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.239). Thus, he modified his theory with notion of social evolution. According to this idea every society consists of an array of subsystems and these subsystems are interrelated. While society evolves, these subsystems differentiate and through this process society can change and adapt to its new environment (Parsons, 1966, p.20). Moreover, Parsons stated that this evolution makes society more durable. Hence, he assumed that if changes grow in society, it means that the system can easier deal with problems which encounters. On the contrary, theory of Marx insisted that social changes inevitable in a society and they are always leading to transformations in the society (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.240). Furthermore, Parsons claimed that evolution process is not fixed for all societies, and he believed that the evolution could occur faster or sluggish in some societies. (Parsons, 1966, p.20). Even though he denoted that the evolution realises through gradual steps, he clearly avoided from drawing a linear evolution schema. Moreover, this claim constitutes another divergent point between theory of Parsons and Marx. Marx offers a solid map for evolution processes of societies which emphasise substantial role of class struggles in this transformation process. Conversely, Parsons put his emphasis on cultural dimension rather than economy-based class struggles (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.241).

While Parsons is one of the most important structural functionalists, his student Robert Merton had achieved several salient contributions to the structural functional theory in sociology (Tiryakian, 1991, p. 514). Besides, although they are both structural functionalists, Merton criticised some of the ideas that Parsons asserted. Additionally, there are some considerable differences between their theories. For instance, Merton did not agree one of the ideas, all social and cultural notions and activities are functional for society, which had been

suggested by Parsons. Merton stated this proposition which belongs to Parsons can be valid for only small societies; however, it cannot be generalised for complex and populous societies (Merton, 1968, p.100). Second disagreement between these two theorists reveals on characteristics of functions of cultural structures. While Parsons claimed social and cultural structures have always positive functions, Merton basically not joined this argument, and he developed notion of *dysfunction*. With this notion he claimed that social actions could have some negative effects on other social actions. Furthermore, social structures not only contribute to social system in a positive way, but also, they could have negative consequences (Merton, 1968, p.104). He illustrates relation between fanatic nationalism and armament as an example of *dysfunction*. One of the other original terms that were established by Merton is *nonfunction*. *Nonfunction* refers to social actions which have no considerable effects on society. Divergence between functions required a calculation process to show whether a social action is functional or dysfunctional. However, this calculation procedure is quite complex and depends on numerous criteria (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.245). Another salient claim was stated by Merton is that some parts of social system can be eliminated which also constitutes a different point from Parsons. Moreover, examples of discrimination on minority groups were given by him to highlight this assertion.

In essence, even though Parsons and Merton are both structural functionalist theorists, they have divergences along with their similarities. Although Merton mainly built upon on theory of Parsons, he critiqued some points which elaborated above, and he added his own original ideas on structural functional theory.

An Overview of Conflict Theories

During 1960s structural functionalism had started to decline and lost noticeable power (Colomy, 1990, p.34). At this juncture, conflict theory was revealed as an alternative to structural functionalism. Conflict theory can be admitted as a more recent approach in sociology that rose in the 1960s and its famous representative is Ralf Dahrendorf. Structural functionalists suggested that societies are stable or can be in a moving stability. On the contrary, Dahrendorf claims that all societies are experiencing changing processes in their every points. In other words, while structural functionalist highlighted order of the society is prominent, conflict theory claimed that contention and disagreement can be found in every part of society (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.210). Furthermore, while Parsons advocated every structure in society contributes to stability, Dahrendorf insisted that some social elements also can contribute to transformation and disruption.

One of the other dissidences between these two theories reveals in issue that how society stays together. Structural functionalists see that social integration takes its bases from social norms and morality. However, conflict theorists emphasise that social cohesion is mostly dictated by some top members of society (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p254). Dahrendorf also stated that both consensus and conflict are essential parts of a society, and he believed a society could not exist without them. Moreover, Dahrendorf in some points influenced by structural functionalism such as he claimed that social structures can bind together with consensus. However, he also denoted that society could also hold together with coercive authority. At that point, he also denoted that discrepancy in sharing the authority constitutes source of conflicts which reveal in society (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.166). According to him each position in society has different levels of authority and this authority not related with individuals; conversely, they located in positions. Inevitably, authority term requires superordination, subordination and hierarchy notions. In this regard, he used the term *interest* to depict clashing interests between social groups. According to Dahrendorf, subordinated groups seek to alter their positions, and that situation leads an interest conflict among social groups (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.176). This kind of envisagement looks like model of Marx, and it can be suggested that conflict theory partly built on ideas of Marx (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p254). For instance, Marx emphasised in the same direction, and he suggested that modern society is divided into two main classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. There is a big conflict between these two groups, and he claimed that society will inevitably polarise between these camps (Swingewood, 2000, p.49). Although conflict theory started with critique of structural functionalist theory, it was also criticised. Firstly, it was suggested that conflict theory stood closer to structural functionalist theory rather than Marxist theory, conversely to its own claims (Hazelrigg, 1972, p.480). Especially, focuses of Dahrendorf such as systems, positions and roles bound him to structural functionalism closer. While conflict theory critiqued one of the salient classical sociological theories, structural functionalism, also takes some bases from it (Bernard, 1983, p.213). In this regard, it can be suggested that conflict theory not only challenged structural functionalism but also built upon it.

Previous part of the chapter has considered theory of Parsons and its connection with more recent theories. In this section of the chapter will try to examine relations between theory of another classical sociologist Marx and more up to date sociological theories. First, Karl Marx is one of the most important and controversial sociologists in the history of social theory (Berberoglu, 2005, p.3). For a comprehensive apprehension, the essay firstly will try to investigate characteristics of ideas of Marx. Then, conception of two more recent

sociological theorists, Mills and Habermas, will be examined including comparisons with thoughts of Marx.

First, Marx used a distinctive method which called “historical materialism” to demonstrate advancement of material production in societies in a historical sketch. He illustrated how production types in societies transformed by time in history to understand patterns of production relations. In other words, he suggested that advancement processes of societies are comprehensible through this historical materialism method (Berberoglu, 2005, p.10).

Following this further, one of the most salient assertions of his analysis bases on class struggles. In his book, *The Communist Manifesto*, he claimed that “the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle (Marx & Engels, 2008, p.2). Class struggle is the impetus of changes in the history and connections and clashes between classes convert model of social organisation. Besides, these relations and tensions between classes induce to evolution of new modes of production. According to Marx, economy constitutes a base for political and ideological notions which they raise on. Hence, economic system and mode of production are remarkable factors in a society that can influence and determine other social structures (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.53). Because of the reasons which illustrated above, capitalism and class struggle in society constitute main concerns of Marx. He illustrated capitalism as an economic system that causes vast inequalities and cleavages in society. In capitalist system huge number of people has only little commodities and small minority of peoples has goods and means of production. In capitalism, workers must sell their labour to the market to sustain their lives. Workers (proletariat) have nothing in terms of means of production apart from the labour they must sell for wages to capitalists. On the other hand, capitalists (bourgeoisie) have nearly the entire goods and all the things that are used in production processes, in other words means of production (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.56). Marx claimed that society is divided into two big camps in capitalism, proletariat and bourgeoisie. There is a remarkable conflict between these two groups, and he stated that society will polarise between these classes (Swingewood, 2000, p.48). Furthermore, Marx believed that when economy deteriorates, proletariat will gain power and revolutionary conditions will emerge and the revolution which transforms capitalism to socialism will arise (Stones, 2008, p.56).

His ideas have been quite influential and therefore, most of the theories in sociology which revealed after Marx, were built on ideas of Marx or ideas were developed opposed to him (Berberoglu, 2005, p.10). Critical theory is one the theories that is partly built on Marxian theory. However, critical theory has been mainly developed by sociological theorists who were not fully satisfied with

Marxist theory (Agger, 1998, p.78). Basically, critical sociologists accused that Marx formulated society too much mechanical. In other words, Marx concerned with economy extensively and did not adequately focus on other aspects of social life (Schroyer, 1973, p.34). In this regard, critical theory has sought for a new point of view which also considers cultural realm of society. Thus, one of the main differences between critical and Marxian theory has revealed in their focuses. Critical theorists tended to deal with the cultural superstructure rather than the economic base (Agger, 1998, p.32). Jürgen Habermas is one of the most famous representatives of critical theory and he defined his goal as “reconstruction of historical materialism” which is method of Marx (Habermas, 1995, p.99). According to Habermas, Marx did not defined distinction between work (purposive-rational action) and social interaction (communicative action) (Habermas, 1971, p.40). In most of his writings Marx focused on critical analysis of capitalism. Likewise, Habermas took same baseline; however, he mostly examines communicative aspect rather than purposive-rational action (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.278). Even though these two sociologists adopt different perspectives, they have several common points. For instance, they both have parallel political baselines which against capitalism. Although they have same starting points, Habermas focuses on removing barriers on communicative actions in society, while Marx firstly considers elimination of capitalist barriers (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.279).

One of the other criticisms had been raised by Wright Mills to Marxian theory. Firstly, even though Mills admitted as a Marxist, he did not read works of Marx until mid-1950s because of exclusion of Marx in the US, only a few and limited translation of his books were available at that time and because Mills could not read German (Alt, 1985, p.13). However, due to academic and personal activities of Mills, he is seen close to Marxist theory. Theory of Mills was important because of at least two prominent characteristics. First, he tried to break the hegemony of theory of Parsons in the US and raised opposition to his ideas. Secondly, he exposed some of the weak points of Marxist theory (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003, p.210). He critiqued Marxist theory in his book *White Collar* (1951) and pointed out weakness of theory of Marx due to its dichotomist social structure modelling that involves class struggle only between bourgeoisie and proletariat (Swingewood, 2000, p.46). *Power Elite* (1956) another salient book of Mills that advocated the US was reined by a small group of elites who are mainly top military leaders, politicians and tycoons. Moreover, in *Sociological Imagination* book (1959) Mills criticised theory of Parsons his grand theory and his practises. At this juncture, although Mills adopted several points from Marx,

he critiqued his theory because of his dichotomist model that depicted above. In other words, theory of Mills both criticises and builds upon works of Marx.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to critically assess the intellectual contributions of Talcott Parsons and Karl Marx, two of the most profoundly influential figures in sociological theory. The conceptual frameworks established by these theorists remain pivotal, not only as foundational ideas but also as sources of inspiration for subsequent generations of scholars. Additionally, this chapter has endeavored to explore the critiques and reinterpretations advanced by more contemporary theorists. A central objective of this analysis has been to illuminate the divergences between the classical theories of Parsons and Marx and the more recent theoretical developments.

The chapter begins with an examination of Parsons' contributions, particularly his structural functionalism, which held a dominant position in sociological thought for an extended period. Despite its prominence, Parsons' theory was not impervious to criticism. As previously discussed, Parsons placed minimal emphasis on social change, a limitation that has led to substantial critique. His portrayal of society as a static, unchanging entity was viewed as inadequate by later theorists. Robert Merton, while adhering to the structural functionalist tradition, introduced a significant critique of Parsons' theory. Merton argued that social structures do not invariably function positively and advanced the concepts of dysfunction and nonfunction as necessary complements to the functionalist framework.

Ralf Dahrendorf, another key figure in the critique of Parsons, rejected the notion of a stable, harmonious society. He contended that Parsons' theory failed to account for social conflict, asserting that conflict is inherent in every aspect of society. Dahrendorf's work thus marks a clear departure from Parsons' emphasis on societal equilibrium, proposing instead a model that acknowledges the centrality of social conflict.

The latter portion of the chapter shifts focus to Marx, whose ideas, while widely influential, have also been the subject of intense debate. Marx's theories, particularly his materialist conception of history, have sparked both widespread adherence and significant criticism. After providing a concise summary of Marx's key ideas, the chapter explores the contributions of two contemporary theorists, Jürgen Habermas and C. Wright Mills, both of whom engaged critically with Marxist theory. Habermas, a prominent figure in the tradition of critical theory, critiqued Marx's approach for its mechanistic tendencies. He argued that Marx's focus on economic structures largely neglects the cultural dimensions of

society. Habermas sought to reconstruct Marx's historical materialism, proposing a more nuanced approach that also considered the cultural superstructure, in contrast to Marx's primary emphasis on the economic base.

Despite his theoretical grounding in Marxism, Habermas' work diverged from Marx's in significant ways, as he introduced new concepts that expanded the scope of social analysis. Similarly, C. Wright Mills, who sought to challenge the theoretical dominance of Parsons' functionalism, critiqued both Marx's dichotomous model of society and its simplification of social structures. Mills acknowledged the limitations of Marx's framework, particularly its failure to adequately account for the complexity of modern society.

In conclusion, the theories of Merton, Dahrendorf, Habermas, and Mills, while drawing on the intellectual foundations laid by Parsons and Marx, also represent critical engagements with and departures from these classical theories. These more recent theoretical approaches reflect an ongoing dialogue with the past, marked by both continuity and critique.

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Chapter 4

The Economic-Based Fierce Competition Between Chinese Dragon and American Eagle in the 21st Century: How Might It Evolve In The Forthcoming Terms?

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Abstract: As stated by the book named as “The Future is Asian” written by famous Indian-originated American thinker Parag Khanna, the 19th century was regarded as Europeanized world whereas in the 20th, the same paradigm would be shifted the Americanized world. Within this direction, Khanna does envisage that the 21st century’s world politics and economy will be dominated by the Asian continent and that century is going to be Asianized. When it is considered in terms of Asian politics, the most important political phenomenon undoubtedly stands the rapid growth of the People’s Republic of China within the past several decades. Thus, the fundamental issue that is expected to dominate towards the 21st century’s world politics and international order stays the power struggle accompanied by geopolitical competition that has been started to experience between Beijing and Washington. The United States and China are among the leading nations with the world’s most powerful economies today. Although these two countries share a robust interaction, they have also maintained a deep-rooted rivalry for many years. The strong interaction and competitive dynamics between these nations in areas such as finance, trade, economics, politics, technology not only influence their respective industries but also play a decisive role in shaping global economic and political equilibria. This study aims to analyze the trade wars, commercial activities, and overall economic dynamics between the two superpowers, the United States and China.

Keywords: People’s Republic of China, United States of America, Power Transition Theory, Hegemonic Stability Theory, Economic Competition, Belt and Road Initiative, Trade Wars.

Introduction

As stated by the book named as “The Future is Asian” written by famous Indian-originated American thinker Parag Khanna, the 19th century was regarded as Europeanized world whereas in the 20th, the same paradigm would be shifted the Americanized world. Within this direction, Khanna does envisage that the 21st century’s world politics and economy will be dominated by the Asian continent and that century is going to be Asianized. When it is considered in terms of Asian politics, the most important political phenomenon undoubtedly stands the rapid growth of the People’s Republic of China within the past several decades. Thus, the fundamental issue that is expected to dominate towards the 21st century’s world politics and international order stays the power struggle accompanied by geopolitical competition that has been started to experience between Beijing and Washington. China and U.S. have been conducting their relationships based on the axis of Cooperation and Conflict. The fields that they are agreeing on represents very few areas. They are mostly confronting especially on economic cases and some political issues namely South China Sea, Taiwan, Russia, Ukraine and so on. But within the scope of this research article, the political/security confrontation issues between China and U.S. will not be discussed due to the fact that these are very complex issues and need to be separately and thoroughly examined in another academic study. Therefore, in this paper, the authors will mostly focus on the economic competition issues between Beijing and Washington.

The United States and China are among the leading nations with the world’s most powerful economies today. Although these two countries share a robust interaction, they have also maintained a deep-rooted rivalry for many years. The strong interaction and competitive dynamics between these nations in areas such as finance, trade, economics, politics, technology, and the banking sector not only influence their respective industries but also play a decisive role in shaping global economic and political equilibria.

The developments between the United States and China have had significant impacts not only on the Asian continent but also globally, particularly since the late 18th century. Both countries possess considerable military power, evidenced by their substantial defense expenditures, as well as economic strength, demonstrated by their high international trade volumes (Dedekoca, 2017:142).

China has particularly invested in the U.S. technology, real estate, and entertainment sectors, while U.S. firms have directed their investments toward technological and financial products that cater to China’s vast market. For instance, the U.S.-based electric vehicle manufacturer Tesla launched its automotive factory in Shanghai, China, in January 2019. By the end of 2024, the

factory is projected to have produced a total of 3 million vehicles, making it Tesla's largest production facility outside of the United States (CNEV Post, 2024).

When examining the diplomatic relations and trade volumes between the U.S. and China, it becomes evident that while the two countries are strategic rivals, they are also commercial partners, as reflected in their steadily growing trade volumes. Historically, their relationship was shaped primarily by military power dynamics; however, today, the two nations coexist as both collaborators and competitors in the realms of technology, commerce, and culture. While the U.S. continues to be recognized as a global superpower, China has focused its most significant challenge to U.S. dominance on developing its Belt and Road Initiative (Şahin & Göçmen, 2022: 32-33).

By taking into consideration the abovementioned framework, this study aims to analyze the banking industry, commercial activities, and overall economic dynamics between the two superpowers, the United States and China. This will be realized in that sequence. In the first part of this research paper, in order to better understand the complex relations between China and the U.S., two fundamental theoretical frameworks namely Power Transition Theory and Hegemonic Stability Theory will be discussed to uncover the codes of political and economic struggles between these two capitals. Also in this section, the general parameters of the complex relations between China and U.S. based on these two theoretical approaches. Then in the second part, the economic impacts of The Belt and Road Initiative will be elaborated. Within the context of the third section, the economic implications of the relationships between Beijing and Washington will be analyzed. In the Conclusion, some analyses, projections and recommendations will be shared by the authors of this paper concerning the researched subject.

1. Theoretical Framework and General Parameters of China-U.S. Relations in the Contemporary Era

Abramo Fimo Kenneth Organski or A.F.K. Organski (1923–1998) stands recognised for his Power Transition Theory. To begin with, to Organski, chief elements of nation-wide power stand population size, political efficiency, and the grade of industrialization, and whole of these possibly will vary very quickly within the contemporary age. Amongst them, Organski particularly attaches attention to the grade of industrialization. As stated by him, it remains on no account accident that the most influential countries of the world stand industrialized nation-states. Yet, solely a nation state possessing a huge population and operative national government may perhaps convert into an excessive power. Secondly, A.F.K. Organski splits the Power Transition into three

dissimilar phases. The first point stands named “Potential Power.” Within this phase, states remain deprived, know-how stays fewer, productivity remains small, population stands steady, government institutions stay not well-organized, and home-grown allegiances stay robust. Organski typifies this phase with the state of affairs of colossal India converting into the cluster of minor Britain for several eras. China throughout the “Century of Humiliation” stands correspondingly cited as a case. The second leg stays termed “Transitional Growth” and it denotes to a *passé* all through which a country speedily passes to the industrialization stage with snowballing productivity, urbanization, national income, life standards accompanied by nationalism. This period likewise embraces an alteration within the family structure, religious principles together with ideological constructions. The third stage remains termed “Power Maturity” and it denotes to a position wherein a state stands practically entirely technologically advanced, economic productivity remains very high, and this nation-state’s vastness stands acknowledged by whole other states. Nevertheless, even supposing a country accesses into the third state, its power may well progressively weaken just as in the circumstance of the United Kingdom--- subsequently other states possibly will access into the second and third levels and may perhaps get further dividends from the power of the by now prevailing excessive power. In a nutshell, Organski’s theory concentrates on the interior capacity of nations to analyse the hierarchical standing within the global system. Also, within the context of Organski’s theory, the power fight among states remains not a stationary self-motivated for the reason that nation-states’ power and capacity possibly will alter over time. In that sense, states within the worldwide system may well stand categorized into dominant powers, great powers, middle powers, and weak states/colonies. On the word of Organski, the needle fact of the beginning of a power transition period amid a by now current dominant power and a growing excessive power stays the growing power’s capability to access into 80% of the measurements of the dominant power (Örmeci et al., 2024: 3-4).

As stated by David Niebel, Organski’s power transition model conversely does occur within five varying phases. Stages one and two remain categorized by the unchanging leadership of the current situation leader. Stage three befalls when a thought-provoking power has fully-fledged and accesses into equivalence with the existing state of affairs leader. If the revisionist contestant accomplishes constant leadership and power dominance, stage four and five instigate. The system is able to continue peaceful on condition that the dominant state sustains constricted control over the global system. Organski’s theory stands repeatedly stated to as fragment of the realist tradition, nevertheless in effect, it differentiates noticeably from Realism for the methodology and specific conceptual content.

Douglas Lemke has appealed that there stand numerous weak and middle powers, nevertheless a small number of excessive and leading ones. In the final analysis, Organski's theory remains an International Relations modified or understanding of classical Modernization Theory, which measures the power distribution over the foundation of technology and economics. This theory still gives the impression applicable to comprehension of the Great Power Politics subsequently the rivalry amid giant powers comprises numerous alike matters for instance economic struggle and market portion, high technology, and artificial intelligence along with military capacity and diplomatic reach. Organski's theory stays still vigorous for the comprehension of Chinese–American struggle due to the fact that Organski himself has contended that the growth of China via its interior progress is going to stand “remarkable,” “the power of China had better sooner or later convert bigger,” and “the Western powers will realize that the most solemn risk to their rule originates from China.” (Örmeci et al., 2024: 4-6).

Hegemonic Stability Theory, in the literature; the hegemony is defined as the more superiority and dominance of one over the others. Within the context of international relations discipline, the concept of hegemony is understood as the possession of capacity by a state through several instruments headed for directing the policies of other states as well as world politics at a maximum level. Due to the fact that the balance of power in the world politics is based on inequality (in which this is further important for the Realist perspective which accepts inequalities as natural), for some thinkers, the establishment of a hegemony by one state over the others actually can contribute to the world peace and pave the way for economic progress. For instance, in the past, some empires like Ottoman Empire between 15. and 17. Centuries and also the British Empire in the 19th century have been able to reach that power and have been able to become order designers to the world politics. When many international relations scholars do define hegemony as state-centric and attach more importance on military, economic and political power, several thinkers influenced by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, examine the hegemony together with cultural dimension and soft power elements. All of the thinkers of Hegemonic Stability thinkers do agree on that a state featuring hegemon is obliged to have the intention of ruling the world politics and has to have eligibility on that issue. But the thinkers vary into three different categories concerning how this hegemony has to be. Within this context, they do examine the hegemonic administration under three different sub-headings (Örmeci et al., 2023: 426).

The Benevolent Hegemon Model occurs when the hegemonic state takes care of the balances in the world politics and attaches more importance to the systemic interests rather than its national interests. In this model, rather than threat and

power instruments, the rewarding mechanism and soft power elements are effectively and intensively used. By this way, it is tried to prevent or to minimize the use of hard power. This model can create a stability provider impact due to its paying attention to the system. Within the Mixed Hegemony Model, the hegemon state coincides its national interests with the interests of the world system and tries to defend them simultaneously. At this point, the national interests from time to time can be more important than systemic interests. But if this is not supported with enough power and persuasion, the systemic crises can cause and even the hegemonic feature of a hegemon state might be abandoned. Furthermore, in this model, both soft and hard power elements are effectively used. When we come to the Exploitative Hegemony Model, this is a system in which a hegemon state completely tries to build a politics based on its individual national interests and for achieving it does not hesitate to direct itself benefiting from hard power practices. This system sets forth a structure that ends up with the downfall of hegemonic state from its position sooner or later and always open to crises. This system which just centered on hard power elements is destined to be unsuccessful in terms of constitution of persuasion and consent system. The Hegemonic Stability Theory thinkers claim that the existence of hegemonic state is a positive thing both for world system and especially for the world economy. According to them, non-existence of a hegemon state in the world system enlarges the political chaos environment and increases the instabilities. Counter to this, in case of an existence of a hegemon state, especially if this state encourages the regimes that envisage the economic models based on open and free market economy as well as supported with the foundations of political liberalism, the world economic system can be more successful and stable. Because, the integration of economic systems might transform the political competitions between countries and societies from the ZERO-SUM GAME PARADIGM to WIN-WIN PARADIGM and therefore the political and military confrontations might be prevented. For this reason, even if the Hegemonic Stability Theory stands within the Realist School of Thought, it does approach to Liberalism/Idealism Paradigm in many senses as well (Örmeci et al., 2023:426-427).

It is observed in the security environments of the U.S. that there continues a high increase of anti-China and efforts to exclude China, the world's manufacturing centre, from the international system. Within that context, the current U.S. President Biden's preference of democracy and Idealism based approach are appearing as more important issues than international stability and this ends up with several problems in terms of global balances as well. But then again, Biden tries to act in the direction of mixed hegemony model that incorporates the American interests and global interests by advocating the such

international organizations as United Nations and international law. In recent years, there exist an increasing voluminous publication tendency over the weakening of U.S. hegemony and the growth of China in the international relations. This condition is verified by the fact of the constitution of brand-new international cooperation organizations specifically BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and Eurasian Economic Union as well as even the beginning of forming their own structures by these organizations namely Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank, BRICS Bank. In this direction, there exists a growing number of people that want a multipolar world order as well as one can mention the loud voice of them. But this situation can be a very exaggerating one. Because the standings of such countries as Russia and China for now are the initiatives that prevent and break the geopolitical initiatives of the U.S. (for example Arab Awakening Process) and they have not yet reached into the stage of order-setting. According to the famous saying of Russian President Vladimir Putin, these countries are more influential on their own near abroads. But it should be added that recently increasing of such economic initiatives of China that puts forward a global initiative namely New Silk Road or Belt and Road Initiative as well as its investments, huge trade volumes, enables Beijing come into the fore and in some regions, this approaches China into the position of order setting economically. The economic leadership of China in the world can better be understood by this example. Beijing is by now the biggest foreign trade partner of 120 countries in the world (Örmeci et al., 2023: 430).

The “power” as one of the most important concepts of international relations stands similarly as the most determinant parameter of power transition theory. As it is mentioned in the abovementioned paragraphs, the powerful state which takes place at the topmost of hierarchical power pyramid formed by Organski is named as dominant power, leading power or hegemon power. Being a hegemon power means being powerful in every aspects, possessing more capacities when compared with other great powers and also the founder of existing order. Together with this, it is necessary for the dominant power to be powerful in many senses including military, politics and economy in order to protect the status quo. Whether the protection and changing of the status quo by the states are realized by the power that they have in terms of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction. According to the G. Modelski, dominant power, leading power and or hegemon power possesses the capacity to control other states. Modelski advocates that together with the overseas imperialism, a new state has become powerful in the 100 year-cycles and then a third state has turned out to be a hegemonic power that saves him from the confrontation between the hegemon power and its challenger. The most important factor that is taken into account and attached

importance to it stands the probable hegemon state has to control oceans and seas (Şahin & Göçmen, 2022: 24).

China is challenging the U.S., as the hegemon power in the first quarter of 21st century, in economic, technologic and many fields. Beijing also wishes to increase its global dominance by connecting the far geographies via its Belt and Road Initiative from seas and land. China also wishes to provide the sustainability of its economic growth and energy security by directing itself to far geographies and seas namely Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Within that milieu, China has developed a strategy named as String of Pearl which encompasses the construction of artificial islands and renting sea bases and ports. Accompanied by this strategy, China stands by far the closest candidate that is going to replace the U.S. by increasing its power and presence in the seas within the context of theoretical frameworks of Organski and Modelski. For instance, China has firstly and solely opened its overseas military base in Djibouti. Chinese military base in Djibouti and its increasing presence in the Africa is the most important illustration of its starting to control strategic seaways just as in the cases of former imperial powers and U.S. with Belt and Road Initiative. China is also dealing with the ports located at Sea Silk Road of BRI Initiative. These ports do form the jumping stones in the Sea Pearl Strategy accompanied by artificial islands and military naval bases. The purchasing of majority shares of Greece's Piraeus Port can be exemplified within this context. Together with this, China has also close interests with the four ports of Italy including Trieste. By this way, it aims to diversify its transportation routes to Europe. Portugal stands another important destination of the BRI Initiative. The Sines Port located at here is strategically important for enabling China's accession into the Mediterranean from Gibraltar Strait. Another important port is the Gwadar Port of Pakistan. Even if this port is regarded as logistically, it can be used as a military base too and it is envisaged as the second Djibouti. China, opened into foreign investment and executing state-controlled liberal economic policies since 1978, benefits from its soft power through economic assistances, investments and partnerships to advance its relationships with other states. China advocating the idea of the solidarity of poor nations against the imperialism is attaching importance to equality with other states, mutual trust and benefit in the relations politically and also cooperation in the economy. On the other hand, China is benefiting from the raw material, natural resource, metal, mineral and fuels of the state that it provides aid in return for its investments as well as is making these other states dependent on it by the credits and assistances that it does grant (Şahin & Göçmen, 2022: 24-25).

The growth of China stands indisputably one of the key universal miracles of the contemporary era. China's remaining economic growth and operative

maneuvers within external dealings stand already noticeably shifting the dynamic forces of the Asia- Pacific area. Facts under consideration for instance whether the upcoming eras will witness even bigger enlargements within the context of Chinese impact, and how the Chinese alteration of the universal order will occur – will it upturn the contemporary order or regulate to it – have thus far remained the essential inquiries elevated by numerous researchers. The latter course encompasses the optimistic views amongst the important academics studying over the (liberal) universal order that China is able to tunefully amalgamated into the prevailing order and put off from ousting it. Such a supposition springs frequently from the active effective of standing universal establishments and pacts, along with the increasing economic interdependence. China has more and more been a party within universal establishments and many-sided arrangements; its rising grids necessitating Chinese alliance even in terms of the non-existence of substantial returns in recent years have hard-pressed China to regulate to the present world-wide rules (Yıldız, 2023: 54-55).

Here in order to better understand the discussions with regard to this issue, some noteworthy parameters of the liberal international order should be put forward. By the end of the Second World War, an international liberal order under the leadership of U.S. has begun to be shaped. Actually, in the post-1945 period, there exists no agreed complete definition on what is meant by liberal order. In this context, both its features and historical context is disputable. According to some researchers like John Mearsheimer, this order has had the chance to spread into the whole world following the official disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and its context in the previous term stands very limited. When the 1945-1991 term liberal order was mostly limited with the West, this order has been enlarged principally towards the Eastern Europe and other geographies after 1991. As stated by John Ikenberry in 2009, among the fundamental features of post-1945 liberal international order can be enlisted as openness to international investment and trade, rules-based multilateral international cooperation mechanisms, collective security organizations as well as the importance attached to democracy and human rights. Among these features when free trade and investment regime, multilateral economic and political organizations, institutions come into the forefront, how much the vitality of such features as human rights stand unclear. Among the most important institutional bodies of the order are European Union, United Nations, World Trade Organization, G20 and NATO. Undoubtedly, the main reason why this order is named as liberal remains the fact that the U.S.', as the leader of this order, having an economic system based on free market (liberal) as well as holding a liberal democratic political regime. Throughout the Cold War period, the U.S. has undertaken the guardianship of the

regime and its members in which this order was also named as free world. The Western Europe, Japan and such Anglo-Saxon originated countries as Canada and Australia have been accepted as the members of this order throughout the Cold War and in the post-Cold War world. As the Eastern European, Eastern Asian and Latin American countries have become democratized and become more integrated with the world economy, they have turned out to be parts of this order. However, the positionings of such countries as Russia and China are still unclear in terms of this order. Both of these two countries have become parts of World Trade Organization and they have been greatly in compliance with the order economically but politically except from United Nations, it cannot be claimed as parts of the liberal order. Therefore, in terms of the sustainability of liberal international order, the economic growth of the China in recent years stands a very important development. China has greatly accepted the economic rules and institutions of the order in not a complete way but it has failed to evolve into a liberal-democratic system in terms of political development (Kocadal, 2022: 106-107).

When China is one of the leading economic actors of the liberal order, its being very distant to democracy and human rights norms is very controversial and stands a very serious risk for the continuation of the order. In other words, in case of ending the confrontation between China and U.S. in favour of China, the U.S. faces with the threats of not only losing its economic superiority but also becoming unimportance/irrelevance of such values as democracy and human rights in which it has advocated them since 1945. An international order that is just based on liberal economic principles will not be a sustainable one. Because the continuation of this U.S.-led order up until now has solely been possible by the several international security responsibilities undertaken by Washington. The U.S. has military alliances with its European partners multilaterally through NATO and bilateral military alliances with numerous countries in the Asia-Pacific (Yorulmaz & Helvacıköylü, 2024: 197-217; Küçükdeğirmenci, 2024: 335-400). By this regime of alliances in which the U.S. is the dominant actor and is the party that greatly carries out its costs, Washington has constituted an international security community. This security community including the U.S. and other Western countries is also seen as the most progressive collective security system formed among the independent nation-states. According to some like Stephen Walt and Robert Kagan, the glorious/best days of the liberal international order could have stayed in the past. For instance, Donald Trump, then the president of the U.S. between 2017 and 2021, was openly opposing the free trade regime and the excessive undertaking of NATO's burden by the U.S. At that term, Trump was also known for underestimating approach to multilateralism and international

law. Even though, Trump was not elected for the second time consecutively and was replaced by pro-liberal international order Joe Biden, the anti-liberal approaches represented by Trump has found supports in the U.S. as well as it stands likely to be case in the future. In other words, the support towards this order by the American public might have a decreasing tendency. Moreover, also in several liberal democracies apart from the U.S., the populist, nationalist and anti-foreigners/xenophobic ideas are increasingly gaining grounds. We still do not know that whether or not the anti-liberal movements seen in the U.S. and other liberal countries which can be described as threat from the inner cores of the order will be temporary or permanent. Here, it should be asked that *“is the threat posed by the People’s Republic of China which is not a part of international security community as well as not possessing a democratic regime but on the other hand economically and commercially integrated with the order a temporary one?”* (Kocadal, 2022: 107).

The constrictive fauna of world-wide organizations enforces instructions and guidelines in the universal system, and such recognized applies generally setting and mark China’s movements, pouring the Chinese government into a rule-based alteration rather than it standing a rogue kind of country heading for turning out to be the hegemon power. Several officials who accepted China’s deposit to the World Trade Organization (WTO) have resisted that greater economic and trade interdependency possibly will end in valuable liberalizing fallouts. China has partaken in the WTO in 2001 with the intention of accomplishing affluence via integrating completely into the global commercial order. Since then, China, in the universal commercial order, has involved in central policy initiatives and internal policy modifications, to conform with the settings mandated by WTO membership. The primary calculations demonstrated that China has accomplished notable and valid exertions to apply its guidelines in contour with the WTO necessities. Nevertheless, fresh official and circumstantial reports validate that China’s progress into improved and further valid strategy movements, specifically within the extents of intellectual property protection, (keeping) trade secrets and cyber espionage, has freshly paused or even stimulated regressive. Also, China indulges external corporations to move know-how as an obligation for access into its markets. While American-commanded global limitations have directed China to commit on reforms, China’s commanding means on universal companies stay persistent. It seems that China’s performance in terms of its obedience stands intricate. While China frequently endures to pledge to the official basis of the global order, hitherto this represents artificial in its applications. For example, it appears legally accepted the WTO dispute resolution process, nevertheless it carries out such applications as

unnecessary antidumping examinations, with the purpose of taking mutual deed contrary to members, which disturbs the WTO universal commerce management and its standards (Yıldız, 2023: 54-55).

China has progressively hard-pressed to the restrictions of world-wide rules in the worldwide organizations, extending them in an attempt to achieve self-interested reforms. China's various arrangements have revealed that it intends in excess of simple involvement within the contemporary establishments, as an alternative espousing influential conduct to rubbish backing for a Chinese prototype that stresses variations in such organisations. Let's say, China's boldness in the direction of global economic agreements exemplifies its objectives. One is capable of observing that China has virtually changed into what can stand branded as a 'discerning heterodox power' within the global order. It selectively impulses original directions and chases incremental deviations in link with its individual benefits, as opposed to encouraging fundamental changes that is able to harm the prevailing political and economic constancy. If China perceives that its initiatives in terms of sponsoring such deviations stand not operating in its good turn, it generates and advance 'parallel institutions'. China has founded such institutions as the New Development Bank (NDB) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which have fetched with them inquiries over the prevailing universal (financial) governance. The Chinese government has correspondingly overtly publicized its purposes of escalating the world leadership role of China within the forthcoming terms. Chinese President Xi Jinping would deliver a report at the 19th National Congress of the CCP, where he has demonstrated the ambition for China to "convert into a universal leader in terms of fused countrywide strong point and global impact" at the mid-21st century. The report has demonstrated a plea to an increase of China's web of partners across the world and drawn attention to its geographically tactical motivations, for instance the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which intends to permit Beijing to watchfully organize original values for external investments autonomous from Western settings (Yıldız, 2023: 55-56).

2. The Belt and Road Initiative and Its Economic Impacts

China has long been recognized as one of the most significant nations in Asia and the world, owing to its historical roots, traditional lifestyles, contributions to civilization, and the critical role of its growing population in driving economic development. Even before the Industrial Revolution, China had established itself as a key player in trade, holding a substantial share in emerging trade hubs. However, the advent of the Industrial Revolution brought about rapid mechanization, an expansion of overseas exports, and the rise of colonial powers,

which, with their military superiority, imposed significant hegemony over the region's economies and resources. This dominance weakened China's once-prominent trade centers in global markets.

Following a period of political struggles and wars up to the 20th century, Mao Zedong officially proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Initially, the newly established state failed to achieve its desired outcomes from its economic policies. However, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the adoption of market-driven, competitive economic strategies, China began to assert its influence both militarily and economically by the late 20th century. Today, China holds a significant share of global trade volume, thanks to factors such as its large population, technological advancements, economic policies, affordable labor, and economies of scale. Rapidly advancing toward superpower status, China is now viewed as both a threat and an opportunity for cooperation, particularly in military and economic terms, by the United States (Yantur & İşeri, 2021:50).

By 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping emphasized in his remarks the importance of the Silk Road Initiative as a means to strengthen relations with Central Asian countries, expressing his intent to implement it as soon as possible. First introduced during these statements, the project aimed to expand China's trade volume via overland routes and achieve greater economic reach. The initiative was framed within a win-win approach, being hailed as a significant step toward fostering economic stability and growth in the region. Through this trade initiative, China could not only gain substantial economic leverage but also achieve a major victory in countering the global hegemony historically exerted by the United States (Çelik & Erol, 2019:33).

When examined from a historical perspective, the Belt and Road Initiative traces its roots back to the ancient Silk Road. Today, this strategy envisions establishing commercial dominance over regions such as Asia, Eastern Europe, East Africa, and the Middle East. These regions are strategically significant due to their geographical locations and their status as critical trade hubs. Achieving influence over these areas is expected to expand trade volumes and assert regional dominance. With this initiative, China seeks to increase its international trade volume and solidify its presence in global markets. This also represents a critical step toward fostering economic growth and ensuring stability.

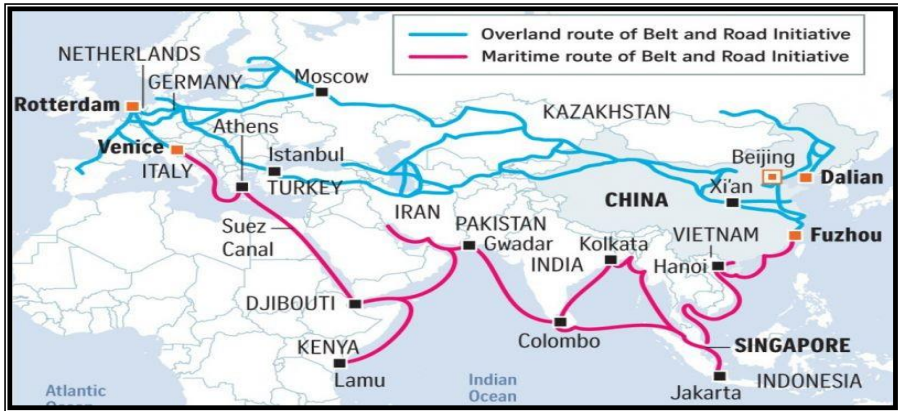


Figure 1: China’s Belt and Road Initiative

Sources: Asia Green Real Estate. (n.d.). *The Belt and Road Initiative and the rising importance of China’s western cities*. Retrieved December 4, 2024, from <https://www.asiagreen.com/en/news-insights/the-belt-and-road-initiative-and-the-rising-importance-of-china-s-western-cities>

Figure 1 illustrates the land and maritime routes of China’s Belt and Road Initiative. This project has been announced as a significant infrastructure and investment initiative aimed at enhancing China’s economic, strategic, and trade interests. China seeks to establish dominance over land and sea routes to increase trade volumes between Asia, Europe, and Africa. Through these networks, it plans to export goods both swiftly and at lower costs. The proposed routes begin in Asia and extend to major European trade hubs such as Venice and Rotterdam, enabling China to transport its manufactured goods to Europe efficiently and to gain an advantage in export volumes, contributing to its economic development.

China has also prioritized securing energy resources as part of this initiative. By incorporating countries such as Iran, Pakistan, and several in the Middle East, the project includes both land and maritime routes. Notably, Pakistan’s Gwadar Port is being developed as a strategic energy transfer hub, underscoring its importance in the energy supply chain. Additionally, the route passing through Türkiye—an essential bridge between Asia and Europe—is anticipated to benefit regional economies and employment. It is also expected to broaden trade flows between eastern and western Türkiye, fostering cultural diversity and regional integration.

The Belt and Road strategy is not solely designed to facilitate China’s global outreach; it also aims to expand economic and trade activity in inland and rural areas beyond the coastal regions. By reducing inequality and addressing regional imbalances, the initiative is expected to enhance the prosperity of the countries along the corridors (Yiwei, 2019:7-8), (Şahin & Göçmen, 2022:29).

China's Belt and Road Initiative is driven by three national objectives to protect its interests and ensure success (Lin, 2019). The first objective is to address the issue of overcapacity by transferring surplus production, particularly value-added goods, to other countries. The second objective focuses on converting excess production and capital into profitable investments. The third goal is to increase domestic employment rates. The construction of factories, bridges, and infrastructure as part of the Belt and Road Initiative is anticipated to play a critical role in reducing unemployment. Additionally, economically weaker countries are likely to benefit from accessing China's affordable labor and redirecting their focus toward Chinese goods. This, in turn, is expected to provide significant economic advantages to China by bolstering its export activities and strengthening its influence in global markets (Tokatlı, 2023:292).

Moreover, China, which continues to expand its trade volume with each passing day, has taken significant steps toward the internationalization of its currency, the Yuan, in global financial markets. To increase the usage of the Yuan in international markets, the People's Bank of China has established bilateral currency swap agreements with various central banks. Through these agreements, the Yuan becomes a medium of exchange between central banks, facilitating its integration into international financial transactions (Tokatlı, 2023:290). One such mechanism is swap agreements. These contracts enable the exchange of cash flows or liabilities between central banks or other parties over a specified period. Through swap agreements, the value of a financial asset can be transferred and utilized in another financial market, facilitating broader liquidity and access to capital (Bayri, 2023:13). Through these transactions, the People's Bank of China achieves two key objectives: fulfilling obligations effectively and facilitating the use of its currency, the Yuan, in international markets. This approach strengthens the Yuan's position as a trade and financial instrument on a global scale.

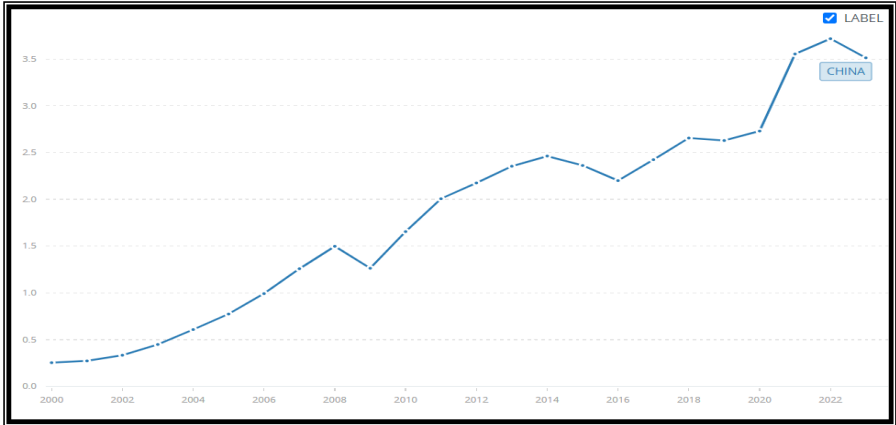


Figure 2: Export Volumes of Goods and Services (Current USD)-China

Sources: Data from World Bank,

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.EXP.GNFS.CD>

Figure 2 depicts the total value of goods and services exports from China, expressed in US dollars, over specific years. While the exported goods may include items such as technology and textiles, service exports cover areas like tourism and transportation. Current prices are determined based on the inflation rates and exchange rate fluctuations of the respective year. This data not only reflect a country’s trade performance but also provide insights into its role and position in global markets. Between 2000 and 2008, China's export figures for goods and services demonstrated a significant upward trend. This growth is attributed to China’s accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, which facilitated a substantial increase in global trade volumes. However, the global financial crisis of 2008 led to a contraction in export volumes between 2008 and 2009, highlighting the interconnectedness of China’s economy with the global economic environment.

Following the crisis, China achieved remarkable success in increasing its export volumes between 2010 and 2014, resulting in an upward trajectory in the graph. This recovery played a crucial role in the rapid revitalization of the Chinese economy. However, from 2015 to 2016, export levels experienced stagnation and even a decline. This slowdown negatively affected China's expansionist trade strategy and was partly attributed to structural reforms undertaken to shift its growth model toward a more sustainable economic framework.

By 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic, which originated in Wuhan, China, profoundly impacted global trade. The pandemic, coupled with heightened tensions stemming from the United States’ accusations against China, caused a sharp decline in export volumes globally, including in China. Nevertheless,

leveraging its robust supply chains and recovering global demand, China managed to reverse the negative trend in its export figures, demonstrating resilience and adaptability in the face of global challenges.

3. US-China Relations and Their Economic Implications

At the core of economics lies the principle that resources are limited, while human desires are infinite, necessitating the most efficient use of available resources. Countries can achieve significant advantages in economic growth only by producing high value-added goods and exporting them. The continuous advancements in technology, along with the globalization of economies and financial markets, compel nations to adapt to an increasingly competitive environment. Today, it is evident that countries unable to adapt to this process lose their influence in international markets and face economic instability.

During the era of geographical discoveries, Eastern empires played a pivotal role in the international system due to their economic wealth and dominance over trade routes. In contrast, the new geographic regions discovered by Western states brought about new sources of wealth and trade zones. This shift resulted in the decline of Eastern empires and the rise of Western powers. Particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War, the United States emerged as a global leader both economically and politically through its involvement in international economic cooperation and political alliances (Çelik & Erol, 2019:13).

The economic relationship between the United States and China began in the second half of the 18th century and has persisted to the present day. Global disruptions in supply chains, rising inflation, and other economic challenges have deeply impacted economies worldwide. Amid these issues, a major development occurred in 2018 when then-US President Donald Trump initiated a trade war by imposing a 25% additional tariff on certain Chinese products, targeting \$34 billion worth of trade. With this move, Trump aimed to reduce imports, expand domestic employment, and curb China's growing dominance in the trade arena against the US. In retaliation, China imposed a reciprocal 25% tariff on certain US-origin products, also worth \$34 billion, thereby accelerating the trade conflict. Trump and his administration framed these additional tariffs as a strategic measure to reduce the trade deficit, boost the local economy, and counter China's escalating exports. This step effectively labeled China as an economic adversary. Trump further emphasized that the US, which runs a \$400 billion trade deficit with China, could not accept such an imbalance with its second-largest trading partner after the European Union. The onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, which originated in China, escalated tensions further in 2020, with the US intensifying both the trade war and political confrontations. However, according

to research by Moody's, the trade war had adverse consequences for the US economy, leading to approximately 300,000 job losses as of September 2019. Studies by Columbia University and the Federal Reserve also highlighted that US companies suffered a \$1.7 trillion loss in stock market value during this period (Al & Kaya, 2022:1372-1399).

As the data indicates, the tariffs imposed by the United States on China have led to numerous adverse economic consequences. Unemployment rates have risen, and many companies have experienced significant losses in stock market value. However, these outcomes are not solely attributable to changes in tariff rates. An equally critical factor is China's ability to leverage its growing population and low-cost labor advantage, enabling many countries to produce their goods in China at significantly lower costs. This dynamic has considerably constrained the US's ability to compete with China. Additionally, it is widely recognized that many US-based companies operate assembly lines in China. Tesla and Apple are just two prominent examples. Despite having assembly or component manufacturing operations in China or other countries, such firms contribute substantially to the US economy through the high value-added products they create. These products play a vital role in fostering economic growth in the United States, underscoring the interconnected nature of global production and trade networks.

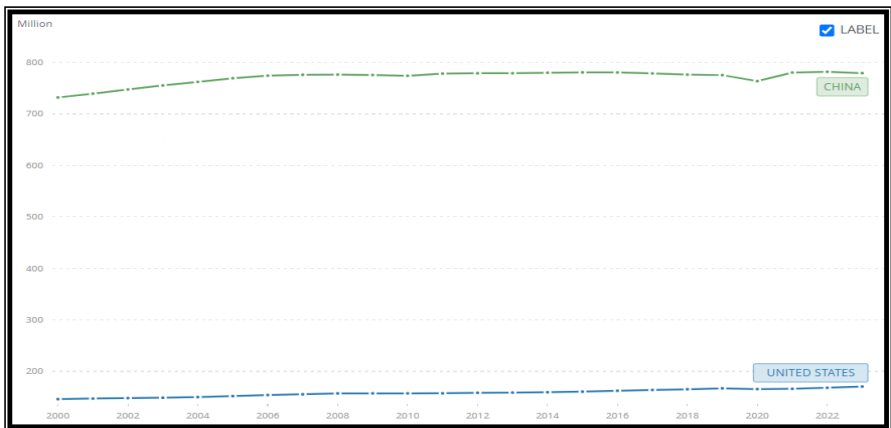


Figure 3: Total Labor Force U.S. vs. China (2000-2023)

Source: Data from World Bank

Figure 3 illustrates the year-by-year changes in the total workforce sizes of the United States and China. According to the graph, China's workforce stood at approximately 732 million in the early 2000s and showed consistent growth until 2008. Although there were gradual declines in total workforce numbers during 2010 and 2020, these were followed by a steady recovery and growth. These fluctuations can be attributed to the negative effects of the global economic crisis

in 2010 and the COVID-19 pandemic, which began in China in 2020. By 2023, China's total workforce exceeded 779 million.

On the other hand, the United States' total workforce was approximately 146 million in 2000 and has since exhibited slow but steady growth. By 2023, the US workforce had surpassed 170.5 million. The consistent increase in the US workforce can be linked to the country's population growth rate as well as its immigration policies. When comparing the workforce sizes of the two countries, China's workforce is approximately five times larger than that of the United States. However, future changes in China's population growth rates and shifts in US immigration policies could directly influence the workforce sizes of both countries, potentially introducing a new dimension to their commercial competition.

CONCLUSION

China, as a state with a culturally ancient heritage, adopted the philosophy of communism and a closed economic model, positioning itself as a self-sufficient nation. However, this approach left China isolated among Asian countries. By 1978, China decided to transition to an open economy and adopt outward-oriented policies to maintain and strengthen its economic independence and diplomatic standing with other nations. In 2013, under the leadership of Xi Jinping and his team, the Belt and Road Initiative was announced. This initiative aimed to expand China's goods and services across a vast geographical area, from regional countries to Europe, through both land and maritime routes.

Within the book termed as "The Future is Asian" inscribed by renowned Indian-originated American thinker Parag Khanna, the 19th century remained observed as Europeanized world while in the 20th, the identical pattern would be transformed into the Americanized world. In this course, Khanna does envision that the 21st century's world politics and economy will stand subjugated by the Asian continent and that century stands going to be Asianized. When it stands measured for the Asian politics, the most important political spectacle unquestionably represents the swift development of the People's Republic of China in the previous decades. Consequently, the central question that stays anticipated to lead in the direction of the 21st century's world politics and international order stands going to be the power skirmish in consort with geopolitical rivalry that has been happening to practice amid Beijing and Washington. As Şerafettin Yilmaz and Wang Xiangyu have created, the *"dominant power would have no incentives for dissatisfaction so long as it remains preponderant and the challenger does not show any tendency, along with actual capacity, to overthrow the existing order."* In that logic, it stands extremely

doubtful whether the Chinese line to universal matters and towards the U.S. might result in any discontent in the U.S. owing to the fact that the Chinese political system along with the Sino culture stays very local-adapted to and rigid to disseminate externally. Nevertheless, it stands thought-provoking to catch on that the growth of China stays not at all an embellishment and, on numerous stages, the state of affairs of China remains either better or closer to the United States, the principal nation state of the world. Meanwhile one of the significant values in Organski's theory remains that a power transition process may perhaps begin when the contestant is able to reach 80% of the dominant's power capabilities, we can claim that the transition period has already started.

When it is examined in terms of Hegemonic Stability Theory, it basically focuses on the demand and eligibility of a hegemonic state to govern the international order. Within that context, the U.S. is still the single state in the world. The U.S.'s being the number one contributor to the U.N. budget stands the concrete proof of this situation. In that manner, the U.S. should continue to promote democracy and it should try to include other states towards the global trade and should keep them inside in the name of providing the continuity of the global order. Because as it is known from the most basic economic theories, the globalization of trade is at the beginning in favour of whole actors especially for consumers and also enables the reaching of qualified products in a cheap way. This results in being economically better of the people and forms the basis towards the protection existing international order. When it is examined from this perspective, the U.S. should try to keep China within the international system and should direct to the trade. This will help Beijing to stay more linked with the international system as well as stay a responsible an international actor respecting to rules. Counter to such mega economic projects by China namely Belt and Road Initiative, Washington should develop new Marshall Plan-type plans. The Global Gateway Project developed by the European Union can be a good example for the U.S.

It will be dangerous that the preference of harming policies toward the international system by Washington stemming from the fact that the concern of U.S. over its economically surpassing by China will be harmful for both its global leadership and system. As it is envisaged by the famous American political scientist Joseph Nye in previous years and when it is thought that the China has four times populated than the U.S., it should not be commented that the China will surpass the U.S. in terms of GDP or will be a more advanced country. Therefore, the U.S. will be the world leader for many years. In that context, as the liberalization and marketization of China stands a good development for the

stability of global system, it will be a better and more right thing for the U.S. to support this phenomenon.

When it is considered from the abovementioned assumptions, Belt and Road Initiative, China has sought to increase its production capacity and establish economic dominance by exporting its goods to international markets, leveraging both port infrastructure and railway networks in various countries. While primarily an economic development strategy, this initiative also represented a significant step towards achieving political and geopolitical influence. Additionally, as China exports its products to nearly every corner of the world, it would be able to secure the raw materials and energy resources necessary for a robust supply chain along the same routes, ensuring both security and cost efficiency.

China initiated diplomatic relations with the United States on the international stage in 1971. However, despite their close economic, trade, and political ties, the two nations remain fierce competitors in various arenas. As the world's preeminent superpower, the United States has become increasingly resistant to China's rapid economic growth, particularly over the past decade. Nonetheless, many American companies, most notably Tesla and Apple, continue to expand their manufacturing activities in China, taking advantage of its large population and low labor costs. While the United States engages in trade wars with China, completely rejecting China as a major trade partner or imposing a full embargo is economically unfeasible, given China's indispensable role as a key player in global supply chains.

When examining the total labor force figures between the United States and China, it becomes evident that China holds nearly a fivefold advantage. However, when comparing per capita income, the United States clearly demonstrates its superiority. One of the primary reasons for this disparity lies in China's reliance on its population advantage, which, when Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is divided by population, limits its competitiveness in terms of per capita income. Nevertheless, research indicates that both the United States and China must maintain diplomatic relations and expand their trade volumes to preserve their respective economic dominance. The evolving diplomatic and trade policies of these two nations are likely to open new avenues for future research.

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Chapter 5

Exploring Gender Gaps in Labor Force Participation in Türkiye: A Decomposition Approach¹

Serkan DEĞİRMENCİ²

¹ This study is derived from the author's master thesis titled "*A Decomposition Analysis of Labor Force Participation Trends in Turkey: 1988-2006*" supervised by Prof. Dr. İpek İlkkaracan Ajas.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the gender gap in labor force participation (LFP) in Turkey from 1988 to 2006, using decomposition techniques to analyze the evolving trends and underlying factors. Despite periods of economic growth, Turkey's LFP rates have remained persistently low, with significant disparities between male and female participation. The analysis utilizes microdata from the Household Labor Force Surveys (HLFS) to distinguish between the effects of observable characteristics (such as age, education, and urbanization) and unobservable factors (such as gender norms and household roles). The study employs an extended version of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition method adapted for non-linear models, specifically the logit and probit models, to dissect the contributions of these factors to the gender gap in LFP. Findings reveal that while changes in educational attainment and demographic shifts have contributed to narrowing the gap, structural factors such as marriage, household composition, and traditional gender roles continue to exert significant influence. The results highlight the need for targeted policies that address these structural barriers, with particular emphasis on improving support systems for women, such as access to childcare and flexible work arrangements. This research contributes to the broader discourse on labor market disparities in developing economies, offering insights into the complex interplay of economic, societal, and demographic factors shaping labor force participation.

Keywords: Labor Force Participation, Gender Gap, Decomposition Analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

Türkiye's labor market has experienced substantial transformations over recent decades, marked by demographic shifts, urbanization, and economic restructuring. These changes have brought about significant challenges, particularly in terms of labor force participation (LFP). Despite periods of robust economic growth, Türkiye's LFP rates have remained persistently low, with pronounced disparities among various population groups, especially women and youth. This underperformance in labor market participation poses critical questions about the underlying factors and calls for a deeper investigation into the structural dynamics shaping these trends.

The complexity of Türkiye's labor market challenges lies in the interplay of economic, demographic, and societal factors. On one hand, observable characteristics such as rising educational attainment, shifting age distributions, and urban migration have influenced LFP patterns. On the other hand, unobservable factors like cultural norms, gender roles, and structural inequalities continue to constrain participation, particularly for women and younger individuals. Addressing these issues requires a nuanced approach that not only identifies the factors influencing LFP but also examines how their impact has evolved over time.

This study focuses on the decomposition analysis of LFP trends in Türkiye between 1988 and 2006. By leveraging microdata from the Household Labor Force Surveys (HLFS), it dissects the changes in participation rates to distinguish between shifts attributable to observable characteristics—such as education, age, and residence—and those arising from unobservable factors, including societal norms and structural constraints. Decomposition techniques offer a powerful analytical tool to separate these influences and provide a detailed understanding of how and why participation patterns have changed across different population groups.

The decomposition methodology employed in this study offers a dual perspective. First, it evaluates the impact of changes in endowments, or the observable characteristics of the population, such as shifts in educational attainment, age structure, and urbanization. These endowment effects capture the extent to which changes in these characteristics have driven variations in LFP. Second, it examines coefficient effects, which reflect how the returns or influence of these characteristics on LFP have evolved over time. Coefficient effects often point to deeper structural or societal changes, such as shifting gender norms, labor market policies, or economic incentives. By disentangling these two components, the analysis provides a comprehensive picture of the drivers behind Türkiye's LFP trends.

This approach is particularly relevant for understanding the gendered dynamics of Türkiye's labor market. Female LFP has remained consistently low compared to male participation, reflecting deeply ingrained societal and structural barriers. While educational attainment among women has improved significantly over the study period, this has not translated into commensurate gains in labor market participation. Decomposition analysis highlights the extent to which these disparities are driven by differences in observable characteristics versus unobservable factors, such as discriminatory practices, occupational segregation, or the lack of supportive policies for working women.

Similarly, the analysis sheds light on the challenges faced by youth in integrating into the labor market. While increased schooling years have deferred labor force entry for many young individuals, the coefficient effects reveal that the transition from education to employment has become increasingly difficult. This reflects structural mismatches in the labor market, where the demand for skilled labor has not kept pace with the growing supply of educated youth.

In addition to gender and youth, this study explores rural-urban disparities in LFP. The migration of rural populations to urban areas has brought about significant shifts in labor market dynamics. For women, this transition has often resulted in reduced participation rates, as traditional roles in unpaid agricultural labor are not easily replaced by equivalent opportunities in urban settings. For men, urbanization has generally been accompanied by better employment prospects, but challenges remain, particularly in ensuring sustainable job creation and decent work conditions.

The insights gained from decomposition analysis are crucial for informing policy interventions. By identifying the specific drivers of LFP changes, policymakers can design more targeted strategies to address structural barriers and enhance participation. For instance, policies aimed at improving women's access to childcare, promoting flexible work arrangements, and addressing occupational segregation could help bridge the gender gap in labor force participation. Similarly, initiatives to facilitate school-to-work transitions, such as internships, apprenticeships, and vocational training programs, could support youth employment.

This chapter underscores the importance of using decomposition techniques to analyze labor market dynamics comprehensively. Traditional descriptive statistics, while informative, often fail to capture the underlying mechanisms driving observed trends. Decomposition analysis fills this gap by providing a more nuanced understanding of the factors shaping LFP patterns. By focusing on these methods, this study aims to bridge the gap in understanding the structural

and societal influences shaping Türkiye's labor market and offers a foundation for designing effective, evidence-based interventions.

In summary, the decomposition analysis presented in this chapter provides a detailed examination of Türkiye's LFP trends between 1988 and 2006. By separating the effects of observable characteristics from unobservable factors, the study offers critical insights into the drivers of participation disparities across different population groups. This approach not only enhances our understanding of Türkiye's labor market dynamics but also contributes to the broader discourse on labor force participation in developing economies, where similar structural and societal challenges often persist.

2. LITERATURE SURVEY

Decomposition analysis has become a vital methodological tool in economics, used to uncover the sources of variation in dependent variables by disentangling the effects of observable characteristics and behavioral responses. Initially introduced by Blinder and Oaxaca (1973) for linear models, this method has since evolved to address non-linear frameworks, broadening its scope and utility in economic research. This section reviews key theoretical and empirical advancements, with a focus on labor force participation, highlighting how decomposition techniques illuminate underlying trends and inform policy interventions.

The foundational Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition remains central to analyzing wage differentials in linear models. Extending this framework, Yun (2000) introduced a methodology for binary choice models, utilizing the probit model to attribute differences in probabilities between groups to variations in characteristics or coefficients (behavioral responses). Through a first-order Taylor expansion, Yun's approach has proven useful for addressing critical research questions, such as disparities in labor market participation by race or gender.

Yun (2004) further generalized this methodology, allowing decompositions of differences in the first moment (mean) across a range of non-linear functions. This extension, which accommodates aggregate and detailed decompositions, positioned the standard Blinder-Oaxaca model as a special case, bridging linear and non-linear methodologies.

Empirical studies have demonstrated the power of decomposition analysis in exploring labor force participation dynamics. Yun's methodology has informed key research, including Hotchkiss (2006), who analyzed female labor force participation in the U.S. from 1975 to 2005. Her findings revealed that declines in participation rates were driven by changes in characteristics, behaviors, and

unobserved factors, with the latter playing the most significant role. Hotchkiss emphasized the importance of disentangling these effects to guide policy aimed at addressing labor market trends and productivity.

Expanding on this tradition, Contreas et al. (2008) used Yun's framework to study Chile's low labor force participation rates, particularly among women and youth. Their work highlighted rising participation among prime-age women from 1990 to 2003, driven largely by improvements in educational attainment. However, barriers such as limited access to childcare constrained further growth, particularly for mothers with young children. For youth, rising school enrollment reduced male participation, while modest gains in female participation were attributed to urban residency and educational achievements. The decomposition analysis also revealed regional and demographic variations, underscoring the need for targeted policy interventions, such as flexible labor codes and expanded childcare access.

Regional disparities in labor force participation have been another focus of decomposition analysis. Kilkenny and Huffman (2003) explored differences between rural and urban labor market behaviors in the U.S. Midwest, emphasizing how demographics, household composition, and local labor market conditions shape participation. Their study revealed that rural (non-metro) populations are more likely to participate in the labor force but less likely to rely on welfare compared to their urban (metro) counterparts. Using a bivariate binomial probit model and Oaxaca decomposition, they attributed these differences primarily to demographic factors rather than behavioral variations.

Their findings challenge stereotypes about urban work ethics and demonstrate that even spatially neutral policies can produce divergent local effects. This underscores the importance of considering regional contexts in policy design, as factors like life-cycle behavior and access to opportunities vary significantly across rural and urban areas.

The evolution of decomposition analysis, from its linear origins to its application in complex non-linear settings, highlights its critical role in economic research. Studies by Yun, Hotchkiss, Contreas et al., and Kilkenny and Huffman showcase the versatility of this methodology in uncovering the drivers of labor market participation across diverse contexts. These insights are invaluable for policymakers, offering a nuanced understanding of how characteristics, behaviors, and unobservables interact to shape economic outcomes. However, the persistent influence of unobservable factors presents challenges for policy interventions, emphasizing the need for innovative approaches to address labor market disparities and foster inclusive growth.

In analyzing labor force participation (LFP) movements, various studies focus on different factors such as gender, location, and structural socio-demographic backgrounds.

A study by Contreras et al. (2008), following the methodology proposed by Yun (2004), highlights the low labor force participation in Chile, particularly among women and youths, compared to other OECD countries. Their analysis shows that female labor force participation has risen steadily over time, especially for prime-age and older individuals, while youth participation has decreased, primarily due to rising school enrollment. The authors recommend policies aimed at removing labor code provisions that limit working time and improving access to child care, as well as fostering human capital accumulation. They conduct probit regression and decomposition analysis for the years 1990, 1996, and 2003 to identify key determinants of labor force participation, finding significant influences from educational attainment, age, and the number of children in households, especially among females.

Kilkenny and Huffman (2003) examine labor force participation in rural and urban areas of the U.S., finding that the rural poor have higher participation rates and lower welfare program participation than their urban counterparts. They employ a bivariate binomial probit model and an Oaxaca decomposition to show that regional differences in labor force participation are influenced by household composition, labor market conditions, and state-specific regulations.

Juhn and Peter (2006) focus on labor force participation in the U.S. from the mid-1960s to the 2000s, analyzing demographic shifts, such as the aging of the baby boom cohort and the changing participation rates of prime-age workers. They decompose changes in labor force participation into shifts in population weights and subgroup participation rates. Their work emphasizes the importance of understanding participation behavior for economic growth and labor market conditions.

Brusentsev (2002) investigates cross-national variations in married women's labor force participation in Australia, Canada, and the U.S., using data from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS). The study confirms that differences in participation can be explained by both country-specific characteristics and responses to these characteristics. The findings suggest that national policies significantly influence married women's decisions to participate in the labor force.

Euwals et al. (2007) analyze the increase in female labor force participation in the Netherlands over successive generations. Their decomposition analysis, based on a binary age-period-cohort model, suggests that increasing educational attainment, a diminishing negative effect of children, and unobserved cohort

effects (such as changing societal norms) played crucial roles in female participation growth. They also discuss future scenarios for participation trends, highlighting that future growth will depend on evolving attitudes toward balancing paid work and family responsibilities.

Aaronson et al. (2006) examine whether the decline in U.S. labor force participation since 2000 is cyclical or structural. Their findings suggest that the decline may reflect structural changes in the labor market rather than temporary economic downturns, emphasizing the need to consider demographic shifts, human capital trends, and family structures when analyzing participation dynamics.

Together, these studies employ various decomposition techniques to uncover the factors driving labor force participation trends. Some focus on gender or regional bases, while others consider time effects or cohort-specific factors. The goal is to understand the dynamics of labor force participation and to identify the key influences that contribute to observed trends. This paper aims to investigate the sources of labor force participation differentials, particularly focusing on gender-based disparities over time.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes microdata from the 1988, 2000, and 2006 Household Labor Force Surveys (HLFS) conducted by TURKSTAT. These datasets are critical for analyzing labor force participation trends over time.

The 1988 HLFS, conducted in October, marks the first nationwide survey meeting ILO standards. It includes data from 102,062 individuals across 22,320 households, making it a suitable baseline for comparison with subsequent surveys.

The 2000 HLFS serves as a midpoint in the analysis, bridging the labor force trends of the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s. While data from the 1990s is unavailable, the 2000 survey offers insights into a period of economic growth driven by financial liberalization. Conducted with 288,735 individuals in 74,368 households, the 2000 HLFS also provides comparability with the 2006 data. However, a notable limitation is the absence of regional variables, necessitating separate regression analyses with and without regional factors to assess their impact.

The 2006 HLFS represents the terminal year for this study's long-run analysis. Collected from 497,137 individuals in 129,527 households, it reflects the labor market effects of the economic crises of the early 2000s, including persistent high unemployment rates. Additionally, as the most recent survey available at the start of this research, it provides a contemporary perspective on labor force dynamics.

To conduct clear and focused empirical analyses, this study defines its scope through specific subsamples. Initially, the entire working-age population is considered for the 1988, 2000, and 2006 datasets. The working-age definition differs slightly across years: 12 years and older for 1988, and 15 years and older for 2000 and 2006. This group accounts for 70.4%, 71.3%, and 71.7% of the respective datasets.

A second subsample narrows the focus to the urban working-age population, reflecting the urbanization trends in Türkiye. Urban residents constituted 52.4%, 70.3%, and 62.9% of the populations in the 1988, 2000, and 2006 datasets, respectively.

Both subsamples are further disaggregated by gender to enable a detailed analysis of labor force dynamics. Thus, the final subsamples are:

- The entire working-age population (rural and urban, male and female).
- Working-age males and females living in urban areas.

Table 1 provides an overview of the sample and subsample sizes for each dataset. The distribution of subsamples remains consistent across the years analyzed.

The urban subsample highlights significant trends in labor force participation over the study years. In the 1988 HLFS, 44,627 urban adults aged 12 and above were surveyed, of whom 44.4% (19,814) participated in the labor force. Among these participants, 80.4% were male, while females constituted only 19.6%. The remaining 24,813 individuals were non-participants. By 2000, the number of urban adults aged 15 and above increased to 156,326, with 40.9% (64,060) participating in the labor force. Males dominated the participant group, comprising 80%, whereas 73.5% of non-participants (92,266) were female. In the 2006 HLFS, urban adults made up 48.1% of the sample, and 45.8% were labor force participants. Gender disparities persisted, with 74.2% of participants being male and 74.1% of non-participants being female. These findings underscore a consistent pattern of male-dominated participation in the labor force and a disproportionately higher rate of non-participation among women in urban areas.

Table 1. Sample and subsample sizes, 1988-2000-2006 HLFS

	1988 HLFS				2000 HLFS				2006 HLFS			
	All Sample		12+		All Sample		15+		All Sample		15+	
	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%	Level	%
Total	102.062	100	71.894	100	288.735	100	205.833	100	497.137	100	356.390	100
Male	50.701	49,7	35.116	48,8	142.576	49,4	99.448	48,3	242.310	48,7	169.483	47,6
Rural	19.673	19,3	13.327	18,5	35.722	12,4	23.822	11,6	80.480	16,2	54.701	15,4
Urban	31.028	30,4	21.789	30,3	106.854	37,0	75.626	36,7	161.830	32,5	114.782	32,2
Female	51.361	50,3	36.778	51,2	146.159	50,6	106.385	51,7	254.827	51,3	186.907	52,4
Rural	19.800	19,4	13.940	19,4	36.227	12,5	25.685	12,5	87.346	17,6	62.722	17,6
Urban	31.561	30,9	22.838	31,8	109.932	38,1	80.700	39,2	167.481	33,7	124.185	34,8

Source: TURKSTAT (1988, 2000, 2006 HLFS micro data)

This chapter employs an extended version of the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition technique, adapted for non-linear models such as logit and probit, to analyze the gender gap in labor force participation. Originally proposed by Fairlie (1999) and expanded in Fairlie (2003), this method decomposes differences in binary outcome variables between groups into components attributable to differences in observed characteristics and coefficients. For non-linear equations, the technique incorporates the cumulative distribution function of the logistic or standard normal distribution, depending on whether a logit or probit model is used.

The decomposition can be calculated using multiple approaches, including weighting terms with pooled or group-specific coefficient estimates, as discussed by Oaxaca and Ransom (1994) and Neumark (1988). Each method introduces sensitivity to reference group selection, necessitating consideration of alternative specifications. The contribution of individual variables to the gender gap is derived by isolating changes in predicted probabilities when distributions of independent variables for one group are replaced by those of the other, while holding all else constant. The method ensures that the sum of these contributions equals the total explained difference.

Fairlie's technique also addresses challenges posed by unequal sample sizes between groups through ranked one-to-one matching, drawing random subsamples, and generating decomposition estimates via iterative replications. The analysis uses STATA 10, applying 100 replications for robustness. This methodology enables a detailed exploration of gender disparities in labor force participation while addressing inherent complexities in non-linear models.

4. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The decomposition analysis for urban adult males and females in the 1988, 2000, and 2006 HLFS datasets reveals evolving trends in the gender participation gap in labor force participation (LFP). As shown in Table 2, the proportion of the explained difference in the gender gap was 9.3% in 1988, declining to 4.9% in 2000, and slightly increasing to 5.9% in 2006. The inclusion of 2000 data ensures continuity in analysis and comparability of results over time.

From 1988 to 2006, the contributions of various factors to the explained portion of the gender gap shifted notably. Coefficients from the decomposition are categorized as either widening or narrowing the gap, depending on their signs. For age variables, coefficients for younger age groups (below 35) were negative, indicating that females in these age groups had higher predicted participation probabilities than males. Factors such as a higher likelihood of continuing education and mandatory military service reduced male participation, while unmarried status and limited educational continuation among females helped narrow the gap. However, for prime working ages, positive coefficients suggest that the gender gap widened due to lower female retention in the labor market.

Education levels also played a critical role. Most education-related coefficients were negative, meaning higher levels of education reduced the gender participation gap. Nonetheless, from 1988 to 2006, these improvements diminished, reflecting a slowing impact of education on narrowing the gap.

Household characteristics exhibited similar patterns. Marriage consistently widened the gap, with its effect peaking in 2000 before declining by 2006. Other household factors, such as being the household head, the presence of children under 14, and larger household sizes, followed similar trajectories, initially broadening the gap but at diminishing rates over time.

Overall, while some variables contributed to narrowing the gap, structural factors—particularly those linked to age, education, and household roles—persisted in sustaining disparities, albeit with variations in their intensity across the years.

Table 2. Decomposition by sex (1988, 2000 and 2006)

	Variables	1988	2000	2006
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS	ageW_19	-0,0621 (0,0101)***	-0,0378 (0,0031)***	-0,0374 (0,0016)***
	age20_24	0,0028 (0,0013)*	-0,0123 (0,0005)***	-0,0087 (0,0002)***
	age25_29	-0,0038 (0,0013)**	-0,0088 (0,0003)***	-0,0138 (0,0002)***
	age30_34	-0,0016 (0,0010)	-0,0040 (0,0004)***	-0,0101 (0,0002)***
	age35_39	0,0126 (0,0021)***	0,0165 (0,0010)***	0,0114 (0,0003)***
	age40_44	0,0121 (0,0017)***	0,0183 (0,0010)***	0,0199 (0,0004)***
	age45_49	0,0067 (0,0008)***	0,0046 (0,0002)***	0,0079 (0,0003)***
	age50_54	0,0100 (0,0012)***	0,0070 (0,0005)***	0,0063 (0,0002)***
	age55_59	0,0049 (0,0008)***	0,0027 (0,0003)***	0,0067 (0,0004)***
	age60_64	0,0014 (0,0007)*	0,0009 (0,0003)***	0,0030 (0,0003)***
	literatewithoutdiploma	0,0002 (0,0001)**	0,0007 (0,0001)***	0,0015 (0,0002)***
	primarysch	-0,0035 (0,0004)***	-0,0004 (0,0001)***	-0,0001 (0,0000)
	secondarysch	-0,0051 (0,0004)***	-0,0043 (0,0002)***	-0,0054 (0,0002)***
	highsch	-0,0035 (0,0001)***	-0,0056 (0,0001)***	-0,0021 (0,0001)***
	occuphighsch	-0,0073 (0,0003)***	-0,0070 (0,0002)***	-0,0075 (0,0002)***
	univ	-0,0215 (0,0006)***	-0,0155 (0,0003)***	-0,0172 (0,0003)***

Table 2 (contd.) Decomposition by sex (1988, 2000 and 2006)

	Variables	1988	2000	2006
HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS	married	0,0166 (0,0015)***	0,0179 (0,0007)***	0,0083 (0,0004)***
	hhhead	-0,0123 (0,0064)	0,0010 (0,0030)	0,0072 (0,0024)***
	phhchildren0_14	0,0009 (0,0002)***	0,0005 (0,0001)***	0,0007 (0,0001)***
	hhsiz	0,0006 (0,0002)**	0,0005 (0,0001)***	0,0009 (0,0001)***
	Number of Observations	44.627	156.326	238.967
	N of Obs G=0	22.838	80.700	124.185
	N of Obs G=1	21.789	75.626	114.782
	Pr(Y!=0 G=0)	0,1702	0,1595	0,2279
	Pr(Y!=0 G=1)	0,7309	0,6769	0,7080
	Difference	-0,5607	-0,5174	-0,4801
	Total Explained	-0,0521	-0,0252	-0,0284

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study has employed decomposition analysis to investigate the dynamics of labor force participation (LFP) in Türkiye between 1988 and 2006, with a specific focus on gender-based disparities. The findings highlight a complex interplay of observable and unobservable factors driving LFP trends, with notable shifts in the contributions of various factors over time. By using microdata from the Household Labor Force Surveys (HLFS), this research has not only illustrated the persistence of gender disparities in LFP but also shed light on the evolving role of demographic, educational, and household factors in shaping these trends.

The decomposition analysis revealed that, although improvements in educational attainment and demographic factors such as age have worked to reduce the gender participation gap, structural barriers remain deeply entrenched. Female LFP, while increasing over time, continues to be hindered by factors such as marriage, household responsibilities, and limited access to supportive labor

market policies. Education, which could be expected to play a larger role in narrowing the gap, showed diminishing returns in this respect. This suggests that while more women are attaining higher education, this has not fully translated into sustained participation in the labor market, a finding that points to the need for targeted policies addressing the transition from education to employment, especially for women.

The study also emphasized the role of urbanization in shaping LFP trends. For men, urban migration generally led to higher participation rates, yet for women, the move to urban areas often resulted in a decline in participation, reflecting the difficulty in translating traditional roles in rural, unpaid agricultural labor into equivalent opportunities in urban settings. This rural-urban divide highlights the broader structural challenges within the Turkish labor market, where economic opportunities are not evenly distributed across regions, further exacerbating gendered disparities.

Moreover, the analysis of household characteristics demonstrated the persistent influence of family roles, particularly marriage and child-rearing, in shaping LFP patterns. While the impact of these factors on women's participation has declined over time, they continue to contribute to the widening gender gap, suggesting that policies aimed at reducing the caregiving burden—such as improving access to affordable childcare or promoting flexible working arrangements—could help mitigate these challenges.

In conclusion, the decomposition analysis offers critical insights into the structural and societal forces that continue to shape Türkiye's labor market. While there have been improvements in educational attainment and a gradual narrowing of the gender gap in some areas, deep-rooted societal norms, economic structures, and family dynamics persist as significant barriers. These findings underscore the need for policy interventions that address not only the supply-side factors, such as education and training, but also the demand-side issues, including labor market flexibility, support for working families, and efforts to challenge gender norms. By fostering a more inclusive and supportive labor market, Türkiye can move closer to achieving higher and more equitable labor force participation for all demographic groups, particularly women and youth. This study contributes to the broader discourse on labor market participation in developing economies, offering lessons for countries grappling with similar challenges of gender and regional disparities in their labor markets.

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Chapter 6

Chatbots and AI-Powered Customer Service: Utilization and Impacts in E-Commerce

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Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Historical Evolution of Chatbots in E-Commerce

The utilization of chatbots in e-commerce has witnessed a significant evolution over the years. Initially, chatbots were simplistic in nature, primarily used for basic customer inquiries and support (Landim et al. 2022). However, with advancements in artificial intelligence (AI) and natural language processing (NLP), chatbots have become sophisticated tools capable of handling complex customer interactions (Cheng et al., 2021).

In the early stages, chatbots were mainly rule-based, following predefined scripts to respond to customer queries (Thorat & Jadhav, 2020). These rule-based systems were limited in their capabilities and often led to frustration among users due to their inability to understand nuanced queries or provide personalized responses. Despite these limitations, they laid the foundation for the development of more advanced chatbot technologies (Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

The emergence of AI and machine learning algorithms revolutionized the capabilities of chatbots in e-commerce (Rawat et al., 2022). By leveraging AI, chatbots can now analyze and interpret user queries in real-time, understand context, and provide personalized recommendations (Rosli et al., 2022). This evolution has significantly enhanced the customer experience, leading to increased engagement and satisfaction levels (Bawack et al., 2022).

1.2 Recent Trends and Challenges in AI-Powered Customer Service

In recent years, the adoption of AI-powered customer service solutions, including chatbots, has become increasingly prevalent in the e-commerce sector (Ping, 2019). Businesses are leveraging AI technologies to automate routine tasks, streamline customer support processes, and deliver personalized experiences at scale (Adam, Wessel & Benlian 2021; Chen, Le & Florence, 2021).

One of the prominent trends in AI-powered customer service is the integration of chatbots with other AI-driven tools, such as recommendation engines and predictive analytics (Nath & Sagnika, 2020). This integration allows businesses to create seamless customer journeys, from initial inquiry to post-purchase support, enhancing overall customer satisfaction and loyalty (Nicolescu & Tudorache, 2022).

However, alongside these advancements, several challenges and ethical considerations have emerged. One of the key challenges is ensuring the accuracy and reliability of AI-driven systems, particularly in complex and sensitive customer interactions (Williamson & Vijayakumar, 2021). Bias and discrimination in AI algorithms also pose significant ethical concerns,

highlighting the need for transparency and fairness in AI deployment (Saeidnia, 2023).

Section 2: Basic Functions of Chatbots

2.1 Answering Customer Queries with Practical Examples

Chatbots play a pivotal role in addressing customer queries efficiently and effectively in the e-commerce domain (Chung et al., 2020). Through the use of natural language processing (NLP) and machine learning algorithms, chatbots can understand and respond to a wide range of customer inquiries, from product information to order status updates (Suta et al., 2020).

For instance, consider a scenario where a customer wants to inquire about the availability of a specific product on an e-commerce platform. A chatbot equipped with NLP capabilities can interpret the query and provide real-time information regarding the product's availability, pricing, and delivery options (Bindu et. al, 2023). This seamless interaction not only saves time for both the customer and the business but also enhances the overall user experience (Asfaq et. al, 2020).

Furthermore, chatbots can handle complex queries that may require accessing multiple databases or systems (Ait-Mlouk & Jiang, 2020). For example, a customer may inquire about the compatibility of accessories with a particular electronic device. A chatbot can retrieve relevant information from product catalogs, compatibility databases, and user reviews to provide accurate and comprehensive answers.

2.2 Handling Complaints and Returns: Scenarios and Solutions

In addition to addressing inquiries, chatbots are instrumental in managing customer complaints and returns, crucial aspects of customer service in e-commerce (Schanke, Burtch & Ray, 2021). When a customer faces an issue with a product or service, they expect prompt resolution and assistance.

Chatbots can streamline the complaint handling process by guiding customers through troubleshooting steps, initiating returns or exchanges, and providing relevant support documentation (Sangroya et al., 2018). For example, if a customer reports a defective product, a chatbot can facilitate the return process by generating a return label, scheduling pickup, and updating the customer on the status of their refund or replacement.

Moreover, chatbots can proactively identify and address potential issues before they escalate. By analyzing customer feedback and interaction patterns, chatbots can flag recurring problems and alert relevant teams for swift resolution, contributing to enhanced customer satisfaction and loyalty.

2.3 Offering Personalized Product Recommendations: Case Studies

Personalization is a key driver of customer engagement and conversion in e-commerce, and chatbots play a crucial role in delivering personalized product recommendations (Marwade et. al, 2017). By leveraging customer data, browsing history, and purchase behavior, chatbots can suggest relevant products that align with individual preferences and needs (Jain & Khurana, 2022).

For instance, consider a chatbot integrated into an online fashion retailer's platform. Based on a customer's past purchases, style preferences, and size information, the chatbot can recommend new arrivals, complementary items, and personalized styling tips (Yan et al, 2022). This personalized approach not only enhances the shopping experience but also increases the likelihood of repeat purchases and cross-selling opportunities.

Section 3: Artificial Intelligence and Customer Service

3.1 Impact of AI-Driven Insights on Decision-Making in E-Commerce

Artificial intelligence (AI) technologies have revolutionized decision-making processes in e-commerce by providing valuable insights derived from data analysis (Chen, Esperança & Wang, 2022). AI-driven insights encompass a range of capabilities, including predictive analytics, customer segmentation, and trend forecasting, all of which contribute to informed decision-making and strategy formulation (Ma & Sun, 2020).

One of the key impacts of AI-driven insights is the ability to anticipate customer behavior and preferences. By analyzing vast amounts of data, AI systems can identify patterns, trends, and correlations that inform businesses about customer preferences, purchase intent, and engagement levels (Prentice, Weaven & Wong, 2020). This information enables e-commerce companies to tailor their offerings, marketing campaigns, and customer experiences to meet evolving customer expectations.

Moreover, AI-driven insights facilitate dynamic pricing strategies, inventory management optimization, and demand forecasting, enhancing operational efficiency and profitability. For example, AI algorithms can analyze market trends, competitor pricing strategies, and customer demand signals to recommend optimal pricing strategies that maximize revenue while remaining competitive.

Additionally, AI-powered analytics enable real-time monitoring of key performance indicators (KPIs) and business metrics, empowering decision-makers with actionable insights for performance optimization and risk management. From identifying emerging market trends to mitigating potential

risks, AI-driven insights play a pivotal role in driving strategic decision-making in the dynamic landscape of e-commerce.

3.2 Utilization of Machine Learning and Neural Networks in Chatbots

Machine learning (ML) and neural networks are integral components of AI-powered chatbots, enabling them to learn from data, adapt to user interactions, and improve over time. ML algorithms empower chatbots to understand context, extract meaning from unstructured data, and generate human-like responses, enhancing the conversational experience for users.

Neural networks, particularly deep learning models, are employed in chatbots to process complex inputs, handle multiple tasks simultaneously, and mimic human cognitive capabilities. Through neural network architectures such as recurrent neural networks (RNNs) and transformer models, chatbots can engage in context-aware conversations, understand nuances in language, and provide more accurate and relevant information to users.

The utilization of ML and neural networks in chatbots extends beyond text-based interactions to include multimedia content analysis, sentiment analysis, and voice recognition. These capabilities enable chatbots to offer a seamless omnichannel experience, catering to diverse user preferences and communication channels in e-commerce settings.

By leveraging ML and neural networks, chatbots can continuously learn from user interactions, refine their understanding of customer queries, and deliver personalized and contextually relevant responses, ultimately enhancing customer satisfaction, engagement, and loyalty in e-commerce environments.

Section 4: Ethical Considerations in AI-Powered Customer Service

4.1 Beyond Data Privacy and Bias: Transparency, Accountability, and Fairness

While data privacy and bias are critical ethical considerations in AI-powered customer service, broader principles of transparency, accountability, and fairness must also be prioritized (Ferrara, 2023). Transparency entails providing users with clear information about how AI technologies, including chatbots, collect, process, and utilize their data (de la Torre-López, Ramírez, & Romero, 2023). This includes disclosing the use of AI algorithms, data sources, and the purposes for which data is collected and analyzed.

Accountability involves establishing mechanisms to ensure that AI systems, including chatbots, are held responsible for their actions and decisions (Novelli, Taddeo & Floridi. 2023). This includes implementing checks and balances,

auditing AI algorithms for bias and ethical implications, and establishing processes for handling errors, complaints, and feedback from users (Chanda & Banerjee, 2022; Jones-Jang & Park, 2023).

Fairness in AI-powered customer service requires mitigating biases that can lead to discriminatory outcomes or unequal treatment of individuals (Taori & Hashimoto, 2023). This involves addressing biases in training data, algorithmic decision-making, and user interactions to ensure equitable outcomes for all users, regardless of factors such as race, gender, or socioeconomic status (Shams, Zowghi & Bano, 2023).

4.2 Ensuring Ethical Deployment of AI in Customer Interactions

The ethical deployment of AI in customer interactions encompasses several key considerations, including consent, data protection, user empowerment, and human oversight (Hermann, Williams & Puntoni, 2023). Obtaining informed consent from users for data collection and AI-driven interactions is essential, ensuring that users understand how their data will be used and have the option to opt out or modify their preferences (Pickering, 2021; Andreotta, Kirkham & Rizzi, 2022).

Data protection measures, such as encryption, anonymization, and secure storage, are crucial for safeguarding user data and preventing unauthorized access or misuse. User empowerment involves providing users with control over their data, preferences, and interactions with AI systems, including the ability to access, rectify, or delete their data as needed.

Human oversight and intervention are essential in ensuring the ethical use of AI in customer interactions. While AI-powered chatbots can automate routine tasks and interactions, human oversight is necessary to handle complex or sensitive situations, ensure ethical decision-making, and intervene when AI systems exhibit biases or errors.

By incorporating these ethical considerations into the deployment and use of AI in customer service, businesses can build trust with users, mitigate risks, and promote responsible AI practices that prioritize user well-being and ethical values in the e-commerce ecosystem.

Section 5: Case Studies on Successful Implementation of Chatbots

5.1 Diverse Sector Examples: Retail, Travel, etc.

Successful implementation of chatbots in various sectors, such as retail, travel, and healthcare, showcases the versatility and effectiveness of AI-powered customer service solutions (Wube et. al, 2022).

In the retail sector, chatbots have been widely adopted by e-commerce platforms to enhance customer engagement, streamline purchasing processes, and provide personalized recommendations (Calvaresi et. al, 2023). For example, a leading online fashion retailer integrated a chatbot into its platform to assist customers with product inquiries, sizing guidance, and style recommendations (Landim et. al, 2022). The chatbot's natural language processing capabilities and personalized suggestions contributed to increased conversion rates and customer satisfaction (Zeng, Vignali & Ryding, 2023).

In the travel industry, chatbots have transformed customer interactions by offering real-time assistance, itinerary management, and booking support (Calvaresi et. al, 2021). Airlines and travel agencies have deployed chatbots to handle flight inquiries, provide travel updates, and offer personalized travel recommendations based on user preferences and budget constraints (Hanji et, al, 2023). This streamlined approach has reduced response times, improved booking experiences, and enhanced overall customer loyalty (Jenneboer, Herrando & Constantinides, 2022).

Similarly, in the healthcare sector, chatbots have emerged as valuable tools for patient support, appointment scheduling, and medical information dissemination (Bhattacharya & Pissurlenkar, 2023). Healthcare providers have implemented chatbots to triage patient inquiries, provide telemedicine services, and offer personalized health advice based on symptoms and medical history (Matulis & McCoy, 2023). These chatbots have not only improved access to healthcare services but also facilitated proactive health management for patients (Oh, Zhang, Fang & Fukuoka, 2021).

5.2 Qualitative and Quantitative Outcomes Analysis

The success of chatbot implementations can be evaluated through both qualitative and quantitative analysis, examining factors such as user satisfaction, efficiency gains, cost savings, and business outcomes (Deng & Yu, 2023).

Qualitative analysis involves gathering feedback from users through surveys, interviews, and user testing sessions to assess their experiences, perceptions, and satisfaction levels with chatbot interactions (Følstad & Taylor, 2021). Positive qualitative feedback often indicates improved user engagement, ease of use, and perceived value of chatbot services (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

Quantitative analysis focuses on measurable metrics, such as response times, resolution rates, conversion rates, and cost per interaction, to evaluate the impact of chatbots on operational efficiency and business performance (Rossmann, Zimmermann & Hertweck, 2020). For instance, a retail company may measure the increase in sales attributed to chatbot-assisted conversions, while a travel

agency may track the reduction in customer service costs and manual booking errors (Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

By conducting comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analysis of chatbot implementations across diverse sectors, businesses can gain valuable insights into the benefits, challenges, and best practices for leveraging AI-powered customer service solutions effectively in e-commerce environments (Calvaresi et. al, 2023; Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

Section 6: Future Trends in Chatbot Technology

6.1 Challenges and Opportunities with Emerging Technologies (e.g., Quantum Computing, Blockchain)

The evolution of chatbot technology is intertwined with advancements in emerging technologies such as quantum computing and blockchain, presenting both challenges and opportunities for the future of AI-powered customer service (Kulkarni, Jain & Kumar, 2022).

Quantum computing offers immense computational power and capabilities that can significantly enhance the performance and intelligence of chatbots (Aragónés-Soria & Oriol, 2025). Quantum algorithms can process vast amounts of data, optimize complex decision-making processes, and improve natural language understanding, leading to more sophisticated and responsive chatbot interactions (Valdez & Melin, 2023). However, the integration of quantum computing into chatbot systems poses challenges related to hardware requirements, algorithm development, and data security, necessitating ongoing research and development efforts (How & Cheah, 2024).

Blockchain technology presents opportunities for enhancing trust, transparency, and security in chatbot interactions. By leveraging blockchain-based decentralized networks, chatbots can securely access and authenticate user data, facilitate secure transactions, and maintain immutable records of interactions (Saiful et. al, 2023). This decentralized approach mitigates risks associated with centralized data storage and enables users to retain control over their data and privacy (Gong & Navimipour, 2022). However, implementing blockchain solutions in chatbot systems requires addressing scalability, interoperability, and regulatory compliance challenges, emphasizing the need for collaborative industry initiatives and standards (Yang, Chen, Por & Ku, 2023).

6.2 Impact of AI on Job Roles in Customer Service

The proliferation of AI-powered chatbots and automation technologies is reshaping job roles and responsibilities in customer service across industries

(Wirtz & Pitardi, 2023). While chatbots streamline routine tasks, handle repetitive inquiries, and provide round-the-clock support, they also impact traditional customer service job roles in several ways (Jenneboer, Herrando & Constantinides, 2022).

Firstly, AI-powered chatbots augment human agents by offloading mundane tasks, allowing them to focus on complex inquiries, problem-solving, and relationship-building with customers (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022). This shift in responsibilities necessitates upskilling and reskilling initiatives for customer service professionals to adapt to new technologies, enhance digital literacy, and develop expertise in AI-driven tools and analytics (Li, 2022).

Secondly, AI technologies enable the creation of hybrid models where human agents collaborate with chatbots to deliver personalized, efficient, and empathetic customer experiences (Gnewuch et al, 2023). Human agents leverage chatbot-generated insights, recommendations, and historical data to engage with customers more effectively, resolve escalated issues, and anticipate customer needs proactively (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

However, the widespread adoption of AI in customer service also raises concerns about job displacement and workforce transformations (Tiwari, 2023). Organizations must adopt ethical AI practices, prioritize employee well-being, and implement strategies for workforce planning, retraining, and career development to navigate the evolving landscape of AI-powered customer service while maximizing the value of human-machine collaboration (Graef et. al, 2021; Khan et. al, 2022).

Section 7: Challenges and Limitations of Chatbot Deployment

7.1 Practical Strategies for Mitigating Limitations (e.g., Hybrid Human-Bot Approaches)

While chatbots offer numerous benefits in enhancing customer service efficiency and effectiveness, their deployment can also encounter challenges and limitations that require practical strategies for mitigation (Fritsch, 2024).

One common limitation of chatbots is their ability to handle complex or nuanced inquiries that require human-like understanding, empathy, and problem-solving skills (Caldarini, 2022). To address this limitation, businesses can adopt a hybrid human-bot approach, combining the strengths of AI-powered chatbots with human agents (Adam, Wessel & Benlian, 2021). In this approach, chatbots handle routine and straightforward queries, while human agents intervene for complex issues, escalations, and personalized interactions.

Implementing a seamless handoff mechanism between chatbots and human agents is crucial for ensuring a smooth and efficient customer experience (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022). This involves integrating chatbot systems with customer relationship management (CRM) platforms, ticketing systems, and communication channels to facilitate real-time collaboration and information sharing between bots and humans. Additionally, providing training and guidelines for human agents to interact effectively with chatbots and vice versa enhances the effectiveness of the hybrid approach (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022).

Furthermore, leveraging advanced AI capabilities, such as sentiment analysis, context awareness, and predictive analytics, can enhance chatbots' ability to understand user intent, emotions, and preferences, thereby mitigating limitations related to natural language understanding and conversation flow (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

7.2 Addressing Scalability Concerns as Businesses Expand

Scalability is another challenge in chatbot deployment, especially as businesses expand their customer base and operations. Scalability concerns encompass factors such as handling increasing volumes of user inquiries, maintaining performance under peak loads, and supporting multi-channel interactions seamlessly (Fox, Scott & Spendolini, 2011).

To address scalability concerns, businesses can implement scalable architecture and infrastructure for chatbot systems, leveraging cloud computing services, serverless computing, and microservices architecture (Kumari et al. 2023). These technologies enable elastic scaling, auto-scaling, and resource optimization to handle fluctuating workloads and ensure consistent performance and availability (Saxena et. al, 2020).

Additionally, optimizing chatbot workflows, dialogue flows, and backend integrations can improve response times, reduce latency, and enhance overall system scalability (Gao & Jiang, 2021). Regular performance testing, load testing, and monitoring of chatbot systems enable proactive identification and mitigation of scalability bottlenecks and performance issues (Roca et al., 2020).

Moreover, adopting scalable data management practices, such as efficient data storage, caching mechanisms, and data partitioning, supports scalability by ensuring fast access to relevant data for chatbot interactions and analytics (Abduvalova & Zhidekulova, 2023).

By implementing practical strategies for mitigating limitations and addressing scalability concerns, businesses can maximize the value of chatbot deployment, deliver superior customer experiences, and achieve sustainable growth in e-commerce environments (Kasilingam, 2020).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In conclusion, the utilization of chatbots and AI-powered customer service solutions has revolutionized the e-commerce landscape, enhancing efficiency, customer engagement, and business outcomes. This chapter has explored the evolution of chatbots, recent trends, ethical considerations, successful case studies, future trends, challenges, and strategies for mitigating limitations in chatbot deployment.

Looking ahead, there are several avenues for further research and advancements in chatbot development that can drive innovation and improve customer experiences in e-commerce. Future research could focus on enhancing chatbot capabilities in areas such as natural language understanding, sentiment analysis, context awareness, and multi-modal interactions (e.g., voice, image recognition). Additionally, exploring the integration of emerging technologies like augmented reality (AR), virtual reality (VR), and Internet of Things (IoT) with chatbots can unlock new possibilities for immersive and personalized customer experiences.

Furthermore, encouraging continuous learning and engagement with chatbot innovations is essential for businesses and researchers. This involves investing in ongoing training and upskilling programs for chatbot developers, data scientists, and customer service professionals to stay updated with evolving technologies, industry trends, and best practices. Collaborative research initiatives, industry partnerships, and knowledge sharing platforms can facilitate knowledge exchange, idea generation, and co-innovation in the field of AI-powered customer service.

As chatbots continue to evolve and play a central role in e-commerce ecosystems, businesses must prioritize user-centric design, ethical deployment, and responsible AI practices to build trust, enhance customer satisfaction, and drive sustainable growth. By embracing innovation, embracing continuous learning, and fostering collaboration, the future of chatbots in e-commerce holds immense potential for transforming customer interactions and shaping the future of digital commerce.

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Chapter 7

Representing The Ottoman Westernization: Baron De Tott and Julia Pardoe as Witnesses Of Change

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Huntington who examines Turkey's westernization reforms, especially the ones initiated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk between (1923-1938) asserts that all these reforms which have been the most ambitious and aspiring of all civilizational shifts in history, did no good but created a culturally and politically "torn" country. Turkish westernization which has been an ongoing process for centuries now has been a centre of attention in many different texts from very different countries." *Memoirs of Baron de Tott* is a well-known account which represent the Turkish westernization and opposition to change in the middle of the eighteenth century. In her *The City of the Sultan* (1837), we see Julia Pardoe visiting the Ottoman Empire at such a time of unprecedented change in the Ottoman Empire. In his Ottoman picture we see lawlessness, disorganization, fatalism, and undisciplined armies with ignorant, non-principled officers and cowardly soldiers. Yet even in such a dark canvass there is still a serious optimism.

Even if a nation tries everything to close its doors to the outer world and foreign influence, it seems impossible to prevent the interaction for a long time. One famous instance is the Sakoku period (1639-1853) in Japan (Goto-Jones, 2009, pp. 15-16). Janyo Sato's 1992 *Kodayu* is an historical film based on the true story of a Japanese captain, Daikokuya Kodayu and his crew who were shipwrecked in Russia in 1793. Kodayu's ship gets blown off its usual course and after nine months of struggle on sea the ragged sailors could land on Siberian Peninsula of Kamchatka, which was then one of the least densely populated place on earth. The epic movie shows their struggle with starvation and cold in the wild winter of Siberia. The only way for the sailors to go back to their countries was to get to the capital of Russia and ask for help. On the way to St Petersburg, Kodayu learns Russian and meet a Russian intellectual who helps in the Russian bureaucracy and enables him to meet Catherine the Great, the only person in the world who might help him. Nine years after Kodayu and his crew landed in Kamchatka he manages go back to his native land with only two of his crew. The rest had either died in the Siberian winter or preferred to stay in Russia.

The most moving scene of the film is the expression of Kodayu's feelings upon reaching his fatherland after so many years, surviving a most cruel struggle, only three out of thirty could make it. Quite naturally one identifies with the captain and anticipates a cordial welcome from his country. On the contrary, the ship is not allowed to land at any of the ports. They have no chance but going back to Russia. The captain and the last two choose to set foot on their own country despite the certain end awaiting them. They are immediately arrested and sent to prison. Furthermore, they were condemned to lifelong penalty in total isolation where they were not allowed to contact even with the prison guards. Kodayu's story is a wonderful example of how painful the inter-civilizational contact could

be. Having contacted the foreign world, the captain and his crew had become suspects, infected lepers condemned to a lifetime quarantine, a hazard for the integrity and uniformity of their own society. Japan's westernization adventure is quite unusual. In 1853 and again in 1854, Commander Matthew Perry sent a fleet of U.S warships in the Bay of Tokyo and forced Japan to open its doors to the rest of the world, by the Treaty of Kanagawa. (Gordon, 2003, p. 49)

The Ottoman Turkey on the other hand had never had such a severe isolationist policy. According to historians like Ortaylı it is difficult to determine when exactly the Ottoman westernization started. (2003, pp. 23-51) Yet we know that the Ottomans had since the very early fourteenth century been in contact with Western Europe. While some historians like Lewis argue that the Ottomans were so proud with their glories they could not recognize the leap Europe had achieved (2000), Ortaylı states that even in the early sixteenth century they were aware of the fact that, if not in all compartments of life, the Europeans were far more advanced than themselves. When they saw the big and strong European ships which could cross the Atlantic Ocean in the Istanbul harbour, they obviously noticed the superiority of these vessels to theirs.

Yet the first serious and conscious attempts to Westernize the Empire started after the failure of the second Vienna Siege in 1683. The treaties of Carlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) had shown that the Empire had lost its old glory and fell behind the Western European powers in terms of technology and organization. Seventy three years before Kodayu set foot on Russian soil which would estrange him to his native country, in 1720, 28 Celebi Mehmet Efendi was appointed ambassador to France. He was instructed to "make a thorough study of the means of civilization and education, and report on those capable of application" (qtd. in Lewis 2001, p. 114). These words reveal the conscious efforts of the Empire to transform. His short account of his travel to France as the first Ambassador is an important document on how the Ottoman elite realized the technological developments in Europe.

This voyage had a remarkable impact on the Ottoman modernization too. During the Tulip Age (1718-1730), which ended with the rebellion of the Janissary corpses, the printing press was established by the efforts of 28 Celebi Mehmet Efendi's son Said Çelebi² who had gone to Paris with his father and observed that printing was a useful invention and might change many things in the declining Empire. European architecture also influenced the Ottomans and rococo style became fashionable in Istanbul during that period. Göçek notes that another sign of

² For further information on the impact of this ambassadorial trip see Göçek (1996).

westernization in the eighteenth century was the gradual replacement of Eastern symbols of status by that of the European ones.

Baron de Tott's *Memoirs*

Baron de Tott's *Memoirs* was first published in four volumes in Amsterdam in 1784 and 85 and then in two volumes in Paris in 1785. The next year in 1786 in English. This publication history tells us that it was of great interest to the British public as much as it was to the French. In 1754 Baron de Tott (1733-1793) was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. The next year he first came to Turkey accompanying his uncle who had been appointed French ambassador. His duty was to learn Turkish and get information about the affairs of the Ottoman state. His first stay lasted eight years and he went back to France in 1763. In the first part of his memoirs Baron de Tott basically focuses on that period and narrates the unusual events and characters he encountered in Istanbul. He talks about the most popular topic among this era's travelogues harem, then feeds his readers curiosity on another expected one the despotism of the Sultan and the Pashas, the suppressed minorities, especially the Greeks and the Armenians, the corruption of the high officials, fires which might consume the whole city started by the *Janissaries* to rob the people, the disorganized military, people's helplessness before plague among many other negative aspects of life in the Ottoman Empire.

In 1767 he was appointed consul in Crimea where he was asked to encourage the Crimeans to rebel against the Crimean Russia. In the second part of his book, he tells the story of how he joined the Crimean campaign against Ukraine. In 1770 he was appointed to the Defense of Dardanel by the Ottoman Empire. According to his account he commanded the whole defense taking the necessary precautions. The third part of his memoirs starts with the declaration of war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. We come across first sign of anarchy and disorganization within the opening of "Sancak", the holy banner which is opened only during times of war to call the Muslims for holy war. Non-Muslims were not allowed even to eye it and the "fanatics" were ready to punish the offenders most severely. Thus, they kill several non-Muslims who had fallen prey to their curiosity. The call brings such a great number of recruits to Istanbul that the capital becomes an unendurable and insecure place for the civilians. The reason was the fact that the new recruits were not provided for by anyone and there is no preparation intended for them. They take to streets robbing everyone. Most unfortunately there is not an efficient system to punish who break the laws.

Baron de Tott's observation regarding the construction of Nuruosmaniye Mosque³ is quite telling about how these westernization efforts were trimmed and distorted by religious fanaticism. When Mahmud I wanted to raise a monument as a memorial to one of his military victories, he "procures" from England, Italy and France the most elegant designs and plans he could find. From these the gifted Sultan tries to work out a design which would be suitable for his new mosque. When he shows the plans to his Ulema, the learned ones, they felt obliged to state that the plans looked like a Christian church rather than a mosque and that this design might create a scandal and wild reaction among his Moslem subjects. Therefore, they suggested changes which produced "a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish style" (de Tott 1785, pp. 196-197).

Yet de Tott complains that all his efforts were confronted by the Ottoman soldiers for a number of reasons: "My proposition to lower the decks was rejected on account of the height of their turbans..." He furthermore complains about the protests he encounters: "The Body of the geometricians had a certain revenue, but the new school had no Encouragement, and of all the new establishments, the Corps of the Suratchis, alone, founded in Perpetuity, received the sums appointed for its maintenance...." (de Tott 1785, pp. 173-174)

His account draws a picture of an extremely undisciplined and disorganized army which is far away from being effective since they cause the destruction of a whole fleet with their inefficiency in Çeşme in 1770. When he narrates what he sees in Çanakkale, which would become better known with a more carnal campaign some 145 years later, in 1915, his condescending discourse persists. From the lowest rank to the highest all the army is ignorant, cowardly, superstitious and undisciplined whereas, thanks to his skills in artillery he gains the respect and loyalty of all the ranks in the army.

Hired by the Sultan to reform the army and do the necessary rectification, Baron de Tott faces a considerable amount of contradiction to his suggestions. His duty was to introduce European war techniques and technologies to the Ottoman army, reorganizing the units where he detects any shortage or problem. In his account Ottoman officers do not have the technical knowledge which had been used even thousands of years ago. In their world, machines are irrelevant. Having had to remove a four-ton cannon he asked Hasan Pasha, General Hasan, for ropes and other necessary equipment. The Pasha finds it a waste of time to prepare such a machine and offers to move the cannon with his five hundred men. Their efforts fail and de Tott makes his machine. With the help of a few of his

³ As Göçek also notes one of the first signs of westernization in the Ottoman Empire can be observed in architecture. Göçek states that the Ottomans admired and imitated the European architecture for the first time in their history.

men he manages to accomplish the task: “Nothing could surpass their astonishment when they saw this prodigious Weight raised, with care, by the strength of only four Men; and this, though not very remarkable in itself, had a great effect on Hasan and his Companions.” (de Tott 1785, pp. 72-76)

After he achieves to strengthen the defenses, he was called back to Istanbul to train the artillery. In Istanbul his training creates a huge interest, so he was asked to give a demonstrative lecture to show his and his students capabilities. All the cabinet and the Sultan come but the high treasurer arrives first with the intention of molesting the writer. He tries to provoke the crowd gathered around them with the fact that Hog’s bristles need to be used in the new technique. The Treasurer attempts to make the point that Baron de Tott’s technique is against the Islamic law. The crowd turns against him but when he questions a painter from the crowd it is understood that hog’s bristles are also used to paint the mosques, the crowd was convinced that there could be nothing wrong with them. (de Tott 1785, pp. 86-87) In that sense, Baron de Tott is a very persuasive person. He is not only respected but also loved devotedly in the Ottoman capital by his students. He is given so much credit that at some point he becomes the second man in the whole empire after the Sultan. Even after the death of Mustafa III (1774), who gives him an unlimited support, his eminence does not change with the new Sultan Abdulhamid I (1774-1789).

With Selim III (1789-1807), the modernization of the army and the state took a more serious and better planned shape. A new army called The New Order was established and a lot of French instructors were brought to train it. Embassies were opened in European capitals like Paris and Vienna to observe the European advancement in technology and science more closely. Yet the Jannissaries, who found the new army a rival to their privileges and power they had enjoyed, rebelled once more to dethrone the Sultan and got the New Order army destroyed.

Having learned his lessons from his predecessor, Sultan Mahmud the Second, “described as the Peter the Great of the Ottoman Empire,” (Lewis, 2001, p. 76) was a firmer reformer. When the conditions were ripe for abolishing the Jannissary corps who are depicted as the most serious obstacle before the reforms, in 1826 he did not hesitate to take the most drastic measure to fulfill his plan. After that he opened a series of schools like the school of medicine, military sciences and the Imperial Music School. During his reign western education gained an unprecedented importance. Western Languages were studied, students were sent to Europe for the first time, the first census was held, the first Ottoman official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*, which was a compulsory reading for the officials, appeared, a new postal system was inaugurated, new roads were built, a quarantine system was introduced which made travel between Turkey and Europe safer. (Lewis,

2001, pp. 85-87) Yet the reform which created most resentment was the adoption of the western dress code, on which Lewis writes “the general feeling that to abandon one’s own form of dress and adopt another was an act of treason and of apostasy. Non-Muslims were forbidden to adopt Muslim dress; Muslims would not dream of adopting Christian or Jewish dress.” (Lewis, 2001, p. 101)

Lewis notes the other westernizing steps of the Sultan as follows: “European chairs and tables began to appear beside the divans and cushions of the old order, and European social manners were adopted. The Sultan began to receive foreign diplomats according to European and not Ottoman protocol, gave receptions and chatted with his guests, and even went so far as to show deference to ladies... still more startling, the Sultan’s portrait was hung on their (government offices’) walls.” (Lewis, 2001, pp. 102-103) All these reforms came with a price of course, he was called the “gavur padişah” or the infidel sultan by the ones who thought that his reforms were too radical.

Pardoe’s *The City of the Sultan* (1837)

In her *The City of the Sultan* (1837), we see Julia Pardoe visiting the Ottoman Empire at such a time of unprecedented change in the Ottoman Empire. The most important scene where Pardoe gives a vivid account of the scope of the change that Mahmud undertaken and the problems that he had to face is laid before us in her visit to the Military College, *Mekteb-i Harbiye*, which was founded in 1834. As Pardoe had known the principal of the school Azmi Bey from his London days, she did not find it difficult to gain admittance to the institution. Azmi Bey was obviously proud of this school which had been furnished with the latest equipment. Pardoe and her companions were at first impressed with the modernity of the premises. However, when she meets the professors, she felt most disappointed:

Care and cost have been lavished upon it unsparingly: it is a favourite toy of the Sultan—a subject of ceaseless thought and interest to Achmet Pasha... the nursery of the Imperial Army. But, alas! Despite all these advantages, it is like the statue of Pygmalion ere it was warmed to life—a body without a soul—matter without mind—a splendid machine, without a competent and practiced hand to call forth its powers, and to work out its effects!...the best intentions and the most earnest enthusiasm, must fail to compensate the painful deficiency of that talent and experience necessary to its success. (Pardoe, 1837, p. 204)

She deepens her observations and draws these rather interesting conclusions: “...as regards the youth of Turkey, from the circumstance of their being by nature imitative rather than inventive; and moreover, not possessing those opportunities of observation and individual research which lead the students of Europe to rely

trifling degree upon their own mental resources.” (Pardoe, 1837, p. 205) Although the writer tries to comprehend the difference between Turks and Europe or the “western world” as we see she relies on the binary opposition. As Stuart Hall teaches us “naturalizing the difference” is a discursive strategy used to fix the difference. It is the nature of Turks to be imitative rather than creative, it cannot change whatever you do. If we follow this line of reasoning it is pointless to strive to change the circumstances, reform the government, reorganize the schools and undertake painful efforts. Pardoe, in that sense holds a pessimistic view over the future of these reforms and the military school in this case: “Will the traveler in Turkey, fifty years hence, have the thing to tell of the Military College of Constantinople? Alas! I doubt it.”

According to Pardoe the school owes its bleak prospects to the conspiracy of the Russians who would not in the least wish to see a strengthened Ottoman Empire.

Thus Russia looked upon the College with a jealous eye—it might, if suffered to progress towards perfection unchecked, ultimately become a great moral engine in the hands of the Turkish government... The Russian delegation consequently took an overwhelming and most generous interest in all the details of the establishment; laughed to scorn the necessity of European science and European assistance, where native talent was so rife—employed her creatures in writing complimentary and fulsome panegyrics on the Institution, which were lithographed at the school and translated for the Sultan... administered such copious draughts of flattery to all connected with the establishment that their soporific effects are painfully apparent in the quiet, self-gratulatory, smiling satisfaction of those who while they believe that they are nursing the new-born Institution into vigour, are actually closing their encircling arms so tightly about its throat that they are strangling in its first weakness. (1837, p. 210)

Contrary to his predecessor Sultan Selim III, who was not firm enough to push his reforms and insist on their application, Mahmud, of whom Pardoe mentions as “the Immolator of the Jannisaries, the reformer of a mighty Empire, the sovereign of the gravest people on the earth” (p. 186) was a most determinate ruler who would take drastic measures to implant his reforms. To start his Westernization project Mahmud destroyed the *Janissary* corps who were against any kind of change and who had challenged the powers of the Sultans for over two centuries in the Empire. After that he opened schools which started education in western languages. He also sent the first students to Europe, initiated the publication of the first newspaper, held a census and imposed the obligation to wear trousers and the fez for all the Ottoman officials except the religious doctors or imams. He was an ardent reformer who did not mind the fact that the empire was under

attack from many different fronts. Even with such bleak prospects he had the guts to destroy a whole army to be able to embed his reforms.

One such reform is the opening of *Hendesehane*, the school of geometry in 1734 which did not last long because of the opposition of the *Jannisaries*. Whereas once a new idea is introduced though it could be crushed by the reactionary resistance, the seed hardly ever dies completely and almost always finds a way to come up again and with a stronger determination. In 1759 the same school opened again but this time secretly away from Istanbul. Fourteen years later a new school of mathematics for the navy was opened with the help of Baron de Tott, recognized but ended with his departure. The fourth attempt came in 1834, and the Military College was established to last until our present age. History has proved that Pardoe was being extremely downbeat when she suspected the survival of the College. In the next fifty years and its aftermath the military College not only survived but also trained the most distinguished commanders who would become the military leaders of the empire. Officers led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk won the Turkish independence war and founded the Republic of Turkey subsequently went on westernizing the country.

The Ottoman intellectuals who were brought up with western ideas wanted to stop the disintegration of the Empire. According to them if the minorities were given the equal status before law and they are represented in the parliament which would open for the first time, they would once again put their loyalties with the Empire and the rebellions would end. They believed that freedom would be the solution of all the problems that the Empire faced and that the western powers would intervene into the domestic affairs less. Russia, for long the champion of the Orthodox minorities in the Ottoman Empire, pressing for obtaining autonomy for Bulgaria was threatening the Ottoman Empire with a war. To solve the crisis the European powers Austria, England and France were also present the table to solve the conflict between Russia and the Porte. The Ottoman Empire went to the table with the new constitution surprising the delegates of the foreign powers. With this new constitution, the first and the last Ottoman constitution the non-Muslim minorities were given the same rights that the Muslims have, they were given the right to represent their cases in courts, granted representation in the first Ottoman parliament among with many other rights: "The Pacha then announced that the Sultan had been pleased to grant more liberties to his people, and that the present autocratic form of government was to be replaced by a Constitution." (Burnaby, 1898, p. 62)

In Ankara the governor announces the constitution on December 23, 1876 which would last only one year due to the war with Russia. Contrary to the vain and shallow Professors of the Millitary College, who are represented in Pardoe's

1836 account which gave us a general picture of the Turkish intelligentsia of the Empire, Burnaby's account of the Ankara governor's son puts in front of us a different portrait: "The Pacha's son now invited me to visit his rooms, which were a suite of apartments separate from those occupied by his father. I found his bookshelves well stored with scientific French works, and to my surprise, discovered that the young Bey was much better informed than nine Englishmen out of ten who have been to public school, and have taken their degree at the university." (Burnaby, 1898, p. 63)

Discursing on the current politics and the announcement of the first constitution the young man gives a far-sighted response which has been confirmed by history: "We are what you would call in England a very conservative nation. This sudden change has almost taken away our breath...we shall fail." Asked why he thinks so he reasons thus: "Because not only the electing class, but the men who will probably be chosen to sit in the Parliament are only half educated. We shall have ignorant legislators, legislating for an equally ignorant nation. We want time," he continued; "we require roads and railways. If there were means of communication, the people would travel and see that there is a good deal to be learnt away from home, and even from you Christians. Give us roads and railways, they will be worth fifty Constitutions, for the latter, in my opinion, will soon be found impracticable." He was right to the point that Sultan Abdulhamid abandoned the constitution when the expected war between Russia and the Empire broke out and the parliament was closed. Yet Abdulhamid did not abandon all modernization project 12 years later the railway reached Ankara and mobilized the people of the Empire. All the modernizing efforts in the Abdulhamid rule between 1876-1909 prepared the path to the Young Turk revolution by cadres who were educated at school established by Abdulhamid, who had ruled the country with an iron hand for 33 years censoring all sorts of free thought, punishing severely any who talk about freedom, nationalism, liberalism, constitutionalism or liberalism.

"It will never be carried out said the Vice-Consul, who was sitting next to him. "It has been drawn up merely as a sop for the plenipotentiaries at the Conference."

"Well, whatever they do in other places," said the bey, "We shall carry it out in its integrity here."

As he said these words the boom of the cannon resounded from below, the windows of the room began to rattle, the sound of mob cheering, rapidly followed the report.

"A great deal of noise and a great deal of smoke: voila la Constitution," said the Consul, and he prepared to leave the room." (Burnaby, 1898, p. 63)

Noone has high expectations from the Constitution. The consul guess rightly that it was pretentious and not a sincere attempt to reform the Empire. We also

notice here that there is immense pressure on the Ottoman Empire to do these reforms. Sometimes they are simply imposed on the Empire. Yet it is hard to generalize. We know that Sultan Mahmud the II was not imposed upon these reforms but he was himself very ardent and zealous. It can be also said that during the reign of Abdulhamid the second the westernization process seems to slow down. Whereas it is also the truth that in his rule some very important reforms were also put into action. It is also worth noting that Christians are despised and they are in some way considered to be inferior morally to Muslims so believers find it difficult that their salvation might come from the Christian Europe and their civilization. This can be considered as one of the obstacles between the Westernization project and the Ottoman Empire. The Muslim Christian conflict, binary opposition affects the westernization efforts negatively in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Ortaylı reminds us that none of the Westernization efforts undertaken by any nation has been painless or without any resistance shown to these reforms and attempts to change. Ortaylı states that reformers have always been contested and their reforms have been interpreted as a degeneration and treason against the traditional values and the indigenous culture which is supposed to be the source of salvation. Giving the examples of Japan and Russia, Ortaylı argues that even for these relatively more successful Westernization projects, it has taken a long battle to be fought between the reformers and more conservative segments of these nations. Sometimes reforms started by a ruler was destroyed by another ruler or regime, oftentimes resisting forces rebels and takes down the reforming governments as in the case of Selim III, Ahmet III and Genç Osman. Ortaylı notes that this was also the case in Russia where the radical reforms were initiated by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ortaylı notes that even as late as the late nineteenth century poets were wishing to go back to the pure Russian culture giving up the corrupt European ways.

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Chapter 8

Bernard Shaw: The Beginnings of Modern English Drama

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The Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) is one of the leading figures in the evolution of British drama at the turn of the century from melodramatic non-authorial drama to a social authorial drama. To comprehend the change that occurred throughout the time we need to briefly summarize the historical development of English theatre. English theatre was formed around the fourteenth century, especially after the Black Death epidemics, both to raise public morale and to convey the Catholic Christian faith to the public. These performances, which first began in churches, attracted so much attention that after a while, the clergy saw that they were getting in the way of the services and moved these plays outside.

Over time, they left the churchyard and staged their performances at the city square. These first plays recreated scenes from the Bible such as the birth of Jesus and Noah's salvation with the Ark. In this way, those who cannot read in Latin, the public who did not have direct access to the Bible were informed about their religion. The first producers of these religious plays were tradesmen's unions: for example, wool merchants would stage the birth of Jesus, carpenters would stage the crucifixion, and bargemen would stage Noah's Ark. (Sutherland, 2008) The church was quite tolerant of these performances. In addition, a tradition of Miracle plays (miracles of saints) and morality plays (plays that included moral lessons and tried to motivate people to be virtuous) would develop. When Henry VIII broke away from the Catholic Church and founded the Anglican Church in 1536, he banned these religious plays that dealt with Catholic themes and were part of the Catholic tradition. However, these performances had already created such a significant habit, appreciation and strong tradition that the energy here was transferred to more worldly subjects. During this period, professional acting companies, of course under the patronage of the king or powerful dukes, went on tours and toured all over England to stage plays dealing with secular subjects. Shakespeare is thought to have first encountered theatre in the 1560s in Stratford-upon-Avon, a small-town of 2000 people. In 1576, the first professional theatre was firmly established in London and in 1599, The Globe Theatre, of which Shakespeare was a partner, was built. This period was perhaps the brightest period of English Theatre, and this powerful and bright age would not be recaptured until the twentieth century.

The seventeenth century was a very turbulent century for England. The Puritans, who staged a coup and took over the government, banned theatre during the Commonwealth period. With the Restoration period in 1660, theatres were reopened but only two theatres were granted patents and licenses. (This situation lasted until 1843). The remaining theatres were only authorized to organize musical entertainment. In 1737, Robert Walpole, the first Prime Minister of England,

established a censorship office due to the self-criticism of the theatre and introduced a rule that every play to be staged had to first obtain a permit from this office, paying for it out of his own pocket, and that theatres that staged these unauthorised plays would be closed if they did not receive one. (This law would remain in force until 1968. Shaw was one of those who fought most seriously against the law in English theatre.) As a result of this, as Shaw stated, talent would turn to novels and poetry. For example, Henry Fielding would abandon theatre and turn to novels. During this period, English novels produced world-renowned writers such as Fielding, Austen, the Brontës, Dickens, Stevenson, George Eliot, and Thackeray, while English theatre, with the exception of a few plays, would experience a period of stagnation that would last approximately one hundred and fifty years. Nicoll describes the respectability and prestige of theatre in the English society of the nineteenth century as “the centre of all evil” (Nicoll, p. 201). Because of this notorious reputation respectable people and writers tended to stay away from the theatre. (Ganzel, 1961, pp. 388-392)

The abolition of the patent system in 1843 caused a tremendous explosion in the number of theaters, and by 1866 there 800 theatre companies in England (Davis, 2007, p. 199). With the Industrial Revolution, England experienced a tremendous economic development, and a very wealthy middle class emerged. One of the main entertainments of this new middle class was theater (Booth, 1991, p. 7). Theaters began to stage melodramas and farces about upper-class people that suited the tastes of this new class. In this new competition, each production required significant investment, and expensive stage decorations and flashy productions were aimed for (Booth, 1991). Nevertheless, in this context, the playwright was reduced to a “nobody” position, whose name was almost never mentioned, and often not even mentioned on playbills. After the 1860s and 1870s, this situation gradually began to change, and writers began to gain a little more visibility.

In his comprehensive study *Modern British Drama 1890-1990*, Innes describes Shaw’s influence on Modern British Theatre stating his centrality in the formation of a distinct English tradition all through his dramatic career as a writer and cirique from 1890s till his death in 1950 (2002, p. 2). Maeterlinck’s *La Princesse maligne* (1889) and Jarry’s *Ubu roi* (1896) were the ultimate texts of the start of modernism in France, in Germany Wedekind’s *Spring’s Awakening* (1892) was a pivotal modernist text, yet in the English context Shaw’s *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1890) and his first play *Widowers’ Houses* (1892) could be taken as the turning points in modern British theatre. In that through Shaw’s understanding of Ibsen marked the characteristics of the modern drama in England. (Innes, 2002, pp. 14-15)

The fact that Ireland was homeland of so many British playwrights like George Farquhar (1677-1707), Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816) from the eighteenth century on requires a depiction of the relation between Ireland and England. Ireland became a highly strategic island for England in the sixteenth century, especially after England adopted the Protestant faith and broke away from the Catholic Roman Empire. Catholic Ireland became an island that caused a complete security concern for England. The forces of Catholic countries attempted to raid England through Ireland, which put the English on edge. (Kenny, 2004, p. 8; Ohlmeyer, 2004, p. 58; Bartlett, 2004, p. 62) In the seventeenth century, England thought that this problem could only be solved by placing Protestant settlers on the island and by firmly establishing not only military and political dominance of the island, but also land and population control (Ohlmeyer, 2004, p. 27). To achieve this, Protestant settlers were settled in Ireland as landowners from England, and the Catholic Irish people were made completely dependent on Protestant landowners (Kenny, 2004, p. 12).

In the eighteenth century, potatoes became the sole source of food for half the Catholic population of Ireland, about four million people. Two acres of land could provide the food for a family of 10-15 people. In a wonderful article, Gallagher and Greenblatt describe how the English working class refused to eat this “wonderful” food and how they resisted giving up bread. In 1845, a disease brought from America caused almost no potatoes to grow in 1846-47-48. This plant disease resulted in the starvation of a million Irish people and the emigration of millions to the USA, Canada and Australia. Today, there are impressive monuments in cities such as Philadelphia, Sydney and Boston to commemorate this great disaster. The population of Irish origin in America today is estimated to be around 80 million, Ireland 4 million. Despite being the richest country in the world, England did little to prevent this disaster. The first reason is that, according to the laissez faire economic philosophy, government should be as little involved as possible in economic matters. It is not the government's job to prevent this disaster. Secondly, according to the Protestant Evangelical view, God is in a sense punishing the Irish and it is not wise to come between God and His wrath, and thirdly, the English have a very strong prejudice against the Catholic Irish. The lazy, stupid, incompetent Irish have caused this, so it is their problem to prevent it. (Jackson, 2004, p. 134)

Shaw was born in Dublin in 1856, a few years after these disaster years, into a Protestant family. Although the Shaw name is quite respectable and noble, Bernard Shaw was from the impoverished branch of this powerful and wealthy family. When Shaw was fourteen, his father could no longer afford to send him to school and wanted him to get a job. Shaw was an autodidact who educated

himself mostly with books borrowed from the public library and the National Gallery in Dublin. Poverty, hunger, misery, vulgarity are everywhere. Shaw's parents did not have a very happy relationship. When they got married, his mother Lucinda Elizabeth was eighteen and his father George Carr Shaw was forty-two. On their first night, her mother would learn that her father was an alcoholic, and this union would never turn into a warm home. When Lucinda Bernard was about 7-8 years old, she began taking singing lessons from the famous vocal teacher of the time, Vandeleur Lee. After a while, she devoted herself completely to music, and the Shaw house became one of the leading musical houses in Dublin. In 1872, when Shaw was sixteen, Lucinda took her two daughters and decided to leave George Carr and Bernard and continue her musical career in London. Shaw, who was always involved with music during this period, taught himself to play the piano and read music. In 1874, he left his father and moved to London as well. From 1874 to almost 1898, he lived almost dependent on his mother, and although he wrote critical articles in newspapers, these did not bring him enough income to support himself. (Holroyd, 1998)

Shaw spent his first twelve years in London, especially in the British Museum Reading Room. London at the time was one of the most important intellectual centers in the world. The country where the capitalist economy was most strongly experienced, Adam Smith wrote his theory with *Wealth of Nations* in 1770, Ricardo and Malthus followed him and contributed to the legitimization of this socio-economic system with their works. In the novels of the industrial revolution written after the 1840s, *Mary Barton* (1848), *Hard Times* (1854), the inequalities created by this economic system and the alienation between classes were revealed with all their reality and nakedness. Shaw said in a widely quoted assessment that Dickens's novel *Little Dorrit* (1857) was ten times more effective than Marx's *Capital* in terms of creating class consciousness. Benjamin Disraeli, who would later become Prime Minister, used the subtitle of his novel *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (1845). He tried to show how inadequate the laissez-faire system was in closing the gap between the rich and the poor and in healing social wounds.

Shaw, an autodidact who learned French and German by himself, could follow almost all the fashion trends in the European cultural field day by day in the British Museum, where he spent twelve to fourteen hours a day. He attended almost all political, artistic and intellectual meetings, took the floor and developed his oratorical skills. In 1885, he met William Archer, one of the regulars of the British Museum and one of the first translators of Ibsen into English. Archer said of him, "There were two books open on his table, Marx's *Capital* and the sheet music of Wagner's *Nibelungen*. I said to myself, I must meet the man who was interested in this strange combination." Shaw began writing novels in 1878, but these novels

never achieved great success. Two thousand words a day. On the other hand, he became a member of the newly founded Fabian Society² and soon became one of its three leading figures. Shaw first met Ibsen through Archer. In a very short time, thanks to Archer, he began to write music, art, theatre and literary criticism in many newspapers and magazines. Shaw made important contributions to the staging of *A Doll's House* in England in 1889 (Graham, 2014).

The industrial revolution brought with itself the urbanization of the rural England. It meant the change from a traditional society into a modern less conventional and less thinly knit community. Organic societies of the Middle Ages had been disappearing gradually. Eighteenth century saw some of this change. Not only the industrial change but also changes in the political, scientific and intellectual field challenged the perceptions of the whole structure. A new age was born with the age of reason and the consequent industrial revolution. This new age brought with it a new set of values and structures. Employing Vico to analyze this new formation would be a starting point for our reading of Shaw's contribution to the modern British drama.

Vico rejected all three popular interpretations of the poetic spirit. They saw poetry either as the masterful popular expression of philosophical concepts, or as an entertaining social pastime, or as an exact science accessible to anyone who had the recipe. According to Vico, poetry was born of curiosity, the daughter of ignorance. The first man had to create poetry by the power of his imagination, and the poet means creator. Poetry is the first activity of the human mind, without it there is no thought. People who have not met civilization and lack the ability to analyze and abstract have had to try to explain what they could not understand with their minds using their imagination. Before being able to express, there is song; before abstract concepts, there are metaphors. The metaphorical feature of the oldest poetry should not be considered as the embellishment and sugaring of the language, but as an indicator of a poor vocabulary and failure to reach abstractions. Poets are the perception of humanity, and philosophers are its intelligence. ...poetry is the first condition of philosophy and civilization. (Vico, 2016)

In light of the ideas put forward by Beckett (1929) Vico while summarizing his views on poetry, poetry, which we can generally read as literature, is the vanguard of human knowledge. Accordingly, no field that has not been first discovered through poetry can reach the interest of philosophy. In this context, literature is a fundamental starting point for mankind to know himself and his

² It is a socialist movement. It is an association that gathers intellectuals rather than the working class and has often been accused of being inactive and elitist. The association is still active in England, the London School of Economics and the British Labour Party can be considered among the association's main works. The current Mayor of London, Sadik Khan, was the president of the association between 2008-2010. (Callaghan, 2013; Pease, 2019)

environment, to make sense of it, and to establish civilization. Proust also offers a similar perspective. According to Proust, what drives people to read is their search for their “own self” in what they read. “every reader is, while he is reading, the reader of his own self. The writer’s work is merely a kind of optical instrument which he offers to the reader to enable him to discern what, without this book, he would perhaps never have perceived himself. And the recognition by the reader in his own self of what the book says is the proof of its veracity.” (Cited in Felski, 2008, p. 28) As can be understood from these two quotes, the basis of the argument I present here is not a formalist, aesthetic, linguistic reading but literature as an intellectual tool for “recognizing” literature, for understanding the relationships between people, nature, society, individuals, classes, and genders.

Shaw particularly insists on the central place of women and the sense of duty imposed on them by gender roles in Ibsen’s theatre. Shaw is actually referring specifically to the female protagonists in *A Doll’s House*, *Ghosts* and *Hedda Gabler*. All three women are crushed under the weight of the duties imposed on them by society and are looking for a way out. One escapes this duty by leaving her home, the other by the death of her husband, and Hedda Gabler tragically ends her life. Shaw’s plays similarly focus on women and open the question of how responsible and indebted they are to society and their families.

In *Mrs Warren’s Profession* (1893) he raises the question of what kind of sense of duty and conscience a hypocritical society that has lost all its moral values can expect from the weak and helpless. Although the meaning of *laissez faire* has managed to create a country consisting of successful individuals to some extent, it has been extremely unsuccessful in being a remedy for the misery and disaster of other individuals in the society, as seen in the Irish Potato Famine, and has caused the emergence of very negative social problems. For example, one of the most important social problems of nineteenth-century England was the migration from the village to the city, the loss of settled feudal ties, and the fact that women in particular were left unprotected, forced to sell their bodies in order to find shelter and a bite to eat. In London, one out of every sixteen women was a prostitute. Parliamentary committees were established on this subject, newspapers prepared series of articles, and all conscientious people tried to attract the attention of the society on this subject. Of course, the dominant thought was that these women chose the easy way out instead of working and earning money. However, the statistics of the period show that the wages paid to working women were far from what a woman could pay her rent and eat on her own. (Gündüz, 2013)

Shaw began writing *Mrs Warren’s Profession* in 1893 after seeing Arthur Pinero’s play *The Second Mrs Tanqueray*. Mrs Tanqueray in Pinero’s play is a

woman with a past and when she is forced to confront this past, she commits suicide. Shaw thinks that this does not fit the reality of human beings and writes a very different play. Instead of blaming herself, her Mrs Tanqueray chooses to blame the society and economic order that pushed her on this path.

Of course, the play didn't get permission from the censorship until 1925. When it was staged in America in 1902, there were troubles. The actors and the director were arrested. Even J. T. Grein, who had made it his duty to stage Ibsen's plays, refused to stage it. Nevertheless, the actresses took ownership of the play in a closed-door performance in 1898. Ideals of motherhood, filial piety, honour, social responsibility were all put on the table and turned upside down by Shaw.

In *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, one of the most impressive points Shaw addresses is the section titled "Womanly Woman". When the diary of a Russian artist named Marie Bashkirtseff, who lived in Paris and died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-five, published her writings, she was condemned and criticized in the British press for this book. As a young woman, just like her fellow male emerging artists Bashkirtseff declares that despite social expectations, she intends to commit all her time and life to art. She asserts that she made a choice between having a family and her art and decided to devote herself to art. For writers like Stead, this is unforgivable because, according to them, the "ideal" woman is someone who sacrifices herself for her husband and children, making their happiness and health the sole goal of her life. Shaw states that this "ideal" is a terribly problematic situation and observes that it is obvious that everything that currently plagues society stems from idealistic hatreds. It is unacceptable to force a woman to make a sacrifice on the pretext that she enjoys it anyway. (p. 44)

I would like to end by underlining one last point from *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*. Love is one of the most beloved themes in literature, poetry, cinema and theater, from Shakespeare to Fuzuli, from Stendhal to Reşat Nuri Güntekin, from Karacaoğlan to Yeşilçam films. The beloved is glorified, sacrifices are made for his sake, even the life is given up, he is sanctified and glorified. It is not easy to find the opposite in the history of literature. Shaw does not approach it that way at all: "The man accepts that the woman is wrong; because the truth is unbearable for him, he prefers to establish an emotional bond with her rather than make a humiliating bargain with her. After all this, although they carefully conceal their sexual desire from each other, for men and women this situation is the highest excuse of love and affection." (p. 48) Shaw, who sees love and affection as a mask that people use to hide their sexual desire, emphasized that the disappointment and awakening experienced after this desire is satisfied creates unhappy couples in marriages.

Shaw tends to act in contradiction to the conventions of the melodramatic drama. In his *Arms and the Man* for instance Shaw makes a parody of heroic poses of the Bulgarian nationalist virtuous hero Major Siergius Serenoff. Although he poses as a warrior of courage and daring, his real assessment as a soldier by a professional military man, Captain Bluntschli, he not only endangers his life at suicidal cavalry attack but also his regiments. The only thing that saves his life and helps his name get involved with an absolute defeat and butchery is the fact that the opponent side has a technical problem with ammunition. Yet the specialist Captain Bluntschli is no better than that as all those pretensions of chivalry, gallantry and valor or are just representations of dramatic nature.

The imperiled heroine Raina Petkoff on the other hand goes through a process of disillusionment as the malevolent villain Captain Bluntschli turns out to be a chocolate cream soldier, who breaks into the young girls' room running away from the Bulgarian army. Bluntschli is so exhausted and drained off all energy that she is totally at the mercy of Raina. All the melodramatic structure goes topsy-turvy within this power dynamic as the malevolent villain of melodramas, the captain is the one who with all his defenseless demeanor seeks refuge at the compassion of Raina. Their encounter is an eye-opening occasion for the romantic patriot Bulgarian nationalist girl, whose father and fiancée are officers in the national army fighting at the war.

In Shaw's depiction of the Serbo-Bulgarian war both armies are helped by professional specialist officers like the Swiss legionary Bluntschli. Neither of the armies can continue a war without the help of these professionals, even a minor operation like moving regiments become a crisis for Major Petkoff and Major Serenoff of the Bulgarian army. The nationalist fervor and patriotism which supposedly inheres a hostility and hatred towards the members of the enemy is another illusion dramatized in the play.

Shaw changed his dramatic strategy from *Plays Unpleasant* (1898) which consists of three plays *Widowers' Houses*, *Philanderer*, *Mrs Warren's Profession* to *Plays Pleasant* (1898), *Arms and the Man*, *Candida*, *You Never Can Tell*, *The Man of Destiny* from severely criticizing the system to a more light-hearted criticism of the sociopolitical circumstances. In *Plays Unpleasant* although Shaw deals with socialist themes more directly in themes such as the origin of capital, the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy; seeing that this radicalism would make his plays unfit for the stage; with *Plays Pleasant* his more convivial, more implicit approach, though with some delay and to be transferred back from the German success, opened the English stage to his plays.

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Chapter 9

Id, Ego, Superego, and Oedipus Complex in D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*: A Psychoanalytic Study

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Introduction

This study employs Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory, focusing specifically on the concepts of the id, ego, superego, and Oedipus complex in the novel *Sons and Lovers* by the English writer D. H. Lawrence. In the study, we explore the use of Freudian theory in D. H. Lawrence's landmark novel *Sons and Lovers*, dissecting how the characters' id, ego, and superego manifest themselves and how the Oedipus complex shapes the tight threads throughout the story. It delves into the Morel family, effectively emphasizing the id, ego, superego, and other aspects analyzed by Freudian theory, as reflected in the characters of Gertrude and Walter Morel. The Oedipus complex is most evident in the main character Paul's relationships, reflecting the deeper struggles left by his oppressive mother. The analysis extends to Paul's love affair with Miriam and Clara, showing how his mother's pervasive influence inhibits the ability to build healthy relationships. Finally, the story explores complex psychological skills to communicate to frame the characters' actions and consequences in Lawrence's novel's development of familial romance.

Sigmund Freud, a pioneer in psychoanalytic theory, introduced a system of thought about the human mind that changed our understanding of personality and divided the mind into three divisions: the id, the ego, and the superego, which became a cornerstone of modern psychology. Freud's structural psychology model posits three distinct but interrelated elements: id, ego, and superego. Freud aimed to redefine the laws of the mind and establish a delicate balance between the conscious and the unconscious. As the oldest and most fundamental entity, the id naturally operates on the pleasure principle by seeking immediate desires and needs by analyzing how the characters' id, ego, and superego present themselves and how the Oedipus complex molds and the stringent sequences throughout the plot, this study investigates the application of Freudian theory in D. H. Lawrence's seminal work *Sons and Lovers*.

According to Freud's psychoanalysis theory, there are three inseparable parts to every person's mind (the id, ego, and superego). All these parts make up Freud's concept of the mind's structure. Based on Freud's three-factor model of personality, F. J. Hoffman posits the following as the relationship between the conscious and unconscious mind: "In the Ego and the Id he attempted to redefine the psyche constitution and to establish the proper relationship between consciousness and unconsciousness" (1947, p. 24). All three components, id, ego, and superego, work together to generate behavior in people since no element can be isolated from others and is inextricably linked. Freud defined the id as the oldest, most primal, instinctual aspect of the mental state. According to Kendra Cherry, the id is the only component of personality present from birth (2020, p.

1) and comprises the unconscious part. It comprises irrational, self-serving, impulsive, and natural biological desires and instincts in the unconscious mind; therefore, the pleasure principle governs how the id functions (Spurling, 1989, p. 65). The id includes needs, urges, primal impulses, emotional and intuitive forces, and aims to achieve immediate gratification. For example, in the case of hunger or thirst, since the ego and the superego are not developed yet, the infant seeks wish fulfillment now, and as a result, the baby cries until the wish is actualized.

The ego is the threshold between the unreal self and the outside world and a mediator between the id and the superego. It has access to both the unconscious and the conscious state of the mind. In one of his lectures, Sigmund Freud (1932) stated that where the id is, there shall be an ego. A portion of the ego is unconscious, and not all is conscious. The ego's job is to replace the reality principle with the id and its inclinations by bringing the external world's influence to bear on them (Bowman, 1928, p. 2). It is the source of reason, common sense, and comprehension skills. In response to the immediate wish fulfillment of the id, the ego waits until the right conditions are provided. So, the ego has the agency to take control. Freud explicitly abridges the relationship between the id as a horse and the ego as its rider. Meanwhile, the superego, which develops around 3-5 years during the phallic stage and one of Freud's other theories of psychosexual development, functions as a strong control mechanism against the unreasonable wish-fulfillment of the id in cooperation with societal taboos and norms concerning sex and aggression. The superego strives for perfection and social acceptance. It works on the principle of a reward and punishment system; the Superego is divided into two parts: conscience and the ego ideal. Conscience tells what is right and wrong, and it drives the ego to prevent the id from pursuing morally acceptable, if not pleasurable, or even feasible, desires. The ego ideal directs an individual's life path toward the ideal, perfect goals imposed by society (Stevenson, 1966, p. 2). On the other hand, the Oedipus complex is the boy's desire to replace his father as his mother's partner. From his former observations, he created a theory based on Sophocles' eponymous character, Oedipus Rex, which eventually gave its name to the complex. Freud formulated his theory and mentioned it for the first time in his book *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Freud claims that an infant who identifies with the father aspires to take his position and be the mother's partner. However, the oedipal inclinations of the child are hindered by the father's existence, his desires are repressed, and the cooperation of the ego and the superego desexualizes his libido. Through the superego formation, the Oedipus complex is mastered to create a healthy relationship between the infant and its family. One method of suppressing these impulses arises because the boy's father is a barrier to the birth of oedipal cravings (Lapsley

& Stey, 2011, p. 6). One may construct this barrier inside themselves by strengthening their bond with the father. Because of this identification, the kid can muster the strength to do the necessary act of suppression. This is so that he may utilize this id to appropriate his strong father's powers. However, as we have seen, identification nearly often leads to a modification of the ego (p. 6). The father's absorption to resolve the Oedipus complex is so deep that it creates a new psychological agency called the superego, which emerges from inside the ego and retains the father's attributes throughout this process. To add insult to injury, every single act of the id results in a decrease in libido.

Psychoanalysis of Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers*

One of the most influential personalities in literature throughout the twentieth century was D. H. Lawrence. In addition to being a novelist, poet, and playwright, he wrote short stories. In much of his literary works, he emphasized the dehumanizing impacts of modernity and industrialization's impact on the existence of a human person. His birth took place at Eastwood, Nottinghamshire, in the year 1885. His family consisted of seven people; he was the family's fourth son. Arthur John Lawrence, his father, worked in the coal mines. In addition to being harsh and vicious, he was a big drinker. Lydia's mother, Lawrence, was an educated lady who had worked as a teacher for a brief time. Her educational level was greater than that of her husband, an educator. Lawrence's father represented the working class, while his mother's ancestors represented the middle class. The many disagreements between Lawrence's parents were always caused by the disparities between them in terms of their social, cultural, and educational backgrounds. As a result of his mother's extreme affection and attention, as well as his father's severe treatment of his mother and the children, Lawrence took the side of his mother. As a result, he disapproved of his father (Aswad, 2016, p. 6). In his works, he represented the working class and the underprivileged in a realistic light. Some of Lawrence's works, such as *Sons and Lovers* and *Women in Love*, reflect his intention to portray the lives of working-class people and the hardships they endured during his formative years.

D. H. Lawrence's autobiographical novel, *Sons and Lovers*, was written in 1913 and centered on the fragmented nature of the Morel family. The disharmony and ambivalent marriage of Gertrude Morel (the mother) and Walter Morel (the father) affects all the children negatively. Walter, as an alcoholic and abusive man, neglects his roles in the family both as a father and husband, and besides, Gertrude Morel is no less innocent than her husband. Since she is displeased with her husband's attitude, and as a neglected wife, she gives all her love and attention

to her children. However, the mother's excessive attention creates adversities in the development of her children, especially in Paul.

Walter Morel represents Freud's id concept, driven by unrestrained fantasies and spontaneous actions disregarding societal standards. His actions, motivated by his immediate desires and needs, exacerbate the Morel family's worry, exposing the destructive power of the id. This conflict allows for the psychological fight that Freud believes is essential in balancing primordial dreams with societal order. Meanwhile, Paul Morel portrays the ego as a bridge between Walter's unbridled urges and the ethical pressures of his mother, Gertrude, who represents the superego. Paul's attempts to negotiate the demands of those competing forces duplicate the ego's function as a mediator, postponing pleasure for more suitable settings. She significantly influences Gertrude's family, often because of her drive for respectability and her dogged determination to shape her boys according to her values. A prevailing concern that adds to the circle of relatives' suffering is her overwhelming desire for social status and the way she directs those aims onto her children. Paul Morel's twisted relationship with his mother gives rise to this concern, which, when seen from a psychoanalytic perspective, closely matches Freud's idea of the Oedipus complex. The core of Freud's theory is evoked by Gertrude's implied desire to have a closer bond with Paul than with her husband. Paul reveals the deep psychological tensions of the id, ego, and superego as he tries to balance his commitment to his mom with social standards while seeking a way to satisfy his choice and family responsibility.

Paul Morel's ego, which tries to balance between these conflicting impulses, Gertrude Morel's superego-ruled moral principles, and Walter Morel's impulsive, id-driven inclinations all illustrate the complexity of human psychology. As Paul's strong bond with his mum brings attention to his unresolved inner struggles, which impact his relationships and personal development, Lawrence furthers this investigation via the Oedipus complex. By applying these Freudian concepts, Lawrence offers a deep understanding of the unconscious influences that shape our sense of ourselves and family connections.

Gertrude and Walter Morel's marriage becomes a nightmare for all in a very short period. Walter Morel lives his life to the fullest as his conditions allow him to do. He loves dancing and enjoying public life after work and spends most of his time there: "The father was serving beer in a public house, swilling himself drunk. She despised him and was tied to him. This coming child was too much for her. If it were not for William and Annie, she was sick of it" (Lawrence, 1913, p. 15). In the little amount of time that he spends at home, he uses violence, especially against his wife. "He jerked at the drawer in his excitement. It fell, cut

sharply on his shin, and the reflex, he flung it at her” (1913, p. 59). Walter is unable to suppress the impulses coming from his id. He gets drunk, sings, and dances, enjoys life with his life instincts, but when his authority is undermined, his death instincts become overweight and turn him into an abusive man. His conscience is not enough to cease his violent manners. On the other hand, Gertrude Morel despised her husband’s true essence, “the pity was she was too much his opposite. She could not be content with the little he might be; she would have him the much he ought to be. So, in seeking to make him nobler than he could, she destroyed him” (1913, p. 29). The parenting experience indicates that Mrs. Morel derives fulfillment from her relationships with her boys. It provides her with enjoyment and aids her in alleviating the distress stemming from her experiences as a mother (Behnaz & Hassan, 2017, p. 109). Gertrude Morel grows up in a religious family, and her family shapes her superego. She likes Walter Morel at first sight since he is sincere and entertaining. She thinks he can be changed through marriage, but one of the most significant events of the early 20th century was World War I, which took place from 1914 to 1918 and profoundly affected everyone’s life, including the lives of authors such as D. H. Lawrence.

One of the major themes that developed in many of Lawrence’s literary works was the portrayal of an individual’s self-perception and the changing dynamics of interpersonal interactions in response to environmental and social changes. People’s feelings of loneliness shifted, and they started to feel alone despite being in a throng (Aswad, 2016, p. 14). Gertrude Morel’s psychological and emotional development focuses on the connections she formed throughout her youth and the societal expectations placed on her. She has a strong sense of propriety and righteousness from her upbringing in a religious family, which contrasts with her attraction to Walter Morel, whose working-class energy first captivates her. However, the start of WWI changed society so drastically that Lawrence can examine how people become more alone even in a communal crisis.

Gertrude Morel’s growing dissatisfaction with her husband, Walter, stems from his deceitfulness and addictive behavior. Upon seeing the impossibility of achieving her ideal existence with him, her superego will emerge as the predominant influence in forming her self-identity. Consequently, Gertrude directs her aspirations for perfection onto her children, attempting to shape them according to her idealized vision. This transition from amorous ambitions to parental commitment underscores her difficulty reconciling private objectives with ethical and cultural norms. Oskar Persson Brunsell states, “The lie Mr. Morel talked about himself, in combination with his absence and drinking problem, led to a realization for Mrs. Morel that she could never achieve her ambitions with this man” (2020, p. 15). In that sense, it is clear that Gertrude’s superego

outweighs her id and ego. Her 'self' is striving for perfectness. She is trying to get an ideal husband from Walter, yet all her efforts remain in vain. She commits herself to her children. However, since she is motivated by her ego ideal, she tries to mold her children according to her ideal image. Christopher Driscoll claims that:

The Ego is our conscious reflection of our self. The Ego is the thing that talks to you, when you talk to yourself inside of your own head, the thing interested in balancing internal feelings with external expectations. Then, the Superego is the moral compass of our minds. If the Id is based on base instincts like survival and desire, the Superego marks out the limits imposed on us by society as we try to fulfill our desires. (2022, p. 90)

For Gertrude, boys must get a thorough education, bringing them middle-class standards for life. She often looks down upon her husband because Walter Morel is a proud working-class man who aspires his son to be like him. The clash between Gertrude and Walter, the actual strife of the id – the superego, eventually leads to a family tragedy.

Mrs. Morel exemplifies all three characteristics of Freud's theory of psychoanalysis: Id, ego, and superego. The protagonist's dishonest dispute with her husband is something Gertrude muses about at the beginning of the novel. As Bilal et al. mention, it is given her quick reaction to her husband's demeanor; the research can discern the id component of her personality without a shadow of a doubt (2023, p. 1812). According to Sigmund Freud, the Id is the underlying instinct of a person's psyche that operates on pleasure. An infant's fundamental drives, wants, and desires are met by aspects of their personality other than their id, present from birth. The unconscious, which does not care about doing the correct thing but rather about meeting one's unique personality demands, is the foundation of the id. Similarly, Mrs. Morel's id is displayed in her character due to her violent outbursts against her husband (Bilal et al., 2023, p. 1814). Thus, this quotation reveals her id: "I could kill you, I could!" she said. She choked with rage, her two fists uplifted" (Lawrence, 1913, p. 18). In this quotation, in the second instance, Ms. Morel used could because it demonstrates the likelihood that she would have killed her husband had her ego not gotten in the way. Therefore, it was her ego that made her recognize that killing her husband was the wrong thing to do. Thus, according to Freud, the ego is the practical aspect of our personality that controls our impulses and actions, as opposed to the id. The ego's purpose is to keep the id happy and free from guilt and punishment, whereas the superego is responsible for preventing this. In addition, the ego is the go-between for internal desires and the actual world. So, Mrs. Morel understood she had messed up before. Similarly, we may think of the character's superego in the

same event as she managed to end their argument while being furious with her husband. So, the superego is the aspect of one's psyche responsible for satisfying desires and wants in a manner acceptable to society (Bilal et al., 2023, p. 1814). Like how our parents teach us right from wrong, our superegos do the same. Thus, Mrs. Morel's superego wisely resolved the dispute with her husband.

Furthermore, Mrs. Morel was a devout woman, and her husband was a luxury person. So, she tries to meet her husband in a socially acceptable manner so that he may see the light, but she fails miserably at this, and her thoughts turn entirely to disappointment. According to Freud, the ego is the aspect of a person's personality that is responsible for acting based on the assumption of reality. To maximize the id's pleasure while avoiding the superego's punishment and guilt, the ego is seen as an intermediary between the id's wants and external realism. The ego is the aspect of the id that has changed similarly in the outside world. Even though Mrs. Morel tried to save her husband from his sins, he would not heed her. As Driscoll says, on the contrary, our superego comprises all the information we have about social expectations; it strives to keep us plugged into society because society shields us from the elements (2022, p. 90). When our Id wants to hurt the relationship, our Superego stops it. Because our Ego is influenced by the natural world and our superego is influenced by societal influences, an internal conflict arises in our ego. Ultimately, it is up to our ego to strike a balance. William and Mrs. Lily were seated in the parlor, illuminated only by the fire's glow, in a state of solitude. The time was approaching midnight. William asked his mother about going to sleep if he felt drowsy. Consequently, despite the late hour, Gertrude had a different opinion from him. Mrs. Morel informed her son that she could not leave their presence when everyone else was asleep upstairs. William requested his mother not to doubt them. She responded that she did not trust leaving two individuals like them downstairs. As Bilal et al. state, these events exemplify Mrs. Morel's superego; according to Freud, the superego is the psyche component that refines and civilizes our acts (Bilal et al., 2023, pp. 1814-17). The ego strives to repress inappropriate impulses from the id, conform to societal norms, and behave according to practical ideals.

Mr. Morel always steals from his wife, Gertrude, when he is broke and goes to places to get drunk to satisfy his needs without thinking about his wife or children, and what he only does is satisfy himself. Therefore, this is how his id is displayed. According to Freud, the id is an aspect of a person's psyche that does not care about morality. That aspect of one's psyche is responsible for responding to pleasure principles is known as the id. Sigmund Freud also argued that our id, or primitive, antisocial side, is responsible for our lack of social maturity. Our base, instinctual selves are always trying to meet our basic needs and wants,

regardless of whether it is good or bad; as Walter says, “Then get out on it- it is mine. Get out on it! he shouted. It is me brings the money home, not thee. It is my house, not thine. Then get out on it- Get out on it!” (Lawrence,1913, p. 26). This quotation shows the id ambiguously. Without a doubt, this was the primary catalyst for their altercation. Therefore, the id is an aspect of our psyche that lacks any concept of morality. Because it is built on principles of pleasure, the id might be seen as the source of all evil. Freud said in psychoanalysis personality theory that the id is a component of personality consisting of psychic energy that strives to fulfill the most fundamental wants, desires, and needs. Occasionally, Mr. Morel would argue with his wife for no apparent reason. Consequently, he acts insolently toward his wife. When they were fighting, Mrs. Morel suddenly had a cut on her forehead and was bleeding heavily. Mr. Morel suddenly realized his error when he saw his wife’s injuries. As proposed by Freud, the ego is the aspect of our personality that acts as a buffer between our internal desires and the harsh realities of life. So, the ego’s purpose is to keep the superego’s punishment and guilt at bay while the id’s pleasure is maximized. So, we see Mr. Morel’s ego in the conflict between him and Mrs. Morel; it is only after the argument ends that he realizes his error.

After a long day in the pit, Mr. Morel returned home ravenous. His wife had not even started cooking when he asked her to make dinner. A meal was something that Mr. Morel would bring to the pit in the past. On occasion, he would bring home a bag of lifted food. Upon realizing his house was foodless, he consumed his pit-lifted supper. His dinner now included two pieces of stale, filthy bread with pitted and returning butter. The kids got home from school simultaneously and spotted their dad eating old food. Consequently, Paul begged his father to let the spoiled food go to the rodents, but Mr. Morel was not on board, claiming that he would personally scoop up and devour any bread that fell into the pit. According to Bilal et al., the superego is the judicial aspect of our psyche; the standards of morality guide the actions of the superego; this code of ethics teaches us the difference between good and evil. (2023, pp. 1817-19). Consequently, the superego instructs us on the socially acceptable means of satisfying our desires and wants. Therefore, Mr. Morel’s behavior is in line with his superego. As opposed, it seems like Walter will not be able to stop future events from happening, and Gertrude Morel is not ready to let this happen. Gertrude has already accepted Walter’s position and is becoming increasingly eager to tie Paul to her as the suppressed object of her yearning. Suppose the child’s incestuous Oedipal feelings ultimately win out (Dewart, 2012, p. 6); in that case, the third time will not result in the formation of the symbolic triangle that makes up the functional family environment, where the child’s ego-ideal is

formed by identification with the father; instead, the mother becomes the pole around which the child begins to construct reality, and the father is the pole around which the child's super-ego crystallizes.

Paul is the third child of the Morel family whose personality is crushed by the familial relationship (the conflict of id and superego), which eventually leads him to the Oedipus complex and to have a bleak personality. A mother who is seeking compensation from her children, firstly William and (after William's death) Paul, which could result in life-long psychological damage to the extent that the boys develop an Oedipus complex. This can be seen in the scene where Paul is subjected to bronchitis: "Paul loved to sleep with his mother. Sleep is still most perfect... when it is shared with a beloved. The warmth, the security, and peace of soul, the utter comfort from the touch of the other, knits the sleep, so that it takes the body and soul completely in its healing" (Lawrence, 1913, p. 97). Paul feels comfortable around his mother and despises his father. As seen in the quotation, Paul is trying to replace his father and the father's position as the bedmate of his wife. For Paul, his mother is the source of life, ultimately the lover and the father is a source of hatred, an enemy to be defeated to win the mother's love. His attachment to his mother is so strong that Paul wishes, "Lord, let my father die; he prayed very often" (1913, p. 88). Since Paul is just a child, he lacks a well-developed superego, which deprives him of a clear sense of guilt. On the one hand, he wishes his father to be dead; on the other hand, he says He is torn between the desires of his id and the "Let him not be killed at pit" (p. 88)—the moral sanctions of his superego which is in the phase of being. When Walter is severely injured and stays in the hospital, Paul declares he is "the man in the house now" (Lawrence, 1913, p. 125). The dream of replacing the father was completely achieved for a while. The absence of the father creates a feeling of ecstasy in him. Paul's love and adoration for his mother is beyond the affection a child can possess. The mother and son get even closer during the father's absence. The mother "was gay, like a sweetheart. Suddenly their eyes met, and she smiled to him a rare, intimate smile, beautiful with brightness and love" (1913, p. 130). Their intimacy is reflected not as mother-son relations but rather as lovers.

When Paul was born, Walter and Gertrude suffered from a marriage devoid of love. Paul's mother had little affection for his father when he was born. Paul was the family's second son. Paul, who was delicate, lay in his mother's arms, his eyes fixed on her as if they were searching for her deepest, darkest secrets. Mrs. Morel decided to give her love to him. Paul was a sensitive, gentle youngster who required a lot of attention and adult protection when he was younger. Paul has always been very sensitive, creatively expressive, and imaginative. His mother's inspiration helped him develop into a prospective artist. In addition, Paul detested

his father, as did the other kids. Paul detested his father and often woke up in the middle of the night due to arguments between his mother and father. His mother blocks Paul from her thoughts and feelings because of his father's violent behavior (Zhou, 2021, p. 37). Paul starts to adore her as a mother. William, Paul's brother, is envious of her treatment of Paul since she constantly tries to keep him and treats him with excessive care and affection: "The thought of being the mother of man was warming to her heart. She looked at the child. It had blue eyes and a lot of fair hair and was bonny. Her love came up hot in spite of everything. She had it in bed with her" (Lawrence, 1913, p. 31). As a result, Paul's personality is shaped by his mother's excessive devotion, which causes him to rely on her no matter what (Zhou, 2021, p. 37). He joyfully told his mother that he wanted to pretend to be his father when he was admitted to the hospital due to an occupational accident. These traits and actions went well beyond what one would expect from a typical boy. Despite Mrs. Morel's best efforts, she once detested her husband's life and sought to enhance his cultural and moral accomplishments.

However, class differences were not easily eliminated, and the ongoing fight between the couple profoundly impacted their son's development. Their bond allowed the mother to feel loved by her son and gave Paul a place to find solace and fulfillment in her faith. Mrs. Morel, in the meantime, prevented Paul from speaking to his father. As a result of his exposure to Mrs. Morel's portrayal of his father as a barbarian, Paul grew to detest and loathe him. Paul cut ties with his father, and his mother naturally took charge of her son. Mrs. Morel's dominant household role and assertiveness throughout Paul's development shaped his mother's image. The root cause of Paul's Oedipus complex was her abnormally strong maternal love for her son. Because Paul was the center of her universe, she found Paul and William's connection intolerable (Li et al., 2016, pp. 29-30). Moreover, Paul's Oedipus complex develops regularly and organically as a kid; it is his mother's aberrant pregnancy that feeds into and even reinforces it.

When he fell for Miriam, Paul had to confront an adult relationship with another woman for the first time. Nevertheless, Paul felt obligated to stay faithful to his mother because of their close relationship. In his desire to be faithful to his mother, he fought against Miriam's advances, but he could not help but feel drawn to her. Despite his feelings for Miriam, he was unable to show her the kind of devotion that a normal man would, which got him into difficulties and caused Miriam much spiritual pain. Their romance ended when Paul went back to live with his mom, who also did not approve of them. Mrs. Morel does not despise Clara, but she and Paul cannot continue their love story, and thus their romance ends. As Li et al. state, due to his Oedipus complex, Paul cannot have a regular conversation with a female (p. 31). He has tragic love experiences because he is

unable to love a woman deeply enough for his emotions to mature and sublimate. When Paul finds a girlfriend, he inadvertently chooses one who looks and acts much like his mother, both physically and psychologically. This is because his mother has a profound impact on Paul, and this makes him a horrible lover. However, he was unable to locate a female like her. The impact of his mother on Paul's thoughts and actions was now dawning on him. He experienced a dissociation of his mind and body when he was involved with two women. Even though he surrendered his body to his lovers, his thoughts remained with his mother (Lawrence, 1913, p. 31).

Gertrude's reaction to her husband's absence, formatted as a doting mother, is why Paul's barren personality lacks development. Her replacement of the love of a husband with a love of a son creates ambivalence in relationships of Paul with others, "This intimate mother-son relation ate up his potentials of materializing a relationship with any other woman. Thus, his relation with both Miriam and Clara Dawes resulted in an absolute failure" (Uddin, 2013, p. 36). Paul cannot establish his own unique identity when his mother is around. If he wants to overcome his incompetence, he must vanquish the ghost of his mother, who has ruined his life. When Gertrude's health starts to decline, Paul starts to take action. In the final scenes of the mother and the son, we see the clash between Eros of Gertrude Morel, who is trying to hold on to life so tightly, and Thanatos of Paul Morel, whose superego is defeated by the convictions of death instincts.

Conclusion

Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* brilliantly weaves Freudian theoretical psychoanalytic theories into Morel's family dynamics. Freud's structural model of personality consists of the id, ego, and superego, which is evident in the characters Gertrude, Walter, and their son Paul. The id represented by Walter Morrell reflects primitive instincts and instincts, often letting go in itself for spontaneous and rapid actions. On the other hand, Gertrude strives for equality and social acceptance and models excessive pride as she imposes social norms and moral standards on her children. The story's central theme, the Oedipus complex, unfolds as Paul struggles with his desires and conflicts within the family structure. His intimate relationship with Gertrude, marked by Oedipal traits, shapes his relationships and emotional responses throughout the novel. In addition to serving as a lens through which people may be studied, the psychological interaction between the id, ego, superego, and Oedipus complex also catalyzes the tragedies and familial dynamics that are taking place in the Morel home. Unresolved Oedipus complex ramifications become apparent as Paul navigates his turbulent relationships with Clara and Miriam. The

development of an independent, mature self is impeded by his mother's domination of his life, which is deeply connected to his difficulties in love and connection. Because of this, the book is a psychological study of how family dynamics shape a person's personality and the connections they form. Paul is internally divided in the last moments between the life pressure his mother symbolizes and the death impulses that call him closer to independence; the struggle between Eros and Thanatos is a metaphor for this struggle. An in-depth examination of Freudian norms in literature, *Sons and Lovers* is a product of H. D. Lawrence's storytelling genius in capturing the intricacies of the human psyche.

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Chapter 10

Tell Me Chef, Is A Phd Worth The Apron?

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Introduction

The question of whether a PhD is necessary for culinary professionals has generated considerable debate in both the culinary and academic spheres. Culinary arts have long been seen as a profession grounded in practical experience, where success is measured through hands-on expertise rather than formal academic credentials (Leschziner, 2015). However, the increasing demand for higher academic qualifications, particularly in academia, has led to discussions on the role of advanced degrees like the PhD in the culinary profession. In recent years, the growing credentialism within the culinary and hospitality industries has fueled conversations about whether a PhD enhances or complicates a chef's career path. In response to this ongoing debate, the article "So Chef, Does a PhD Matter? A Malaysian Perspective(s) on Bucher and Lee" by Muhammad Rezza Zainal Abidin and Zulfikry Basar critiques the rising academic expectations placed on culinary professionals, particularly within Malaysia (Abidin & Basar, 2024). They engage with Bucher and Lee's seminal work that explores the challenges chefs face when navigating the transition from industry to academia, offering a critique that highlights the tension between the culinary identity of professionals and the increasing academic credential demands placed upon them.

Bucher and Lee (2023) examine the challenges faced by culinary professionals as they attempt to reconcile their industry experience with the academic expectations of higher education. They argue that the culinary profession's inherent emphasis on hands-on skills and creative expression stands in contrast to the more structured, theoretical nature of academic study, particularly at the doctoral level. This creates a conflict, where chefs may feel that pursuing a PhD compromises their culinary identity, which is often rooted in practical experience, creativity, and the art of cooking. In their response, Abidin and Basar (2024) acknowledge the validity of this tension but also highlight the broader implications of credentialism and the necessity for a more supportive, balanced approach to culinary education.

In their critique, Abidin and Basar (2024) reflect on the specific challenges faced by culinary professionals in Malaysia, where the academic demands within the hospitality sector are rising. They point out the increasingly prevalent notion that a PhD is essential for career advancement in academia, even for those with extensive practical experience. This pressure creates a dilemma for culinary professionals who must navigate the expectations of both their craft and the academic environment, where higher education credentials are often perceived as essential for securing teaching positions or advancing in research-focused careers. While the authors' reflections resonate with many professionals in the field, it is essen-

tial to consider a broader perspective that takes into account not only the challenges but also the potential benefits of integrating academic rigor with culinary expertise. The pursuit of a PhD should not necessarily be seen as a detraction from a chef's identity but rather as an opportunity to enhance their practice through critical thinking, research, and an understanding of food sciences, cultural anthropology, and gastronomy studies (McGee, 2007; Lee et al., 2020). From this perspective, chefs can maintain their professional identity while contributing to the broader academic discourse on food and culinary arts.

This chapter aims to expand on the conversation introduced by Abidin and Basar by offering a response that incorporates both the challenges faced by culinary professionals in academia and the potential for a more balanced approach to culinary education. By exploring how culinary professionals can bridge the gap between industry experience and academic achievement, this chapter proposes a more integrative model of culinary academia—one that recognizes the value of both practical expertise and scholarly inquiry. This approach not only enriches the academic discourse but also paves the way for future culinary scholars to contribute meaningfully to both the academic and professional realms of gastronomy. The goal is not only to critique the pressures placed on chefs but also to propose solutions that support their intellectual and professional development, ensuring that culinary professionals can thrive in both academic and industry settings.

Culinary Identity and The Role of Academia

The relationship between culinary identity and academic training has long been a subject of debate in the context of the professionalization of the culinary arts. In their article, Bucher and Lee (2023) express concerns about the potential loss of culinary identity when chefs transition from industry roles into academia. They argue that the increasing demand for academic qualifications, such as a PhD, leads to a detachment from the hands-on, experiential nature of cooking, which is central to the identity of a chef. According to Bucher and Lee, the rise of credentialism in culinary education may inadvertently shift the focus away from the creative intuition and practical expertise developed over years of industry experience, toward more theoretical and standardized forms of knowledge. This concern is particularly relevant in culinary traditions that emphasize tacit knowledge, which is the knowledge gained through practice rather than formal education, and is often passed down through mentorship and hands-on learning (Rao et al., 2024).

The value of a chef's creative intuition, developed through years of trial, error, and refinement in the kitchen, should not be underestimated (Dagsland et al.,

2024). Culinary practices are inherently linked to experiential learning, and many chefs build their identities around their mastery of techniques, their understanding of flavor combinations, and their ability to innovate within established culinary traditions (Lee, 2021). This experience-based knowledge contributes to the unique style and voice of each chef, which is why some fear that entering academia may dilute or displace this identity (Leschziner, 2015). Furthermore, the transition from being a practitioner to an academic can be perceived as an intellectual “amputation,” where the raw, experiential insights gained from years of professional practice are overshadowed by the theoretical frameworks and academic rigor required in scholarly work. However, it is important to recognize that a chef’s culinary identity does not necessarily need to be compromised when they enter academia. In fact, academic training can complement and enrich the practical knowledge that chefs acquire through their industry experience. As argued by McGee (2007) or Brillat-Savarin (2011), understanding the scientific and cultural dimensions of cooking—such as the chemical reactions behind cooking processes, or the socio-cultural significance of food—can enhance a chef’s ability to innovate and elevate their practice. Academic exploration offers a broader framework for understanding not just how to cook, but why certain techniques work, how food traditions evolve, and how cooking is influenced by social, cultural, and historical contexts (Lee et al., 2020). These insights can expand a chef’s creative boundaries, providing new ways of thinking about their craft and incorporating broader theoretical concepts into their culinary practice.

The integration of academic study with practical experience allows chefs to critically engage with their craft, fostering a deeper understanding of the theoretical foundations behind cooking. For example, chefs with academic training can use their knowledge of food science to improve consistency and precision in their dishes, or they may explore new culinary techniques informed by the latest research in gastronomy (Abidin et al., 2022). This fusion of theory and practice does not diminish the chef’s identity but rather deepens it, adding layers of knowledge and perspective that might otherwise be inaccessible through hands-on experience alone.

Transitioning from practical culinary work to academia does not necessarily diminish a professional’s passion for their craft. Instead, it offers an opportunity to refine and articulate culinary philosophies while expanding creative perspectives (Traynor et al., 2022). The academic environment encourages critical thinking, exploration of underlying principles, and engagement with the cultural, historical, and scientific aspects of cooking. This broader understanding enriches culinary practice, fostering innovation while maintaining respect for traditional culinary values, and enabling professionals to connect practical expertise with

scholarly insights. Academic training does not have to be at odds with a chef's identity. Rather, it can act as a tool that enhances and expands the creative and intellectual capacities of culinary professionals. While practical experience remains a vital aspect of a chef's identity, academia provides the opportunity to deepen that identity by integrating scientific, cultural, and historical knowledge into culinary practice. This approach ensures that the profession evolves alongside contemporary needs, enabling chefs to not only preserve the art of cooking but also innovate in ways that are informed by both tradition and scholarly inquiry.

The Voluntary vs. Pressured Pursuit of a PhD: A Global Perspective

The decision to pursue a PhD in culinary arts can be shaped by a variety of factors, ranging from personal motivations to external pressures imposed by academic institutions. Abidin and Basar (2024) present two key perspectives on this issue. One where the pursuit of a PhD is driven by personal choice and intellectual curiosity, and another where it is influenced or even mandated by institutional pressures, particularly those related to academic prestige and career progression. Both perspectives highlight valid concerns, but a closer examination reveals that the reality of pursuing a PhD in the culinary field is far more complex, influenced by a combination of individual aspirations and institutional dynamics.

From a personal standpoint, the pursuit of a PhD should ideally be a voluntary decision driven by a genuine intellectual curiosity and a desire to contribute to the broader academic conversation about food and culinary practices. This aligns with Abidin and Basar's view that the decision to pursue a PhD should stem from a passion for deepening knowledge in areas such as food culture, gastronomy, and the social dynamics of culinary traditions. A voluntary pursuit allows culinary professionals to explore new ideas, critically engage with their craft, and expand their understanding beyond the hands-on experience of the kitchen (Leschziner, 2015). It also provides the opportunity to examine subjects like the history of cuisine, food policy, and sustainability, which enrich the professional and personal growth of the individual chef (Abidin et al., 2022). This aligns with research by Hertzman and Maas (2012), who argue that when chefs pursue academic degrees voluntarily, their intrinsic motivation often leads to more meaningful contributions to the field of culinary arts. However, the reality of pursuing a PhD is not always so straightforward. As Abidin and Basar highlight, there are institutional pressures that increasingly shape the academic landscape. In Malaysia, as in many other parts of the world, universities and institutions within the hospitality sector are increasingly demanding higher qualifications, such as PhDs, in order to remain competitive in global rankings (Sarrico, 2022). This trend is

often driven by the “rankings race”—the pursuit of higher academic prestige through the increasing number of faculty members with terminal degrees, which is seen as an indicator of academic credibility and institutional success (Staller, 2022). This credentialism creates a dilemma for culinary professionals, as they must balance their personal passions with the external pressures placed on them by their institutions. The pressure to obtain a PhD can make chefs feel coerced into academic pursuits, not necessarily out of intrinsic motivation but due to institutional expectations that treat a PhD as an essential credential for career advancement in academia (Bucher & Lee, 2023).

This is not a challenge faced only by Malaysian institutions; it is a global issue. Across the world, many academic institutions within the hospitality and culinary sectors prioritize academic credentials over industry experience, often assuming that a PhD will automatically elevate the quality of teaching or research within the field (Abidin & Basar, 2024). However, this credentialism can overlook the wealth of knowledge and creativity that experienced chefs bring to the academic environment. As noted by Lee et al. (2020), the hands-on expertise and practical innovation developed over years in the kitchen are often underappreciated by institutions that focus solely on academic qualifications. This emphasis on academic credentials also fails to recognize that industry experience offers unique perspectives that cannot be easily replaced by theoretical knowledge. As chefs transition into academic roles, their practical expertise and real-world insights are crucial for shaping relevant, meaningful curricula and advancing research in culinary fields that reflect contemporary challenges and trends (McBride & Flore, 2019).

Thus, the assumption that a PhD alone will enhance the quality of teaching or research may be misguided, especially when it overlooks the holistic value that experienced professionals bring to academia. Industry expertise and academic qualifications do not have to be mutually exclusive. In fact, both can coexist and enrich each other. By integrating practical culinary experience with academic research, institutions can offer a more comprehensive education that combines the best of both worlds. This idea aligns with the arguments made by McGee (2007), who emphasizes the importance of integrating scientific knowledge with practical cooking techniques, and Abidin et al. (2022), who call for a more interdisciplinary approach to culinary education that values both hands-on skills and theoretical inquiry.

In conclusion, the decision to pursue a PhD in the culinary arts is not a one-dimensional issue. It is shaped by a variety of factors, including personal motivations, institutional pressures, and the need to navigate the global academic landscape. While pursuing a PhD voluntarily, driven by intellectual curiosity, offers significant benefits in terms of personal and professional growth, the pressure to

acquire academic credentials in order to meet institutional demands can complicate this decision. The broader global context reveals that credentialism in the culinary field is not unique to any one country, and the focus on PhDs as the primary means of academic advancement overlooks the critical value that industry experience brings to the table. Therefore, it is essential for institutions to rethink their models of academic advancement, recognizing that a balance between academic qualifications and practical expertise can offer a more holistic and enriched approach to culinary education and research.

The Challenges and Opportunities of Culinary Academia

The transition from the kitchen to academia presents both significant challenges and opportunities for culinary professionals, as discussed by Abidin and Basar (2024). One of the major obstacles they highlight is the scarcity of culinary-specific PhD programs, which poses a considerable barrier for chefs who aspire to move into academic roles while preserving the integrity of their professional expertise. This concern is particularly relevant given that many academic institutions continue to offer generic hospitality management programs rather than specialized tracks that fully integrate culinary practice with academic research. These generic programs, while valuable in certain contexts, often fail to honor the specificity and artistry of culinary arts, focusing more on administrative aspects of hospitality management rather than the hands-on culinary techniques, cultural implications, and scientific principles that define the field (Prezenza & Messeni Petruzzelli, 2019). Consequently, chefs are often forced to navigate programs that do not align with their specialized knowledge, which may lead to frustration and a sense of professional disconnect from their culinary roots.

The lack of culinary-specific academic pathways not only limits the opportunities for chefs to pursue advanced degrees but also leaves their professional expertise underappreciated in academia. The culinary arts are often seen as a practice-based field, which may not fit neatly into the theoretical frameworks of broader hospitality programs. As noted by Brillat-Savarin (2011), culinary knowledge involves a deep understanding of the scientific principles underlying cooking processes, as well as an appreciation for the cultural and historical dimensions of food. These aspects are essential for chefs wishing to contribute to the academic discussion on food culture, gastronomy, and sustainability. By failing to offer PhD programs specifically tailored to the needs of culinary professionals, academic institutions may inadvertently narrow the scope of culinary research and limit the contributions that experienced chefs can make to the field of food studies.

Another significant challenge identified by Abidin and Basar is the prevailing institutional emphasis on research output, which can create a disconnect between academic requirements and practical experience. The “publish or perish” culture, which is prevalent in many academic environments, places immense pressure on educators to produce research papers, often at the expense of their professional practice (Çakir et al., 2024; Horta & Li, 2023). In the case of culinary professionals, this dynamic can be particularly alienating. Because many chefs are more accustomed to the tangible and immediate results of cooking and teaching in the kitchen rather than the abstract, long-term process of academic writing (Lin & Baum, 2016). The drive for publication can detract from the development of innovative culinary practices or hands-on teaching that chefs may find more meaningful. As such, the emphasis on academic publishing may risk sidelining the very experiences and insights that culinary professionals bring to the academic table (Abidin & Basar, 2024).

The challenges faced by culinary professionals in academia also present significant opportunities for the evolution of the field. As Abidin and Basar suggest, one of the most promising avenues for improvement is the development of interdisciplinary PhD programs that combine culinary practice with fields such as food science, anthropology, and cultural studies. These interdisciplinary programs would not only value the practical expertise that chefs possess but also allow them to critically engage with academic questions about food, culture, and society. According to Lee et al. (2020), integrating culinary practice with disciplines like anthropology and cultural studies can provide valuable insights into the social and cultural contexts of food production, consumption, and its role in shaping identities and communities. Furthermore, food science can offer chefs a deeper understanding of the biological and chemical processes behind cooking techniques, leading to innovations that enhance the quality, safety, and sustainability of food. By creating tailored academic pathways, institutions can foster a space where chefs can thrive as both practitioners and scholars. This approach aligns with recent calls for greater recognition of the multidimensional nature of culinary arts, where expertise in cooking is seen as equally valuable as academic knowledge (Vu et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2023). Integrating these fields can enrich the study of food, making it more inclusive and reflective of the real-world challenges and innovations in the culinary profession (Bulut & Ciftci, 2024).

Moreover, the traditional PhD pathway should not be seen as the only route for culinary professionals who wish to engage with academia. As the field evolves, institutions must rethink rigid academic structures and offer more flexible educational opportunities. For example, professional certifications, research-based master’s degrees, and industry collaborations can offer viable alternatives that

allow chefs to engage with academic ideas and research while maintaining a close connection to the craft they love. These alternative pathways can provide more immediate, practical benefits to chefs and the broader culinary community, allowing for the integration of academic insights into professional practice without the lengthy commitment of a traditional PhD program (Sarrico, 2022). Furthermore, these flexible options could encourage greater diversity in the types of research that are conducted, addressing both theoretical and practical aspects of the culinary world.

In conclusion, while the challenges facing culinary professionals transitioning into academia are significant, there are substantial opportunities to reshape the academic landscape. By developing interdisciplinary PhD programs that bridge the gap between culinary practice and academic research, and by offering flexible educational pathways, institutions can create an environment where chefs can contribute meaningfully to academic discourse while preserving their professional expertise. This would not only enhance the relevance of culinary academia but also empower chefs to innovate, teach, and research in ways that reflect the complex, multifaceted nature of the culinary arts. Ultimately, the integration of academic rigor and professional experience will ensure that the culinary profession evolves in a way that respects both its rich traditions and its dynamic future.

Institutional Pressures and Mandated Academic Pursuits

The increasing pressure on culinary professionals to pursue advanced academic credentials, particularly a PhD, is a significant concern highlighted by Abidin and Basar (2024). This pressure is especially pronounced in Malaysia, where academic institutions are becoming more focused on securing high rankings and improving their institutional prestige. The demand for faculty members to hold a PhD has created an environment in which many chefs feel compelled to pursue advanced degrees, despite their primary passion lying in the kitchen and practical culinary work, rather than in academia. But this issue is not unique to Malaysia. It is part of a broader global trend where the increasing emphasis on academic credentials in many professional fields, including culinary arts, is reshaping the academic landscape.

The phenomenon of credentialism—the emphasis on holding formal qualifications as a marker of competence and capability—has become a key driver of this pressure (Sarrico, 2022). In many countries, the pursuit of a PhD is often seen as the gold standard for securing a position in academia, particularly in higher education institutions striving to improve their rankings in national and international systems (Staller, 2022). This trend has extended into the culinary arts, where

academic institutions, in their quest to achieve higher rankings, prioritize research-based qualifications over the practical expertise and hands-on experience that culinary professionals traditionally bring to the table (Horta & Li, 2023). As a result, chefs are increasingly finding themselves in a dilemma: to advance in academia, they must acquire a PhD, even if it does not align with their personal interests or professional aspirations. While the pressures faced by chefs in this context are understandable, I believe these institutional mandates must be critically reevaluated. The assumption that obtaining a PhD is automatically a path to career advancement in culinary academia may overlook the importance of a holistic approach to professional development. Culinary professionals bring a wealth of industry experience, creativity, and practical knowledge that cannot be easily replicated by academic credentials alone. As Abidin and Basar (2024) note, the pursuit of a PhD can be a coercive process for chefs, forcing them into a path that may not align with their career goals. The focus on credentials can lead to burnout or disillusionment, particularly for those who feel disconnected from their culinary roots.

In response to these challenges, culinary institutions should rethink their approach to academic requirements and support systems. Rather than making a PhD a mandatory credential for career advancement, institutions should develop more inclusive and flexible pathways that allow culinary professionals to thrive as both practitioners and academics. One potential solution is to offer clear support mechanisms for faculty members, ensuring that their professional development aligns with both academic expectations and their practical expertise. These support structures could include funding opportunities for PhD studies, sabbaticals that allow chefs to focus on research without sacrificing their teaching roles, and partnerships with industry leaders that enable chefs to stay connected to the profession while pursuing academic qualifications (Lee et al., 2020). By providing these resources, culinary institutions can create an environment where chefs are empowered to balance their academic aspirations with their professional development, ultimately enhancing both their academic contributions and their industry expertise.

Furthermore, the current credentialization of culinary academia, where emphasis is placed on academic qualifications rather than holistic professional development, poses several challenges. While academic credentials are important for ensuring research quality and establishing credibility in academia, they should not be the sole determining factor for career progression. A more nuanced approach would recognize that industry experience, creative thinking, and culinary knowledge are equally valuable assets in academia. A balanced approach that honors both academic qualifications and professional experience would not only

improve the quality of culinary education but also allow chefs to contribute to academia without feeling pressured into a narrow, potentially limiting academic model. This would create a more inclusive academic culture, where chefs can engage in meaningful academic research while staying grounded in the real-world realities of the culinary profession (Bulut & Ciftci, 2024).

A critical reconsideration of the role of academic credentials in culinary academia could also help address issues such as academic burnout, lack of job satisfaction, and disconnection from the profession. By focusing on professional development that integrates practical skills with academic learning, culinary institutions can create an environment where chefs are not forced to choose between academic achievement and professional passion. Instead, they can pursue a career path that allows them to excel in both realms, contributing to the growth and evolution of the culinary field without sacrificing their professional identity.

In conclusion, while the institutional pressure to pursue a PhD in culinary arts is a growing concern, it is essential for academic institutions to adopt a more flexible and supportive approach to faculty development. By creating alternative pathways for professional advancement that value both practical expertise and academic credentials, institutions can foster a more inclusive and innovative culinary academia. This shift will not only benefit culinary professionals but will also enrich the academic community by ensuring that real-world experience and academic inquiry work in tandem to advance the field of culinary arts.

Conclusion

The ongoing debate about whether culinary professionals should pursue a PhD reflects a complex and multifaceted issue. On one hand, the tension between maintaining a culinary identity rooted in practical expertise and responding to the pressures of academic credentialism is real and challenging (Bucher & Lee, 2023; Abidin & Basar, 2024). On the other hand, as the culinary world becomes more intertwined with academic rigor and scholarly inquiry, the question of how to reconcile these two aspects of the profession becomes increasingly important. In response to the concerns raised by both Bucher and Lee and Abidin and Basar, I argue that this tension can be effectively addressed through thoughtful and strategic reform in culinary academia.

The challenge of credentialism—where formal academic qualifications are often seen as the sole pathway to success in academia—can be mitigated by flexible reforms that embrace both practical experience and academic rigor. Culinary institutions should consider offering interdisciplinary academic pathways that allow chefs to maintain their professional identity while engaging meaningfully with academic research. These pathways would incorporate the expertise chefs bring

from the field of gastronomy, food science, and cultural studies, allowing them to contribute to the broader academic conversation without feeling that they have to relinquish their hands-on skills or industry experience. Recent studies have shown that integrating practical knowledge with theoretical inquiry can result in more dynamic and relevant academic discourse in the culinary field (Bulut & Ciftci, 2024). This approach fosters innovation, broadens the scope of culinary research, and ensures that chefs do not feel alienated by academic structures that fail to respect their unique contributions.

At the heart of this issue is the notion that the decision to pursue a PhD should be a personal choice, driven by intellectual curiosity and passion rather than external institutional pressures. As Abidin and Basar (2024) emphasize, many chefs may feel compelled to pursue academic credentials due to institutional mandates that favor formal qualifications over practical experience. This trend, driven by the increasing emphasis on university rankings and the “publish or perish” culture, risks undermining the value of industry experience and creative culinary practice. The decision to pursue advanced academic study should not be a forced choice but rather a voluntary one that aligns with the individual's professional goals and intellectual interests (Horta & Li, 2023). Institutions must recognize that chefs bring invaluable insights to the academic environment, which are often rooted in years of hands-on work in the kitchen. Their experiences, creative approaches, and cultural knowledge offer perspectives that are crucial for enriching culinary scholarship and fostering innovation within the academic realm.

As the culinary profession continues to evolve, so too must academic structures. The future of culinary academia should reflect the growing importance of multidisciplinary knowledge in the food industry, recognizing that chefs can thrive not only in the kitchen but also in the classroom, contributing both practical expertise and theoretical insights. Culinary institutions must adapt to these changes, fostering an environment that celebrates the intersection of culinary practice and academic inquiry, ensuring that chefs can balance their professional identity with their academic aspirations. By doing so, the culinary arts can be seen not just as a craft but also as a dynamic field of study that evolves with the times and addresses the broader societal challenges related to food, culture, and sustainability (Lee et al., 2020).

In conclusion, while the challenges of credentialism in culinary academia are significant, they can be mitigated by developing academic systems that value both academic qualifications and practical expertise. Institutions should create pathways that allow chefs to engage in scholarly work without sacrificing their professional identity, recognizing the invaluable contributions that industry pro-

professionals bring to academia. As the culinary world continues to evolve, it is crucial that academic structures evolve in tandem, ensuring that culinary professionals can continue to thrive both in their kitchens and in academic environments, ultimately enriching the culinary field with new knowledge and innovative ideas.

Implications to Gastronomy and Culinary Arts

The implications of this discussion for gastronomy are significant, particularly in how we perceive the relationship between culinary practice and academic scholarship. By advocating for a more integrated approach to culinary arts in academia, this chapter emphasizes the importance of recognizing culinary expertise as both a practical and intellectual pursuit. Culinary professionals, when equipped with both industry experience and academic knowledge, can contribute to the broader discourse on food, culture, sustainability, and gastronomy in ways that transcend the kitchen. This shift in perspective has the potential to elevate the entire field of gastronomy, encouraging a more holistic understanding of food practices that goes beyond technical skills to incorporate critical thinking, research, and theory.

Academic institutions that embrace this integrated approach could offer more interdisciplinary programs that blend the culinary arts with food sciences, anthropology, cultural studies, and sustainability. Such programs would not only provide chefs with the academic credentials needed for career advancement but also ensure that their professional experience remains a vital part of the learning process. This would create a more inclusive academic environment where culinary professionals can thrive as both scholars and practitioners, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of gastronomy that recognizes the value of hands-on knowledge while encouraging innovative research.

Furthermore, recognizing culinary arts as an interdisciplinary field could lead to more collaborative research between chefs, food scientists, cultural theorists, and sustainability experts. As chefs engage with academic research, they can bring their unique insights into the cultural and social dimensions of food, allowing for more diverse and inclusive explorations of global culinary practices. This collaboration can help bridge the gap between theory and practice, ensuring that gastronomy continues to evolve in meaningful ways that address contemporary issues such as food security, sustainability, and cultural preservation.

By valuing both the practical and academic dimensions of the culinary profession, the broader gastronomic community can help shape a future where culinary arts are seen not only as a craft but also as a dynamic and evolving field of study. This holistic view has the potential to enrich the field of gastronomy, creating

more opportunities for culinary professionals to engage with critical issues, influence food culture, and contribute to the global understanding of food in a way that is both scholarly and grounded in real-world practice.

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Chapter 11

Problems In Public Administrations of Türkiye and Azerbaijan¹

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PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIONS OF TÜRKİYE AND AZERBAIJAN

Abstract

In this study, the current problems experienced in the public administrations of Türkiye and Azerbaijan are examined. The government structure of each state has its own characteristics. Public administrations are shaped according to the government structures of states. For this reason, the management structures connected with the government systems of both states were examined first in the study. Later, the problems experienced within the public administration system were included. The aim of the study is to examine the current problems experienced by the public administrations of Türkiye and Azerbaijan. It is a qualitative study. A literature review was conducted. Turkish and Azerbaijani Turkish were mostly used for the works written in Turkish. Legal documents of both states and related literature were used. After examining the government systems and public administration organizations of Türkiye and Azerbaijan in the study, the current problems experienced by both states in terms of public administration were included. When the forms of government of Türkiye and Azerbaijan are compared, it turns out that the form of government is a Republic, and the state structure of both countries has a unitary state structure. A centralized administrative structure prevails in both countries. The State of the Republic of Türkiye is governed by the Constitution of 1982, while Azerbaijan is governed by the Constitution of 1995. Constitutions have the characteristic of a casuistic constitution. The President of both countries has been given extensive powers. The regime adopted in both countries comes across as a democratic regime.

Keywords: Public administration, Türkiye, Azerbaijan

Türkiye ve Azerbaycan Kamu Yönetimlerinde Yaşanan Sorunlar

Öz

Çalışmada Türkiye ve Azerbaycan kamu yönetimlerinde yaşanan güncel sorunlar incelenmektedir. Her devletin hükümet yapısı kendisine has özellikler taşımaktadır. Devletlerin hükümet yapılarına göre kamu yönetimleri şekillenmektedir. Bu sebeple çalışmada önce her iki devletin hükümet sistemleri ile bağlantılı yönetim yapıları incelenmiştir. Daha sonra kamu yönetimi sistemi içerisinde yaşanan sorunlara yer verilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı Türkiye ve Azerbaycan kamu yönetimlerinden yaşanan güncel sorunları incelemektir. Nitel bir çalışmadır. Literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Türkiye Türkçesi ve Azerbaycan Türkçesi ile yazılmış eserlerden çoğunlukla faydalanılmıştır. Her iki devletin hukuki belgeleri ve ilgili literatürden yararlanılmıştır. Çalışmada Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın hükümet sistemleri ile kamu yönetimi teşkilatları incelendikten sonra her iki devletin kamu yönetimleri açısından yaşadıkları güncel sorunlara yer verilmiştir. Türkiye ve Azerbaycan'ın yönetim biçimleri karşılaştırıldığında yönetim biçiminin Cumhuriyet olduğu, her iki ülkenin devlet yapısının üniter bir devlet yapısına sahip olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Her iki ülkede de merkezîyetçi bir idari yapı hakimdir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti 1982 Anayasası ile yönetilirken, Azerbaycan 1995 Anayasası ile yönetilmektedir. Anayasalar kazuistik anayasa özelliği taşımaktadır. Her iki ülkenin de Cumhurbaşkanı kapsamlı yetkiler verilmiştir. İki ülkede de benimsenmiş olan rejim demokrasi rejimi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kamu yönetimi, Türkiye, Azerbaycan

1. Introduction

The state is an organization of organizations. It is expected to be the most perfect organization. The state needs a certain organizational structure, a certain policy, personnel and assets in order to fulfill its duties, powers and activities. In this respect, it becomes very important for management to have a certain organization, personnel and policies and to carry them out in a systematic order.

Public administration organization takes a form according to space and time conditions, social, economic and political conditions and opportunities in the country. For this reason, the existence of a single type of public administration organization is not mentioned. Naturally, the management structure of each country may be different.

When we look at the formation of the administrative structure in all countries, it becomes clear that the administrative organization is established according to the rules of law. Therefore, organizations within the public administration organization always need a legal basis for their existence.

Both the public administration organizations of the states and the negativities experienced by these public administration organizations differ. The public administration organization of each state is organized in accordance with its own government system. This is also the case for Türkiye and Azerbaijan. Public administration organizations in both countries are compatible with existing government systems. The government systems of both countries have both strengths and weaknesses. This is the case within public administration organizations. The problems experienced by both states in the field of public administration are examined in this study.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Türkiye's Management System

It is known that in the Republic of Türkiye, various government systems have been experienced from past to present depending on social, political and economic situations. These; It appears as the Parliamentary Government system and the Parliamentary system. It is known that from 1921 to 1923, the parliament had a strong structure and came to the fore, and the Parliamentary Government system, which is one of the government systems in which the legislature, executive and judiciary came together in the parliament, was implemented. It has been observed that in this government system, the judicial power belongs to the Independence Courts established through the parliament, and the executive power belongs to the Council of Ministers, which consists of the members of the parliament. Based on this, it can be said that how strong the parliament is, both

the government and the judiciary have a structure that is extremely dependent on the parliament, and that it is implemented as a system that acts in accordance with the parliament (Dinç & Yılmaz, 2022: 170).

Turkish politics was first introduced to the concept of parliament in 1877. Because it is possible to see the roots of the Parliamentary system in Türkiye in a long past time. Parliamentary system was observed during the Ottoman Empire. After the end of the Ottoman Empire and the Parliamentary Government system specified in the 1921 Constitution, Türkiye has been governed by a parliamentary system for nearly a hundred years. With the proclamation of the Republic on October 29, 1923, it was observed that the parliamentary system was implemented (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925; Mammadov, 2020: 49).

In the parliamentary system, the status of the President has been strengthened and some decisions that he can make on his own have been introduced. The most important of these are It is known that there are important decisions such as appointing the Prime Minister or approving the resignation of the Prime Minister, deciding on the renewal of parliamentary elections, and submitting the changes to be made to the public vote in case of constitutional amendment. The majority of the executive was composed of the parliament, and the people in the executive were responsible to the parliament (Dinç & Yılmaz, 2022: 172; Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925). It is possible to talk about the existence of the parliamentary system in Türkiye from 1923 to 2017. Based on the constitutions of the Republic of Türkiye, it is seen that a system of smooth separation of forces was dominant in Türkiye until 2017, except for the War of Independence (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925).

However, although it seems that the parliamentary system was dominant until 2017, it is seen that it was fully dominant until 2014, and after 2014, the semi-presidential system came to the fore, and with the constitutional amendment made in 2017, the presidential government system is now truly implemented. Apart from the parliamentary government system implemented between 1921 and 1924, it can be said that the parliamentary system dominated Turkish politics for many years (Dinç & Yılmaz, 2022: 173-175).

There was no political instability from the single-party periods until 1960. When no problems arose during these periods, some questions were not made on the government system. However, later on, after the 1960s, some political instability and military coups occurred, which led to the emergence of ideas for a change in the government system in the 1980s (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925). While some politicians offered ideas for changing the government system, there were also those who drew attention to the problems arising from the election

systems rather than the government systems. Many different opinions have emerged on the government system, whether to change the system or not. People who have ideas about the continuation of the parliamentary system have suggested that the deficiencies of this system should be completed and the problems should be solved and continued. Those who are positive about the semi-presidential and presidential systems and want this system want the parliamentary system to end (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925-926).

In Türkiye, until 2017, soft separation of forces prevailed at all times except the War of Independence. Therefore, the executive was not elected by the people, but was elected from within the parliament (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925).

In Türkiye, a referendum was held for the constitutional amendment in 2007, and with the result of the referendum, a way was now opened for the people to elect the President, not the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Yördem & Şeker, 2018: 13). Although the way has been cleared for the President to be elected by the people, this does not indicate that the separation of powers has been sharply divided. Because most of the Prime Minister and Ministers were members of the parliament and depended on the vote of confidence. Years later, with the constitutional amendment in 2017, the future of a new system that envisaged a strict separation of powers emerged. However, this harsh distinction will not be like the presidential system implemented in the USA, but will emerge as the Presidential Government System, which will have a different structure in some aspects than in the USA (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 925). With the constitutional amendment on October 21, 2007, the people can now elect the President. However, according to this change, Abdullah Gül, the 11th President, was not elected by the people, but was elected by the Turkish Grand National Assembly and became the President. Here, the current method of electing the President has changed, but there is no change in the implementation of the system, that is, the fact that Abdullah Gül was elected by the Turkish Grand National Assembly rather than by the people, shows that the semi-presidential system has been transitioned only at the legal level, not at the practical level (Turan, 2018: 56). However, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who became the 12th President in the Presidential election in 2014, became the first President to be directly elected by the people by popular vote. Thus, the change in the system was put into action, and since the elections held in 2014, there has been a transition to the semi-presidential system de facto and on legal grounds (Turan, 2018: 56).

Thus, with the Presidential election held on 10 August 2014, a President was elected for the first time by the people's vote, and thus the elected President took office (Yördem ve Şeker, 2018: 13). However, in this system, which is referred

to as semi-presidentialism, the people also elect the Prime Minister, who is the head of the government. This situation has given rise to some debates on duality in the executive branch (Turan, 2018: 53). Thus, in Türkiye, the law No. 6771 on the amendment of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye was accepted with the referendum held on April 16, 2017, and the parliamentary system was abandoned and the presidential system of government was adopted. With the system change, the dualist structure in the executive branch has now become a monist structure, the Council of Ministers has been abolished and all powers belong to the President (Eryılmaz, Sözen & Köseoğlu, 2019: 98).

It is possible to say that there were some important political leaders in Türkiye who previously emphasized the presidential system of government and included this in their speeches. One of these important political leaders; The ideas that Alparslan Türkeş, Necmettin Erbakan, Turgut Özal and Süleyman Demirel could not realize about this system were put forward through Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, with the support of Devlet Bahçeli, who is today the chairman of the Nationalist Movement Party (Turan, 2018: 44). Thus, the new government system could be put into practice with the support of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who had done politics with Necmettin Erbakan and came from his tradition, and Devlet Bahçeli, who came from the Nationalist Movement Party tradition and had done politics with Alparslan Türkeş in the Nationalist Movement Party. Thus, the fact that the leaders with whom they worked in politics focused on the presidential system and that they themselves were still in politics were effective in the implementation of this system, and over time, with the emergence of some events, for example, the coup attempt in our country on July 15, 2016, a new situation emerged in the country, Justice and made the Development Party and the Nationalist Movement Party closer to each other, and this closeness caused the process to work quickly (Turan, 2018: 45).

Following the coup attempt, a State of Emergency was declared on 21 July 2016 in order to prevent all dangers and threats that may come from inside and outside. The State of Emergency was lifted on July 19, 2018, during the period when the Presidential government system was implemented. The new government's aim to prevent some problems, troubles, dangers and threats due to some blockages in the politics within the country, the impact of the conflicts and wars in the Middle East, the existence of some global threats to our country, and finally the coup attempt on July 15th. It accelerated the process of switching to the system (Turan, 2018: 45). After the constitutional amendment referendum was held on 16 April 2017, the Presidential Election and the General Parliamentary Elections were held on 24 June 2018. As a result of these elections,

Türkiye's legal and operational transition to a new government system, namely the Presidential Government System, was achieved (Turan, 2018: 43).

The presidential system of government implemented in Türkiye does not have the same characteristics and qualifications as the presidential system implemented in the USA. But a management system much closer to the presidential system is implemented (Mammadov, 2020: 1).

In the system governed by the separation of powers in the Republic of Türkiye, the President is the head of the executive, the Turkish Grand National Assembly is in the Legislature, and the Independent Courts are in the Judiciary.

The presidential system of government has brought about significant changes in the legislative, executive, judicial bodies and Türkiye's administrative organization, creating a new organization. This system is called the Turkish type presidential system. It can also be expressed this way. The most important features of the new system are that the executive body is not submitted to the legislative body for approval, the executive power is single-headed, and the powers of the President are increased and it becomes a structure with broad powers. It is seen that the important changes made in the administrative organization of the Republic of Türkiye are mostly in the capital part of the central administration. Thus, in the Presidency; Vice-presidential offices, offices and boards were created (Özdemir, 2021: 284-285).

Before the constitutional amendment in 2017, when the parliamentary system was dominant in Türkiye, the executive power in this system was the President and the Council of Ministers. However, with the constitutional amendment, all powers and duties belonging to the executive are concentrated only in the President. The incoming President can form a government with the ministers he appoints. As in the old system, it is no longer possible to form a government through the parliament (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 928). The new system has given broad powers to the President in the executive field, thus granting the President the authority to make decrees and regulations in all areas that are not limited by the constitution and laws (Yördem & Şeker, 2018: 14). Although the presidential system of government is not exactly the same as the presidential system, it has some similarities. The most important of these is that the legislative and executive bodies are strictly separated from each other, as in the presidential system (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 928). While previously, in the parliamentary system, the government was subject to a vote of confidence, with the new system, the government formed by the President is not submitted to a vote of confidence and ministers are not subject to approval by the parliament (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 928). In the presidential system of government, the

President is responsible to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye from ensuring the national security of the country to the preparation of the armed forces. The Council of Ministers was previously responsible for these issues, but with the change, this responsibility now belongs directly to the President (Akçakaya & Özdemir, 2018: 930). Since the presidential government system is a system change for the executive, the constitutional amendment, the Decree Law, and the Presidential Decrees have also brought a regulation in this area, that is, the executive field (Turan, 2018: 81). Some regulations have also been made in the legislative and judicial fields.

Considering the legislative regulations, the ties and relations between the powers have become an important issue in this system, and the importance of this is emphasized by emphasizing the separation of powers in the constitutional amendment. On the other hand, those who wanted the system to change constantly mentioned this issue, and the Justice and Development Party's use of the slogan "Strong Parliament, Strong Government" in the election on June 24, 2018 showed how important and frequently this issue was emphasized (Turan, 2018: 48).

The constitutional amendment made in 2017 introduced some changes in the legislative section. These are: It appears as a regulation on the number of members of parliament. The number of deputies, which was previously 550, was increased to 600, the election age was reduced to 18 from 25, and the condition of having previously completed military service was rearranged to have no connection with military service (Turan, 2018: 48). The main reason for these changes in the voting age being 18 is to ensure a more democratic, more dynamic and broader participation (Dinç & Yılmaz, 2022: 192).

Before the 2007 Constitutional amendment, elections were held every 5 years. With the 2007 Constitution, it was decided that elections would be held every 4 years, but with the amendment, going back to 2007, it was decided again that the Turkish Grand National Assembly elections would be held every 5 years (Turan, 2018: 48). Thus, elections are held every 5 years. With these changes and regulations, the elections were held on 24 June 2018 and the elections were; The People's Alliance, formed by the Justice and Development Party and the Nationalist Movement Party, the Nation Alliance, formed by the Republican People's Party, İyi Party and Felicity Party, and the Homeland Party, Free Cause Party and People's Democratic Party, participated in the elections. Not as an alliance but as a party, at the same time, the Grand Unity Party participated in the People's Alliance and the Democratic Party participated in the Nation Alliance (Turan, 2018: 48).

One of the important regulations regarding the legislative field was the regulation regarding the parliament's access to information and audit activities. The Interpellation was abolished with a vote of confidence (Turan, 2018: 50). Because votes of confidence and interpellation were practices that showed that the government was responsible to the parliament, and with the implementation of the new system, their elimination became mandatory. However, with the existence of parliamentary research, general discussion, written questions and parliamentary investigations, a regulation has been made to use the authority to obtain information and audit in this way (Turan, 2018: 50-51). Of course, the formation of a cabinet outside the parliament does not mean that there is no control whatsoever. Because the parliament can ask questions to the vice presidents and ministers in written form, and by ensuring the absolute majority of the total number of members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, a parliamentary investigation can be opened by submitting a motion to the vice presidents and ministers that they have committed crimes related to their duties, and thus it is possible to see that the supervision is implemented by the parliament (Turan, 2018: 51).

The legislative duties and powers of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, which takes part in the legislation, are generally as follows (Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, 1982). To enact laws, to amend laws and to ensure their repeal, to discuss and approve budget and final account bill proposals; It decides on the declaration of war by printing money, approves the ratification of international agreements, and decides on the declaration of general and special amnesty upon the decision of the 3/5 majority of the number of members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In addition to all these, it carries out its duties by using the powers provided for in other articles of the constitution. When we look at the regulations in the executive section, it is known that some changes have occurred in the Presidential Election Law No. 7140 and 6271. This amendment gave the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the President the authority to renew the elections, but it was stated that there were certain conditions for this, and in this case, the Presidential and Turkish Grand National Assembly elections had to be renewed, regardless of who made the decision to renew the elections. In order for the Turkish Grand National Assembly to decide on the renewal of elections, it must provide a 3/5 majority of the total number of members, and if the parliament makes a decision to renew the elections in the President's second term, the President can nominate once again (Turan, 2018: 51).

There have been some changes, not directly but indirectly, in the duties and powers of the President regarding the judiciary, as well as in the judicial system.

One of these; There was a change in Article 9 of the Constitution, and the expression "and impartial" was added after the expression "independent" (Turan, 2018: 51). There are many changes made to the judiciary. These are as follows: Article 146 of the constitution regarding the constitutional court has undergone an amendment and the number of court members has been reduced from 17 to 15. Because the number of members to be elected to the Constitutional Court was abolished, with the elimination of the regulation regarding the election of one member through the Military Supreme Court of Appeals and the other through the High Military Administrative Court (Turan, 2018, s. 52). 12 members of the Constitutional Court are directly appointed to office. The parliament appoints the other three people to office. The term of office of the members is 12 years (Mammadov, 2020: 83).

As a result of these new regulations, it is known that, apart from the disciplinary courts, a military court cannot be established, but in case of some events, for example, in case of war or in cases of crimes committed by soldiers in their own duties, military courts can be established. Thus, the Military Supreme Court of Appeals, Military Supreme Administrative Court, and Military Courts laws did not continue their activities for these reasons and were abolished (Turan, 2018: 52).

The name of the HSYK, previously known as the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, has changed to the Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK). In this board, just like its name, a change was made in the number of members and the number of flats, the number of members was reduced to 13 from 22, and the number of flats was reduced to 2 from 3. Another issue that has been amended is that the provisions that previously meant that the Minister of Justice and the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice were natural members of the board were preserved, but due to the abolition of the Undersecretariat of the Ministry of Justice with the Decree Law No. 703, a decision was made that the Deputy Minister of Justice was the natural member of this board instead. (Turan, 2018: 52). However, although the Undersecretariat of the Ministry of Justice was abolished, it is seen that the expression "Undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice" in Article 159 of the constitution was not corrected and its use continues (Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, 1982).

Some changes and innovations that occurred in the presidential government system and central government did not occur in the structures of local administrations. There was no difference. Before the transition to the new system, there was a General Secretariat in the Presidency. After switching to the new system, the general secretariat unit was abolished and new units were created

instead (Özdemir, 2021: 286). Thus, Türkiye's management system has undergone changes in this way.

2.2. Current Problems in Public Administration in Türkiye

A very serious part of the functional features of the administrative and political structure in Türkiye has been inherited from the Ottoman Empire period. Especially in recent times in the Ottoman Empire, there has been a public administration mentality in which bureaucratic management came to the fore, lacked transparency, and contained closed and hierarchical features. This mentality continued in the Republic of Türkiye for many years (Doğan, 2020: 2996). Although it is known that some important developments have occurred in recent years, the problems of openness and transparency in public administration have not been resolved. This situation remains current (Akpınar, 2011: 235). It is seen that the problems occurring in public administration occur due to the lack of openness and transparency. Because the mentality of secrecy and closedness has become more dominant in Turkish public administration (Akpınar, 2011: 242-243). In fact, the main source of the problem is that the limits of transparency and openness in the field of application cannot be clearly revealed. The fact that it is very difficult to clarify these boundaries reveals a serious problem (Akpınar, 2011: 254).

Another problem that has occurred before in public administration and still continues today is the problem of merit. Merit is the ability to do a job. It is the state of being at a level to do any job properly and being worthy of that job. The most important thing expected from public administration is to realize the people's wishes faster, with better quality and more efficiently. However, the fact that the merit system is generally ignored and nepotism comes to the fore causes harm to the understanding of effectiveness and efficiency of public services. The existence of merit and justice affects the public administration to work effectively and more efficiently (Çamur, 2020: 461). However, it is seen that the basis of the merit system not being implemented and the problems related to it are the problems in justice. Therefore, one of the important reasons why the merit system cannot be implemented effectively in the public sector is that justice does not dominate public administration. In this regard, it is not possible for merit to exist in an order where justice does not exist (Çamur, 2020: 463-464).

In some interviews held today regarding the merit issue, it has been revealed that the implementation of the oral examination system is contrary to the principles of merit and equality. Most of the interview participants emphasized the need to abolish these oral exams. They stated that if this system is to continue to be implemented, it would be better if it was transparent and the exams were

recorded in digital environments. In Türkiye, legal regulations regarding merit are at a sufficient level. However, there are problems in the implementation of these regulations (Yıldırım, 2023: 53-54). If merit is not fully achieved and there are some problems in its implementation, services cannot be provided efficiently and effectively. This situation may negatively affect public administration and reduce the level of performance and quality in public administration. If a system in line with the principle of merit is not dominant in public administration, it is inevitable that problems of nepotism will arise along with politicization.

The fact that the relationship between administration and politics is at a very strong level has revealed the problem of politicization. With the politicization of the administration, the works and activities in the administration are carried out under the auspices of the political power (Çamur & Aydın, 2021: 1140). Thus, it is common for political parties that come to power to dismiss high-level bureaucrats working in public institutions and to appoint people with political ties to replace those they dismiss. This situation is called patronage. An excessive level of patronage and partisanship can also lead to corruption (Aktan, 2021: 17).

The politicization and nepotism problem that arises in public administration are problems that prevent the administration from producing work in line with its goals (Çamur & Aydın, 2021: 1142). There are different types of favoritism. These; nepotism, nepotism, cronyism and political favoritism. In nepotism, the person is recruited, promoted, etc. in government institutions solely because of their relationship with politicians, without taking into account factors such as the person's talent, level of education, and abilities. There are situations like this. The most common form of nepotism in the public sector is known as favoritism. Various appointments and assignments are made with favoritism from fellow citizens. In this case, the economic and social balance of the public institution is negatively affected. Nepotism is a favoritism towards only one's circle of friends. In political nepotism, it is a situation where the person who comes to power unfairly benefits from members of his own political circle (Aktan, 2021: 15-16 ; Özçelik, 2021: 167).

Therefore, the problem of nepotism causes loss of trust in public institutions and organizations in Türkiye, and beyond that, the people working in institutions cannot fully perform their duties in the institution adequately and efficiently. This situation can negatively affect their work and success in the institution (Yıldırım, 2023: 59). In Türkiye, politicization and favoritism in the bureaucratic structure, changes in senior managers that occur with each change of government, inadequacy of organization in public administration, negativities caused by unplanned urbanization, etc. Such situations have created a suitable basis for

corruption (Özsemerci, 2003: 88). The phenomenon of urbanization, which creates grounds for corruption, also causes problems in public administration. Because an ever-increasing population brings with it increasing unemployment. With urbanization, it is possible that services in the fields of health, security and education cannot be provided at an adequate level in cities. In this case, a distorted urbanization phenomenon emerges. For this reason, things that are not compatible with law and morality are tried (Özsemerci, 2003: 59-60). Trying to do things that are against the law and morality creates major problems in public administration. This problem appears as corruption. Corruption is an ongoing problem in public administration that has existed from past to present and has not lost its currency.

Corruption is the situation in which public personnel working in the public sector use the powers they have in the public sphere in an unlawful manner for certain specific purposes (Özsemerci, 2003: 13). It seems that corruption is often much more common in developing countries. This situation is also experienced in Türkiye (Özsemerci, 2003: 1). Corruption is divided into two parts: political corruption and administrative corruption. It is known that administrative corruption is much more common in Türkiye and most underdeveloped countries (Özsemerci, 2003: 13-15). Corruption also has various types. These; bribery, embezzlement and extortion. The most common type of corruption is bribery. Bribery appears as a major problem that has existed since ancient times (Özsemerci, 2003: 16). Bribery is money given to someone working in the public sector in order to get a job done or to fulfill their requests by violating the rules of law. Extortion is when a person working in the public sector demands money or something else from the other party in order for the other party to perform a job. While in bribery the other party makes a demand to the public official, in extortion the situation is the opposite. Embezzlement is the use of public resources given by the state to a public official for his own benefit (Özsemerci, 2003: 19-20).

Today's technological developments affect globalization and competition areas and public administration. Local administrations affected by these processes face many problems. Current classic problems in local administrations in Türkiye; closedness, predominance of centralization, personnel and administration problems, insufficient planning for a long period of time, insufficient laws in force, lack of stability in legal regulations, insufficient resources, problems experienced by administrations in sharing duties, tutelage problems, problems in revenue sharing. These are problems arising from democratic problems and lack of coordination. A number of modern methods

have been tried to be developed for these problems and it has been shown that these problems can be solved with modern methods. Modern methods appear as total quality management, city council, ethics, e-government, local governance, ombudsman and performance-based budgeting method (Doğan, 2023: 65-71; Yüksel, Çevik & Ardıç 2008: 2). At the same time, the efficient use of resources at an appropriate level in public administration has brought human resources management to the fore and made performance management mandatory in the public sector. It is observed that problems occur in the implementation of performance management in Türkiye due to financial and administrative reasons (Akçakaya, 2017: 57). It has been revealed that performance management in Türkiye remains superficial in local administrations, is currently being used due to administrative and infrastructure problems, and that the public also participates in this system in determining the performance targets of local administrations. appears (Akçakaya, 2017: 80).

Local administrations have been tried to be strengthened through multiple legal regulations implemented in Türkiye in recent years. But central government has always been at the forefront. There are some authority, resource and control problems between the central government and local administrations (Güven, Karkacier & Şimşek 2017: 189). The fact that the central government has tutelary control over the local administration poses a significant problem. Because in local administrations, if the central government disagrees politically, the audit may not be able to be carried out properly. This is a very serious problem (Güven, Karkacier & Şimşek 2017: 205). Control is human-based, which constitutes the main element of democracy; It has a very important place in terms of creating a transparent, effective and correct administration. Despite the transformation and changes made with the new public administration, an effective process cannot be experienced in the field of auditing. In addition, it is not possible to control the efficient and active use of local administrations' resources, duties and services by the central government alone. Here, public scrutiny plays a huge role in the implementation of control systems. However, the lack of public scrutiny and public participation in Türkiye did not allow the problems to be solved (Ünal & Efe, 2018: 248). In local administrations, shares coming from the center may harm financial autonomy. Local administrations are not given the opportunity to create their own resources. At the same time, the lack of complete democratization in the structure of the council, which is one of the local government bodies, can lead to many problems (Apan, 2020: 26).

Another problem that is among the current problems of public administration in Türkiye is the public personnel problem. The public personnel problem can be

evaluated in a very broad context. Problems such as personnel shortage, problems in finding suitable personnel for the job, insufficient wages, problems arising from being far from the principle of merit, political interventions, some predetermined harsh principles, the existence of nepotism, problems in auditing and many other problems create public personnel problems. (İzci & Yıldız, 2017: 401; Şen, 2020: 70-71).

Problems existing in the public personnel system; Problems such as injustice in wages, inefficiency, lack of sufficient means to motivate employees, and hiring more personnel than necessary cause major problems in the public personnel system (Şen, 2020: 70-71). Lack of a wage based on performance, inability to reward properly, and not giving due value to skills and creativity lead to inefficiency in public administration (İzci & Yıldız, 2017: 403). It is known that the flexibility and efficiency envisaged in the modern human resources management approach are not fully achieved in public personnel management in Türkiye. The lack of some qualities required in modern human resources management in the public personnel regime, for example; The fact that the working personnel are deprived of the opportunity to use their skills and develop these skills has made this system problematic (Yılmazöz, 2009: 299-300).

Some precautionary studies have been carried out for all these problems in public administration. In order for ethics to prevail in the public sector, very important regulations such as Law No. 5176 and the Public Servants Ethics Board have been put forward. However, some of their own deficiencies and their inability to operate effectively have caused these problems (Çamur & Aydın, 2021: 1161). In order to prevent these current problems in public administration in Türkiye and to minimize these problems and troubles, these regulations must be carried out in a much more serious and complete manner in terms of content and application to life. If more meticulous and complete studies are carried out in this way, these problems in public administration will also decrease.

2.3. Azerbaijan's Management System

Azerbaijan appears as a country with a deep-rooted and rich state culture. It is known that there is a thousand-year history of statism. It is possible to see varieties of feudalism, capitalism and socialism in the country. The first state institutions emerged in Azerbaijan at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC (Hasanoğlu, 2018: 16).

Azerbaijan remained under the rule of Tsarist Russia for more than a century after the feudal system in the late 17th century (Akifoğlu, 2017: 792). Tsarist Russia wanted to settle in this region and take control of Azerbaijan in order to benefit from its land and sea riches (Mürsel, 2022: 73). Tsarist Russia, which

wanted to be strong in the Caucasus and began to dominate the Caucasus since the end of the 17th century, won the wars with the Ottomans and Iran and occupied the lands of Northern Azerbaijan along with the Caucasian countries (Agayev, 2006: 1). They accelerated their Christianization and Russification policies in the regions they occupied (Mürsel, 2022: 73).

Although the administrative organization in Azerbaijan during the Tsarist Russian period sometimes varied, the Guberniya (Province) system and in addition the General Governors (Military Governors) are known as systems and organizations that always existed in the administrative structure (Elma, 2014: 110). The heavily oppressive rule of Tsarist Russia was effective in the development of national consciousness among Azerbaijani Turks towards the end of the 19th century. Nationalist ideas and feelings began to make themselves felt in this period. The era of Tsarist Russia ended with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. With the end of the Tsarist period, Turks in Azerbaijan decided to take steps for independence and started working (Agayev, 2006: 1-2). The political systems that have been implemented in Azerbaijan since the establishment of the modern state in 1918, after the period of Tsarist Russia, can be divided into three parts. The first of these is the parliamentary system that was implemented as a political system in the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1918-1920, the second part is the implementation of the Soviet Political System in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic in 1920-1990, and finally the third part is the separation of Azerbaijan from the Soviet Union and its independence. It is known as the presidential system that has been implemented since 1990, when it was first implemented (Hacıyev, 2009: 162). Due to the three different management systems implemented in the country, it is possible to discuss the history of constitutionalism in Azerbaijan in three stages: the first stage is 1918-1920, the second stage is 1920-1991, and finally the third stage is the period from 1995 to the present (Hasanova, 2019: 128).

The first parliament in Azerbaijan was established by the independent Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on May 28, 1918, and it was accepted to govern the country with the parliamentary system. During this period, the Declaration of Independence was prepared and this declaration was a constitutional document and consisted of 6 articles. When we look at the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, it turns out that the political system is the Parliamentary system. There were certain reasons why this system was adopted and accepted. For example, reasons such as the existence of founding intellectuals who were not unfamiliar with the parliamentary system and who were familiar with this system long ago, and the fact that many intellectuals who guided Azerbaijan on the path to independence

were members of parliament, were effective in the acceptance and adoption of the system. Apart from these reasons, another reason is that the Parliamentary system is much more common in Western countries and the main goal was to establish a democratic Republic by taking Western countries as an example (Hacıyev, 2009: 99-100). However, the attack by the Bolsheviks in 1920 and the political disagreements created obstacles to the continuity of this system. From 1920 to 1922, the Bolsheviks used force on Azerbaijanis and deported various intellectuals to other countries. In addition, during the two-year period of the Democratic Republic's existence, there were many political crises and this system did not continue as it affected this process very negatively. Therefore, the People's Republic, which took its place in the first stage of constitutional history, which existed from 1918 to 1920, enabled the transition to the second stage in the constitutionalism process when Russia ended the Azerbaijan People's Republic in 1920. With the end of the Azerbaijan People's Republic and the beginning of the Soviet Union period, some radical changes occurred. In 1920, Azerbaijan joined the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Later, the Union of Socialist Republics was established on 31 December 1922. Since the management style and system of the state had changed completely, it was deemed necessary to create a new constitution. Therefore, 4 different constitutions were created during the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The first constitution of Azerbaijan accepted in the history of the Soviet Union was the 1921 Constitution. Later, it was created during the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic period in the constitutions dated 1927, 1937 and 1978. With the establishment of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, the Parliamentary System was abandoned and the Soviet Political System was implemented instead. In this system, important institutions that were effective in the Democratic Republic were destroyed and important figures of that period were exiled from the country. In this case, important regulations made in the Parliamentary system were ignored with the new system. This included many negativities in the political sense. While there was previously multi-partyism in the country with the dominance and influence of the Soviets, this situation was eliminated and only the communist party existed (Hacıyev, 2009: 101-102-104-162-163; Gorchuzada, 2019: 124; Mehmetoğlu, 2010: 5 ; Hasanova, 2019: 132).

It was observed that very important problems emerged in the 1990s in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which dominated Azerbaijan for many years. These problems manifested themselves politically and economically. Glasnost (transparency) and perestroika (reconstruction) implemented by Gorbachev in order to prevent the crises occurring in the Soviet Union took the

already existing crisis in the country to a further level. Thus, the dissolution of the Soviet Union became inevitable (Miraliyev, 2016: 50). The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 caused the region to enter a new process. Turkish states, which gained their independence after the Soviet period, began to put forward policies and studies towards nationalization, and administrative structures were established. Azerbaijan has had a socialist system for 70 years. After 1991, various liberal, democratic policies and reforms began to be implemented. Azerbaijan has attracted attention both with its reforms and the positive effects of its geopolitical location (Avaner & Hasanoğlu, 2017: 2).

Azerbaijan declared its independence on December 31, 1991. It was first recognized by Türkiye. Azerbaijan, which became a member of the United Nations in 1992, began to be recognized by other countries and international organizations (Mustafayeva, 2008: 66). The most important factor in the emergence of Azerbaijan's thoughts on the path to independence and in gaining independence was the occupation of Karabakh by the Armenians and the fact that neither the Soviet administration nor the Azerbaijani Communist Party administration raised a voice against this occupation. Therefore, this occupation was allowed by remaining silent. For this reason, the people in Azerbaijan rebelled and revolted. With these developments, the Azerbaijani people's movement has become stronger and more widespread. Naturally, the desire for independence was felt more strongly and took its place on the agenda. A. Vezirov, who was later the chairman of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, left the country due to these situations. He was replaced by Ayaz Mutellibov. Mutellibov, who took office, renewed the parliament and declared independence in Azerbaijan due to the pressure he experienced from the Azerbaijan Popular Front (Elma, 2007: 166).

At that time, the Karabakh issue had an impact on democratization and all political and economic developments in the country. As a result, with the independence in 1991, steps towards democracy were taken and the country became a free member of the international community. However, it was observed that political stability could not be achieved for a very long year due to the totalitarian traces and crises of the old period and the confusion that occurred in the Karabakh war. When we look at political instability, it is seen that governments and heads of state change in very short periods of time. There were three different changes in power: the Ayaz Mutellibov period in 1991, the Elchibey period in 1992, and the Haydar Aliyev period in 1993 (Elma, 2007: 168-169). Azerbaijan, which entered into a democratic process after the declaration of independence, took steps towards the formation of a new constitution, and as

a result of the approval of the draft constitution by referendum on November 12, 1995, the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan came into force on November 27, 1995 (Gorchuzada, 2019: 1).

Although independence in Azerbaijan occurred in 1991, the constitution was adopted in 1995, as mentioned above. Because in 1990 and 1995, during these times called the transition period in Azerbaijan, very important political developments took place in political life and political crises arose. In 1991 and 1993, there were a number of complexities in the political system in Azerbaijan, political disagreements and conflicts continued, and Armenia's wars against Azerbaijani lands led the country into turmoil. It is also known that economic, social and cultural problems were common in these periods. Many problems arose as a result of both the collapse of the Soviets and the gain of independence. It made the years 1990-1995 quite difficult (Miraliyev, 2016: 55-56; Hacıyev, 2009: 115). Therefore, the adoption of the constitution did not occur immediately and was accepted four years later.

Azerbaijan, which gained independence once again in 1991 after a short period of independence between 1918 and 1920, stated the main principles of the state in the constitution as a democratic, secular, unitary state of law. Changes have been made in the Republic of Azerbaijan to ensure that the administrative system operates more effectively and efficiently; A number of activities have been carried out to ensure developments in legal, economic, political and social fields. In order to carry out these activities in a more innovative order in Azerbaijan, many institutions of the old order were abolished and thus new organizations were established in a modern management system. Legal regulations have been made with the aim of creating an efficient and dynamic management system. The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan has been one of the most important regulations in these legal regulations (Rehimli, 2020: 365). Azerbaijan, which gained its freedom in 1991, has carried out various reforms in order to eliminate the heavy socialist structure in the country and to draw the state functioning into a more dynamic, more effective and more democratic system. The fact that Azerbaijan has a geostrategically important place and is rich in oil and natural gas has attracted attention from other countries (Hasanoğlu, 2019: 130).

It cannot be said that full democracy existed in Azerbaijan during the periods of Tsarist Russia, the short-term period of independence, and the USSR. Because during these periods, many problems were experienced in the issue of democracy. One of these problems is that citizens do not have a desire for democracy even though they have a positive perspective on democracy dominating the state

administration, and another problem is that they prevent Azerbaijani Turks from taking part in the administration due to a colonialist understanding of politics dominating the administration during the Tsarist Russia period, and the oppressive conditions imposed on the citizens. It prevented the existence of democracy (Miraliyev, 2016: 46). But despite some situations that occurred due to the difficult political system originating from the Soviet period, Azerbaijan's decision to side with democracy since the day it gained independence has been a great turning point for Azerbaijan. Taking these democratic steps can be explained by the creation of a new constitution (Korkmaz, ty). Thus, when the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan was examined, it was seen that the mentalities of the Soviet period were ignored and democracy was brought to the fore. The 1995 Constitution included the system of administration, the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers and their duties. When we look at the decisions in the Constitution; It is known that it includes provisions on the sovereignty of the people, the existence of a unitary Republic subject to democratic secular law, the separation of powers, fundamental rights and freedoms, the structure of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic and municipal issues related to local government. The structure in Azerbaijan, which was previously dominated by the unity of powers, has now changed to the separation of powers (Demirelli, 2012: 48-49; Korkmaz, ty.: 98). It is revealed that in the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, together with the principle of separation of powers, the executive power of public administration bodies is used in accordance with the system (Rzayev, 2021: 97).

The existence of many various political formations manifested itself in the period from the time when the Tsarist Russian period was effective in Azerbaijan until 1991. It is seen that Azerbaijan's current political structure was reached after gaining independence and with the existence of the 1995 Constitution. The 1995 Constitution is important in this respect. The importance of independence is evident in every aspect. It became possible for political parties within the country to freely engage in activities and activities after independence (Demirelli, 2012: 49). With the 1995 Constitution, in which the act of independence (Declaration of Independence) provided an important foundation, free political structures are now guaranteed in the constitution. The Constitution gives all citizens the right to establish and join unions, parties or other organizations of their choice. Thus, citizens in Azerbaijan were granted the right to establish a political party, and this system was now accepted by transitioning to multi-party system in the political system in Azerbaijan (Demirelli, 2012: 54). In order to understand Azerbaijan's

administrative system more clearly, it would be more accurate to explain the legislative, executive and judicial areas specified in the Constitution in an up-to-date manner and then provide information about the presidential system implemented in Azerbaijan. In this section, the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan is examined.

The structure of the Azerbaijan State is set forth in Article 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan. It has been announced that the executive belongs to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the legislature belongs to the National Assembly, and the judicial authority belongs to the courts of the Republic of Azerbaijan (<https://www.anayasa.gen.tr/azerbaycan-aleskerli.htm> Access Date: 31.12.2022).

By adopting the principle of separation of powers with the 1995 Constitution, the legislative, executive and judicial areas have been prepared in depth. According to Article 81; The legislative power in the Republic of Azerbaijan is exercised by the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The National Assembly of Azerbaijan, which has legislative powers, consists of 125 deputies. Members of the National Assembly are elected by the public and serve for 5 years (Demirelli, 2012: 49; Azerbaijan republic of Constitution, 1995). In Article 95, the problems solved by the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan and its powers are mentioned. Accordingly, the National Assembly has the following powers (Azərbaycan Republic of Constitution, 1995):

- It organizes the work of the National Assembly.
- Provides for the establishment of diplomatic missions of the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the recommendation of the President.
- It carries out the approval and cancellation of interstate and intergovernmental agreements that impose rules different from the laws of the Republic of Azerbaijan.
- Supervises the approval and implementation of the state budget of the Republic of Azerbaijan based on the recommendation of the President.
- On the recommendation of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Azerbaijan elects the Commissioner for Human Rights.
- Based on the proposal of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Azerbaijan approves its military doctrine.
- Approves the decrees of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in cases specified in the Constitution.
- Approves the appointment of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan based on the proposal of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

- Upon the proposal of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, it carries out the appointment of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Supreme Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the courts of appeal of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

- It solves the trust problem in the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

- Provides for the appointment and dismissal of members of the Board of Directors of the Central Bank of the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the proposal of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Deputies are elected by free, personal and secret ballot on the basis of a majoritarian electoral system, universal, equal and direct suffrage (Azərbaycan Republic of Constitution , 1995). In Article 85, the conditions required for candidates for parliament in the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan are mentioned. Every citizen who has the right to participate in the elections of the Republic of Azerbaijan can be elected as a deputy to the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan in accordance with the law. Persons with dual nationality, those who have obligations to other states, those who work in the executive or judicial power systems, those who engage in paid activities other than scientific, pedagogical and creative activities, religious figures, persons whose capacity has been established by the court, persons who have been convicted of serious crimes, those who have been deprived of their liberty by a legally binding decision of the court. Persons serving sentences in places of detention cannot be elected as deputies to the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Azərbaycan Republic of Constitution, 1995).

In Article 90, the immunity of the deputies of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan is mentioned and it is stated that the identity of the Deputy of the National Assembly is inviolable, the deputy is not subject to criminal liability, except if he is caught committing a crime, he cannot be arrested or questioned personally. It was mentioned that the MP would only be arrested if he was caught committing a crime. The immunity of the deputy can be lifted only by the decision of the National Assembly based on the presentation of the Prosecutor General of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan Republic of Constitution, 1995). In the Republic of Azerbaijan, the executive wing includes: the President, vice presidents, Prime Minister, deputy Prime Ministers and the Council of Ministers (Mammadov, 2020: 33-34). The executive power in Azerbaijan belongs to the president and it is stated that it is constitutionally guaranteed. The President, who is described as the head of the state, is responsible for fulfilling the duties assigned to him (Demirelli, 2012: 50). Presidential

elections in Azerbaijan are held every 7 years and there is no time limit. In 1991, the law regarding presidential elections stated that a person cannot be president more than twice. However, this situation was eliminated with the regulations made on March 18, 2009. Thus, the same person can be elected president more than twice (Hacıyev, 2009: 125-126).

Judicial power is exercised through the Constitution, civil and criminal court proceedings and other means provided by law (Azerbaijan Republic of Constitution, 1995). Jurisdiction is exercised by courts that have the status of high courts, such as the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, the Court of Appeal, the General and Specialist Court. The appointment of judges in the Ali court, constitutional court, general and specialized courts is carried out by the proposal of the President and through the national assembly (Demirelli, 2012: 52). Decisions made by the court are made on behalf of the state. Failure to implement the court decision will result in legal liability. The court decision must be based on law and evidence (Azərbaycan Republic of Constitution, 1995). The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan consists of 9 judges. Judges of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Azerbaijan are appointed by the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the recommendation of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan Republic of Constitution, 1995). The term of office of the constitutional court is 15 years (Mammadov, 2020: 83).

The Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan has been amended 3 times. These changes took place in 2002, 2009 and 2016. It has been observed that the changes generally strengthen the authority of the President and are changes related to the functioning of the political system. Thus, some regulations were made. With the amendments made in 2016, changes such as preserving human rights and freedoms and increasing the responsibilities of municipalities were included in the constitution (Hasanoğlu, 2020: 217-218; Gorchuzada, 2019: 124). In addition to the changes made, the positions of first vice and vice president were created. Regulations have also been made stating that the person who becomes the first vice president has immunity and that all powers will be exercised by the first vice president when the President is not on duty. Previously, this duty was fulfilled by the Prime Minister. However, with the regulations, he became the first vice president of the President (Hasanoğlu, 2020: 218).

The presidential system is a government system in which the president, elected by the people for a certain period of time, acts as the head of the executive and the state, and neither the legislature nor the executive terminate each other's duties. The country where this system was first implemented and put into

operation is the USA. Later, different countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa continued this system by adopting this practice (https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/baskanlik_sistemi.pdf Access Date:18.06.2023).

One of the important principles of the presidential system is that the President, who is elected by popular vote, cannot be removed from office by the legislature during his term of office, and at the same time, the President cannot terminate the legislative body. However, when the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan was amended by referendum in 2016, it turned out that this situation was very different. It has been stated that the President has the authority to dissolve the Parliament under certain conditions, and the Parliament has the authority to remove the President from office. However, this situation contradicts the separation of powers. For this reason, the presidential system in Azerbaijan does not have the characteristics of the classical presidential system (Gorchuzada, 2019: 63-64). Thus, a presidential system was implemented in Azerbaijan according to its own country structure and conditions.

The election of the presidential system implemented in Azerbaijan took place on June 7, 1992. On this date, five candidates participated. Ebulfəz Elçibey, who was the chairman of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, was elected as the President in this election. However, Elçibey's presidency did not last long. Because when the Azerbaijan Popular Front came to power, there was a time when economic and social problems were extreme and chaos was experienced. Because of all these, the government has weakened due to some inadequacies (Hacıyev, 2009: 118). However, the main foundation of Azerbaijan's political, administrative and economic structuring and transformation process first started in the time of Ebulfəz Elçibey. But the re-establishment of the state and the completion of this process actually occurred during the time of Heydar Aliyev. This structure, which has existed since 2003, has been continued in the same way during the time of İlham Aliyev (Elma, 2007: 178; Miraliev, 2016: 54). As a result, it is known that political stability in the country was achieved during the Haydar Aliyev period after 1995 (Elma, 2007: 169). This political stability, which has been experienced in Azerbaijan after many years, is tried to be maintained by İlham Aliyev, who became the President after Heydar Aliyev.

2.4. Current Problems in Public Administration in Azerbaijan

Excessive centralization in Azerbaijan has revealed many important problems of public administration. In particular, the dominance of the executive branch and some disputes have arisen as a result. The fact that the President in Azerbaijan has a very strong structure and that the powers given to the President by this

strong structure exist not only in the executive wing but also in the legislative and judicial wings, brings about a disproportionate formation in terms of separation of powers. In this respect, the basis of the problems in Azerbaijan stems from the fact that the executive power is not in the hands of the President in a controlled manner. It is stated that if this problem is solved, other problems existing in the country can also be solved (Korkmaz, ty.: 103-104).

Azerbaijan's transition from a socialist system to a liberal system, the heavy feeling of centralism within the administration, and the fact that the boundaries of duty and authority between the central administration and the local administration are not clearly drawn have led to problems in the political and administrative fields in Azerbaijan (Miraliyev, 2016: 55). The existence of a socialist structure for 70 years has created some problems in the administrative organization of Azerbaijan and the regulation of social relations. It has been revealed that the main problem stems from the fact that the necessary infrastructure does not exist in the country and the boundaries of the duties and powers between the provincial organization of the central government and the local government are not clearly determined (Avaner & Hasanoğlu, 2017: 2-3). When we look at the problems in Azerbaijan's public administration, one of the main problems is the existence of a centralist mentality. Because it is known that the administration in Azerbaijan is governed with a centralist mentality. Since most powers are exercised by the central government, it has been observed that much less authority is given to local governments. Thus, public services are planned and put into operation by the capital. Therefore, although positive efforts have been made for local governments in Azerbaijan, it cannot be said that clear results have been achieved. But it is thought that reforms and studies will be effective in solving these problems so that democracy and local governments gain strength and develop more effectively and efficiently (Mustafayeva, 2008: 105-106).

The dominant presence of the centralist structure had an impact on the Azerbaijani public administration and caused negativities on the development of local governments. Local government has not developed much. This has continued as an ongoing problem in public administration. The overly centralized structure within the country has brought about control problems. The situation where the control is felt very dominant and intense while the central administration supervises the local governments creates a big problem in the development of municipalities. The fact that most of the powers are in the central administration puts municipalities in an ineffective position (Hüseynova, 2019: 56).

There are many problems in Azerbaijan, such as municipalities not being fully institutionalized, lack of experience, inability to produce services at a sufficient level, technical inadequacies, and financial inadequacies. Inexperience, personnel difficulties and financial difficulties constitute problems in municipalities, and at the same time, the low and insufficient participation of the public in local government reveals the seriousness of the problems (Elma, 2007: 243). The failure of municipalities in Azerbaijan to become a functioning institution is one of the frequently mentioned problems. Independent experts see the poor performance of these institutions as one of the government's fundamental failures. Because in many developed countries, municipalities have a significant impact on improving the socio-economic situation of people. Although nearly 25 years have passed since the establishment of the municipal institution in Azerbaijan, people still cannot find an answer to the question "what should this institution do" in their daily lives. According to experts, the main reason for this is, as mentioned above, the limited powers of municipalities in the country and insufficient financial resources (<https://www.azadliq.org/a/belediyyeler/32274405.html> Access Date:25.09.2023). Because this situation is not expressed only by experts. Azerbaijani government officials also evaluate this situation.

In the reports of many international organizations, it has been revealed that the main advantage of municipalities lies in their flexibility. Unlike central executive bodies located in the capital, municipalities have closer relations with people. Since their duty is to serve only the people in their own region, their decision-making processes are carried out more flexibly. However, in order to build roads even in the most secluded villages of Azerbaijan, such an instruction must be signed by the President. For this reason, the solution of road and other service problems in many regions can sometimes take years. However, if there is a functioning municipal institution and the society decides where and how the funds will be spent, there will be no need to wait for years for these processes to solve the problems. It is very important that municipalities in Azerbaijan have broad powers to provide quality and more efficient work. But in Azerbaijan, current legislation limits the work of municipalities. This poses a big problem. In addition to these problems, the revenues of municipalities in Azerbaijan are also low. Therefore, taxes collected by municipalities in Azerbaijan are quite low. The fact that taxes are low reveals that people in Azerbaijan are not very interested in paying these taxes because they do not trust the municipality. Another important problem of municipalities is that the number of municipalities is quite high. There are 1,771 municipalities in Azerbaijan, which has a population of 10 million. This

multiplicity in the number of municipalities causes resources to be much more limited (<https://www.azadliq.org/a/belediyyeler/32274405.html> Access Date:25.09.2023).

Unfortunately, these problems have become an obstacle to the development of municipalities. Thus, a situation has emerged in Azerbaijan where municipalities cannot effectively provide services to the society. In order to solve all these problems, studies must continue and there must be studies that produce solutions in this field. In addition, it is suggested that the power of the central government should be reduced and the power of the local government should be further increased (Hüseyn, Ünal & Akman 2013: 171; Elma, 2007: 244). If a method in this direction is adopted and progress is made with this method, it is possible to say that the local administration in Azerbaijan can be strengthened to a great extent and the services to be provided to the local people can be of higher quality.

A number of legal regulations have been made for local governments in Azerbaijan to ensure the development of local government and to improve democracy. However, despite these legal regulations being made, the failure to reach the desired level is due to the centralist mentality always being at the forefront. Therefore, democratization has not been fully achieved. Although it seems that authorities have been given to municipalities, it has been revealed that these powers are different in the implementation part. Because financial and administrative opportunities are limited in the municipality. This situation negatively affects the development of the municipality and the development of democracy (Miraliyev, 2016: 64-65). In this section, the problems caused by centralism in both central and local governments are explained. Now, problems such as politicization, corruption, bribery and nepotism that occur both at the center and locally will be discussed.

It is stated in various studies that bribery is very common in Azerbaijan. The majority of the people can carry out their work through bribery. Thus, they do not complain much about this method. However, the dominance of the bribery system in the country generally appears as a major obstacle to economic, social and political developments and the consolidation of democracy in the country. This situation causes corruption in public administration (Elma, 2007: 191-192). Corruption that occurs when bribery is widespread in the country causes public administration to move away from its essence and disrupts the regular functioning of the system. This situation is a very serious problem. Of course, it has been observed that where there is bribery, the problem of corruption also occurs.

It seems that another problem occurring in the public administration system in Azerbaijan is the problem of corruption. There are cases of corruption in the country. It turns out that this corruption is mostly a problem originating from the political system. Transparency in the country is at a very low level. Although ASAN (Azerbaijan Service And Assessment Network) service is available, it seems that it is nothing more than a building name and is not very effective. In Azerbaijan's public administration, the audit and executive bodies mostly prevent each other's mistakes and shortcomings from being heard and learned. It is known that there is a major problem such as nepotism along with corruption in the administrative system in Azerbaijan (<https://www.azadliq.info/262464.html> Access Date:26.08.2023). The fact that corruption in Azerbaijan is experienced by the political authority shows that this problem is caused by the central government (<https://www.amerikaninsesi.org/a/6426467.html> Access Date:26.08.2023). Therefore, the central government's always being at the forefront in Azerbaijan has been effective in both politicization and the problems of corruption, corruption and nepotism along with politicization, and in the continuation of these problems increasing day by day. Nepotism also emerges as an important problem in public personnel recruitment. Such problems also manifest themselves in the Azerbaijani public personnel system.

In the first years of Azerbaijan's independence, it was observed that an incompetent system dominated the public personnel system, there was no selection based on talents and abilities when recruiting, and the president, who was at the head of the institution, appointed people of his choice as personnel. In addition, it has been observed that favoritism of relatives, friends and relatives, and various types of corruption were committed in appointments (Rehimli, 2020: 377). In Azerbaijan's general administrative system, the supervision of the President and his entourage is at the forefront. Therefore, it is seen that the President and the heads of institutions are at the forefront in the public personnel system. While the people to be employed in public institutions should be educated and young people, it has been observed that nepotism occurs in public administration. Along with all these, the low wages paid to public personnel appear as a current problem in Azerbaijan's public administration (Özsalmanlı & Aliyarova, 2019: 51).

Some efforts have been made to prevent these problems in Azerbaijan. One of these is the enactment of a law "On State Slavery ". With this law, it was tried to meet the needs of expert personnel and to create experienced and safe administrators (Rehimli, 2020: 378-379). However, there are some problems in the Law on State Slavery, which has an important place in the functioning of the

public personnel system. For example, while the principles of transparency, openness and equality are included in the law, the fact that merit and career principles are not clearly stated in the law creates some problems. It is known that a new state personnel law is needed in Azerbaijan to solve these problems. It is known that studies such as electronic government have been carried out with ASAN in order to prevent problems such as bribery and corruption in public administration in Azerbaijan (Rehimli, 2020: 380-381). However, there are some problems in putting them into operation. For this reason, these studies do not mean much. Thus, problems may increase gradually and it may be much more difficult to prevent them. This situation disrupts the functioning of public administration and cannot provide the necessary care and functioning.

3. CONCLUSION

When we look at the general characteristics of the Presidential government system implemented in Türkiye; Executive power belongs to the President. The President is elected by the people and takes office. The terms of office of the President and the parliament who take office are 5 years. The President has the authority to issue decrees. The President has a relationship with a political party. There may be more than one vice president and they report to the President. In the presidential government system, the principle of separation of powers is emphasized much more strongly. However, the fact that the President and the majority of the parliament belong to the same party, as well as the existence of a President from a party, can destroy the meaning of the separation between the legislature and the executive.

There are some problems in Turkish public administration today, as in the past. It can be said that almost most of these problems are actually problems that have continued from the past to the present and remain current. The problems can be examined as problems experienced in the entire system in public administration and problems experienced in the public personnel system. It is seen that the same problems exist in the public administration system, both in central government, local administrations and in the public personnel system. These problems; Failure to ensure full transparency and openness in management manifests itself as incompetence, nepotism, politicization, corruption, bribery and embezzlement. In addition to these problems, it is known that there are control problems in the country.

When we look at the administrative system of Azerbaijan, a management structure has been adopted in the state administration in Azerbaijan, taking Türkiye as a model to a large extent in the organization of the central

administration and accordingly benefiting from the Continental European management model. Since there was Soviet influence in the country for a long time, efforts were made to reconcile the ultra-centrist structure and the Continental European model. The Azerbaijani state has adopted a management system in which the forces are separate. Questions about whether the country's government system is fully presidential or semi-presidential have included many different opinions. Different comments have been made on this subject. However, since Azerbaijan does not carry the basic principles of both the presidential system and the semi-presidential system as a whole, it is known for its closeness to the presidential system and appears as a mixture of both systems. However, the fact that there are different opinions about the nature of Azerbaijan's management system shows that there is no consensus. Because the existence of a Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers shows that it is closer to a semi-presidential system than to a presidential system. However, situations such as the fact that neither the Prime Minister nor the Council of Ministers are directly responsible to the National Assembly, but are responsible to the President, and the president cannot dissolve the parliament, have revealed that the system is a presidential system.

It is seen that there are multiple problems in Azerbaijan's public administration system. It is possible to address these problems as general current problems occurring in the public administration system in Azerbaijan, that is, covering the central government and local governments. It is known that many of the same current problems are experienced in Azerbaijan as in Türkiye. It has been observed that problems such as the dominance of the central government, lack of transparency, incompetence, nepotism and politicization in the recruitment of personnel in the central and local governments and the public sector have emerged. In this part, the problems experienced in Azerbaijan's public administration are generally mentioned in the study.

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Chapter 12

Adorno's Critique of Freud And Psychoanalysis

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INTRODUCTION

Adorno, one of the most influential figures of the Frankfurt School, and Freud's psychoanalytic theory represent two key perspectives in communication studies. Especially Adorno and Marcuse from the Frankfurt School, along with the French thinker Althusser, incorporated Freud and psychoanalysis, alongside Marx, into their analyses of society, culture, ideology, and mass communication. Furthermore, Adorno explores Freud's psychoanalytic theory in depth in his book *Aesthetic Theory*. The primary aim of this chapter is to examine how Adorno engages with both Freud's psychoanalytic theory of art and Kant's aesthetic theory, while also clarifying his insightful analysis of how these two seemingly opposing frameworks can converge. Adorno's undertaking is truly remarkable, as Freud's and Kant's theories of art represent two extremes.

To accomplish this task, the chapter outlines the approach Adorno takes in his analysis, drawing upon Freud's and Kant's original texts to support its discussion. First, it examines Adorno's critique of Freud's psychoanalytic theory of art, focusing on his argument that psychoanalysis fails to adequately explain the origins of art. To provide context for Adorno's critique, the chapter also summarizes the key aspects of Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Next, it explores how Adorno addresses Kant's aesthetic theory. After briefly outlining Kant's arguments in his *Critique of Judgment*, it elaborates on Adorno's criticism, particularly his examination of concepts such as disinterestedness and purposiveness without purpose. Finally, it explains Adorno's perspective on the similarities between these two distinct theories and summarizes Adorno's proposed resolution.

METHOD

In this chapter, text analysis is employed as the primary method. Textual analysis is a method in social sciences that enables the systematic examination of written texts in terms of content, themes, language, and structural features. This approach combines quantitative and qualitative techniques to uncover the fundamental meanings, patterns, and relationships within texts. For instance, discourse analysis aims to understand the ideological and cultural dynamics underlying a text, while content analysis offers a more quantitative approach by measuring the frequency of specific words or phrases. Textual analysis is a crucial tool in various fields such as media and communication studies, politics, linguistics, and history, as it helps to better understand the thoughts, values, and behaviors of individuals or societies.

ADORNO'S AESTHETIC THEORY, SOCIETY AND FREUD

First of all, in his aesthetic theory, Adorno begins his discussion of the relationship between Kant's aesthetic theory and Freud's theory of art by examining the connection between art and society. When we elaborate on Adorno's transition, we can observe the structural similarity (or identity) between two of his distinct statements: "Art is the social antithesis of society" (Adorno, 1996: 8) and "Kant's aesthetics is the antithesis of Freud's theory of art." (Adorno, 1996: 9) In the first case, the reason art serves as the antithesis of society lies in its possession of an excess—a quality that cannot be directly derived from or reduced to society. Put differently, art cannot be fully understood solely through the analysis of society. By considering relevant passages from Adorno's work while acknowledging his conceptual transition, it can be argued that the key to this transition is the notion of "sublimation." Adorno suggests a correspondence between "the constitution of art's sphere" and "the constitution of an inward space in individuals, serving as the space of their representation." Moreover, Adorno continues, "a priori, the constitution of this space (in individuals) participates in sublimation" (Adorno, 1996: 9). The necessary implication of this claim is that, since individuals—whether as artists creating artworks or as beholders perceiving them—are not merely passive members of society but also possess an inner (psychic) life shaped by personal traumas, the theory of psychic life can be legitimately incorporated into the understanding of art.

However, Adorno immediately argues that while psychoanalytic theory may convince us of how our psychic life is constructed, it is not productive when it comes to aesthetic theory. According to Adorno, when attempting to explain the nature of artwork, psychoanalytic theory focuses only on the unconscious part of the creative process, viewing it merely as a basic impulse. In other words, it treats the unconscious as "the substance of art." Adorno highlights this shortcoming of psychoanalytic theory by asserting that Freud's approach, which explains the relationship between Leonardo da Vinci and his works with reference to Leonardo's childhood traumas, considers merely "the unconscious projection" of Leonardo. Why does Adorno criticize the way of Freudian analysis of Leonardo? The core of this criticism can be found by elaborating on Freud's analysis of Leonardo. As Ricoeur points out, Freud, in his essay on Leonardo, interprets his artworks in a manner similar to the interpretation of dreams, focusing on the details of Leonardo's memories and the specifics of his works (Ricoeur, 2006: 154). For instance, Freud uses a Leonardo's childhood dream in which "a vulture opened Leonardo's mouth with its tail" to support his

analysis in the sense that this vulture represents in fact Leonardo's mother (Freud, 1990: 172). From this example, Freud concludes that the vulture "would not be a memory of Leonardo's, but a phantasy, which he formed at a later date and transposed to his childhood" (Freud, 1990: 173).

Similarly, according to Freud, the mystery of Mona Lisa's smile is deciphered through Leonardo's relation with his mother in his early childhood period (Freud, 1990: 201). This mystical smile of Mona Lisa belongs to Leonardo's mother. Namely, Freud, as usually done in the studies of the history of art, ascertains "double meaning" of this smile and interprets them in an unusual way in these studies:

"...the promise of unbounded tenderness and at the same time sinister menace, then here too he had remained true to the content of his earliest memory. For his mother's tenderness was fateful for him; it determined his destiny and the privations that were in store for him. The violence of the caresses,...,was only too natural. In her love for her child the poor forsaken mother had to give vent to all her memories of the caresses she had enjoyed as well as her longing for new ones; and she was forced to do so not only to compensate herself for having no husband, but also to compensate her child for having no father to fondle him. So, like all unsatisfied mothers, she took her little son in place of her husband, and by the too early maturing of his erotism robbed him of a part of his masculinity." (Freud, 1990: 209)

In this long quotation, it becomes clear that what makes Adorno 'unsatisfied' with Freud's analysis of Leonardo is Freud's reduction of the relationship between an artwork and its creator to a strict, deterministic cause-and-effect (causality) relationship. -On the other hand, paradoxically, Freud himself notes in his *Interpretation of Dreams* that in analyzing dreams, it is remarkable that there is no causal relation between events in the process of dreaming. (Freud, 1990: 209).- In the present example, Freud deciphers the mystery of the well-known artwork, Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, by placing Leonardo's unconscious projection at the center of his analysis, where repressed memories of his mother are substituted for the Mona Lisa's smile (Freud, 1990: 211). Rather, what is remarkable in these Freudian explanations is the balance between repression and sublimation in Leonardo's childhood 'phantasy,' which, established through both the Oedipal Complex and the Castration Complex as a solution to the former, plays a determinant role in Freud's psychoanalytic theory.

According to Adorno, the fundamental flaw of psychoanalytic theory is its orientation towards 'the most inappropriate objects,' namely, *artwork*. This type of psychologism leads to the conclusion that aesthetic expressions are condemned to be non-objective. Furthermore, Adorno cites Laforgue to illustrate how psychoanalytic theory thematizes art in an erroneous way. In precisely the same way of Freud's analysis of Leonardo, Laforgue also regards Baudelaire as "having suffered from a mother complex". The determinant impulse to direct Baudelaire towards writing *The Flowers of Evil* comes directly from the neurotic psychic life of Baudelaire. Those who approach to artworks from psychoanalytic perspective pretend that "psychical normalcy" is taken as a deficiency in creating an artwork. Therefore, in the light of these explanations, Adorno asserts that psychoanalysis deals merely with the *negative* memories in the personal biography and completely ignores the non-empirical impulses of those who create artworks (Adorno, 1996: 8). We should bear in mind that this reduction of the process of creating an artwork to the repression of the negative memories is only one aspect of psychoanalytic twofold theory of art; another will be "libidinal energy" or be human being's biological destiny. On the other hand, Adorno seems to accept partly the idea that the role of unconsciousness cannot be rejected in investigating the origin of art (Adorno, 1996: 9). Yet, where psychoanalysis fails in its analysis of artwork is its reduction of artwork merely to the effect of such an unconscious, ignoring any other kind of possibilities, such as society, ideology and media.

In this context, it can be legitimately noted that Adorno criticizes psychoanalytic theory of art by saying that psychoanalytic theory not only lifts the mystery of an artwork but also simply presents it to us as merely the effect of childhood traumas of its creator. He goes on saying that Freud's theory treats artwork is "daydreams" and its attitude towards the investigation of artworks moves completely in a wrong way, as it "confuses them with documents". By replacing artworks to the daydreams of the artists, i.e. to the (content of) unconscious (as a part of mind) of the artists (and by this way, what psychoanalysis has done is to cut off the connection between the artwork and the society as a total of non-creators and to render it merely belonging to him/her who creates it. However, as Foucault and Barthes remind us, the artwork, such as a novel, does not belong to its writer; the author is dead.), Freud's theory, according to Adorno, reduces the artwork "to crude thematic material", i.e. its content (Adorno, 1996: 10). (Yet, it should be noted that this attitude cannot be ascribed to the whole psychoanalytic tradition, as Lacan, for instance, as opposed to Freud's attitude, does not deal with the content of the artwork, that is not with the character or the details of a novel, but with the

structure of it.) The incomprehensible element of the artwork is fairly easily to be transformed into the reflection of the content of the unconscious by Freud. The necessary result of this reductive attitude of psychoanalysis is to be exaggerated of the “fictional element” in the artworks. At the end of the discussions, we will see that Adorno will not entirely exclude Freudian theory of art, but he just finds its emphasis on the empirical deterministic aspect of the unconscious as exaggerated. At this juncture, it is important to note that although Adorno himself references Kafka to demonstrate how Freud’s theory of art fails (Adorno, 1996: 11), Kafka cannot be considered a good example. This is because, when Kafka was placed in the sanatorium in Kierling, Vienna, he asked Max Brod to burn his writings. The key point here is that Kafka explained his request to Brod by saying they were ‘too personal.’ It is indeed possible to use Kafka’s attitude to support Freudian theory, as it could also be used to explain Kafka’s works through his personal biography.

Before investigating Adorno’s arguments about both Freud’s and Kant’s theories of art, it would be helpful to first elaborate on the fundamental concepts of Freud’s psychoanalytic theory. First of all, Freud is the first who discover “the unconsciousness” in which both human being’s biological (sexual) destiny and personal biographies some of which is repressed determines our every kind of decisions and acts. Hence, it must be said that, Freudian subject, as opposed to Cartesian cogito and also Kantian subject, is constructed by our personal histories and biological determinism and it is “decentered” (as conscious and unconscious). According to Freud, what determines human beings is not their will, but their unconscious (Freud, 1956: 28). This means that the unconscious holds control over the conscious. By this way, he seems to reject all kind of autonomous. Rather, he asserts that claiming the existence of such an unconscious (i.e., irrational) is, in itself, rational (Freud, 196: 101). Freud accepts human beings’ dreams, humors, slips of the tongue (*Lapsus linguae*) (Freud, 1990: 26) and also the creative activity of an artist, such as a creative writer (Freud, 2006: 219), as the effects of unconscious (Freud, 1956: 99). Freud mentions that a writer in creating an artwork benefits beyond all from sensitivity which provides him with perceiving the hidden drives of others and from courage which allows his own unconscious to talk (Freud, 2006: 227). Then, it is possible to claim that for Freud, the possibility for a writer to create an artwork emerges not only from his/her unconscious but also from his/her extraordinary capacity of sensitivity to perceive the content of the unconscious of people. What does the content of the unconscious consist of? The elements of the unconscious are, in fact, the same elements that constitute what it is called the “subject”. These elements are, as it has mentioned above, human beings’

childhood traumas, repressed memories and desires-drives which are both culturally and biologically (sexually) determined. These elements, according to Freud, are repressed and conserved in our unconscious and they inevitably determine our every kind of experiences, including artistic experience. Dreams, for instance, are nothing but merely satisfaction of human being's desires, i.e. wish-fulfillment, which are repressed in everyday life due to cultural prohibitions or taboos (Freud, 1938: 208). And the origin of art can be found in such repressed desires.

The well-known elements are the effects of what Freud calls 'Oedipus Complex' and 'Castration Complex'. Very briefly, According to Freud, a child, around age of four or five, begins to realize its sexual inclinations and begins to also desire to be the object of the desire of its mother. However, he realizes the fact that the father is the object of the desire of his mother. And, according to Freud, the child accepts "the law of father" in which the threat of father is to castrate. The child represses his own desire towards his mother due to the threat of castration. By this way, the child realizes the fact that the incest is culturally forbidden. Now, according to Freud, the child accepts unwillingly this "defeat" but he does not completely leave his desire. He creates himself another reality, i.e. phantasy, in which he pursues his desires but in a different way by directing his desire, his "libidinal energy" towards different fields or objects (Freud, 2006: 304-311). Freud notes that "sublimation is a process that concerns the object-libido and consists in the instinct's directing itself towards an aim other than, and remote from, that of sexual gratification; in this process the accent falls upon the deflection from the sexual aim" (Freud, 1956: 51). Therefore, these complexes are responsible for our unconscious reflections. The balance between repression and sublimation is constructed through these complexes. Freud notes that "anatomy (or biology) is destiny" (Freud, 1956: 309). That is, they are universally determinant on our present experiences. Whereas "id" works with pleasure principle in which the desire is able to be fully satisfied and for this reason there is no need to create another reality, such as "phantasy"; ego, on the other hand, by entering cultural structure, represses the demands of the id. And finally superego creates itself a phantasy in which the basic desires are satisfied in different realms, such as dreams or artworks. When Freud talks about the daydreams of artists, he simply means this "reality principle", i.e. childhood phantasy. He asserts that "the creative writer does the same as the child at play", in 'phantasying' (Freud, 1938: 132). For all these reasons, Freud strongly believes that it is legitimate to search for the origin of art within the childhood memories (Freud, 1938: 131). To summarize, Freud thinks that the relation between an artwork and an artist who creates it is merely a projection of

unconscious of him/her. The origin of the artwork is entirely based on the unconscious act of the artist. Therefore, according to Freud, the unconscious is not responsible merely for our negative acts, but also for the creative activity of the artist.

After this brief overview of Freudian psychoanalytic theory, returning to Adorno's arguments about Freud's theory of art, it is possible to understand why Adorno criticizes Freud's transformation of artwork into a daydream, which leads to the reduction of artwork to 'crude thematic material'. It is clear that Adorno seems to be right by saying that the necessary conclusion of psychoanalytic theory of art is the negation of psychological normalcy. The insistence of Freudian theory on the idea that the origin of art lies in the empirical abnormality of artists, i.e., the deficiency of psychological normalcy, leads to the conclusion that the meaning of the artwork is lost.

“It (psychoanalysis) unlocks phenomena, but falls short of the phenomenon of art. Psychoanalysis treats artworks as nothing but facts, yet it neglects their own objectivity, their inner consistency, their level of form, their critical impulse, their relation to nonpsychical reality, and finally their level of truths.” (Adorno, 1996: 9)

On the other hand, Adorno is not supported by Paul Ricoeur who asserts that Freud's art theory should be separated from his general psychoanalytic theory in the sense that in his theory of art, as opposed to the general framework of psychoanalytic theory and also to Adorno's objection to Freud's theory of art, is not merely based on negativity, i.e. negative parts of experience. (Ricoeur, 2006: 150). What Adorno calls “the power of desire” (Adorno, 1996: 10) -Kant, in his third *critique*, treats it as opposed to ‘a power of theoretical cognition’- (Kant, 1987: 17) in Freudian theory does not effect us merely in a negative way, but also in a positive, i.e. creative way in case of art. As we have said just above, the unconscious, as a layer of experience, also paves the way for the creative activity of a writer.

Yet, Adorno does not regard psychoanalytic theory of art as entirely destructive. For him, the psychoanalytic theory of art “is superior to idealist aesthetics in that it brings to light what is internal to art and not itself artistic”. And also, Adorno in some passages uses Freudian terminology, such as “fetishism” (Adorno, 1996: 43), “omnipotence of thought” (Adorno, 1996: 117) in order to criticize pure idealist tradition in aesthetics. He seems to share the idea that art has also psychological roots in the way that the artist forms his/her material as a mediating between his psychic life and outer life (Adorno, 1996:

164). In this way, the one part of Adorno's judgment which expresses that "Kant's aesthetic is the antithesis of Freud's theory of art as wish-fulfillment" is more or less illuminated. However, in order to make clear in what sense Adorno finds a similarity between these completely different theories, i.e. Freud's and Kant's theory of art, we should also elaborate on some key stones of Kant's theory of aesthetics. First of all, Adorno explicitly states that Kant's theory should be labeled as "anti-psychologism" (Adorno, 1996: 170), as its dominant attitude is "disinterestedness". If we basically formulate psychoanalytic theory of art as following: the origin of art is based entirely on human beings' interestedness as both socially and biologically, then the reason behind Adorno's acceptance of Kant's theory as an antithesis of Freud's theory of art becomes clear. Why does Adorno call Kant's aesthetics "anti-psychologism" and what does "disinterestedness" means in Kant's theory?

1. ADORNO AND KANT'S THEORY OF ART

First of all, Adorno stresses the significant role of the notion "representation" in Kant's aesthetic theory. For him, what makes Kant's third critique *Critique of Judgment* is "that without leaving the circle of the older effect-aesthetics Kant at the same time restricted it through immanent criticism; this is in keeping with the whole of his subjectivism" (Adorno, 1996: 10). According to Adorno, Kant brings the endless circle that turns around the question is beauty in the object or in the subject to an end: "In the subject". Adorno also claims that the notion "representation" (Kant calls it 'pure representation') is the necessary "conclusion of Kant's subjective approach". It is clear that what Kant aims by asserting the notion "representation" is to eliminate the need for the existence of the object; that is, to reduce everything about aesthetic to the subject itself. For, merely by this way this type of judgment, that is subjective judgment, can be universally valid, i.e. objective (Adorno, 1996: 163). Another important point which Adorno emphasizes is that because of Kant's strict rejection of "interestedness" in the aesthetic realm and his acceptance of "disinterestedness", the notion "satisfaction" cannot be determinant for defining beauty (Adorno, 1996: 11).

Now, in examining Kant's third critique, one can identify the structure in which judgment is divided into two types: determinative judgment and reflective judgment. According to Kant, determinative judgments are those which subsume the particular under the universal (general), i.e. concept, if the general is given (Kant, 1987: 18). On the other hand, "if the only particular is given and judgment has to find the universal for it", then this power is called "reflective" (Kant, 1987: 19). Therefore, it can be easily seen that the former,

determinative judgment, legitimately operates when theoretical reason, i.e. understanding, is the case, that is it is this type of judgment which is introduced in first *critique*. However, we face with the new type of judgment, i.e. reflective, in his third *critique*. The significant difference between these two types of judgments gives us the clue about the way which Kant will follow in order to construct his aesthetic theory. Namely, to say that since the universal is not given in case of reflective judgment, aesthetic judgment should operate without concepts. Kant's charge about that feature of aesthetic judgment presents us the reason why he wrote third *critique*. Because, if aesthetic judgement has a concept and is related to "the existence of the object", that is if sensible intuition is the case, then we would not need any other critique, theoretical reason would be enough to achieve the aim of third *critique*. Hence, whereas the determinative judgment is constitutive in the objects of possible experience, the reflective judgment is constitutive in judging subject. Kant also divides reflective judgment into two parts as subjective and as objective. This division gives us also the main division of *Critique of Judgment*. While reflective-subjective judgment is called aesthetic judgment by Kant, reflective-objective judgment enters into teleological realm. Therefore, since our present issue is Kant's aesthetic theory, we deal merely with reflective-subjective judgment. Under this title, Kant separates "judgment agreeable" from judgment of taste". What is crucial here is that "judgment agreeable" refers to personal liking and requires "the presentation of object's existence" (Kant, 1987: 44). For this reason, according to Kant, this type of judgment implies "interestedness" (Kant, 1987: 47).

"Interest is what we call the liking we connect with the presentation of an object's existence. Hence such a liking always refers at once to our *power of desire*, either as the basis that determines it, or at any rate as necessarily connected with that determining basis. But if the question is whether something beautiful, what we want to know is not whether we or anyone cares, or so much as might care, in any way, about the thing's existence, but rather how we judge about it in our mere contemplation of it." (Kant, 1987: 45) (my own *emphasis*, G.Ö)

In this quotation, it is possible to realize the fact that Kant puts a deep distance between his theory of art and the power of desire, as Adorno notes. And secondly, he opposes "contemplation" with "the power desire", as Adorno (1996: 179) intends too. As Kant explicitly puts it, the judgment of taste is

merely contemplative, i.e. it is a judgment that is indifferent to the existence of object (Kant, 1987: 51). For all these reasons, “interested” judgment which refers to the power of desire, i.e. has the capacity to satisfy an inclination (in Freud’s example, this inclination might be a repressed desire) cannot be included in defining beauty. Kant simply defines “taste” as “the ability to judge an object...by means of a liking or disliking *devoid of all interest*”. And “the object of such a liking is called *beautiful*” (Kant, 1987: 53). Therefore, according to Kant, judgment of taste must be “disinterestedness”. -However, as Adorno (1996: 14) puts it, Kant also states that a disinterested judgment can be also “very interesting” (Kant, 1987: 46).- Finally, Kant presents us four logical structures for aesthetic judgment in the exactly the same way as the first *critique*: Quality (disinterestedness), Quantity (without a concept), Relationship (purposiveness without a purpose) and Modality (necessity). Purposiveness without a purpose (or an end) signifies the relation (or coherence) between the parts of an artwork. That is, the artwork is presented as if it fulfills a particular purpose, but in fact it cannot have such a purpose (Kant, 1987: 65). For, if it is so, then it cannot be a judgment without a concept. Adorno (1996: 138) exemplifies this notion with a musical composition.

To summarize, Kant does not tolerate any attitude which put into use the empirical elements to illuminate the mystery of art. And he excludes also any interest. The artwork should not depend on personal needs or desires, or spring from any trauma or complex. In the light of all these explanations, it is clear that the reason why Adorno compares Freud’s theory of art with Kant’s aesthetic theory is that the former is entirely defined as theory of “interested”, while the latter theory of “disinterested”. Adorno (1996: 13-14) thinks that whereas Freudian theory of art serves a basis for bourgeois hedonism, since Kant defines beauty merely with reference to disinterestedness and since he entirely excludes the existence of the object, he impoverishes aesthetic theory (Adorno, 1996: 10). Moreover, Adorno goes on criticizing, “the doctrine of disinterested satisfaction” reduces all phenomena to the “formal beauty”. Although Kant, according to Adorno, the first thinker who realizes the fact that “aesthetic attitude is independent from “immediate desire”, by ignoring empirical reality of artwork, the power of desire, in other words, the empirical motives behind the existence of the artwork, he represents another extremity (Adorno, 1996: 152). The necessary conclusion of Kantian attitude is that “aesthetic becomes paradoxically a castrated hedonism, desire without desire” (Adorno, 1996: 11).

Finally, after all these explanations, it should be noted that, despite their extremes, Adorno surprisingly and brilliantly proposes a strict similarity between these theories. “Nevertheless, the Kantian motif is not altogether alien

to psychoanalytic art theory”. According to that, Adorno interprets Freud’s theory as the transformation “unsatisfied libido into a socially productive achievement”, i.e. the artwork. For, as we have seen, for Freud aesthetic activity is nothing but the expression of repressed desires, which remain unsatisfied, in a creative way. Therefore, these unsatisfied desires are the basis for the artwork. On the other hand, for Kant, if the interest, inclination or desires are the case, then we cannot talk about any aesthetic activity. The criterion for an individual to be artist is disinterestedness, which means that the desires of the artist should be unsatisfied. Therefore, according to Adorno, whether the power of desire is excluded or not, the unsatisfied element is included in both theories. This interpretation, I think, presents us the clue about the unusual talent of Adorno.

Then, what does Adorno himself suggest for the solution of our present issue? He thinks that both Kant and Freud are right in the sense that art, artwork and the relation between artwork and artist denotes not only interest but also disinterest. But they are mistaken also, since artworks, by their nature, include what they negate (negative dialectic). Art appears or exercises at the intersection of interest and disinterest. It excludes neither interest nor disinterest.

“Contrary to the Kantian and Freudian interpretation of art, artworks imply in themselves a relation between interest and its renunciation. Even the contemplative attitude to artworks, wrested from objects of action, is felt as the announcement of an immediate praxis and –to this extent itself practical- as a refusal to play along.” (Adorno, 1996: 12)

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it can be asserted that Adorno’s choice of Freud’s psychoanalytic art theory and Kant’s aesthetic theory is not arbitrary. Both of them represent two extreme approaches in aesthetics. The radical differences between them can be also read from the perspective that the way how they comprehend “the subject” determines their attitude towards aesthetic theory. The determinant elements of Freudian aesthetic theory are also those which form what it is called *the subject*. The stages, id, ego, superego or the Oedipal and Castration complexes are the history of the subject. The subject in Freudian psychoanalysis is a fully empirical construction. On the other hand, Kantian subject is not something constructed merely in an empirical way. It can be asserted that it is an effect or reflection of Cartesian cogito. “Purity” of Kantian cogito comes completely from the same reason with pure concepts in the sense

that it includes nothing empirical. In fact, When Adorno criticizes these two theory about the origin of art, he would have also criticizes their fiction about the origin of subject. Not only artwork, but also the subject or the ego can be comprehended through negative dialectic. Both Kant and Freud are far from being effective to explain what Adorno calls the spirit of artwork. Adorno successfully present us how two extremities, deterministic and indeterministic or empirical and pure or interest or disinterest, can be coincided in the same point.

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Chapter 13

The Role of Political Stability on Environmental Pollution: An ARDL Analysis for Turkey

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this study is to analyze the relationship between political stability and environmental degradation, and to evaluate the relevance of the EKC hypothesis in the Turkish context. The study makes use of detailed datasets to analyze the link between political stability and environmental degradation. Political stability is represented by the Political Constraints Index (POLCON), while environmental degradation is measured using ecological footprint data. Additionally, this research explores the influence of financial development on the deterioration of the environment. The analyses were conducted using data from the period 1984–2016. Structural breaks were incorporated into the empirical model, with unit root and co-integration tests designed to address these breaks applied. The findings suggest the existence of a long-term relationship between the variables. In accordance with the findings, a reduction in political constraints, or an improvement in political stability, can potentially mitigate environmental degradation. Furthermore, greater financial development are observed to alleviate environmental degradation across both the short and long term. Finally, the EKC hypothesis was confirmed in both the short and long run.

Keywords: Political Stability, Environmental Degradation, Ecological footprint, EKC hypothesis, Financial development, ARDL Bounds Test

INTRODUCTION

The environment and environmental degradation are among the most important issues facing both developed and developing countries today. It is posited that the protection of the environment is a public good, as it ensures the continuity of generations and the transfer of resources between generations. From an economic standpoint, this situation is of great importance. In this regard, various schools of economics adopt distinct approaches to examining the relationship between the economy and the environment. Mainstream economic theory argues that there is no market for environmental goods and that individuals who use these goods do not recognise the real costs of these goods. It is argued that this situation leads to pollution and excessive consumption of natural resources. The mainstream economic perspective suggests that over-consumption of natural resources can be addressed by establishing the 'optimal use' level. It is claimed that the prevention of environmental damage can be achieved through the use of incentives and taxation instruments through market mechanisms. On the other hand, the doctrine of institutional economics emphasises that institutions, rules, norms and habits have significant effects on the functioning of the economy, macroeconomic balances and individual behaviour. The institutional economics approach offers a critical perspective to mainstream economics, arguing that an institutional framework should be established rather than a monetary reductionist approach to the environment and environmental problems. This approach underscores the importance of considering cultural and social elements alongside political and economic mechanisms in environmental decision-making. As a result, institutional economics argues that not only economic instruments are not sufficient to solve environmental problems, but also political mechanisms and various social dynamics should be included in this process (Özveren, 2007:312-326).

Kuznets (1955) initially introduced the hypothesis, which posits an inverted U-shaped relationship between economic growth and income inequality in economic theory. Drawing from this perspective, the Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) hypothesis, which suggests an inverted U-shaped relationship between economic growth and environmental degradation, has started to be discussed in the economic literature. Pioneering studies by Grossman and Krueger (1991) and Shafik (1994), based on the EKC hypothesis, argue that environmental degradation increases in the early stages when economic growth is low, but decreases in the maturity stage when growth exceeds a certain level. Empirical investigations evaluating the EKC hypothesis often employ carbon dioxide (CO₂) emission data as a proxy for environmental pollution. However, Wackernagel and Rees (1998) criticised the CO₂ emissions series for not fully

reflecting environmental degradation and introduced the concept of 'ecological footprint', which assesses environmental degradation in a broader framework. In addition to the carbon footprint, the Ecological Footprint data includes a dataset of categories that are critical for ecological sustainability, such as built-up area, grassland area, forest area, fisheries area and agricultural area. Because of these characteristics, the Ecological Footprint is considered to be a measure that can better represent environmental degradation. In this study, Ecological Footprint data is preferred to analyse environmental degradation.

This study aims to offer an institutional economics perspective on environmental issues. In the context of Turkey, this study investigates the link between political stability and environmental outcomes between 1984 and 2016, testing the EKC hypothesis within a framework that includes political factors.

The study makes several contributions to the literature:

(i) This research constitutes the pioneering study to investigate the linkage between political stability and environmental factors in Turkey, explicitly considering structural breaks,

(ii) It utilizes ecological footprint data, a comprehensive measure of environmental degradation,

(iii) It employs the Political Constraints Index as an indicator of political stability, effectively capturing Turkey's political stability and uncertainties,

(iv) It estimates both short and long term coefficients, and

(v) The research evaluates the EKC hypothesis within the framework of the relationship between political stability and environmental degradation.

In this context, the study provides significant theoretical and empirical contributions, enriching the literature on environmental economics.

This research is structured in five chapters: Chapter one introduces an introduction, chapter two reviews the empirical literature, chapter three details the model and data, chapter four presents the empirical findings, and chapter five offers a conclusion with the main results and policy implications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the existing literature on the nexus between political structure and environmental degradation reveals a limited number of studies in this area. The majority of the literature addresses the broader influence of institutional structures, often incorporating political systems, on environmental outcomes. Empirical studies within this domain suggest that the effect of institutional structures on environmental degradation is contingent upon the specific country, time period, and group of countries under investigation.

The literature exploring the relationship between the environment and institutions highlights the multidimensional nature of institutions: commonly used institutional indicators include political stability, institutional quality, rule of law, democratisation, accountability and bureaucratic quality. Murdoch et al. (1997) examine the impact of sulphur and nitrogen oxide emissions, which contribute to acid rain and ground-level ozone. Their study examines 25 European countries between 1980 and 1990, using various econometric models. The empirical analysis, carried out using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), finds that increases in income and political freedom are associated with reductions in sulphur emissions. Pellegrini and Gerlagh (2006) examine the impact of corruption and democracy on environmental outcomes. Their cross-sectional analysis divides countries into three groups: Latin American, OECD and South Asian countries. The study constructs a model for the period 1980-1985 to assess the impact of democracy and corruption on environmental policy. The results suggest that institutional factors significantly influence the intensity of environmental policy, with the reduction of corruption having a stronger effect on environmental policy than democratisation. In a similar vein, Kinda (2011) examines the effectiveness of democracy in shaping environmental outcomes. Using a panel data analysis of 122 developed and developing countries between 1960 and 2008, the study finds that democratic institutions have a significant positive effect on environmental quality, with this effect being stronger in developed countries. Mavragani et al. (2016) investigate the link between institutional quality, globalization, and environmental pollution within the context of G-20 and European countries, using a sample of 75 countries. Their empirical analysis, conducted through factor analysis, reveals a positive relationship between institutional quality and environmental pollution.

Empirical studies addressing the link between institutional structure and pollution have analyzed these effects through models incorporating the EKC hypothesis. This study's outcomes show discrepancies depending on the structural features of the countries and the period studied. This section first presents the studies carried out using the panel method. To ensure a meaningful connection with this research, a review of the literature testing the EKC hypothesis in the Turkish context will be conducted.

Wu (2017) investigated how institutional quality affects air pollution and found empirical evidence supporting the EKC hypothesis, showing that higher institutional quality reduces air pollution, based on data from 167 countries over the period 2000 to 2013. Likewise, Haseeb and Azam (2021) in their empirical analysis spanning the period 1995–2015, concluded that democratization is more impactful in mitigating CO₂ emissions in low-income nations than in high-

income ones. They also identified a bidirectional causal relationship between democratization, corruption, and CO₂ emissions. Similarly, Usman and Jahanger (2021), utilizing the Panel Quantile Regression (PQR) method with data from 93 nations covering the years 1990–2016, demonstrated that institutional quality plays a significant role in curbing environmental degradation, corroborating the EKC hypothesis. Bibi and Jamil (2021), who argue that these findings differ across country groups, examined country groups in different regions in the 2000–2018 observation interval. These groups are South Asia, Central Asia, Pacific, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and Europe. A panel data analysis technique was used in the model. The findings of the analysis reveal that institutional quality plays a role in reducing CO₂ emissions in sub-Saharan Africa. Conversely, institutional quality is shown to contribute to the rise in CO₂ emissions across Europe, East Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and the Pacific. In addition, this study investigated the validity of the EKC hypothesis and found that it holds across all regions except Sub-Saharan Africa. In a similar vein, Le and Ozturk (2020) carried out an empirical study for the period 1990–2014 in 47 developing countries and discovered that institutional quality is correlated with higher CO₂ emissions. Furthermore, the EKC hypothesis is affirmed. Bekun et al. (2021) support this finding in their study. In their empirical study of E7 countries with rapid development between 1995 and 2016, employing the Extended Mean Group (AMG) estimation method, they found that the EKC hypothesis holds, and institutional quality is positively correlated with higher CO₂ emissions. Bahtiyar and Yağlıkara ((2022) investigated the G-20 economies over the period 1990–2018 by employing panel causality and co-integration techniques. Likewise, this study concluded that while a long-run relationship exists between environmental quality and institutional structure, no causal link was identified.

The empirical literature on studies addressing the validity of the EKC hypothesis for Turkey reveals divergent findings, depending on the period analyzed and the environmental indicator selected. In their study, Dal et al. (2013) use greenhouse gas emissions as an environmental degradation indicator and perform a dynamic empirical analysis for the period 1960–2010. The empirical evidence from the study suggests that the EKC hypothesis is not upheld. In contrast, Fuat (2016) concluded in his research that the EKC hypothesis is valid. In this research, he used the ARDL technique in the observation period of 1960–2010 and used CO₂ emissions as an environmental indicator. Similarly, Destek (2018) used ecological footprint data as an environmental indicator. In his study confirmed that the EKC hypothesis is valid,

employing ARDL and VECM-based Granger causality approaches for the period spanning 1990–2014.

MODEL, DATA, AND METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the empirical relationship between political stability and environmental degradation in Turkey, utilizing annual data covering the years 1984–2016. The choice of this observation period is driven by the availability of the political constraints index, which spans from 1984 to 2016. Within this framework, the model's functional form is outlined in Equation (1).

$$\ln EF_t = \beta_t + \alpha_{1t} PS_t + \alpha_{2t} \ln Y_t + \alpha_{3t} \ln Y_t^2 + \alpha_{4t} FD_t + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

In Model 1, the dependent variable 'lnEF' represents to the natural logarithm of The Ecological Footprint data, which as an indicator of environmental degradation. The Ecological Footprint is calculated in global hectares and includes a dataset with environmental indicators such as built-up area, carbon footprint, agricultural area, fishing area, forest products, and grazing area (Wackernagel and Rees, 1998). These data encompass a wide range of environmental indicators, providing a comprehensive measure of environmental impact. The 'PS' variable, which represents political stability, is proxied by the POLCON (Political Constraints Index) developed by Henisz (2000). This index quantifies the degree to which political change within a country is constrained by the political system. It also reflects the level of political stability and uncertainty (Guler and Guillén, 2010; Vaaler and Schrage, 2009). The POLCON index ranges between 0 and 1, where higher values (approaching 1) reflect lower political constraints, and lower values (approaching 0) signify greater political constraints. Thus, as the index approaches 0, it suggests a decline in political stability, while an index value approaching 1 signals a more stable political environment with effective institutional checks and balances. In the model, real GDP in US dollars (\$), adjusted for constant 2015 prices, is used to represent economic growth, denoted as 'lnY'. Economic growth is represented by the natural logarithm of real GDP. The variable 'lnY²' represents the square of real national income per capita. The variable 'FD', incorporated as a control variable in the model, refers the level of financial development, quantified as the ratio of net foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows to GDP. The model includes the following parameters: ' $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3, \alpha_4$ ', referring to the coefficients that determine the direction and strength of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables; ' β ', representing

the model's constant term; 't = 1, 2, ..., T (1984–2016)', which denotes the time dimension; and 'ε', indicating the error term.

The datasets and their corresponding sources used in this study are detailed as follows: Ecological Footprint data are retrieved from the Global Footprint Network database. The Political Constraints Index (POLCON), formulated by Henisz (2000), is derived from the database maintained by the Department of Management, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Real GDP and FDI data are obtained from the World Development Indicators database, provided by the World Bank.

The model, developed in line with the study's primary objective, is analyzed using the ARDL bounds testing approach. The ARDL bounds test method offers several fundamental advantages, which are outlined as follows: (i) it allows for analysis when the series exhibit different levels of stationarity (I(0) and I(1)) or when all series are stationary in first differences (I(1)), (ii) it enables both short and long term forecasting, and (iii) it provides consistent forecasting results in the presence of endogeneity and autocorrelation issues in the model (Pesaran ve Shin 1997; Pesaran vd 2001).

Equation (2) illustrates the ARDL specification of regression model (1) utilized in this study.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \Delta \ln EF_t = & \beta_0 + \varphi_1 \ln EF_{t-1} + \varphi_2 \ln S_{t-1} + \varphi_3 \ln Y_{t-1} + \varphi_4 \ln Y_{t-1}^2 \\
 & + \varphi_5 FDI_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^v \theta_{1,i} \Delta \ln EF_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^v \theta_{2,i} \Delta \ln S_{t-i} \\
 & + \sum_{i=1}^v \theta_{3,i} \Delta \ln Y_{t-i} + \sum_{i=1}^v \theta_{4,i} \Delta \ln Y_{t-i}^2 + \sum_{i=1}^v \theta_{5,i} \Delta FDI_{t-i} \\
 & + \varepsilon_t
 \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

In equation (2), the short-run coefficients denoted as ($\theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3, \theta_4, \theta_5$) and while the long-run coefficients are represented ($\varphi_1, \varphi_2, \varphi_3, \varphi_4, \varphi_5$). The variable v represents the number of lags, and Δ indicates the difference operator. The null hypothesis is $H_0: \varphi_1 = \varphi_2 = \varphi_3 = \varphi_4 = \varphi_5 = 0$, while the alternative hypothesis is $H_1: \varphi_1 \neq \varphi_2 \neq \varphi_3 \neq \varphi_4 \neq \varphi_5 \neq 0$.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In this section, the results of the empirical analyses carried out with the model designed to achieve the main objective of the study are presented in this section. The analysis process begins with a test of the stationarity of the series. Then, the

long-term relationship between the series is analyzed using the co-integration test that allows structural breaks according to Gregory and Hansen (1996). In the final step, both the short and long term findings are assessed using the ARDL method.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics	lnEF	PS	LNy	FD
Average	18.955	4.040	26.770	1.023
Median	18.967	3.710	26.714	0.539
Maximum	19.374	5.310	27.517	3.623
Minimum	18.429	3.070	26.074	0.131
Standard Error	.281	7.470	0.417	0.9163

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables utilized in the study. It is determined that the lnY variable has the highest mean, maximum and minimum values.

Table 2: Results of the Ng-Perron Unit Root Test

Variable	MZa	MZt	MSB	MPT
Level Values				
lnEF	1.164	1.077	0.925	62.318
PS	-5.979*	-1.728*	0.289	4.099*
lnY	-15.334***	-2.714***	0.177**	1.798**
FD	-5.685	-1.634	0.359	7.05
INV	-6.411*	-1.790*	0.287	4.458
Difference Values				
Δ lnEF	-10.959**	-2.336***	0.213**	2.251**
Δ FD	-15.456***	-2.736***	0.177**	1.747***
Critical Values				
% 1	-13.800	-2.580	0.174	1.780
% 5	-8.100	-1.980	0.233	3.170
% 10	-5.700	-1.620	0.275	4.450

Note: The null hypothesis tested for the series is that "the series has a unit root."

This hypothesis is rejected at the 1%, 5%, and 10% significance levels, indicated by '1%: ***', '5%: **', and '10%: *', respectively. In the analysis, the optimal lag length is determined using the Schwarz Information Criterion (SIC).

To prevent spurious regression relationships, the stationarity level of the series are examined. For this purpose, the unit root tests developed by Ng and Perron (2001) (NP) and Zivot and Andrews (2002) (ZA) are employed in this study.

Initially, the results from the NP unit root test are presented. These findings are summarized in Table 2. The NP test results indicate that the lnEF and FD series are non-stationary at the level, but become stationary after first differencing (I(1)). In contrast, the PS and lnY series are stationary at the level (I(0)).

Table 3: Results of the Zivot-Andrews Unit Root Test

Değişkenler	t-Statistics	Break Date
Level Values		
lnEF	-.2789	2002
PS	-3.126	2002
lnY	-6.075***	2004
FD	-5.701***	2005
Difference Values		
Δ lnEF	-10.030***	1996
Δ INS	-5.391***	1996

Not: The null hypothesis tested for the series is that "the series has a unit root."

This hypothesis is rejected at the 1%, 5%, and 10% significance levels, denoted by '1%: ***', '5%: **', and '10%: *', respectively. The critical values for the ZA unit root test at the 1%, 5%, and 10% significance levels are -4.949, -4.443, and -4.193, respectively. To determine the optimal lag length, the SIC is used.

Secondly, the stationarity of the series was analyzed using the ZA unit root test, which accounts for structural breaks. The primary rationale for selecting this method is that neglecting structural breaks in the stationarity analysis of the series may lead to spurious results in the constructed model. Additionally, the outcomes of the ZA test will be compared with those of the NP test to evaluate the robustness of the latter. The ZA unit root test results are reported in Table 3. Upon reviewing the results, it was found that the lnEF and PC series are non-stationary at the level (I(0)), but become stationary after first differences (I(1)). In contrast, the FDI and lnY series are stationary at the level (I(0)).

A comparison of the findings of the NP and ZA unit root tests in Tables 2 and 3 shows that the variable lnEF is non-stationary at I(0) for both tests, but becomes stationary at I(1). In contrast, the lnY variable is stationary at I(0) for both tests. The results for the PC and FD variables differ between the two tests. The NP unit root test indicates that the PC variable is stationary at I(0), whereas the ZA test suggests it is stationary at I(1). Conversely, the NP unit root test finds the FD variable to be stationary at I(1), while the ZA test indicates it is stationary at I(0). In conclusion, an evaluation of the results from both unit root tests indicates that the variables in the model are stationary at I(0) or I(1) levels. Therefore, the

ARDL approach, which allows for the estimation of variables with different degrees of integration within the model, is decided an appropriate methodology for this study.

Table 4: Gregory-Hansen Test Result

			Critical Values		
	t- Statistics	Break Date	% 1	% 5	% 10
ADF	-7.28***	2011	-5.77	-5.28	-5.02
Z_t	-7.33***	2011	-5.77	-5.28	-5.02
Z_a	-41.63	2011	-63.64	-53.58	-48.65

Notes: The symbol '***' denotes the rejection of the null hypothesis, indicating no co-integration relationship, at the 1% significance level.

This study employed the co-integration test technique developed by Gregory and Hansen (1996), which examines the long-run relationship between the variables in the model. This approach is preferred because it provides more reliable results by considering potential structural breaks in the model. As presented in Table 4, the null hypothesis is rejected based on the ADF and Z_t statistic values derived from the Gregory-Hansen co-integration test. Consequently, it is concluded that the variables ecological footprint, political constraints index, real GDP, and FDI are cointegrated, suggesting that the series exhibit a long-run comovement.

Table 5: ARDL Bounds Test Results

Model	Lag Length	F-Statistics
$\ln EF_t = f(\ln S_t, \ln Y_t, \ln Y_t^2, FD_t)$	(1,1,3,3,2)	7.1529***
Critical Values	I(0)	I(1)
% 1	3.5	4.63
% 5	2.81	3.76
% 10	2.49	3.38

Note: The symbol '%1:***' represents statistical significance at the 1% level.

The critical values are derived from Table CI(iv) in Pesaran et al. (2001). The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) is employed for the purpose of determining the optimal lag length for the analysis.

According to the Gregory–Hansen co-integration test results presented in Table 4, the break date is identified as 2011. The empirical analysis in this context is carried out using the ARDL method, taking the structural break into account in the model. The findings of the ARDL bounds test are reported in Table 5. These results indicate that the F-statistic exceeds the 1% critical value of the I(1) band.

As a result, the null hypothesis that there is no co-integration is rejected. Hence, the conclusion drawn from the Gregory–Hansen co-integration analysis, which suggests a long-run relationship between the series, is reinforced by the finding in Table 5.

Table 6: ARDL Short-Run and Long-Run Estimation Results

Variable	Coefficient	t-Statistics
<i>Long-Run</i>		
Sabit	0.056***	5.272
PC	-1.897**	-2.733
lnY	11.745**	2.894
lnY ²	-0.158***	-2.896
FD	-0.231**	-2.428
<i>Short-Run</i>		
ΔPS	-0.182	-1.190
ΔlnY	4.321***	4.728
ΔlnY ²	-1.058***	-4.740
ΔFD	-0.063***	-4.391
ECT(-1)	-0.871***	-8.291
Diagnostic Tests	F-Statistics	P-value
χ^2 NORMALITY	0.743	0.689
χ^2 SERIAL	1.267	0.337
χ^2 ARCH	0.545	0.655
χ^2 RAMSEY	1.182	0.298
CUSUM	Stable	Stable
CUSUMSQ	Stable	Stable

Note: %1: *** and %5: ** show $p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$, respectively.

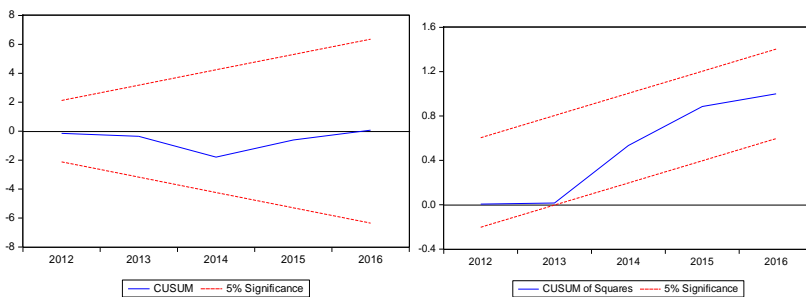


Figure 1: CUSUM and CUSUMQ Parameter Stability Tests

The results from the ARDL short-run and long-run estimations, together with the diagnostic tests conducted to verify the model's reliability, are reported in Table 6. The findings in Table 6 are organized into three sections. The first section includes the diagnostic tests, the second section presents the short-run

estimation results, and the third section outlines the long-run estimation results. Firstly, the presence of autocorrelation in the model was tested using the Breusch-Godfrey LM test (SERIAL). The results of this test indicate that there is no autocorrelation issue in the model. The ARCH test was employed to assess whether the error terms exhibit constant variance. The results confirm that the error term has constant variance. The Jarque-Bera test was conducted to determine whether the error term in the model follows a normal distribution. The results of this test indicate that the error term is normally distributed. The Ramsey test was applied to verify whether the correct functional form has been used in the model. The results indicate that the appropriate functional form has been applied. Additionally, the CUSUM and CUSUMQ tests, which were conducted to assess the stability of the parameters, show that the coefficients exhibit a stable structure. Based on the findings from these diagnostic tests, it can be posited that the he predictions generated by the model are reliable and consistent. In conclusion, the coefficient of the error correction term (ECT) in the model is statistically significant and negative, suggesting a long-run relationship between the series. This finding further corroborates the accuracy of the results presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Secondly, upon examining the short-term estimation results presented in Table 6, it is observed that the relationship between the political constraints index and ecological footprint the is statistically insignificant. Nevertheless, the analysis reveals a positive and statistically significant relationship between the ecological footprint and. A 1% increase in real GDP is leads to with a 4.321% rise in the ecological footprint. In the short run, the relationship between the squared value of real GDP and the ecological footprint is negative and statistically significant. A 1% increase in the square of real GDP results in a 1.058% decrease in the ecological footprint. These results validate the EKC hypothesis in the short run. Furthermore, the relationship between the ecological footprint and FDI is statistically significant and negative in the short run. A 1% increase in this ratio is associated with a 0.063% reduction in the ecological footprint.

Third, the findings from the long-run analysis presented in Table 6 demonstrate a statistically significant and negative relationship between the ecological footprint and the political constraints index. A 1-unit increase in the political constraints index corresponds to a 1.897% reduction in environmental degradation. In other words, reducing political constraints means reducing environmental degradation. A positive and statistically significant relationship exists between the ecological footprint and real GDP. A 1% increase in real GDP leads to an 11.745% increase in the ecological footprint. The relationship between the square of real GDP and the ecological footprint is negative and statistically

significant, as a 1% increase in the square of real GDP causes a 0.158% decrease in the ecological footprint. These results validate the EKC hypothesis. Furthermore, a significant negative relationship was found between the ecological footprint and FDI, with a 1% increase FDI a 0.231% reduction in the ecological footprint.

Upon evaluation of the study's findings as a whole, it can be concluded that political stability and the degree of financial development play a significant role in mitigating environmental degradation over the long-run. Furthermore, financial development exerts a short-run mitigating effect on environmental degradation. Additionally, EKC hypothesis is confirmed to hold over in the long and short term.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

In this research, a model is developed to investigate the relationship between political stability and environmental degradation in Turkey, while also evaluating the validity of the EKC hypothesis. In this regard, an empirical analysis was carried out in the observation interval covering the years 1984-2016. The study utilizes the co-integration method proposed by Gregory and Hansen (1996), which accommodates structural breaks, to evaluate the existence of a long-run relationship between the series. Lastly, the ARDL methodology is utilized to assess the short and long term dynamics.

Upon assessing the study's findings, it is determined that political stability plays a crucial role in alleviating environmental degradation over the long-run. The findings of the study suggest that reducing political constraints and eliminating political uncertainties in Turkey would enhance political stability, which, in turn, would reduce environmental degradation. In addition, it has been found that the level of financial development has a decreasing effect on environmental degradation over the short and long term. Moreover, the EKC hypothesis is validated in both the short run and the long-run for Turkey.

In light of the study's findings, a number of policy recommendations will be presented. In this context, policy makers have important duties to ensure environmental sustainability. In this study, it is founded that the EKC hypothesis applies to Turkey. Thus, it is determined that once a certain level of economic growth is achieved, long-term welfare increase will reduce environmental degradation. Furthermore, it can be concluded that an increase in political stability has a mitigating effect on environmental degradation. In this context, it can be argued that political institutions, which are strengthened by ensuring political stability and eliminating uncertainties, will play a critical role in reducing environmental degradation. The effectiveness of the checks-and-

balances mechanism among institutions will be strengthened, resulting in a reduction in environmental pollution. Therefore, policymakers must prioritize the independence of the judiciary while striving to establish and maintain political stability, and take steps to alleviate the pressures and constraints on decision-making processes. On the other hand, policies aimed at enhancing economic prosperity should adopt a strategy that fosters foreign investment and prioritizes structural welfare. In this regard, the creation of an environmentally sustainable growth model will result in a decrease in the environmental degradation of the Turkish economy, concomitant with an increase in economic welfare.

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Chapter 14

Chatbots and AI-Powered Customer Service: Utilization and Impacts in E-Commerce

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Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Historical Evolution of Chatbots in E-Commerce

The utilization of chatbots in e-commerce has witnessed a significant evolution over the years. Initially, chatbots were simplistic in nature, primarily used for basic customer inquiries and support (Landim et al. 2022). However, with advancements in artificial intelligence (AI) and natural language processing (NLP), chatbots have become sophisticated tools capable of handling complex customer interactions (Cheng et al., 2021).

In the early stages, chatbots were mainly rule-based, following predefined scripts to respond to customer queries (Thorat & Jadhav, 2020). These rule-based systems were limited in their capabilities and often led to frustration among users due to their inability to understand nuanced queries or provide personalized responses. Despite these limitations, they laid the foundation for the development of more advanced chatbot technologies (Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

The emergence of AI and machine learning algorithms revolutionized the capabilities of chatbots in e-commerce (Rawat et al., 2022). By leveraging AI, chatbots can now analyze and interpret user queries in real-time, understand context, and provide personalized recommendations (Rosli et al., 2022). This evolution has significantly enhanced the customer experience, leading to increased engagement and satisfaction levels (Bawack et al., 2022).

1.2 Recent Trends and Challenges in AI-Powered Customer Service

In recent years, the adoption of AI-powered customer service solutions, including chatbots, has become increasingly prevalent in the e-commerce sector (Ping, 2019). Businesses are leveraging AI technologies to automate routine tasks, streamline customer support processes, and deliver personalized experiences at scale (Adam, Wessel & Benlian 2021; Chen, Le & Florence, 2021).

One of the prominent trends in AI-powered customer service is the integration of chatbots with other AI-driven tools, such as recommendation engines and predictive analytics (Nath & Sagnika, 2020). This integration allows businesses to create seamless customer journeys, from initial inquiry to post-purchase support, enhancing overall customer satisfaction and loyalty (Nicolescu & Tudorache, 2022).

However, alongside these advancements, several challenges and ethical considerations have emerged. One of the key challenges is ensuring the accuracy and reliability of AI-driven systems, particularly in complex and sensitive customer interactions (Williamson & Vijayakumar, 2021). Bias and discrimination in AI algorithms also pose significant ethical concerns,

highlighting the need for transparency and fairness in AI deployment (Saeidnia, 2023).

Section 2: Basic Functions of Chatbots

2.1 Answering Customer Queries with Practical Examples

Chatbots play a pivotal role in addressing customer queries efficiently and effectively in the e-commerce domain (Chung et al., 2020). Through the use of natural language processing (NLP) and machine learning algorithms, chatbots can understand and respond to a wide range of customer inquiries, from product information to order status updates (Suta et al., 2020).

For instance, consider a scenario where a customer wants to inquire about the availability of a specific product on an e-commerce platform. A chatbot equipped with NLP capabilities can interpret the query and provide real-time information regarding the product's availability, pricing, and delivery options (Bindu et. al, 2023). This seamless interaction not only saves time for both the customer and the business but also enhances the overall user experience (Asfaq et. al, 2020).

Furthermore, chatbots can handle complex queries that may require accessing multiple databases or systems (Ait-Mlouk & Jiang, 2020). For example, a customer may inquire about the compatibility of accessories with a particular electronic device. A chatbot can retrieve relevant information from product catalogs, compatibility databases, and user reviews to provide accurate and comprehensive answers.

2.2 Handling Complaints and Returns: Scenarios and Solutions

In addition to addressing inquiries, chatbots are instrumental in managing customer complaints and returns, crucial aspects of customer service in e-commerce (Schanke, Burtch & Ray, 2021). When a customer faces an issue with a product or service, they expect prompt resolution and assistance.

Chatbots can streamline the complaint handling process by guiding customers through troubleshooting steps, initiating returns or exchanges, and providing relevant support documentation (Sangroya et al., 2018). For example, if a customer reports a defective product, a chatbot can facilitate the return process by generating a return label, scheduling pickup, and updating the customer on the status of their refund or replacement.

Moreover, chatbots can proactively identify and address potential issues before they escalate. By analyzing customer feedback and interaction patterns, chatbots can flag recurring problems and alert relevant teams for swift resolution, contributing to enhanced customer satisfaction and loyalty.

2.3 Offering Personalized Product Recommendations: Case Studies

Personalization is a key driver of customer engagement and conversion in e-commerce, and chatbots play a crucial role in delivering personalized product recommendations (Marwade et. al, 2017). By leveraging customer data, browsing history, and purchase behavior, chatbots can suggest relevant products that align with individual preferences and needs (Jain & Khurana, 2022).

For instance, consider a chatbot integrated into an online fashion retailer's platform. Based on a customer's past purchases, style preferences, and size information, the chatbot can recommend new arrivals, complementary items, and personalized styling tips (Yan et al, 2022). This personalized approach not only enhances the shopping experience but also increases the likelihood of repeat purchases and cross-selling opportunities.

Section 3: Artificial Intelligence and Customer Service

3.1 Impact of AI-Driven Insights on Decision-Making in E-Commerce

Artificial intelligence (AI) technologies have revolutionized decision-making processes in e-commerce by providing valuable insights derived from data analysis (Chen, Esperança & Wang, 2022). AI-driven insights encompass a range of capabilities, including predictive analytics, customer segmentation, and trend forecasting, all of which contribute to informed decision-making and strategy formulation (Ma & Sun, 2020).

One of the key impacts of AI-driven insights is the ability to anticipate customer behavior and preferences. By analyzing vast amounts of data, AI systems can identify patterns, trends, and correlations that inform businesses about customer preferences, purchase intent, and engagement levels (Prentice, Weaven & Wong, 2020). This information enables e-commerce companies to tailor their offerings, marketing campaigns, and customer experiences to meet evolving customer expectations.

Moreover, AI-driven insights facilitate dynamic pricing strategies, inventory management optimization, and demand forecasting, enhancing operational efficiency and profitability. For example, AI algorithms can analyze market trends, competitor pricing strategies, and customer demand signals to recommend optimal pricing strategies that maximize revenue while remaining competitive.

Additionally, AI-powered analytics enable real-time monitoring of key performance indicators (KPIs) and business metrics, empowering decision-makers with actionable insights for performance optimization and risk management. From identifying emerging market trends to mitigating potential risks, AI-driven insights play a pivotal role in driving strategic decision-making in the dynamic landscape of e-commerce.

3.2 Utilization of Machine Learning and Neural Networks in Chatbots

Machine learning (ML) and neural networks are integral components of AI-powered chatbots, enabling them to learn from data, adapt to user interactions, and improve over time. ML algorithms empower chatbots to understand context, extract meaning from unstructured data, and generate human-like responses, enhancing the conversational experience for users.

Neural networks, particularly deep learning models, are employed in chatbots to process complex inputs, handle multiple tasks simultaneously, and mimic human cognitive capabilities. Through neural network architectures such as recurrent neural networks (RNNs) and transformer models, chatbots can engage in context-aware conversations, understand nuances in language, and provide more accurate and relevant information to users.

The utilization of ML and neural networks in chatbots extends beyond text-based interactions to include multimedia content analysis, sentiment analysis, and voice recognition. These capabilities enable chatbots to offer a seamless omnichannel experience, catering to diverse user preferences and communication channels in e-commerce settings.

By leveraging ML and neural networks, chatbots can continuously learn from user interactions, refine their understanding of customer queries, and deliver personalized and contextually relevant responses, ultimately enhancing customer satisfaction, engagement, and loyalty in e-commerce environments.

Section 4: Ethical Considerations in AI-Powered Customer Service

4.1 Beyond Data Privacy and Bias: Transparency, Accountability, and Fairness

While data privacy and bias are critical ethical considerations in AI-powered customer service, broader principles of transparency, accountability, and fairness must also be prioritized (Ferrara, 2023). Transparency entails providing users with clear information about how AI technologies, including chatbots, collect, process, and utilize their data (de la Torre-López, Ramírez, & Romero, 2023). This includes disclosing the use of AI algorithms, data sources, and the purposes for which data is collected and analyzed.

Accountability involves establishing mechanisms to ensure that AI systems, including chatbots, are held responsible for their actions and decisions (Novelli, Taddeo & Floridi. 2023). This includes implementing checks and balances, auditing AI algorithms for bias and ethical implications, and establishing processes for handling errors, complaints, and feedback from users (Chanda & Banerjee, 2022; Jones-Jang & Park, 2023).

Fairness in AI-powered customer service requires mitigating biases that can lead to discriminatory outcomes or unequal treatment of individuals (Taori & Hashimoto, 2023). This involves addressing biases in training data, algorithmic decision-making, and user interactions to ensure equitable outcomes for all users, regardless of factors such as race, gender, or socioeconomic status (Shams, Zowghi & Bano, 2023).

4.2 Ensuring Ethical Deployment of AI in Customer Interactions

The ethical deployment of AI in customer interactions encompasses several key considerations, including consent, data protection, user empowerment, and human oversight (Hermann, Williams & Puntoni, 2023). Obtaining informed consent from users for data collection and AI-driven interactions is essential, ensuring that users understand how their data will be used and have the option to opt out or modify their preferences (Pickering, 2021; Andreotta, Kirkham & Rizzi, 2022).

Data protection measures, such as encryption, anonymization, and secure storage, are crucial for safeguarding user data and preventing unauthorized access or misuse. User empowerment involves providing users with control over their data, preferences, and interactions with AI systems, including the ability to access, rectify, or delete their data as needed.

Human oversight and intervention are essential in ensuring the ethical use of AI in customer interactions. While AI-powered chatbots can automate routine tasks and interactions, human oversight is necessary to handle complex or sensitive situations, ensure ethical decision-making, and intervene when AI systems exhibit biases or errors.

By incorporating these ethical considerations into the deployment and use of AI in customer service, businesses can build trust with users, mitigate risks, and promote responsible AI practices that prioritize user well-being and ethical values in the e-commerce ecosystem.

Section 5: Case Studies on Successful Implementation of Chatbots

5.1 Diverse Sector Examples: Retail, Travel, etc.

Successful implementation of chatbots in various sectors, such as retail, travel, and healthcare, showcases the versatility and effectiveness of AI-powered customer service solutions (Wube et. al, 2022).

In the retail sector, chatbots have been widely adopted by e-commerce platforms to enhance customer engagement, streamline purchasing processes, and provide personalized recommendations (Calvaresi et. al, 2023). For example, a leading online fashion retailer integrated a chatbot into its platform to assist customers with product inquiries, sizing guidance, and style recommendations

(Landim et. al, 2022). The chatbot's natural language processing capabilities and personalized suggestions contributed to increased conversion rates and customer satisfaction (Zeng, Vignali & Ryding, 2023).

In the travel industry, chatbots have transformed customer interactions by offering real-time assistance, itinerary management, and booking support (Calvaresi et. al, 2021). Airlines and travel agencies have deployed chatbots to handle flight inquiries, provide travel updates, and offer personalized travel recommendations based on user preferences and budget constraints (Hanji et, al, 2023). This streamlined approach has reduced response times, improved booking experiences, and enhanced overall customer loyalty (Jenneboer, Herrando & Constantinides, 2022).

Similarly, in the healthcare sector, chatbots have emerged as valuable tools for patient support, appointment scheduling, and medical information dissemination (Bhattacharya & Pissurlenkar, 2023). Healthcare providers have implemented chatbots to triage patient inquiries, provide telemedicine services, and offer personalized health advice based on symptoms and medical history (Matulis & McCoy, 2023). These chatbots have not only improved access to healthcare services but also facilitated proactive health management for patients (Oh, Zhang, Fang & Fukuoka, 2021).

5.2 Qualitative and Quantitative Outcomes Analysis

The success of chatbot implementations can be evaluated through both qualitative and quantitative analysis, examining factors such as user satisfaction, efficiency gains, cost savings, and business outcomes (Deng & Yu, 2023).

Qualitative analysis involves gathering feedback from users through surveys, interviews, and user testing sessions to assess their experiences, perceptions, and satisfaction levels with chatbot interactions (Følstad & Taylor, 2021). Positive qualitative feedback often indicates improved user engagement, ease of use, and perceived value of chatbot services (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

Quantitative analysis focuses on measurable metrics, such as response times, resolution rates, conversion rates, and cost per interaction, to evaluate the impact of chatbots on operational efficiency and business performance (Rossmann, Zimmermann & Hertweck, 2020). For instance, a retail company may measure the increase in sales attributed to chatbot-assisted conversions, while a travel agency may track the reduction in customer service costs and manual booking errors (Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

By conducting comprehensive qualitative and quantitative analysis of chatbot implementations across diverse sectors, businesses can gain valuable insights into the benefits, challenges, and best practices for leveraging AI-powered customer

service solutions effectively in e-commerce environments (Calvaresi et. al, 2023; Sidlauskiene et al., 2023).

Section 6: Future Trends in Chatbot Technology

6.1 Challenges and Opportunities with Emerging Technologies (e.g., Quantum Computing, Blockchain)

The evolution of chatbot technology is intertwined with advancements in emerging technologies such as quantum computing and blockchain, presenting both challenges and opportunities for the future of AI-powered customer service (Kulkarni, Jain & Kumar, 2022).

Quantum computing offers immense computational power and capabilities that can significantly enhance the performance and intelligence of chatbots (Aragonés-Soria & Oriol, 2025). Quantum algorithms can process vast amounts of data, optimize complex decision-making processes, and improve natural language understanding, leading to more sophisticated and responsive chatbot interactions (Valdez & Melin, 2023). However, the integration of quantum computing into chatbot systems poses challenges related to hardware requirements, algorithm development, and data security, necessitating ongoing research and development efforts (How & Cheah, 2024).

Blockchain technology presents opportunities for enhancing trust, transparency, and security in chatbot interactions. By leveraging blockchain-based decentralized networks, chatbots can securely access and authenticate user data, facilitate secure transactions, and maintain immutable records of interactions (Saiful et. al, 2023). This decentralized approach mitigates risks associated with centralized data storage and enables users to retain control over their data and privacy (Gong & Navimipour, 2022). However, implementing blockchain solutions in chatbot systems requires addressing scalability, interoperability, and regulatory compliance challenges, emphasizing the need for collaborative industry initiatives and standards (Yang, Chen, Por & Ku, 2023).

6.2 Impact of AI on Job Roles in Customer Service

The proliferation of AI-powered chatbots and automation technologies is reshaping job roles and responsibilities in customer service across industries (Wirtz & Pitardi, 2023). While chatbots streamline routine tasks, handle repetitive inquiries, and provide round-the-clock support, they also impact traditional customer service job roles in several ways (Jenneboer, Herrando & Constantinides, 2022).

Firstly, AI-powered chatbots augment human agents by offloading mundane tasks, allowing them to focus on complex inquiries, problem-solving, and

relationship-building with customers (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022). This shift in responsibilities necessitates upskilling and reskilling initiatives for customer service professionals to adapt to new technologies, enhance digital literacy, and develop expertise in AI-driven tools and analytics (Li, 2022).

Secondly, AI technologies enable the creation of hybrid models where human agents collaborate with chatbots to deliver personalized, efficient, and empathetic customer experiences (Gnewuch et al, 2023). Human agents leverage chatbot-generated insights, recommendations, and historical data to engage with customers more effectively, resolve escalated issues, and anticipate customer needs proactively (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

However, the widespread adoption of AI in customer service also raises concerns about job displacement and workforce transformations (Tiwari, 2023). Organizations must adopt ethical AI practices, prioritize employee well-being, and implement strategies for workforce planning, retraining, and career development to navigate the evolving landscape of AI-powered customer service while maximizing the value of human-machine collaboration (Graef et. al, 2021; Khan et. al, 2022).

Section 7: Challenges and Limitations of Chatbot Deployment

7.1 Practical Strategies for Mitigating Limitations (e.g., Hybrid Human-Bot Approaches)

While chatbots offer numerous benefits in enhancing customer service efficiency and effectiveness, their deployment can also encounter challenges and limitations that require practical strategies for mitigation (Fritsch, 2024).

One common limitation of chatbots is their ability to handle complex or nuanced inquiries that require human-like understanding, empathy, and problem-solving skills (Caldarini, 2022). To address this limitation, businesses can adopt a hybrid human-bot approach, combining the strengths of AI-powered chatbots with human agents (Adam, Wessel & Benlian, 2021). In this approach, chatbots handle routine and straightforward queries, while human agents intervene for complex issues, escalations, and personalized interactions.

Implementing a seamless handoff mechanism between chatbots and human agents is crucial for ensuring a smooth and efficient customer experience (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022). This involves integrating chatbot systems with customer relationship management (CRM) platforms, ticketing systems, and communication channels to facilitate real-time collaboration and information sharing between bots and humans. Additionally, providing training and guidelines for human agents to interact effectively with chatbots and vice versa enhances the effectiveness of the hybrid approach (Vassilakopoulou & Pappas, 2022).

Furthermore, leveraging advanced AI capabilities, such as sentiment analysis, context awareness, and predictive analytics, can enhance chatbots' ability to understand user intent, emotions, and preferences, thereby mitigating limitations related to natural language understanding and conversation flow (Calvaresi et. al, 2023).

7.2 Addressing Scalability Concerns as Businesses Expand

Scalability is another challenge in chatbot deployment, especially as businesses expand their customer base and operations. Scalability concerns encompass factors such as handling increasing volumes of user inquiries, maintaining performance under peak loads, and supporting multi-channel interactions seamlessly (Fox, Scott & Spendolini, 2011).

To address scalability concerns, businesses can implement scalable architecture and infrastructure for chatbot systems, leveraging cloud computing services, serverless computing, and microservices architecture (Kumari et al. 2023). These technologies enable elastic scaling, auto-scaling, and resource optimization to handle fluctuating workloads and ensure consistent performance and availability (Saxena et. al, 2020).

Additionally, optimizing chatbot workflows, dialogue flows, and backend integrations can improve response times, reduce latency, and enhance overall system scalability (Gao & Jiang, 2021). Regular performance testing, load testing, and monitoring of chatbot systems enable proactive identification and mitigation of scalability bottlenecks and performance issues (Roca et al., 2020).

Moreover, adopting scalable data management practices, such as efficient data storage, caching mechanisms, and data partitioning, supports scalability by ensuring fast access to relevant data for chatbot interactions and analytics (Abduvalova & Zhidekulova, 2023).

By implementing practical strategies for mitigating limitations and addressing scalability concerns, businesses can maximize the value of chatbot deployment, deliver superior customer experiences, and achieve sustainable growth in e-commerce environments (Kasilingam, 2020).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In conclusion, the utilization of chatbots and AI-powered customer service solutions has revolutionized the e-commerce landscape, enhancing efficiency, customer engagement, and business outcomes. This chapter has explored the evolution of chatbots, recent trends, ethical considerations, successful case studies, future trends, challenges, and strategies for mitigating limitations in chatbot deployment.

Looking ahead, there are several avenues for further research and advancements in chatbot development that can drive innovation and improve customer experiences in e-commerce. Future research could focus on enhancing chatbot capabilities in areas such as natural language understanding, sentiment analysis, context awareness, and multi-modal interactions (e.g., voice, image recognition). Additionally, exploring the integration of emerging technologies like augmented reality (AR), virtual reality (VR), and Internet of Things (IoT) with chatbots can unlock new possibilities for immersive and personalized customer experiences.

Furthermore, encouraging continuous learning and engagement with chatbot innovations is essential for businesses and researchers. This involves investing in ongoing training and upskilling programs for chatbot developers, data scientists, and customer service professionals to stay updated with evolving technologies, industry trends, and best practices. Collaborative research initiatives, industry partnerships, and knowledge sharing platforms can facilitate knowledge exchange, idea generation, and co-innovation in the field of AI-powered customer service.

As chatbots continue to evolve and play a central role in e-commerce ecosystems, businesses must prioritize user-centric design, ethical deployment, and responsible AI practices to build trust, enhance customer satisfaction, and drive sustainable growth. By embracing innovation, embracing continuous learning, and fostering collaboration, the future of chatbots in e-commerce holds immense potential for transforming customer interactions and shaping the future of digital commerce.

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Chapter 15

Digitalization Of International Trade in Promoting Sustainability¹

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¹ This study is an enlarged version of the plenary session presentation presented at ICBuTS 2024 Conference organized by Ternopil Ivan Puluj National Technical University on November 23, 2024.

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INTRODUCTION

We are witnessing a period of change that affects every aspect of our life. Just as the agricultural revolution and the industrial revolution, the technological revolution is changing the consumption and production patterns. In fact, this new phase of economy is a fast paced one in where products are demanded, produced, sold and delivered very quickly. The last wave of globalization we have been experiencing from the beginning of the 1980s has been an important reason for the increasing volume of trade around the globe. While improvements in production technologies increased the amount of goods and services produced, improvements in communication technologies expanded the markets (demand) available for these products and improvements in transportation technologies increased the volume of goods traded, especially across borders. The digitalization of economic activities added further momentum to the increased speed and volume of trade.

The change brought about by technological development is the key element in creating value added in the modern global economy. Although it is perceived as a new phase of globalization, digital economy is not only limited to a new and rapid increase in amount of goods and services among borders. Despite its disruptive effects it is hard to put a formal description of the digital economy. The digital economy, in brief, includes those economic activities and transactions which is made possible by the incorporation of production or consumption related data or which include data. The digital economy is very sophisticated and has many aspects, however, the size of the e-trade sector and its activities are generally used to approximate the whole digital economy. Thus, digital trade is just one section, whose importance has been increasing, of the whole economy.

Another factor which have disruptive effects on human life is the degradation of the capacity of the earth to support human life. Thus, another challenge we are facing is to continue our current state of wealth and well-being without further depressing the earth's resources and this is a hard task in this era of rapid consumption and production. Because of its characteristics (and its rapid growth in the last two decades), the share of the digital economy in the damage to the global environment is increasing. According to the UNCTAD Digital Economy Report in 2024, the digital economy has been contributing to global ecological degradation through the raw-material-intensive character of the tools (computers, cell phones, etc.) used in digital transactions, the emissions from the energy used to run these devices, the emissions from the energy needed to generate, search and process data to complete digital transactions, and the digital solid waste as a result of the lifecycle of these products. Not only the energy usage by the data

centers and individual consumers but also the water usage of all end-users put valuable resources under more stress.

This study firstly tries to analyze the effects of digitalized international trade on sustainability. When trade is concerned, most of the literature is inclined towards explaining the negative effects of trade, however, digitalized international trade also offers opportunities to improve sustainability and a decent human life especially in developing countries. Therefore, the ways by which digital international trade can contribute positively to a sustainable economy is discussed in the second section of the study.

INCREASING DIGITAL TRADE AND ITS NEGATIVE EFFECTS

The use of internet technologies, with the support of liberalized trade regimes around the world, made it very easy to send and receive goods abroad and e-platforms dealing in digitally ordered exports of especially consumer goods are new major players in international trade. In fact, all the small-and-medium sized enterprises can tap into new market opportunities using these platforms. This not only increases the volume of international trade but also the number of producers with the aim of selling in international markets, thus creating a stress on already scarce resources and increased emissions. For example, a study by Long et al. (2023) quantified that e-commerce by households in 25 Chinese regions contributed approximately to 12% of all carbon emission in the country. Thus, when it comes to digital international trade, we tend to think of a more powerful negative effect by trade on sustainability of resources and environment. The literature on digital trade and e-commerce have been focusing on a number of factors through which the undesirable effects of digital trade are realized. These factors are as follows:

1) The Resource-Intensive Nature of Digital Trade Devices: The tools used as intermediaries in the digital economy are costly to produce in real terms. As UNCTAD (2024) reports, “A two-kilogram computer requires 800 kilograms of raw materials. A smartphone, from production to disposal, requires about 70 kilograms”. These are a lot of raw materials and as the digitalization rate of the economy speeds up, so does the use of valuable raw materials, which, in the end, means increased stress on already scarce natural resources. In addition to the increased demand of raw material, the emissions and pollution resulting from efforts of extraction those minerals and materials which are used in the production of electronic intermediaries add up to sustainability problems.

2) The Energy used in the Digital Realm: All electronic intermediaries need energy in order to operate. As the hours spent online for searching up markets (both by the customers and the producers) increase, the energy spent increases.

In addition to these customer and business related energy use, data centers that are used for processing market data can use considerable energy and contribute to higher carbon emissions and higher ecological footprints. For example, Google's data centers and offices consumed more than 21 million cubic meters of water in 2022. Even AI (Artificial Intelligence) which was expected to make trade less costly, speedier and requiring less energy, needs more potable water for cooling servers that it needed to operate within (UNCTAD, 2024). Cooling in such large centers requires more energy especially during summers and in warmer areas. As reported, the production and use of digital devices, data centers and information and communications technology (ICT) networks account for an estimated 6% to 12% of global electricity use (UNCTAD, 2024), and this share is more likely to rise in the future with the increasing rate of using digital channels.

3) Increased Congestion by Production and Transportation: The lifespan of physical goods and trends in the digital economy is rather short. This enables the main exporting force, SMEs, to change production modes rapidly. Thus, for every change in the tastes of the consumers, large amounts are produced, which resulted in more air and land pollution. In addition to the congestion caused by producing in large amounts, the delivery of goods intensively by different mode of logistics contributes negatively to air and sea pollution. It was reported that it is more likely to see such a polluting effect in case of digital international trade in which the airway is used as the primary mode of delivery (European Commission, 2022). What is intensifying the problem is the “free return” cargo schemes offered by many of the online sales platforms. The end user can return the product without any penalties, if he or she does not like the good or the good did not fit the expectations or conditions of the customer.

4) The Digital Waste: The average weight of digitalization-related waste in the developing countries is 3.25 kgs per person (UNCTAD, 2024). Digitalized international trade works in several channels here to curb sustainability. First, the creation of the digital waste by old and obsolete electronic equipment creates huge amounts of waste. However, this digital waste is sold or send to developed countries, which creates pollution problems in these countries. According to a report by Balde et.al. (2016) prepared for StEP, a United Nations initiative to curb electronic waste around the world, the flow of such waste from developed to developing countries is the world's fastest growing waste stream. In addition to its polluting effects, the digital waste, especially those which can be recycled as a valuable intermediate good, is reexported to the developed countries. This situation creates an environment that keeps the developing countries out of the digital trade and affects their utilization of global digital markets. Therefore,

digital penetration to and by the markets in developing countries remains at a low level. Such low level of digital economic activity does not seem to help in terms of ecology as it encourages more waste seeking. Moreover, it does not help to achieve the sustainable development goal of having a decent work and fighting poverty, since continuing professions of low wage jobs in electronic waste collecting and recycling do not provide too many opportunities.

5) The Sustained Smallness: Although some studies report that digitalization helps small businesses in developing countries to access mainstream economy and integrate with the global market, these small enterprises find it advantageous to remain small as long as revenues from digital trade continues. This may limit the growth of revenues from trade and may result in low numbers of jobs. From an ecological point of view, larger firms tend to be more careful about sustainability (Aguilar-Fernandez and Otegi-Olasu, 2018). In fact, ecology or sustainable use of resources is not the main concern of a small business dealing in digital trade. Since the focus of the small enterprise is on foreign exchange revenues from the trade, it does not care about the environmental effect or increasing the number of workers with paid jobs.

HOW CAN DIGITAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONTRIBUTE TO SUSTAINABILITY?

The challenge, then, becomes finding ways to counterweigh these effects as well as finding new ways to utilize the digital international trade for improving sustainability. Above other things, the digitalized international trade effectively cuts transaction costs in finding and accessing markets by the producers. In an investigation of the effects of digital transformation on international trade Gu et al. (2024) found that the average transaction time is decreased by approximately four days while the actual costs are decreased by about 200 US Dollars. This means that sellers or producers invest in less time and less money in completing international trade transactions. Such shortened transactions also suggest reduced energy use and less load on scarce resources. Gu et al. (2024) also found that digitalization of international trade cuts down on carbon dioxide emission about 60 kgs per transaction. On the other hand, a less costly transaction for the customer gives the customer more freedom to choose from different alternatives, thereby minimizing alternative costs. Thus, the problem might be here adopting production techniques that can be more effective in terms of sustainability. “On demand” production or lean production models can be effective, as reported by Dieste et al. (2019), however, whether lean production have negative effects on sustainability is not clear (Sartal et al., 2018, Henao et al., 2019, Naeemah and Wong, 2022).

Universal Sustainable Development Goals include achieving decent work while achieving sustainable growth. Although increasing the digital component in all the trade related tasks, such as customs controls, freight forwarding, planning of shipping loads etc. decrease the human waste and human energy consumption during office hours, this does not increase jobs. Thus, companies dealing with logistics and international trade need to be very careful in selecting the digital tools and green technologies they are investing in. “Internet of Things” (IoT) may be a good technology allowing effective handling, monitoring and delivery of goods traded while having no harm on human jobs. In fact, trading companies can choose the lowest polluting and properly priced IoT infrastructure according to their objectives (Das and Mao, 2020). Another advantage of using IoT in monitoring the shipments is that the real time monitoring of cargo traffic allows the shippers to avoid traffic congestion and select the best alternative routes that can save on time and fuel, thereby creating less carbon dioxide emissions.

The trading companies can also reorganize to operate through “green management systems”, which are defined as the modes of production that are more adaptable to the changes in demand (Bhardwaj and Jain, 2024). Moreover, adoption of such policies may improve the perception of the adopting companies by the environmentally sensitive customers and this may open up more international markets for such exporters (Yang et al., 2015). Green production and management practices can also be supported with smart building and green energy policies. For example, some of the world’s greatest online retail platforms have taken measures to increase the share of green energy in their operation while taking such measures as using less polluting electric vehicles and opening online training for the sellers using these platforms (Greenpeace, 2021).

Services, and especially internationally traded services as tourism, generally imports pollution and emissions to the host country. The polluting effect of such activities can be curbed by the use of digital tools such AR (Augmented Reality) devices. AR devices can be used to create a near reality experience for those tourists who like to visit historical places. Such a use of technology may not be suitable for certain types of tourism, such as sea and sand visits, however, it may decrease carbon dioxide emissions through decreasing the number of flights as well as decreasing the number of nights stayed in the host country, thereby also decreasing the energy used for heating, ventilation and air conditioning and the water used during the accommodation. Such technologies, though, can only be beneficial from a sustainability point of view as long as the energy used for such devices and the emissions thereof are lower than the alternative way of carrying out the transaction at the host country. The same also applies to other services,

such as education. Use of online education platforms can decrease emissions and pollutions caused by attending schools or educational programs in person, however, the energy needed to run such platforms and the resulting emissions should not offset the gains from carrying such activities to the digital realm.

The companies in digital internal trade may also decrease energy use and emissions by using cloud computing. Cloud computing is more environment friendly when compared to traditional data centers since it requires less hardware, less physical infrastructure and less energy to operate. However, the trend in demand for data services shows a sharp rise up to the year 2030, which means that “large clouds” may not be the answer for less energy and water use, and emissions in the long term (Farfan and Lohrman, 2023).

The solid waste created as a result of digitalization of the economy creates a complex problem. The digital waste is a major pollutant for developing countries, yet it is an item that is exported by and reexported to the developed countries. This creates a complex situation, since the recycling of the digital waste creates sources of income for poor informal labor in the developing countries, the processed waste is reexported as raw materials to generate foreign exchange, yet it is still harmful to the environment and to the health of recycling workers in these countries (Abalansa et al., 2021). The solution to this problem must be discussed at the highest (governmental) level and at international platforms. But, the companies and consumers in developing countries may take up responsibility here to not export their waste to developing countries and utilize this waste in their own countries in circular economy schemes. Such waste can be utilized as raw materials in three-dimensional (3D) print production of some goods, thereby reducing use of natural raw materials in goods subjected to digital international trade. By this way the rate of extraction of natural resources will be slowed down, which in turn will slow down environmental degradation stemming from rapid extraction of minerals and other resources in order to catch up with the rapidly changing consumer demand.

The famous Kuznets Curve Hypothesis suggests that as the incomes increase people tend to consume greener products. The rising incomes feed consumption culture in the developed countries but they also result in more responsible consumption. In order to utilize such an awareness, international trade must also have some digital standards to encourage more sustainable development. For example, every transborder digital transaction may be required to donate the sowing of a tree seedling in the destination or the sending country. Such consumption schemes may be a good way of increasing awareness for digital sustainability, because at the end it is the people and their governing bodies that establish and regulate the economy.

CONCLUSION

Being said all that, it should not be forgotten that achieving a sustainable economy requires cooperation at the top level. That is, a global system with the mutual compromise of the developing and the developed should be reached at the state level to reap the benefits of digitalized international trade. The standards of large trading blocs and heavy consumers, such as the European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism, can be good standards for encouraging states and firms in digital international trade to adopt practices that respect sustainability.

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Chapter 16

From Traditional Banking to Fintech: The Rise, Dynamics, and Future of Peer-to-Peer Lending

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Abstract

Peer-to-peer (P2P) lending has emerged as an innovative alternative to conventional financial intermediation through connecting borrowers and lenders on online platforms. This unique funding model eliminates the role of traditional banks by offering cost-efficient, decentralized, and more accessible lending especially for underserved population. Driven by technological advancements and regulatory changes after the 2008 crisis, P2P lending has grown exponentially worldwide, with notable adoption in developed and emerging economies. This chapter explores the core characteristics of P2P lending, its operational mechanisms, and its comparative advantages over traditional banking. The study includes the role of soft and hard information in loan screening, borrower-lender dynamics, and the evolving involvement of institutional investors. In addition, it evaluates P2P lending's competitive and complementary relationship with banks, examining how regulatory constraints and technological innovations have fueled its growth. By synthesizing recent empirical and theoretical findings, this work identifies gaps in the literature and outlines future research directions critical for understanding the long-term sustainability and impact of P2P platforms in a rapidly evolving financial landscape.

Key Words: Fintech, P2P lending, loan screening

Özet

Eşler-arası (P2P) kredilendirme, borçluları ve kredi verenleri çevrimiçi platformlarda birbiriyle buluşturarak geleneksel finansal aracılık yöntemlerine yenilikçi bir alternatif olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu benzersiz finansman modeli, özellikle bankalardan yeterli hizmet alamayan kişiler için uygun maliyetli, merkezi olmayan ve daha erişilebilir krediler sunarak geleneksel bankaların rolünü ortadan kaldırmaktadır. 2008 krizinden sonraki teknolojik gelişmeler ve finansal regülasyonların da etkisiyle, P2P kredilendirme dünya çapında katlanarak büyümüş, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ekonomilerde dikkate değer bir şekilde benimsenmiştir. Bu bölüm, P2P kredilendirmenin temel özelliklerini, operasyonel mekanizmalarını ve geleneksel bankacılığa göre karşılaştırmalı avantajlarını araştırıyor. Çalışma, kredi değerlendirme sürecinde, borç alan - borç veren dinamiklerinde, kurumsal yatırımcıların gelişen katılımında farklı bilgi kaynaklarının rolünü incelemektedir. Buna ek olarak, finansal regülasyonların ve teknolojik yeniliklerin büyümeyi nasıl desteklediğini inceleyerek, P2P kredilendirmenin bankalarla olan rekabetçi ve tamamlayıcı ilişkisini değerlendiriyor. Bu çalışma, güncel ampirik ve teorik bulguları sentezleyerek literatürdeki boşlukları tespit etmekte ve hızla gelişen bir finansal ortamda P2P platformlarının uzun vadeli sürdürülebilirliğini ve etkisini anlamak için kritik önem taşıyan gelecekteki araştırma yönlerini özetlemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fintek, eşler arası kredi, kredi değerlendirme

INTRODUCTION

Peer-to-peer lending, commonly abbreviated as P2P lending, is an innovative financial intermediation method that connects borrowers and lenders in an online platform. By eliminating the need for traditional financial institutions such as banks, branches, and loan underwriting personnel, P2P lending enables loan origination at lower costs and with faster application processes (Wang et al., 2015; De Roure et al., 2022). This enables a comparative advantage of new financial technology (Fintech) initiatives over traditional financial institutions. As mentioned in Philippon (2016); Bazot (2018), conventional banks have not significantly reduced the overall cost of their financial services for decades. This stagnation may accelerate new financial initiatives to appear almost simultaneously in various countries. *Zopa*, the first peer-to-peer lending platform, was founded in the U.K. in 2005 and later several others flourish across the world with similar business models.² *Lending Club* and *Prosper* are the two leading peer-to-peer lending platforms in the U.S. has reached to 85 and 13 billion USD of loan issuance (Ward, 2024).

The rise of P2P lending, often pronounced with user-friendly outcome of financial technology (Fintech) initiatives. Many platforms are found to be more accessible, and they address a critical gap in modern financial services. First, the platforms obtain the advantage of technology which allows borrowers to apply for loans online and enabling investors to fund these loan listings from the comfort of their homes. This method significantly reduces the operational cost of P2P lending platforms as they do not require physical locations and company personnel. Second, the P2P platforms emerge during and after the financial crisis in 2008, a period when traditional banks faced heavy regulations. In the meantime, P2P platforms benefited from relatively light regulatory oversight. Consequently, P2P platforms experience exponential growth rates over time. The global market size is \$3.5 billion in 2013, and now it has reached to \$209.4 billion in the end of 2024 (Global Market Insights, 2024).

Although there are plenty of diverse specialized peer-to-peer platforms, the business model is quite often associated with unsecured consumer (personal) loans with a limited loan amount. In the U.S., the loans generally have maturity of three to five years, with interest rates varying between 5% and 35%, depending on the borrower's credit profile. *Lending Club* offers loans from \$1,000 to \$40,000, while *Prosper's* loan amounts range from

² More information on peer-to-peer companies can be found in VentureRadar (2024).

\$1,000 to \$35,000. Both platforms apply fixed interest rates to cover services like borrower verification, loan listing, and funding. Loan size is not large, P2P lenders are the party that bear default risk. For this reason, researchers delve into platform mechanisms, risk evaluation, screening dynamics, and borrower-lender interactions to analyze lending behaviors and propose improvements to platform mechanisms and risk management practices.

Peer-to-peer lending has been evolved overtime due to several factors including financial regulations, structural changes of P2P platforms, implementing sophisticated investment analysis. Balyuk and Davydenko (2024) provides a timeline for the P2P lending market phases since 2008. This paper aims to examine the previously mentioned factors to outline the development of this topic within the Fintech literature, focusing on identifying research gaps to guide future work. The rapid growth of Fintech literature, particularly in online P2P lending, necessitates a review to assess its current state and existing gaps. This review organizes the literature based on theoretical and empirical findings, covering investor and borrower characteristics, geographical influences, and macroeconomic factors, primarily from developed economies. It seeks to answer two key research questions: What are the main topics and issues explored in P2P lending research? And how do the literature projects that Fintech platforms shape financial intermediation?

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive overview of P2P lending, summarizing its core characteristics, operational mechanisms of P2P platforms, and the evolving landscape shaped by recent technological and regulatory developments. By identifying existing gaps and future research directions, this discussion seeks to contribute to the understanding of how P2P lending continues to reshape financial intermediation in a rapidly evolving digital economy. The chapter also synthesizes the latest empirical and theoretical research on P2P lending, examining key themes such as borrower-lender dynamics, risk loan assessment mechanisms, and geographical variations. Special attention is given to the role of soft and hard information in loan screening, the increasing participation of institutional investors, and the shift toward algorithmic lending. Furthermore, this chapter provides a forward-looking perspective on future research directions and practical considerations for policymakers, industry practitioners, and researchers.

BACKGROUND

Peer-to-peer lending model

Peer-to-peer (P2P) lending, also known as marketplace lending or crowdfunding, originated in the UK when the online bank Zopa launched a platform to connect borrowers and lenders (Prosser, 2017). This innovative funding model introduced a unique alternative to traditional financial intermediation. In this section, I outline the general framework of the P2P lending model and highlight its key distinguishing characteristics.

The P2P lending model is a financial intermediation practice that connects borrowers and lenders through an online platform. Borrowers begin by submitting an application that includes identification, financial details, employment verification, and loan-specific information such as the amount, purpose, maturity, credit score, income, and employment history. Once submitted, the P2P platform verifies the borrower's credentials and posts the loan request for potential lenders to evaluate. Lenders can then browse loan offers on the platform and decide whether to invest. They have the option to fully fund a single borrower's loan or diversify their investment by partially funding multiple loans. The responsibility for loan screening and final investment decisions rests solely with the lenders, as P2P platforms remain uninvolved in this process and assume no liability for loan outcomes. The role of P2P firms is limited to providing the online marketplace and conducting initial credential checks for both borrowers and lenders. Once a loan request is fully funded, the P2P platform finalizes the process, transforming it into a legally binding agreement between the borrower and the lenders. Figure 1 illustrates the funding process, highlighting key decision points: credential checks, the funding stage in the online marketplace, and the final outcome. If the loan application secures sufficient funding, it is approved and converted into a loan. Otherwise, the application is canceled.

A crucial difference between conventional financial intermediation and P2P lending is the process of decentralization. In conventional lending, financial institutions are responsible for credit decisions. The loan amount, interest rate and loan approval are conducted by a loan underwriter, while depositors (investors) do not involve any of this process. In contrast, P2P lending allows depositors (investors) to play an active role in the loan underwriting process while P2P platforms do not involve credit decisions. The funding source is lenders' own accounts in P2P platforms, while it is the customer deposits or capital reserves in conventional banking.

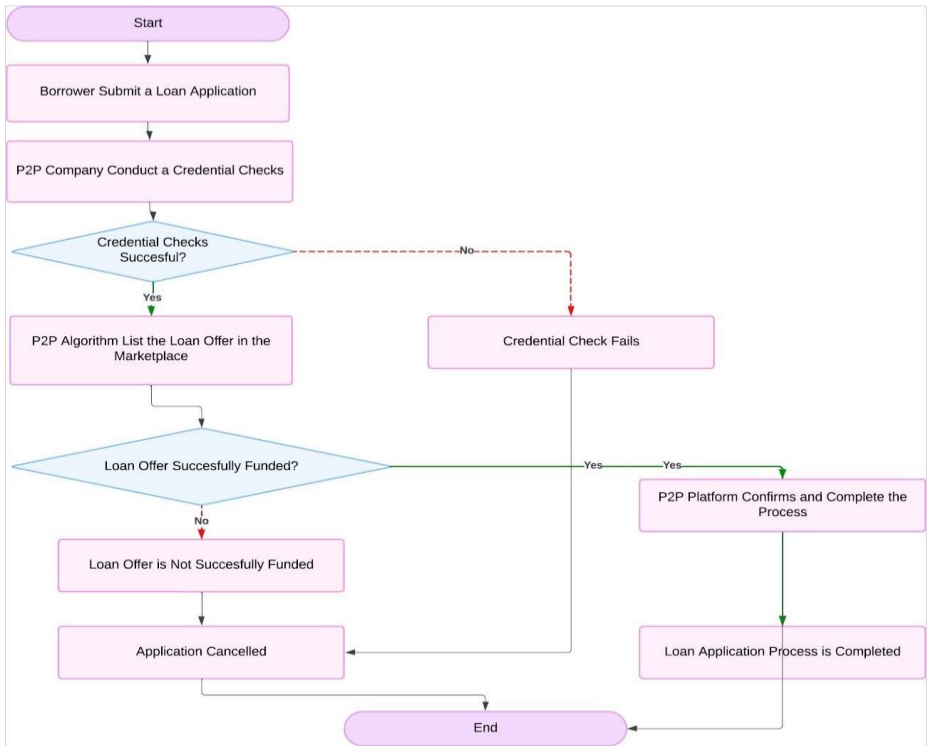


Figure 1. Funding Process in P2P lending

This crucial difference leads to major change in the role of lenders, as well as risk transformation (Balyuk, 2016). It is important to note that P2P lenders bear the full risk if the borrower default. In banking, depositors are protected against the credit risk by government institutions. As a result, P2P companies receive income through platform usage fees, not from interest rate spreads (interest rate difference between loans and deposits). Furthermore, P2P loans do not require any type of collateral, which makes investors completely unprotected against borrowers' default. In short, P2P lenders provide a more decentralized and technology-driven lending model, while banks act as traditional intermediaries with greater regulation, risk absorption, and a broader range of financial services.

The business model of P2P lending brings an innovative approach to financial intermediation. P2P lending companies possess a comparative advantage over conventional banks due to technological advancements and cost-efficient loan underwriting. P2P lending experience a massive growth rates after global crisis of 2008 thanks to technological advantage over

conventional financial institutions Buchak et al. (2018). This is because P2P platforms have lower operational cost (e.g. fewer employees, and branch) compared to banks. Consequently, a cost-effective business model allows P2P platforms to offer lower interest rates than regular banks (De Roure et al., 2022).

P2P Lending Across the World

P2P lending market has reached to a value of at 110.9 billion USD in 2023, operating in the most developed and some developing countries (Precedence, 2023). The business model play various roles in financial markets, such as being an alternative financing channel or offering opportunities for financial inclusion. Among developed economies, Tang (2019) finds that P2P lending is a substitute for borrowers who can already access loans from traditional banks, while it provides a complementary service for smaller loans. Lending Club and Prosper are the leading players in the U.S., while in Europe, Zopa provides personal loans in the UK and various other P2P platforms operate in Germany, France and other countries. The structure of P2P lending in developed markets substantially grows over time due to regulatory restrictions of conventional banking after 2008 global crisis and technological advantages (Buchak et al., 2018). On the other hand, developing markets experience significant challenges over a rapid period of market growth. For instance, China remains a global leader in P2P lending adoption, despite regulatory challenges (Chen et al., 2014). The P2P lending industry experienced a substantial growth after the 2010s, fueled by spreading internet availability, large fund flows and opportunities to serve unbanked populations. However, a comprehensive regulatory framework established by Chinese authorities reduce the market size reach to a balance (Huang, 2018). In other developing markets, P2P platforms play a significant role to fill gaps left by traditional financial institutions. They serve small businesses and individuals with no access to other financial channels (Bachmann et al., 2011; Zhang et al., 2016). For instance, Fintech firms in Kenya offers a wide variety of services through mobile loans to small and medium enterprises (SMEs), leading to a significant positive effect on economic performance (Alumasa and Muathe, 2021).

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN P2P LENDING LITERATURE

In this section, I provide a novel literature review through classifying various selected publications in P2P lending. The business model differs from traditional financial intermediation by allowing lenders to play an

active role in loan underwriting. Therefore, investors in the platforms need to conduct loan evaluations and measure financial risk on their own. This aspect has long been a subject for researchers because P2P lenders expose borrower default risk as the loans are unsecured in nature.

Lending Behavior in P2P Markets

How do P2P lenders evaluate loan applications? One strand of literature concentrates on *soft information* channels, where lenders obtain qualitative and non-standardized data. Pope and Sydnor (2011) shows that loan listings with a photo of African-American attached in the loan listing less likely to be funded, and lenders require relatively more interest rates compared to loan listings with a photo of a white person. Lin et al. (2013) study the effect of friendship network on credit decisions. In a P2P platform that allows borrowers to create and join a friendship network, borrowers with more friendship networks are more likely to receive successful funding, suggesting that lenders consider borrowers' non-financial information. In addition, Ravina et al. (2008) find that personal characteristics of borrowers such as race, age, gender increase the probability of a successful loan. For instance, beautiful borrowers are 11.7% more likely to get a loan and pay similar interest rates compared to average-looking borrowers. In addition, black borrowers are less likely to get a loan compared to white borrowers. In China, Wang et al. (2019) find that soft information characteristics such as age, marital status, education level, textual descriptions predict the probability of a loan is successfully funded. In the context of gender, female borrowers in China experience higher loan costs compared to male peers, indicating that a gender gap exists (Chen et al., 2020). However, Barasinska and Schäfer (2014) find no effect of gender in loan decisions in a large P2P platform in Germany. Lending decisions also depend on the gender of loan originator. Gonzalez and Loureiro (2014) show that when lenders and borrowers from the same gender group, borrower's attractiveness may reduce the chance of successful loan origination. Future empirical research could delve deeper into how gender factors influence P2P lending, as current findings vary significantly across different contexts.

Besides the effect of soft information on investors, geographical characteristics also influence P2P markets. Butler et al. (2017) highlight that local access to banks, as a proxy for lending capacity, helps P2P borrowers secure lower interest rates, whereas limited access leads to higher rates. Similarly, Hasan et al. (2017) further show that regions with higher social capital enable borrowers to secure successful funding, larger loans, and

lower interest rates. Hence, P2P lending could potentially influence financial inclusion. Jagtiani and Lemieux (2018) highlight that *Lending Club* as the biggest Fintech lender in the U.S., expand consumer lending activities in areas with lower access to finance and in areas where the local economic conditions not performing well.

Loan screening performance can be defined as the process where lenders evaluate potential borrowers and their financial creditworthiness and probability of default. In the P2P industry, lenders aim to collect as much information about the applicants to conduct better loan screening. The information channel could be directed from soft information or hard information that is provided by the platform. But how successful the lenders at screening? The following papers study the screening performance of lenders over time, and the co-evolution of P2P lending markets.

Recent lending behavior literature show that investors aim to gather data as much as possible for loan screening. Berg et al. (2020) shows that digital footprints of people (i.e. simple information that internet users provide while registration for a website) is a good predictor of default rate. In their research, a simple but stunning example is whether the user has an IOS, or an Android device can reveal a significant prediction over default rate. This is because IOS users often have higher personal income than Android users. In P2P lending market, Iyer et al. (2015) find that P2P investors are better able to capture default risk with a 45% greater accuracy, compared to conventional banks. P2P lenders are more efficient because they effectively use soft and non-standard information in their evaluation. In addition, lending behavior has been evolving overtime as a reaction to the market changes. Balyuk and Davydenko (2024) describe those P2P platforms shifts from decentralized lending models (where individual lenders are plenty in platforms) towards centralized investors (where institutional and highly sophisticated investors dominate the market). Over time, P2P platforms turned into bank-type institutions as the platforms provide fewer soft information and boost passive investment methods such as ready-to-use algorithms for lenders. In this context, Vallee and Zeng (2019) highlight that sophisticated investors who packed with advanced analytical tools outperform the market. This efficiency leads to superior borrower screening and taking loan decision actions more quickly.

P2P Platforms versus Banks

Traditional banks and P2P platforms provide similar services for borrowers. A borrower could potentially go through similar phases during

the application process. However, the business model of P2P lending is quite different because it relies on cutting-edge technological advancements and the regulatory differences. Therefore, the rise of Fintech could be driven by the advantage of technology, or by the inefficiencies in traditional lending markets. Philippon (2016) emphasizes that conventional financial services remain expensive in the U.S. Specifically, the unit cost of financial intermediation from 1970s to the 2008 crisis remain similar. In addition, financial markets in other developed markets follow a similar pattern. Bazot (2018) evaluates European financial markets from 1950 to 2007 and finds that financial services did not become cheaper over time, except France. In this context, the rise of Fintech (as well as P2P lending) occurs due to comparative advantage over traditional institutions. Fuster et al. (2019) reveal that the mortgage originations in Fintech lenders are 20% faster than other market participants, and besides, they can adapt to mortgage demand shock more quickly. Another argument points that the main reason for the rise of P2P lending is related to the strict regulatory restrictions on banks after the 2008 crisis. Conventional banks expose higher capital requirements and leverage ratio along with better liquidity standards based on the reforms developed by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BIS, 2011). Buchak et al. (2018) compares these two mechanisms using the data on the growth of mortgage lending market in the U.S. They conclude that regulations account for the 60% of Fintech growth while the technological advantage account for 30%, roughly.

The competition between banks and P2P platforms receives significant attention among researchers. Be it in the context of regulatory restrictions or a technological advantage, P2P platforms exponentially grow over the years in most countries. Tang (2019) investigates P2P lending platforms whether they compete or complement with conventional banks. In other words, P2P companies could be disruptive against banks, or they serve to the borrowers with no access to credit in banks. Results show that P2P platforms are competing with banks for the borrowers who both have access to banks and platforms (infra-marginal borrowers). On the other hand, the platforms complement banks with respect to small loans. Therefore, borrower segmentation plays a crucial role in P2P-bank competition. Another study, De Roure et al. (2022) find that P2P platforms are better able to grow when banks are exposed to severe regulatory restrictions. Therefore, this could explain a portion of exponential growth of P2P lending, especially after the 2008 crisis. On the other hand, the interplay between banks and P2P platforms occurs not only through competition. Balyuk (2016) finds that

banks consider Fintech lending decisions as a sign of credit quality. She found that individuals who were previously P2P loan holders obtain easier access to bank credits. In addition, banks often participate as institutional lenders on P2P platforms during the market's mature phase, primarily through passive investment strategies (Balyuk and Davydenko, 2024). Nevertheless, technological advantage of P2P platforms enable them to provide loans with lower interest rates but the overall borrower quality in P2P lending is much lower compared to banks (De Roure et al., 2022).

CONCLUSION

Peer-to-peer lending has emerged as an innovative funding model in financial intermediation by using technological advancements to address inefficiencies in traditional banking systems. The model's decentralization, coupled with its reliance on unsecured loans, offers unique opportunities and challenges for both borrowers and lenders. The literature reveals a dynamic evolution of P2P lending, driven by factors such as market regulations, technological innovation, and shifting investor behaviors. While P2P platforms have expanded access to credit and enabled financial inclusion, especially in underserved markets, they also highlight critical issues around risk management, borrower discrimination, and platform accountability.

The comparison between P2P platforms and traditional banks underscores the competitive and complementary roles of these entities, with P2P lending often filling gaps left by stricter banking regulations or limited lending capacities. Future research must continue to address unresolved questions, such as the role of institutional investors, the implications of algorithm-driven decision-making, and the long-term sustainability of P2P platforms in a rapidly evolving financial landscape. As P2P lending matures, it will undoubtedly play a pivotal role in shaping the future of financial intermediation and fostering innovation in global financial systems.

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Chapter 17

Substance Use Disorder From An Intersectional Perspective

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Introduction

Substance use disorder is a condition in which individuals develop excessive and uncontrolled dependency on various substances, causing significant effects on their psychological, physical, and social well-being. Substance use disorder not only leads to physical addiction but also creates problems in individuals' social relationships, work and school life, family interactions, and overall quality of life (Koob & Le Moal, 2001). The use of substances is often intertwined with complex factors such as psychological issues, trauma, and social exclusion (Enoch, 2012). Substance use disorder is a problem that negatively affects not only individuals but also the social structure. The increasing rates of substance dependence in society create significant economic and social burdens in areas such as healthcare, education, and the workforce, and have become a widespread health issue on a societal level (Room, 2005).

The intersectional perspective is an approach that argues individuals' social identities are shaped in multiple dimensions and that these identities intersect, leading to different social problems and inequalities (Crenshaw, 1989). In particular, intersections between gender, race, class, sexual orientation, disability, and other social identities play an important role in the experiences individuals face. Traditional research on substance use disorder typically focuses on a single identity or factor, which prevents a full understanding of individuals' experiences. The intersectional perspective allows for a deeper understanding by addressing the connection between individuals' multiple identities, the inequalities they face, and substance dependence (Bourgois & Schonberg, 2009). This approach also holds significant importance in social work practice. Reducing the problems individuals face to a single factor may hinder the development of comprehensive interventions. An intersectional perspective ensures that individuals with different social identities receive more appropriate support and services when dealing with complex and multifaceted issues such as substance use.

The purpose of this section is to address substance use disorder from an intersectional perspective, aiming to fill gaps in the existing literature. It is argued that the intersectional perspective deepens understanding and intervention in substance dependence, thereby contributing to the development of more comprehensive and effective approaches in social work practice. In traditional addiction literature, multiple dimensions of individuals' social identities are often overlooked, leading to narrow intervention strategies. The application of the intersectional perspective will contribute to understanding how social inequalities and discrimination lead to substance use. This perspective will enable the development of more effective treatment and

support methods at both the individual and societal levels and help deepen the understanding of the challenges faced by individuals with substance use disorder.

Intersectional Perspective

The roots of intersectional theory stem from feminist critiques and in-depth analyses of social inequalities. This perspective, especially developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, was first highlighted in her 1989 work, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex." Crenshaw (1989) emphasized that the discrimination faced by women, particularly Black women, cannot be understood solely through gender or race; instead, a distinct social experience is created at the intersection of these two identities. This view suggests that social identities should not be understood as mutually exclusive categories but as an interconnected network that interacts with one another. The intersectional perspective provides a deep understanding of how the interactions between multiple identities (such as gender, race, class, sexual orientation, disability status, etc.) shape the inequalities and discrimination individuals experience.

The application of the intersectional perspective in the field of substance use disorder acknowledges that this disorder represents a multi-layered problem. Addiction cannot be explained solely by biological and psychological factors; it is also shaped by social structures and individual experiences. An intersectional approach examines how addiction intersects with gender, class, race, and other identity categories, seeking to understand how these identities influence substance use. For example, individuals from low-income backgrounds and marginalized ethnic groups tend to be more vulnerable to substance use, a situation that is further reinforced by limited access to healthcare, social exclusion, and inequalities. Intersectional analysis also addresses how gender shapes substance use. Women often face greater stigmatization in society, while the challenges men face may manifest differently. Similarly, gender identity and sexual orientation can deepen addiction experiences, complicating the inequalities individuals face. An intersectional approach argues that addiction should not only be understood as an individual issue but as a phenomenon that needs to be examined in a social context.

Social work must adopt a holistic perspective to understand the multiple challenges and social injustices individuals face. An intersectional perspective can help develop more sensitive and effective intervention strategies in social work practice. Social workers should address individuals' issues not only through one identity category (e.g., gender or ethnicity) but also in the context of multiple identities and the inequalities arising from their intersections. The

intersectional approach also allows social services to consider the greater marginalization, exclusion, or discrimination faced by certain groups. In complex issues like substance use disorder, approaches should not only focus on individual treatment methods but also on transforming social structures. For example, in substance addiction treatment, social work practitioners should understand not only the client's addiction history but also their social identities, the societal pressures they face, inequalities, and experiences of stigma. An intersectional lens enables a more holistic approach in treatment processes, facilitating more inclusive and effective interventions (Smye et al., 2011). In this way, social work practices can lead to more effective outcomes at both the individual and societal levels in combating substance use disorder.

Substance Use Disorder and Intersectional Factors

Gender

Patterns of substance use vary according to societal expectations related to gender (McHugh et al., 2018). Women, who typically carry more societal responsibilities, may engage in substance use more covertly. For example, women often use substances as a coping mechanism, which tends to be more stigmatized by society (O'Hagan & Wilson, 2018). Familial obligations may exacerbate the barriers women face in addressing addiction. Moreover, traumas such as sexual abuse or domestic violence can trigger substance use (Covington, 2008). Women may choose to use substances to cope with these traumas, but when seeking treatment, they may encounter feelings of guilt and shame due to societal pressures. On the other hand, men generally display substance use more openly, which may be more socially accepted. However, behaviors that deviate from societal gender norms can lead to stigmatization for men as well. For instance, if a man experiences failure in his career due to substance dependency, it may challenge his "masculinity" according to societal norms. Thus, substance use can take on different dimensions for men due to societal pressures. In such cases, seeking treatment may be seen as a form of "weakness" and be rejected.

For LGBTQIA+ individuals, the societal acceptance of their identities plays a crucial role in their susceptibility to addiction (Paschen-Wolff et al., 2024). Social exclusion and discrimination can increase their tendency to engage in substance use. Gender identities and sexual orientations may result in family or societal rejection, leading them to view substance use as an escape mechanism. For example, a transgender individual may turn to substances to cope with societal prejudices related to their gender identity. However, discriminatory attitudes in treatment settings can hinder their willingness to seek help.

Ethnic and Cultural Identity

Ethnic minorities and immigrants may experience substance use for various reasons. For instance, ethnic minorities often live in low-income neighborhoods, which are associated with social exclusion, violence, and poverty (Bracic, 2022). These individuals may use substances as a way to cope with these challenges. Immigrant workers, when coming to new countries in hopes of better living conditions, may face cultural adjustment issues, language barriers, and unemployment, which complicates their struggle with addiction. Additionally, cultural barriers can play a significant role in treatment processes (Abbott & Chase, 2008). Some ethnic groups may view addiction as a “personal failure,” which leads to a refusal to seek treatment. Another cultural factor is that individuals battling addiction often harbor distrust towards traditional treatment methods (Venner et al., 2022). For example, Western-style psychotherapy and treatment methods may not be widely accepted in certain cultures, complicating the process of seeking help.

Socio-Economic Status

Poverty and unemployment are common contributing factors to substance use (Manhica et al., 2021; Nolte-Troha et al., 2023). Individuals with low income may turn to various coping strategies in an effort to improve their living standards. One such strategy is substance use. Particularly, unemployed individuals may struggle to fill their free time, which can lead to substance use. Furthermore, financial constraints may limit access to necessary healthcare services for treatment. When a person seeks treatment, they may encounter financial barriers such as insurance issues, treatment costs, or transportation difficulties. These factors create significant obstacles during the treatment process.

Poverty is also linked to psychological health issues (Ridley et al., 2020). Many individuals living in poverty may turn to substances to cope with depression, anxiety, and stress. Viewing substance use as a coping strategy increases the risk of developing addiction (Kuper et al., 2010). Additionally, these individuals often have limited access to social services due to the restricted resources available in such programs.

Disability

Individuals with disabilities often experience social exclusion and discrimination, which negatively impacts their mental health (Temple & Kelaher, 2018). This situation can lead them to use substances as a coping mechanism. Furthermore, people with disabilities often have limited access to

healthcare services and fewer treatment options (Lagu et al., 2015). A physically disabled individual, when seeking treatment, may face access restrictions and structural barriers. For example, they may have difficulty reaching a treatment center or finding an environment suitable for their treatment.

Immigration

Immigrants may struggle with adapting to new cultures when they arrive in a foreign country (Saygın & Hasta, 2018). This adjustment process can cause stress and anxiety, leading some immigrants to turn to substance use as a coping mechanism. Immigrants often face socio-economic challenges that further increase the risk of addiction (Marginean et al., 2023). Additionally, immigrants may have difficulty seeking treatment due to language barriers and cultural obstacles. In some cases, the lack of treatment programs specifically designed for immigrants can further complicate the process of seeking help.

Aging

Substance use in older adults is often associated with loneliness, depression, or physical health problems (Crome et al., 2014). As individuals age, their physical health may deteriorate, their social circles may shrink, and feelings of loneliness may intensify (Kuerbis, 2020). These emotions can trigger the use of substances as a coping mechanism. When older individuals seek treatment, their physical health may require special care considerations. Additionally, older adults are often resistant to traditional treatment methods and may avoid seeking help due to societal prejudices about aging and addiction.

Religion

Religion plays a significant role in individuals' lives and can influence their stance on substance use (Ghuman & Houque, 2015). Some religious beliefs view substance use as a moral issue, leading individuals with addiction to be excluded from religious communities. On the other hand, religious beliefs can also encourage individuals to seek treatment and assist in their efforts to combat addiction. However, treatment methods accepted by religious communities may not always be as effective as scientific approaches.

Intersectional Analysis in the Context of Turkey

The proportion of the population with substance use disorder in Turkey is gradually increasing (Öztürk, 2023). According to a study conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), it is estimated that approximately 2.7

million people (around 4%) in Turkey had a history of substance use in 2022 (TÜİK, 2022). Additionally, according to a report by Europol (2024), the use of synthetic drugs has been on the rise in Turkey.

Young people, facing socio-economic factors such as unemployment and educational deficiencies, as well as family problems, school failure, and social exclusion, may be more inclined to use substances (Andrabi et al., 2017; Gerra et al., 2020). Substance addiction has widespread effects not only on the individual but also on society as a whole, increasing the importance of addressing this issue. Addiction that begins at a young age can have long-term effects both personally and socially, especially when considering the roles played by family and societal structures in this addiction.

The cultural structure in Turkey plays a significant role in understanding substance use. Turkish society has a structure shaped by traditional family values and social norms (Gül, 2024). The family holds an important place in Turkish culture and largely influences individuals' decisions. Family discipline, values, and social support can be determining factors in the emergence of substance use. Domestic violence, neglect, and abuse can pave the way for young individuals to turn to substance use.

Social norms also play a significant role in combating substance use and treatment processes. Particularly in more conservative circles, substance addiction is often seen as a source of "shame," which may prevent individuals from seeking treatment. Turkish society generally defines substance addiction as a personal failure, leading to the social exclusion of those struggling with it. Families tend to seek internal solutions to cope with addiction rather than seeking professional treatment. This situation poses a significant barrier to the social acceptance and accessibility of addiction treatment. However, the cultural and religious values in Turkey can also influence the acceptance of substance use and treatment methods. Islam strictly prohibits alcohol and drug use, so religious beliefs can be an important factor in combating addiction. However, the treatment methods provided by religious communities are often not supported by scientific data when compared to modern psychotherapy approaches.

Social service interventions in Turkey have had limited success in combating substance use disorder. Social service professionals have generally focused on providing individual and family-based support. However, an intersectional perspective could bring a new dimension to these interventions. The intersectional approach helps to understand how different social identities and structures work together and their effects on addiction.

Adopting an intersectional perspective in social service interventions is not only concerned with the individual's addiction but also with the broader social impacts of this addiction. For example, individuals with poor socio-economic status, marginalized ethnic identities, or those excluded due to their sexual orientation are more likely to use substances. Social service models in Turkey should take these intersectional factors into account when developing more sensitive, culturally aware, and individualized programs for these individuals. In this context, substance addiction treatment should not only focus on individual treatment processes but also address broader issues such as social exclusion, discrimination, and access barriers.

Furthermore, social service professionals in Turkey often face social norms and cultural barriers. Social service interventions should not view addiction solely as an individual problem but should also understand how societal and cultural factors influence this issue. An intersectional perspective can encourage the transformation of not only individuals but also societal structures. While combating addiction, social service practices should consider structural barriers and focus on efforts to eliminate social inequalities. In this context, social service professionals in Turkey should conduct in-depth research on the effects of factors such as domestic violence, social exclusion, and cultural barriers on addiction, and develop solutions. It should also be remembered that addiction treatment should not be limited to clinical interventions but that strengthening social support systems is essential.

Case Examples of Substance Use Disorder from an Intersectional Perspective

Case Example 1

Ayşe, 35 years old, is a woman who migrated from Syria to Turkey four years ago. She currently lives in a low-income neighborhood and works multiple jobs to support her family. Ayşe experiences symptoms of extreme stress, loneliness, and depression. Additionally, due to her low-income and migrant identity, she faces discrimination in workplaces. Over the past few years, she has started using alcohol, which has led to family conflicts. Ayşe's substance use is made more complex due to both her migrant identity and gender.

An intervention at the micro level should focus on Ayşe's individual needs and identities. The social worker should first establish a safe relationship with Ayşe and demonstrate an empathetic approach. Additionally, psychosocial support programs for migrants and gender-based counseling could be offered to Ayşe. During this process, it is important to address stress factors at the micro

level, such as loneliness, discrimination, and economic difficulties. Various methods such as individual therapy for alcohol addiction, group therapy, and family support can be applied. Furthermore, Ayşe could be informed about social aids available based on her migrant status.

Case Example 2

Ahmet, 45 years old, is a man who migrated from a rural area of Turkey to a big city due to unemployment. Ahmet works in temporary jobs to support his family. However, long-term unemployment and low income have led Ahmet to depression and substance use. Ahmet's substance use is connected to both his masculinity and social class. While trying to cope with the helplessness created by unemployment and financial inadequacies due to societal pressures, he also struggles with the "must be strong" obligation imposed by masculine norms.

An intervention at the macro level should consider the societal structure and the economic and cultural context in which Ahmet exists. The social worker can carry out awareness-raising activities related to masculinity by considering Ahmet's gender roles and class identity. Additionally, government-supported programs, vocational training courses, and economic aid packages could be suggested to address macro-level factors such as unemployment and low income. Techniques for emotional regulation and coping with stress could be offered to counter the "strong man" pressure demanded by gender roles. Understanding how gender and class discrimination intersect is a critical step in addressing Ahmet's addiction issue.

Case Example 3

Emre, 30 years old, is a Turkish citizen of Kurdish origin. He works in a low-wage job in Istanbul and frequently faces discrimination at work due to his ethnic identity. Additionally, as a result of constant exposure to discrimination, he has started using substances to cope. Emre's substance addiction has become more complex, intersecting with both his ethnic identity and economic conditions. He finds himself struggling with social exclusion and an identity crisis.

An intervention at the macro level, focused on ethnic identity and discrimination, aims to change societal structures. The social worker should understand the ethnic discrimination and stigma Emre experiences and provide psychosocial support within this context. Additionally, Emre can be assisted in interacting with others in society to create cultural awareness. Being part of a support group could help reduce his feelings of exclusion based on his ethnic identity. Moreover, participation in social justice-oriented movements can be

encouraged to fight ethnic stigma. Public campaigns aimed at raising awareness about ethnic identity in the community could also be organized.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The intersectional approach makes an important contribution to understanding how substance use disorder is shaped by social, cultural, economic, and individual factors. Substance addiction goes beyond being a biological problem, becoming a multi-layered and complex condition. An intersectional perspective takes into account the interaction of various identities such as gender, ethnic identity, class, disability, and migration when dealing with addiction. This perspective suggests more effective and comprehensive interventions by addressing exclusion, discrimination, cultural barriers, and structural inequalities in the social context, rather than solely focusing on individual treatment methods. Social work practices can develop more sensitive, accessible, and socially accepted treatment processes by embracing this diversity. However, this approach also has its limitations. In applying intersectional theory, determining how to measure and understand the vast diversity of individual experiences is quite challenging. The combination of various factors can have different effects on each individual, which may lead to generalizability issues. Additionally, adopting an intersectional approach may not always be easy in practice, as many social workers are accustomed to traditional, one-dimensional approaches and may resist change. Furthermore, the success of social work interventions can vary based on factors such as societal norms and cultural barriers.

While the intersectional perspective represents significant progress in combating substance use disorder, this field still contains many gaps and questions. Further research is needed to explore how substance use interacts with ethnic identity, gender, class, disability status, and other social identities in more detail. Particularly in a country like Turkey, with high cultural diversity, the views of different communities on substance use and their approaches to treatment are directly linked to the country's social service interventions. These studies could help develop more sensitive treatment approaches based on local cultural norms. Women, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and other marginalized groups have different risk factors and prevention strategies related to substance use. Therefore, more research should be conducted on the discrimination and stigma these groups face. In particular, more quantitative and qualitative studies should be done on the substance use of women and LGBTQIA+ individuals, analyzing the barriers and challenges they encounter in the treatment process in more detail.

As a country with a high migrant population, Turkey requires more research on the risks of substance use among this group. Migrants are at risk of developing addiction due to factors such as cultural alienation, economic difficulties, and social exclusion. Research on how these challenges can be overcome in treatment processes will contribute to the development of effective interventions.

Individuals with disabilities may have higher rates of substance use disorder due to social exclusion and access barriers. Examining the relationship between disability and addiction, as well as suitable treatment approaches for these individuals, will be an important area for social work practices. Structural changes must be made for disabled individuals to access treatment.

Substance use among the elderly is often an overlooked issue. Health problems associated with aging, loneliness, depression, and other psychological conditions can increase the risk of addiction. Research in this area could make the treatment processes for addiction and social service interventions for elderly individuals more effective. Additionally, how elderly individuals are supported within the cultural context should also be studied.

Factors such as poverty, unemployment, and low educational levels play an important role in the development of substance use disorder. Research that more comprehensively addresses the effects of these factors on substance use could lead to the development of special policies for disadvantaged groups in society.

This section has deeply explored the impacts of substance use disorder on individuals and society, how the intersectional perspective operates in solving this issue, and its role in social work practices. The intersectional approach defines addiction not just as an individual illness but as a problem shaped by the interaction of social structures and identities. Thus, more holistic and inclusive interventions can be made in combating substance use disorder. Social workers, by adopting this intersectional perspective, can develop more sensitive and effective treatment approaches. Furthermore, continuing research in the field of social work is crucial to contributing to broader societal changes. Social workers should focus on eliminating social inequalities and exclusion and view addiction not just as an individual struggle but as a societal issue.

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Chapter 18

The Relationship Between Social Media and Populism From A Political Economy Perspective: The Case Of Twitter (X) And Elon Musk

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the intricate relationship between populism—a concept frequently debated in political science and communication studies—and social media platforms, with a particular focus on Twitter, through the lens of political economy. Populism, which has risen as a byproduct of neoliberal policies implemented since the 1980s, exploits increasing socioeconomic inequalities among social classes. Contemporary populist rhetoric often presents itself as advocating for the interests of the “ordinary” people against the “privileged” elites. However, these discourses are paradoxically generated and disseminated predominantly by elite actors themselves.

The study examines the acquisition of the microblogging platform (X) by Elon Musk, highlighting how Musk transformed the platform into a stage for his personal spectacle, using it to narrate and publicize the purchase process and subsequent developments through consistent engagement. By critically assessing Musk's rhetoric, the study seeks to illuminate the political economy dimensions of populism. Additionally, it investigates Twitter's structural and ideological underpinnings, its role as a medium for discourse production, and its function as a tool for amplifying narratives that reflect broader economic and political power dynamics.

As a member of the bourgeoisie and a significant actor capable of influencing economic trends through his decisions, Musk's actions are explored within the context of his public persona, which navigates the intersections of technological entrepreneurship, media influence, and populist strategies. By situating Musk's rhetoric and actions within these frameworks, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the evolving relationship between social media, populism, and political economy.

Keywords: Populism, political economy, neoliberalism, Twitter, Elon Musk

INTRODUCTION

Populism, although one of the most debated concepts in political science and communication studies since the second half of the 20th century, remains a highly contested term, often described as ambiguous and vague by many researchers. Consequently, there is a vast body of discussions and studies on the subject. Initially, the term was primarily used to describe the rhetoric of political actors and has been particularly analyzed in countries where populist parties came to power, focusing on the discourses of populist politicians and leaders.

In public debates, populism is often associated with the use of simple, emotionally charged language. Another prominent perception is that populism operates as irrational, opportunistic policies aimed at satisfying the public. Despite the lack of a universally agreed definition, two core references—“the elites” and “the ordinary people”—are common in most definitions of populism.

According to Mudde (2004), “Populism is a thin-centered ideology that divides society into two homogenous groups, the ‘pure people’ and the ‘corrupt elites,’ and argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people.” Mudde (2019) identifies three key concepts of populism: the people, the elites, and the general will. He argues that populism is a part of democracy but characterizes it as the “ill conscience” of liberal democracy. From his perspective, populism can be seen as a democratic response to undemocratic liberalism, offering a non-liberal democratic alternative.

In modern democratic societies, populism emerges as an anti-system and anti-status quo phenomenon, opposing not only power holders but also elitist values, and idealizing a homogeneous unity (Canovan, 1999). People perceive themselves as belonging to a social group not due to specific social circumstances but because of a shared destiny rooted in tradition and conditions, fostering a sense of fraternity-based identity (Tarchi, 2013). However, while populism may present itself as an anti-elitist, non-liberal democratic stance, its relationship with the concept of inequality becomes evident when evaluated from a political economy perspective. The transformative effects of neoliberal policies on global income and wealth inequality are significant. In both modernized and late-modernizing countries, economically powerful groups have become even stronger, while broader social segments have been increasingly impacted by deepening inequalities (Kutlay & Onis, 2020).

A review of the relevant literature reveals that populism tends to rise during political and economic crises. When viewed as a social phenomenon, the interconnectedness of political, economic, and social factors becomes apparent. Populist actors gain attention by addressing individual needs while proposing solutions to broader political, economic, and social issues through their rhetoric.

They employ various strategies, notably the intensive use of media tools. The primary goal of populist actors, who emphasize representing the voice, demands, and desires of the people, is absolute power and control. By framing their rhetoric around a division between "us" and "them," populists label all elements of society as adversaries (Yetkin, 2016).

In summary, populists exploit economic and social issues to create polarizing, simplistic, and straightforward language, using media—an ideological apparatus—and, more recently, social media platforms with billions of users worldwide.

As seen, under current conditions, the concept of populism cannot be considered independently of the media tools functioning as ideological apparatuses or without understanding the neoliberal policies that contribute to its rise. In this context, while this study addresses general discussions on the concept of populism, it emphasizes the importance of interpreting its political economy dimensions. Furthermore, the study examines Twitter as a platform, which, although not a public sphere, holds significant influence due to its large global user base and its role as a tool for political power centers to communicate directly and impact society.

The Concept of Populism and Its Historical Origins

Although the concept of populism has gained increased usage in communication and political sciences, it lacks a precise definition, and its historical origins remain ambiguous. The term derives from the English word "people" and the Latin "populus" (people). While numerous definitions exist in academic literature, broader interpretations describe it as "political populism," "a set of attitudes and activities aimed at the people," or "the people against the elites" (Canovan, 1981). The historical development of the concept is linked to Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Zamorano & Bonet, 2018), Durkheim's theory of mass society, and Downs' economic theories (Hawkins et al., 2017).

According to Gramsci, hegemony is the effort to disseminate one's worldview throughout society (in line with one's interests) and establish moral and political leadership. Definitions of populism reveal similarities with the concept of hegemony. Additionally, examining the roots of populism reveals connections to Durkheim's solidaristic society views and economic theories that interpret public reactions to socioeconomic changes, as well as characteristics like weak governance and political corruption.

Rancière (2011) argues that the concept was shaped and promoted with an emphasis on the people by thinkers such as Taine and Le Bon, who reflected on the Paris Commune and the rise of labor movements. However, according to

Rancière, while populism may involve grievances, it does not translate into widespread mass mobilization. He interprets it instead as strategies of hostility used to manipulate political debates for self-interest.

Ernesto Laclau (2004), who interprets populism as a political logic rather than an ideology, highlights the divisive and polarizing language it employs, suggesting that it is based on creating opposition between the people and the status quo. Similarly, Müller (2017), in his exploration of the question *What is Populism?*, identifies seven key points:

1. Populists are not opposed to representation but see themselves as the sole legitimate representatives.

2. Populism opposes not only elites but also pluralism.

3. Populism places symbolic importance on the representation of "the people."

4. While populists often advocate referenda, their aim is not to increase political participation but to symbolically legitimize predetermined expressions of the people's will.

5. In practice, populist governments engage in actions such as state capture, cronyism, corruption, and the suppression of civil society, often with explicit moral justification.

6. Populism does not aim to reform liberal democracy by restoring popular sovereignty but challenges it to rethink certain issues.

7. The problems raised by populists should not be addressed as formulated by them.

Deiwiks (2009), who analyzes populism through its relationship with representative democracy, emphasizes the influence of socioeconomic conditions, economic-political crises, and charismatic leadership on populism. Additionally, Deiwiks points to the necessity of examining the roots of populism in modernism, noting that one of its central elements is "the people." He warns that because the people are often defined by culture, race, or lineage, populist rhetoric can easily evolve into racism.

Researchers focusing on populist movements and their rhetoric argue that these movements primarily produce policies based on economic factors and identity-based cultural explanations. Wodak (2015) explains the increase in populist rhetoric as stemming from a belief that the status quo cannot protect individuals against rising income inequality, using U.S. society as a case study. Wodak highlights how populist politicians present themselves as saviors of ordinary people, with their rhetoric closely linked to the socioeconomic conditions of the period in which they operate.

Although no consensus exists in academic literature on the definition of populism, certain recurring characteristics are frequently discussed. These can be summarized as follows (adapted from Ghergina et al., as cited in Kaya, 2018):

- Anti-elitism
- Opposition to intellectualism and established order
- Attachment to religion and historical tradition
- Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia
- Racism, xenophobia, and opposition to immigration
- Promotion of an economically and culturally homogeneous organic society
- Frequent use of conspiracy theories
- Statism and the sanctification of the people
- Belief in the leader's ordinariness, which brings them closer to the people, alongside a simultaneous perception of their extraordinariness.

The Interrelationship Between Media and Populism

Media platforms serve as arenas where populist rhetoric can be easily produced and delivered to large audiences both verbally and visually. Populist actors can effectively convey their arguments or messages through both traditional and social media. In fact, recent studies suggest that social media platforms are perceived by populists as spaces where they can create a sense of "closer connection with the people" (Moffitt, 2017).

Another noteworthy point is the media's interest in populists. Media owners, in particular, often show significant interest in actors who produce populist rhetoric, driven by profit-oriented motives such as "ratings concerns," "increased clicks," and "high engagement."

The prominent coverage of issues central to populist rhetoric, such as economic problems, opposition to immigration, and anti-elitism, in media outlets is far from coincidental. On the one hand, populist rhetoric draws strength from these topics to amplify its intended messages. On the other hand, media owners benefit from increased popularity generated by populist content.

When populist actors construct their communication strategies, they often employ the narrative of "crisis" (mostly economic but also social and other types) to deliver strong, albeit negative, messages. This approach reinforces the connection between populist rhetoric and media platforms, benefiting both sides in different ways.

Microblog Twitter

Twitter was established in 2006 by Jack Dorsey as a microblogging platform allowing users to write text posts limited to 140 characters (later updated to 280

characters). As of 2022, the platform boasts 436 million users worldwide. The average daily active user count increased by approximately 15.9% compared to 2021, reaching 229 million. Similarly, Twitter's revenue grew by around 23% in 2022 compared to the previous year, reaching \$1.1 billion (Wearesocial, 2022).

On Twitter, user posts within the 280-character limit are called "tweets." The platform facilitates content circulation through these posts, while other in-app activities include "likes," "retweets," and "mentions." Like many social media platforms, Twitter generates revenue through online advertising activities. Its character limit enables high levels of online activity, interaction, and ultimately, metadata production. Regardless of the intended message, if a user wishes to elaborate beyond the character limit, they must post additional tweets. This is one reason for the platform's high interaction rates.

Another unique feature of Twitter is the ease with which users can respond to one another, with all replies visible to other users. This creates a value-generation chain in which each interaction contributes to the commodification of content. Additionally, users are considered an audience sold to advertisers (Fuchs, 2018).

Elon Musk, the CEO of Tesla and SpaceX and one of the world's wealthiest individuals, purchased Twitter for \$44 billion on October 27, 2022. In a lengthy statement posted on Twitter, Musk explained his reasons for acquiring the platform, summarizing:

"The reason I acquired Twitter is that having a common digital town square where a wide range of beliefs can be debated in a healthy manner without resorting to violence is important for the future of civilization... I did it not because it would be easy, not to make more money, but to help humanity."

Purpose and Significance of the Study

This study aims to examine the relationship between the concept of populism and Twitter in the context of political economy. Accordingly, the research focuses on the discourse produced on Twitter and highlights the rise of populism as a political logic. Contemporary populist discourses, which exploit increasing inequalities between classes, are produced by the political and economic powerholders who create these inequalities, and their production platforms have increasingly shifted to social media. Populist actors actively use social media to communicate their ideas among their supporters. Both political figures and capital owners frequently employ economic rhetoric, a hallmark of populism, on Twitter.

This study evaluates the statements made by Elon Musk—who has drawn significant public attention by acquiring Twitter and making headlines with his statements—to explore the political economy aspects of populism.

Defining the Research Problem and Research Questions

The study focuses on the problem of the intensive production of populist discourse via social media. The language and content used, especially on critical issues such as economic problems, inequalities, and global challenges that deeply impact societies, contribute to the rise of populist discourse.

During the research process, the following questions are addressed:

- What are the economic dimensions of populism?
- What is the relationship between populist discourse, which is a political logic in contemporary times, and social media platforms?
- To what extent does the structural design of Twitter contribute to the production of populist discourse?
- How should the political atmosphere created by Elon Musk's acquisition of Twitter be evaluated in the context of political economy?
- Which aspects of Elon Musk's statements align with populist discourse?

Research Methodology

This study, aiming to analyze the relationship between populism and Twitter in the context of political economy, adopts a qualitative research paradigm. The research design is a case study, which examines factors related to a particular case (events, institutions, individuals, processes, etc.) holistically (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016, pp. 73-76). Ensuring data diversity is a crucial parameter in data collection during case studies. While findings from case studies cannot be generalized, they can offer valuable examples and insights for similar cases.

In this study, Elon Musk's statements are analyzed holistically within the scope of relevant literature, leveraging the advantages provided by the case study design. Additionally, computer software has been utilized to enhance data diversity.

The study sample was determined using the extreme or deviant case sampling technique, one of the purposive sampling methods. This technique was chosen to enable in-depth examination of the limited subjects/individuals/institutions/problems related to the researched topic and to reveal different dimensions. Accordingly, tweets shared by Elon Musk between December 21, 2022, and December 28, 2022, were analyzed using Maxqda software. Since the study focuses on the political economy aspects of populist discourse, identifying populism-related codes in the analysis was deemed necessary.

Descriptive analysis, a method that enables the in-depth exploration of current situations to resolve or define existing problems, was utilized. Therefore, the study employed descriptive analysis to interpret the phenomenon of populism in

Elon Musk's case within a cause-and-effect framework (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016).

Research Limitations

The study is limited to tweets selected using the extreme or deviant case sampling method. Another limitation is the maximum data retrieval range of one week from the Twitter platform. Additionally, the literature's focus on political parties, movements, and leaders, both nationally and internationally, constitutes another limitation due to its insufficiency.

Validity and Reliability of the Research

In qualitative research paradigms, strategies exist to enhance the validity and reliability of studies, similar to those in quantitative research. Methods such as in-depth data collection and expert review were employed in this study to increase its quality and reliability.

To further enhance the study's quality, expert assistance was sought for the application of qualitative research methods and descriptive analysis in the context of populism. Additionally, the literature was extensively reviewed to access diverse data sources, and the research process was expanded using computer-assisted programs. Answers to the research questions were sought through descriptive analysis to deeply analyze the phenomenon of populism, following a scientific plan.

Findings: Analysis of Elon Musk's Populist Discourses

It is evident that substantial data exists to evaluate Elon Musk within the category of populist actors. Musk, who frequently appears in the public eye through the large brands he owns, has described his acquisition of Twitter as being done "for humanity, not for profit," a statement that can be interpreted as a populist slogan. As highlighted in the populism literature, populist rhetoric often involves elements such as prioritizing the people's interests and idealizing the public.

It is undoubtedly true that Musk's acquisition of Twitter was not driven by purely altruistic motives detached from his wealth. However, his production of rhetoric in this manner aligns with his character as a populist actor. Similarly, statements made following his acquisition of Twitter, along with the analysis of approximately 300 tweets during the research period (December 21, 2022 – December 28, 2022), reveal Musk's production of populist discourse within a political economy framework.

The following data and graphs present the evaluations made through the lens of populism codes.

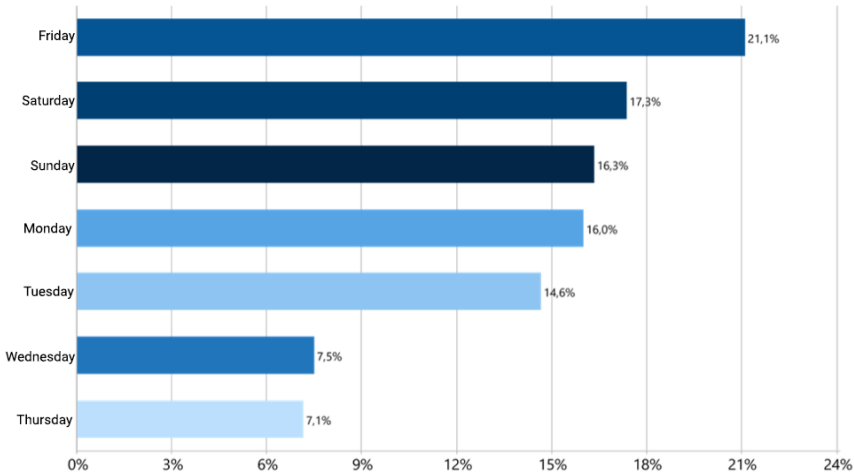


Figure 1: Weekly Posting Graph of Elon Musk

The graph above demonstrates that Elon Musk predominantly chooses to post on Twitter's most active days. This aligns with the engagement-boosting days recommended by advertising agencies and commonly shared for various applications. Musk's planning of his posting schedule accordingly reflects an engagement-focused approach. This further indicates that he has not disregarded in-app advertising data following his acquisition of the platform.

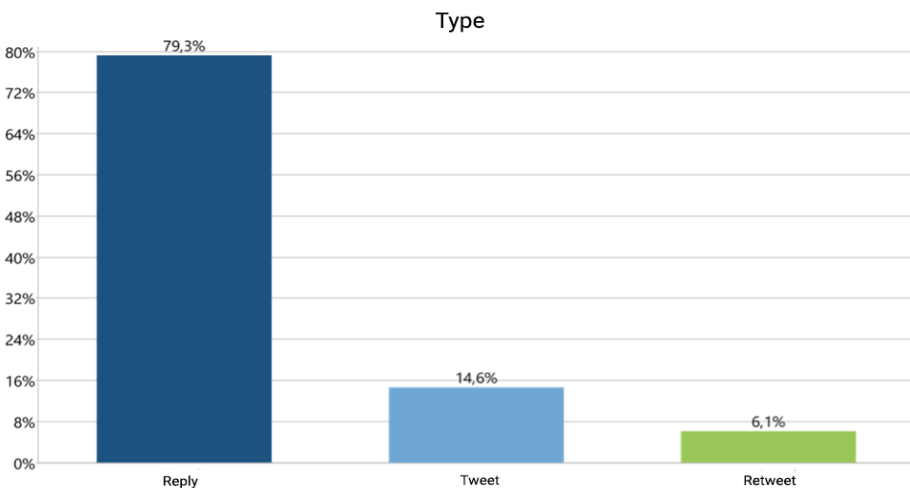


Figure 2: Content Type Graph of Elon Musk

One of the key features that differentiates Twitter from other social media platforms is the limitation of posts to 280 characters. As a result of this constraint, users cannot fully convey their messages or responses in a single post. This leads to a flow of shorter texts used to send messages or responses on a particular topic. Among the tweets analyzed in this study, it is observed that 79.3% of Musk's posts are responses (replies). Musk's tendency to reply to users during this period is primarily due to the polemics he engaged in with journalists, especially in the U.S.

After acquiring Twitter, Elon Musk has actively produced discourse that has drawn significant public attention, particularly with his personality traits, style, and relationship dynamics with his followers. In both traditional and social media, he displays populist characteristics by producing rhetoric that often simplifies and commodifies his power, primarily through "capitalist strength." Musk, who made headlines in the last quarter of 2022 with his \$44 billion Twitter acquisition, continues to increase his popularity with numerous statements made as Twitter's CEO post-purchase.

Shortly after acquiring the platform, Musk attracted public attention by announcing the dismissal of the former CEO. Although he portrayed himself as worker-friendly and pro-public, he showed his authority as the new owner by reversing the company's remote work policy and demanding that all employees "immediately" work 80 hours per week. In a populist fashion, he even announced through a demagogic tweet that he was sleeping in the office to encourage employees to work harder.

A common feature in populist discourse is the sanctification of public voting, as seen in Musk's tweet initiating a poll asking, "Should I step down as CEO of Twitter? I will abide by the results of this poll." Although the result of the poll was "yes," Musk did not step down, demonstrating that his appeal to democracy was purely superficial. Additionally, his first tweet after officially acquiring the company, "The bird is free," exemplified a populist statement lacking authenticity.

The analysis of populism features in this study reveals that "anti-intellectualism and anti-establishment stances" emerge most frequently in Elon Musk's tweets.

"For example, Musk targets journalists in this tweet while offering a critique of the established order. His discourse connects both with the democratic structure of the Biden administration and the journalistic practices of the reporters. From a populist perspective, this discourse points to both anti-intellectualism and anti-establishment sentiment."

culturally and economically homogeneous society," and "statism, sanctification of the people."

The study concludes by emphasizing the reciprocal relationship between media and populist actors. Therefore, the researcher recommends that future studies explore the media-populism relationship in more detail and with different examples.

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