CURRENT RESEARCHES in SOCIAL, HUMAN and ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

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CONTENTS

●Chapter-1●

THE EFFECT of TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP ON JOB SATISFACTION: A RESEARCH on PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYEES in ISTANBUL*

*Asiye MUCEDİDİ***,

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* This chapter is derived from the thesis study entitled "The Effect of Transformational Leadership on Job Satisfaction: A Research on Private Sector Employees in Istanbul" prepared by Asiye Mucedidi with the supervision of Dr. Cafer Şafak Eyel in 2020 at Bahçeşehir University Graduate School of Social Sciences.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Leadership is a highly researched topic in social sciences, precisely because of the importance and effect it has in every context where it is applied. Leadership has an important role in every organization and has direct effect on group processes and outcome. There are too many definitions to leadership. Leadership can be described in terms of group processes, impacts, personality, compliance, certain behaviours, persuasion, power, goal, achievement, interaction role differentiation and the combination of two or more of these (1). Ever since the topic of leadership became a concern, lots of researches have been conducted on different types of leadership types and the one most popular and paid most attention to is transformational leadership.

Job satisfaction which refers to how satisfied or unsatisfied the employees are at their workplace is of major importance for the organizations in the evolving world right now. Because only with the workers and followers' satisfaction can the organization be properly satisfied and produce better results. Transformation is the kind of leadership in which leaders align the follower's objectives and goals to the goals of the organization, which further motivates the followers to follow the leaders' instructions. This is why transformational leadership is expected to produce best results. Having obtained high levels of satisfaction proved that the behaviours associated with transformational leadership were positively correlated with better performances, higher organizational commitment of employees and their increased and level of job satisfaction (2).

The purpose of this study is to investigate whether there is effect of transformational leadership on employee job satisfaction. The significance of this research is to understand the impact of transformational leadership style on employees' job satisfaction.

The results of this study will help to better understand how transformational leadership affects employee job satisfaction. With the help of the results, the working organizations can implement the helpful strategies of the leadership in the organizations in correlation with employee job satisfaction, to achieve better overall results at the workplace.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, literature information was given on transformational leadership, job satisfaction, and the relation between transformational leadership and job satisfaction.

2.1. Transformational Leadership

Leadership is a social phenomenon that is believed to play an important part in organizations while having a direct effect on social processes and outcomes. Since the beginning of time, people have always been required to work with each other to achieve some tasks. Researching the leadership concept began in the twentieth century when leadership was seen to have a direct relation with the improvement in administration and organization. Even though a lot of research has been made, there is not yet a completely defined definition of leadership that has been mutually agreed on (3). Moorhead & Griffin give a definition to leadership as the process in which the leader uses influence to change the behaviour of the people in attaining wanted outcomes (4). Similarly, Bolden describes leadership as the leader's capacity in regulating the followers to head forward in regards to fulfilling desired aims (5). Leadership is about having the potential to come up with strategic organizational visions and making others recognize these visions and transform these into reality (6).

Among all the leadership styles the one most significantly

paid attention to and massively becoming popular in the world of organizations, schools and industries is transformational leadership. It is the leadership style that studies the basic personal traits, which are acquired and improved by the leader, to be able to inspire and affect the followers and lead effectively (7). Transformational leadership theory was developed by Burns and then enhanced by Bass and others (8, 2).

Transformational leadership is not only about the leader, but rather the exchange of values between leader and followers. Burns says it is a process in which leaders and followers raise one another to higher degrees of integrity (8). Burns observed that the relation between transformational leaders and the followers is such that they both ought to motivate each other increasingly so that it results in increased harmony between the two (8). Bass defined the transformational leader as affecting the followers to go beyond their self-interests for the good of the group or organization by increasing their awareness of the importance and value of group outcomes (2). According to Bass, by rising the awareness degree of the followers on the significance of outcomes and teaching ways to reach the desired outcome, motivation could be achieved (2). Bass also mentioned that a leader can teach a follower to work for the interest of the team by going beyond personal interest (2).

There are four basic components of transformational leadership identified by Bass which are idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration (2). The first dimension, idealized influence (or charisma), refers to how admirable the leader behaves which causes team members to relate with the leader's vision and mission (1). Ozaralli also describes idealized influence as a process where the leader instils faith, pride and respect among followers through inspiration. This aspect of the leadership serves as a role model

for high ethical behaviour, instils pride, gains respect and trust. They are very considerate of their followers needs and do not use their power for their own gains (9). Idealized influence comes into play when the leader expresses a sense of conviction and confidence, when making high impact decisions when faced with threats (10).

Transformational leaders' behaviour encourages people by bringing more meaning to their work and creating challenge for them, making them team enthusiastic and creating optimism (11). Leaders can inspire and motivate followers to higher standards only through a strong sense of purpose. These leaders communicate the purpose through symbolic actions and personal examples, they set an example for the organization to follow. Transformational leaders are all about inspiration and encouragement, by creating more meaning and challenges using visual processes (12). Leaders that conduct leadership correctly, give their followers a sense of purpose and connect their goals to the organization's, it helps grow motivation in the followers to strive further for their goals.

Intellectual stimulation is all about motivating followers to think creatively and promote new ideas. According to Avolio intellectual stimulation refers to the leaders encouraging independent and critical thinking by subordinates (13). Intellectual stimulation is when the leader has the ability to get followers to think creatively about situations and come up with novel ways to solve problems (14). A lot of effort is placed on followers to "think outside the box" when faced with issues, meaning that they should try to think more innovatively and look at the problem from a different view and try to come up with more innovative ways to solve the issue. The leader motivates followers to think in more challenging ways for solving problems and come up with novel solutions to increase innovation (15). They challenge followers

to think critically, they present new challenging ideas that encourage them to no longer think as they previously did and come up with new ideas. Intellectually stimulating leaders work on developing the team members consider difficulties as problems to be solved (1). Processes such as brainstorming and other methods are used to increase the innovative thinking process. They help the followers learn to take risks and think independently.

Individualized consideration refers to the leaders paying special attention to each individual follower separately, to their growth and their needs for achievement by acting as a coach (11). Mester et al. stated that individualized consideration is when the leader gives special attention to each person's characteristics and connects that to needs of the organization while providing coaching growth opportunities. Individualized consideration's main purpose is to identify and address needs of people individually through coaching techniques. Which further explains that there are certain individual differences, some followers needing more encouragement, some more autonomy, some more standards and some needing more tasks and the leader meets with all of these differences individually. It is very common for the skills and experience levels, needs and expectations to vary considerably among individuals. The leader should connect with each follower on an interpersonal level strategically meeting their concerns. Effective leaders must show individual concerns for each follower and attend to their needs individually, so to make each follower feel that they're important and that their needs are being met (14). Northouse stated that individualized consideration includes the process of teaching, mentoring, reinforcing while actively listening, and offering emotional and social support to the follower. The leader's purpose is to help the followers with their development while figuring out ways to achieve their future goals. The leader's main concern is to allow each follower to

grow through personal challenges while having authority to deal with them (16).

2.2. Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is one of the most important aspects of the job, as it directly influences performance, employee turnover, and organizational commitment. Job satisfaction is defined as employee's own personal attitude or perception towards their job. Job satisfaction could be described as "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job and job experience" (17). Vroom described job satisfaction as a positive orientation of a person towards all aspects of their work situation (18). Hoppock & Spielgler described job satisfaction as an interconnected set of psychological, physiological and environmental conditions that increase an employee's thinking that they are satisfied or happy with their jobs (19). Job satisfaction refers to how people feel towards their work. Positive feelings towards the job show job satisfaction. Whereas negative feelings indicate job dissatisfaction (20).

People's job satisfaction can change from being highly satisfied to highly dissatisfied. Aside from their perspective about their entire job, it is possible that they may feel differently about different parts of their work such as the kind of work they do, the people they work with, supervisors or subordinates and their salary (21). And when considering job satisfaction there is not only one aspect to it, but several that play a role together. Job satisfaction is said to have the following aspects: the work, relationship with the managers, how the management works, future opportunity, environment at the work, salary and other bonuses, and relationship with the other workers (22).

Employee job satisfaction is very important, because it direct-

ly affects the productivity in the workplace, it increases sense of morale and creates a stronger commitment among the employees. Such strong feelings provide a driving force for the employees to try harder to advance at the workplace for their career as well as the career of the organization, without thinking of quitting their jobs. Hence job satisfaction is also very important for reaching organizational goals. Job satisfaction has been shown to be strongly and directly related to organizational commitment. The main reasons why this topic is important to be highlighted is due to the success of an organization depends on the hard working, loyal, motivated and satisfied workforce. They are among the main determinants of success of an organization (23). If job satisfaction is absent, it is believed that it will create disgruntled employees who definitely unable to perform at the best of their capabilities (24).

2.3. The Relation Between Transformational Leadership and Job Satisfaction

When considering job satisfaction of employees, transformational leadership can come in very handy and useful. According to the previous researches done, it has been shown that transformational leadership creates satisfied employees. Because transformational leaders empower their followers, care about their personal requirements and encourage them to grow their potential (11). Bass also included that transformational leadership consists of charismatic behaviours such as acting as a role model, taking risks at work and appearing charismatic to the followers. Also, transformational leaders comprise characteristics such as intellectual stimulation which motivates the followers in thinning out of the box and changing their ways (2).

What makes transformational leadership best suited for an or-

ganization is that the leaders align the goals of the followers to the goals of the organization. Hence, when the followers identify themselves with the goals and values of the organization, they will equate the organization's success with their own, encouraging them to create a positive contribution at the workplace (2). Transformational leadership is about making the employees understand and come to the belief that they are all striving towards the same goal. It results in encouraging the employees to strive to achieve higher than their original aims (25).

Madlock states that proper instructions of the vision and aims can increase understanding of the employees as well as their satisfaction at work. When transformational leaders effectively communicate their goals and visions to the followers, the followers have a better and more clear idea on what their end goal is and can prepare steps to head towards it accordingly. Through idealized influence of the leader, the followers gain more trust in their leader and make sacrifices to reach those goals (26). As explained by Cilliers, Eden & Deventer idealized influence helps the employees feel more energized while empowering them and feeling more responsible towards their work (27).

According to research done by Emery & Barker, transformational leadership implementation is shown to increase satisfaction at work by giving proper work instructions and intellectually stimulating the workers. Transformational leaders encourage the followers to think of novel ways to solve problems and come up with new ideas, they create an environment where creativity and innovation is encouraged. Such an atmosphere is very refreshing and helps the followers stay focused and think more efficiently (28). So, the results of the study done by Emery and Barker has proven that job satisfaction is positively related to intellectual stimulation.

Transformational leaders convince followers that they relate

to their ideas, values and ideals, they inspire their followers to think for their own selves creating novel ways of solving problems. Doing so creates a stronger belief in their leader and also finding better solving things in an organization. Many researches done agree that transformational leadership and proper follower behaviour is positively related (29, 30, 31).

Transformational leaders that use individualized consideration, meeting each follower needs separately can enhance follower contribution and satisfaction, because they act as a mentor and it creates a supportive environment for the followers. Bruch & Walter state that the way individualized consideration increase employee satisfaction is through giving proper advice, offering support and meeting their personal needs. When the followers are given value and support, they can feel a sense of autonomy and belongingness, they are inclined to perform better than average results. Creating personal challenges for the followers and meeting their needs while providing authority for decision making, brings about a sense of responsibility among followers which pushes them to do better (32).

In regards to the studies that prove that transformational leadership style increase employee accomplishments, Bycio et al. believes that transformational leadership is in fact the main cause of employee job satisfaction (30). Bushra et al. agree with this stating that transformational leadership and job satisfaction significantly are positively related. Their research believes that implementing transformational leadership can increase job satisfaction by 42% (23).

Having the same goal with the organization, the followers feel a stronger commitment and relate more to their organization. Such commitment is related to feelings of affection, affection towards the organization as well as sharing the same goal, creates a strong will to insert effort in fulfilling daily work (33). Further

studies show similar results, showing that transformational leadership style is positively related to employee satisfaction (30). By evaluating previous studies, it becomes obvious that implementing transformational leadership at work would positively affect the work environment by making the employees feel more satisfied and encouraged (8, 11, 29, 30).

3. METHODOLOGY

In this section, information was given about research universe and sample group, research model and variables, measurement instruments and data analysis.

3.1. Research Universe and Sample Group

The general universe of the study consists of private sector employees working in Turkey. Private sector employees working in Istanbul was selected as the research universe. In this regard, a survey questionnaire was formed via Google Forms application, and 212 respondents were reached between the dates of 15th of February, 2020 and 30th of April, 2020 via using convenience sampling technique.

In terms of gender, 105 (%49,5) respondents are female and 107 (%50,5) are male. According to age group, 30 (%14,2) respondents are between 18-25, 124 (%58,5) are between 26-34, 41 (%19,3) are between 35-44, and 17 (%8,0) are 45 and above. For marital status, 141 (%66,5) respondents are single, and 71 (%33,5) are married. In terms of education status, 25 (%11,8) respondents have high school degree, 135 (%63,7) have undergraduate degree, and 52 (%24,5) have graduate degree. According to position, 132 (%62,3) respondents work as personnel, 48 (%22,6) work as supervisor, and 32 (%15,1) work as manager.

3.2. Research Model and Hypothesis

The research model of the study can be seen in Figure 1. According to research model, there are one main hypothesis, and four sub-hypotheses as followings:

H1: Transformational leadership has effect on job satisfaction

- H1a: Idealized influence has effect on job satisfaction.
- H1b: Inspirational motivation has effect on job satisfaction.
- H1c: Intellectual stimulation has effect on job satisfaction.
- H1d: Individualized consideration has effect on job satisfaction.

Transformational leadership is the independent variable of research model, and job satisfaction is the dependent variable.

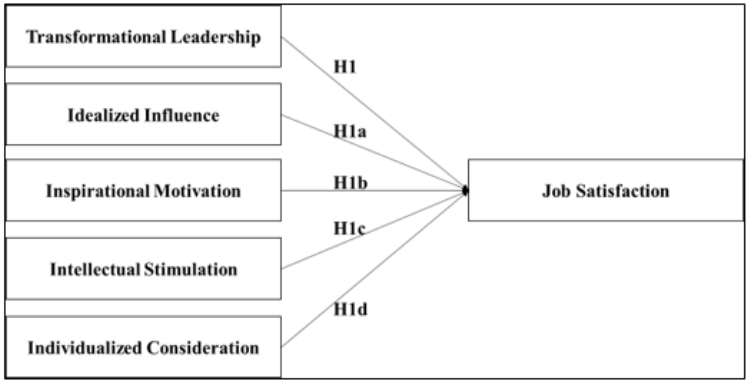

Figure 1. Research Model

3.3. Measurement Instruments and Data Analysis

Survey technique was used in this research to collect primary data. In this respect, a survey form was prepared consisting of 3 parts. In the first part, there are 5 questions about gender, age group, marital status, education status and position in workplace.

In the second part, there is Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLS) developed by Bass and Avolio with 20 items and 4 dimensions in order to measure transformational leadership perception of participants (34). Idealized influence dimension has 6 items (item no of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6); inspirational motivation dimension has 5 items (item no of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11); intellectual stimulation dimension has 5 items (item no of 12, 13, 14, 15, 16); and individualized consideration dimension has 4 items (item no of 17, 18, 19, 20). The items of the scales are measured by 5-point Likert Scale. As the result of exploratory factor analysis conducted for Transformational Leadership Scale, KMO value was found as 0,973 which means the size of the sample group is adequate to make factor analysis. Moreover, according to Bartlett Sphericity Test findings (Chi-Square:5850,519; df:190; Sig:0,000) it can be said that the scale is suitable to conduct factor analysis. There appeared four factors which are coherent with original scale structure. In this respect, these factors were named as Idealized Influence (II), Inspirational Motivation (IM), Intellectual Stimulation (IS), and Individualized Consideration (IC) respectively. II explained %29,726 of the variance, IM explained %21,068 of the variance, IS explained %18,610 of the variance, and IC explained %16,519 of the variance. Furthermore, total explained variance is %85,923. According to reliability findings; II has the reliability of 0,953; IM has the reliability of 0,950; IS has the reliability of 0,956; and IC has the reliability of 0,959. Lastly, the scale has the reliability of 0,985.

In the third part, there is Job Satisfaction Scale developed by Brayfield and Rothe and shortened by Yoon and Thye with 5 items and one dimension (35, 36). The 5th item is reverse statement, and items of the scales are measured by 5-point Likert Scale. As the result of exploratory factor analysis conducted for Job Satisfaction Scale, KMO value was found as 0,854 which

means the size of the sample group is adequate to make factor analysis. Moreover, according to Bartlett Sphericity Test findings (Chi-Square:851,627; df:6; Sig:0,000) it can be said that the scale is suitable to conduct factor analysis. During factor analysis, the 5th item of the scale which has less than factor load of 0,50 was discarded from the scale. There appeared only one factor which is coherent with original scale structure. This factor explained %86,536 of total variance. Moreover, the scale has the reliability of 0,948.

In data analysis process, SPSS-22 statistics program was used in this study. Firstly, the data collected from respondents were coded in data view according to the variables described in variable view. Then, frequency tables were formed for demographical findings, descriptive statistics were made for scales' items, factor and reliability analyses were conducted for the scales, and stepwise regression analysis was conducted to investigate the effect of transformational leadership on job satisfaction.

4. RESULTS

In this section, findings about multiple linear regression analysis conducted to test whether or not there is significant effect of transformational leadership on job satisfaction were presented.

To test "*H1: Transformational leadership has effect on job satisfaction*." multiple linear regression analysis was conducted. Stepwise method was used in regression model. According to Table 1, first model was found as significant (F=147,079; p=0,000), and independent variable (IM) explains %40,90 of the first model's variance. According to regression analysis result for first model, IM (β=0,642; p=0,000) has significant and positive effect on job satisfaction. Then, in second model, IC was added into the regression model as another independent variable. In this case,

second model was also found as significant (F=80,219; p=0,000), and independent variables (IM and IC) explain %42,90 of the second model's variance. Thus, it can be said that adding second independent variable (IC) to the regression model, increased the explained variance at the rate of %2,0. The result of Durbin-Watson statistics in table indicates whether there is autocorrelation problem in the model. As it can be seen in the table, Durbin-Watson statistics was found as 1,861 which is between 1,5 and 2,5, that means, regression analysis can be conducted for this regression model. Furthermore, tolerance and VIF values in the table indicate whether there is multicollinearity problem among independent variables. Tolerance values' to be higher than 0,100 and VIF values' to be smaller than 10 indicates there is no multicollinearity problem among independent variables in the regression model. As it can be seen in second model in the table, IM (β=0,388; p=0,000) and IC (β=0,294; p=0,000) have positive and significant effects on job satisfaction. In this respect, "*H1b: Inspirational motivation has effect on job satisfaction*." and "*H1d: Individualized consideration has effect on job satisfaction*." were accepted, but "*H1a: Idealized influence has effect on job satisfaction*." and "*H1c: Intellectual stimulation has effect on job satisfaction*." were rejected. Thus, the main hypothesis of "*H1: Transformational leadership has effect on job satisfaction*." was partially accepted.

Table 1. Regression Analysis Findings for the Effect of Transformational Leadership on Job Satisfaction

Model-1	Dep: JS	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Tol.**	**VIF**	**Adj. R2**	**D-W**	**F**	**Model p**
	Con-stant		10,18	0,000			40,90%		147,08	0,000
	IM	0,642	12,13	0,000	1,000	1,000				
Model-2	**Dep: JS**	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Tol.**	**VIF**	**Adj. R2**	**D-W**	**F**	**Model p**
	Con-stant		9,598	0,000			42,90%	1,861	80,219	0,000
	IM	0,388	3,792	0,000	0,258	3,873				
	IC	0,294	2,875	0,004	0,258	3,873				

Dep: Dependent; JS: Job Satisfaction; IM: Inspirational Motivation; IC: Individualized Consideration; p: Sigma; Tol: Tolerance; D-W: Durbin-Watson

5. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATION

In this research, the effect of transformational leadership on employees' job satisfaction was examined. Job satisfaction is a very important factor in keeping employees satisfied at work, so they can have good performance and reach organizational goals, hence understanding the effects of transformational leadership on job satisfaction is also very important in order to keep job satisfaction as high as possible.

To test the main research hypothesis, multiple linear regression analysis was conducted. It was found that IM has significant and positive effect on job satisfaction. Furthermore, IC also seemed to have positive and significant effect on job satisfaction. In this respect, the main research hypothesis was partially accepted, that is transformational leadership has partial effect on job satisfaction. Most of the researches done previously shows that transformational leadership has significant and positive effect on job satisfaction. According to the result of Aljarah, Bhatti & Dappa, transformational leadership had a positive impact on employee satisfaction (37). The study results of Emmanuel & Hassan also showed similar results, that transformational leaders have significant and positive influence on job satisfaction (38). Research done by Chandrasekara also proves the same result, showing that transformational leadership and job satisfaction are positively related (39). Avolio et al. also stated that transformational leadership has positive relations with basic work-related attitudes and behaviours, such as satisfaction at the job, organizational commitment, confidence, productivity, and decrease in turnover behaviours (40). Transformational leadership and job satisfaction have been found positively correlated and to those behaviours that increase job performance (1, 41).

On the other hand, the results show no significant effect of ide-

alized influence and intellectual stimulation on job satisfaction. Since the effects of intellectual stimulation and idealized influence on job satisfaction were found insignificant, this result was inconsistent with previous researches done on the same topic. The reason for this inconsistency could be culture or the broad spectrum of participants. Perhaps, if participants had all been from the same or similar departments, results could have been more consistent. Due to this reason, the hypothesis that transformational leadership has an effect on employee job satisfaction was only partially accepted. This result is inconsistent with the result of the study done by Loganathan (42). According to whose result, intellectual stimulation contributed most to explaining job satisfaction. There is also inconsistency with the results of Emmanuel & Hassan, showing positive and significant effect of intellectual stimulation on job satisfaction (38). Due to this inconsistency, the main hypothesis has been only partially accepted, meaning that some attributes have proven to significantly affect job satisfaction, while some have not.

This research was conducted with the purpose of finding the relationship between transformational leadership and employee job satisfaction. There are four main dimensions of transformational leadership which are individualized consideration, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and idealized influence. All these different dimensions were studied separately and research was conducted to see how all of them influence job satisfaction in their own way. According to the results of the study, inspirational motivation and individualized consideration were shown to have significant ana positive effects on job satisfaction.

There are some limitations in this study. First of all, this study is limited with transformational leadership and job satisfaction in terms of topic. Furthermore, the study is limited with the answers of private sector employees in Istanbul for the survey questionnaire in terms of the scope. Moreover, the study is limited with

Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLS) and Job Satisfaction Scale included in survey questionnaire. There is also time limitation of the study. The thesis has to be completed in a certain duration. Moreover, the primary data of the research was collected between the dates of 15th of February, 2020 and 30th of April, 2020.

This research conducted was based solely on transformational leadership as the independent variable. Future researches could be conducted on other types of leadership such as charismatic, autocratic and democratic leadership styles to observe the differences that could be present in the responses. Job satisfaction was the only dependent variable tested, additional variables such as organizational commitment, burnout and job performance are also worth considering for future researches. Future researches may also include the effect culture and collectivism can have on transformational leader and job satisfaction. Since this study was based on a broad, not specific department/organization due to the pandemic caused by COVID-19, a more specific research could be done in specific organizations, such as an educational departments or construction companies. A comparative study can also be done to find similarities and differences in different departments, whether or not such differences exist. An increase in sample size and getting a fair proportion of participants from a specific department could also provide more consistent results.

In terms of managerial implications, it can be said that leaders should improve their knowledge about leadership styles and understand how to have a more positive influence on their followers. Leaders should learn that every individual's capabilities are different and each individual requires different kinds of treatment for them to perform better. Leaders should develop their style of leadership so they can encourage creativity and talent in their followers. It is always best for leaders to motivate their followers to voice their own opinions and ideas to improve their abilities.

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●*Chapter-2*●

INDUSTRY ANALYSIS of USE-OF-PROCEEDS INTENTIONS and STOCK RETURNS

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1. Introduction

This study aims to investigate the insider preferences for use-of-proceeds intentions across different sectors of Turkish initial public offerings (IPO). The companies going public need to explain and justify their motivations and how the proceeds will be spent in the offer document. Although the topic is well-studied (Leone et al. 2007; Kim and Weisbach 2008; Autore et al. 2009; Wyatt 2014; Adriansyah and Messinis 2016; Amor and Kooli 2017; McGuinness 2019), there is lack of granular evidence that shows the differences in insider intentions across industries and how the shifting preferences impact performance. The research question is important because there are substantial differences in the operations, bookkeeping, and investing activities across industries. For example, there will be differences in the asset composition of financial and real estate companies, service, and industrial companies. Turkish IPOs pronounce investment activities as their primary intention for going public and declare that majority of the proceeds will be used to finance new investments (Tutuncu 2020). The primary aim is to determine whether the investment intention differs across sectors. Second, the companies with less-intensive tangible assets composition may be inclined to allocate resources to vague purposes. Thus, this research attempts to determine whether financial, and service companies in general, attempt to beat around the bush by stating ambiguous aims and purposefully remaining less specific to avoid questions about their valuation. Conversely, industrial firms are expected to be more specific and investment-focused in their use-of-proceeds intentions as they have a sizeable tangible asset base as reference for valuation. The investment intention, and its capital expenditures (CAPEX) and research and development (R&D) components are associated with quality signals and superior af-

termarket performance in the literature (Trueman 1986; Lev and Sougiannis 1996; Hill 2008). Therefore, we expect industries allocating more resources to investment to provide better returns in the short- and long-term. On the other hand, non-specific disclosure and non-investment intentions could give a bad signal and imply value-destroying resource allocations (Leone et al. 2007; Walker and Yost 2008; Kim and Weisbach 2008), which would fail to impress investors. Therefore, we expect these industries to not perform well vis-a-vis investment intensive sectors.

The dataset covers 110 firms going public on Borsa Istanbul between 2010 and 2019. This number incorporates all capital raises and firms issuing only secondary equity are dropped as they do not necessarily release their utilization plan for collected proceeds. The sample is divided into sectors using the Public Disclosure Platform (KAP) guidance on indices. Industrials (XUSIN), Services (XUHIZ), and Financials (XUMAL) are the main sectors in Turkey, each covering 161, 65, and 105 companies. We add Technology (XUTEK) and real estate investment trusts (REIT-XGMYO) due to their unique state and approach to investment and valuation. Technology firms are known to be R&D intensive and difficult to value, while REITs are an undeniable reality and heavyweight in the development of Turkish economy. It is telling that REITs constitute 10% of the sample. They are also one of the components of the Financials Index along with Banks, Holdings, Insurance, and Venture Capital. Their unique position requires separate examination. The sample consists of 39 Industrials, 31 Services, 22 Financials, 11 REIT and 7 Technology firms. 11 firms remain unclassified as they belong to none of these sectors. Throughout the study, we will maintain the focus on Industrials and Technology sectors as these are more likely to allocate funds to investment.

This research utilizes specificity (Leone et al. 2007) as the

aggregate disclosure variable composed of three use-of-proceeds intentions: investment, debt payment and general corporate purpose. This three-layered classification is widely implemented in the past research and follows Walker and Yost (2008) and Silva and Bilinski (2015). Others use four-layered (Wyatt 2014), and even five-layered classifications; however, the choice is market-dependent and upon closer examination of the prospectuses, we decide that three-layered scheme fits best to data. However, the investment intention is further divided into CAPEX and R&D components as their characteristics are completely different. For example, we observe that REIT firms allocate funds heavily to CAPEX while allocating none to R&D. Allowing the same investment treatment for CAPEX and R&D would not do justice to R&D intensive sectors and prevent us from receiving deeper insight. While Trueman (1986) associates CAPEX with quality signals, R&D investments are of more uncertain nature (Guo et al. 2006); however, yield substantial gains in the long-term (Lev and Sougiannis 1996). Therefore, we expect a diversion in the returns of CAPEX-intensive and R&D intensive sectors or firms in the long-term. The separate treatment of CAPEX and R&D is consistent with a large body of research that suggest a divergent market outcome (Chung et al.1998; Bommel and Vermaelen 2003; Eberhart et al. 2004; Fedyk and Khimich 2018). For less-investment intensive sectors focusing on debt payment or general corporate purposes, we expect the market reaction to be less excited and muted because these industries have lower growth potential and do not prioritize growth over other purposes. Moreover, the non-investment purposes may increase the uncertainty and insinuate vague and value destroying actions by insiders (Kim and Weisbach 2008; Walker and Yost 2008). The market will inevitably price the negative signal and ambiguity.

This chapter aims to preserve a simple structure and docu-

ment differences in the use-of-proceeds across industries and their potential market outcomes. To our knowledge, this is the first study to take an industry-centric approach to use-of-proceeds disclosure for going public firms. A widely observed but flawed approach observed in the Turkish studies is dissection of data and narrowing of sample to a specific sector. While this approach provides ease of data collection and allows more and faster publications, it is inherently flawed as the researcher introduces selection bias to data and does not provide the full picture. This study employs the population of 110 capital-raising IPOs in the past decade, while incorporating all sectors in the sample. Therefore, it is free from selection bias and could be used as a reference point for further studies, by investors and other players in the IPO market. The findings suggest that Industrials and Technology firms stand out as the most transparent sectors about the proceeds allocation, while only Technology sector and R&D committed firms provide better stock returns.

Rest of the chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 explains data and reports summary statistics. Section 3 presents results, and Section 4 concludes.

2. Data and use-of-proceeds intentions

The data used in this study is from Tutuncu (2020). The sample covers all capital-raising firms going public between 2010 and 2019 at Borsa Istanbul. The steps followed to construct the sample are explained below.

The firms are identified through Capital Market Board (SPK) website and related disclosure material is obtained from KAP. The use-of-proceeds data are collected manually from prospectuses and calculations are made to determine relative percentages of each intention to net proceeds. Share price data is from

Borsa Istanbul and www.investing.com. The going public firms are classified into sectors using the index components data from KAP. Similar index information on www.investing.com is outdated and discarded after realising that industry components do not match the current reality. Each company is checked on KAP for matching sectors. For delisted firms, we check old news releases to determine their sector. The matching process identifies 39 firms in Industrials, 31 firms in Services, 22 firms in Financials, 7 firms in Technology sectors and 11 firms as REITs. As a result, 99 firms are identified as belonging to 4 main industry indices. Table 1 reports the distribution of firms across years and industries.

Table 1: Sample industry distribution

Year	All IPOs	Industrials	Services	Financials	REITs	TECH
2010	17	3	4	7	5	1
2011	24	8	8	5	2	2
2012	24	8	9	5	1	-
2013	17	5	5	3	2	-
2014	10	7	1	1	1	-
2015	5	3	-	1	-	-
2016	1	1	-	-	-	-
2017	1	-	-	-	-	1
2018	5	2	2	-	-	1
2019	6	2	2	-	-	2
Total	110	39	31	22	11	7

Industrials, Services and Financials are the 3 main BIST indices containing 161, 65, and 105 stocks, respectively. REITs are part of the Financials Index. Financials Index includes Holdings, Banks, Insurance and REITs.

The use-of-proceeds section of the prospectus in section 9.25 is used to determine intentions relative to net proceeds. Examples of the calculations are demonstrated below for each industry. Dagi Giyim A.S. is reported for Industrials, Orge Enerji A.S. for

Services, Polisan A.S. for Financials, Kiler GYO for REITs, and Papilon Savunma A.S for Technology sector.

Dagi Giyim A.S. for Industrials: *"...Expected net proceeds from the issue after commissions are 23156031 Turkish liras. 6000000 of this cash will be used to expand the world market share and establish new sales points to strengthen the DAGI brand and invest in advertising to enhance brand visibility, while 12156031 liras will be used to organise and strengthen the DAGI brand locally and 5000000 liras are planned to be used to reduce short-term debt and to increase profitability as a result of debt reduction."*

Specificity: 100%; Investment intention: 0%; Debt intention: 5000000/23156031 = 21.6%; General corporate purpose intention: 17156031 = 78.4%; CAPEX: 0%; R&D: 0%.

Sanel Muhendislik A.S. for Services: *"...6 million of the expected 11 million Turkish liras from IPO will be used as working capital towards funding new undertakings. In addition, a new production facility will be constructed to expand existing facilities. The estimated cost of new facility is 5 million liras, it will provide 600000 liras cash savings from rentals. If the proceeds do not suffice, bank credit will be taken to complete the facility."*

Specificity: 100%; Investment intention: 5 million/11 million = 45%; debt intention: 0%; general corporate purpose intention: 6 million/11 million = 55%; CAPEX: 45%; R&D: 0%.

Polisan Holding A.S. for Financials: *"...Part of the net proceeds from IPO is planned to be used to fund working capital, and other parts to finance investments stated in the 3rd, 4th, and 7th sections of the prospectus.*

Specificity: 0%.

Kiler GYO for REITs and Financials: *"...Expected net proceeds from the IPO will be used to develop real estate portfolio*

of the company. The proceeds from incumbent shareholders will not be used in the operations since they will be at the discretion of selling shareholders."

Specificity: 100%; Investment intention: 100%; CAPEX: 100%; R&D: 0%.

Papilon Savunma A.S. for Technology: *"The company is planning to use approximately 30% of the net proceeds to grow internationally either by establishing new partnerships, founding new companies, or opening new regional offices. The company will use 20% of the cash to finance business plans and medium-term projects as internal funds provide exchange rate and interest rate advantages over external funds. R&D funding or acquisition of R&D companies is crucial to the long-term sustainability of the company. 50% of the proceeds will be used to fund new R&D projects on artificial intelligence, biometrics, and visuals, and create and enhance the quality of teamwork clusters associated with these projects."*

Specificity: 100%; Investment intention: 80%; Debt intention: 0%; General corporate purpose intention: 20%; CAPEX: 30%; R&D: 50%.

Table 2 provides use-of-proceeds statistics across industries. Panel A shows that in terms of the binary choice of disclosing an intention, Industrials firms are the most specific and investment-committed along with Technology firms, while Financials sector contains the least specific and investment-oriented firms. Importantly, R&D intention is limited to Industrials and Technology sectors, while other sectors commit funds to CAPEX part of the investment intention. Interestingly, Panel B shows that REITs have the largest CAPEX disclosure, followed by Technology and Financials. Interestingly, Industrials sector firms reveal the largest average debt reduction and general purpose intentions. While it is by far the most specific sector,

the specificity itself does not necessarily transform into investment commitment. This point contrasts with (Leone et al. 2007) who interpret specificity as a positive signal to market about firm quality. Remarkably, CAPEX and R&D have different distributions. As they are not correlated, CAPEX intention does not appear to imply a parallel commitment to R&D. To illustrate this point, the largest CAPEX and R&D committing sectors (REIT and Technology) are taken into consideration. The former commits large funds to tangible assets to develop their portfolio; however, this does not represent an investment into manufacturing facilities as in other sectors as the tangible assets themselves are the product. This CAPEX investment therefore is not likely to have long-term consequences as the yield is realised when the portfolio of assets is sold. On the other hand, the R&D investment is focused on developing sustainable production lines benefits of which are likely to be realised in the long-term. This implies that merging them into one investment intention may produce misleading results as they have different characteristics. Tellingly, only Industrials and Technology sectors invest in R&D while other sectors invest more in tangible assets. One final observation is that Industrials sector exhibits the largest debt and general purpose intentions, but also the highest specificity (90.02%) as to how the proceeds will be used. It appears that Industrials firms are more willing to come out openly and state their intentions, whether it be investing in new assets, R&D, or debt reduction. Financials sector and REITs disclose the smallest debt and general purpose intentions; however, they are also the least specific sectors (65.95%) well below the sample average of 79.59%. In this sense, high specificity may send a positive signal to the market as a symbol of transparency and sincerity, while withholding information as in Financials would be noted as a negative signal. Consequent-

ly, investors could demand more returns to offset uncertainty associated with less specific disclosure. Next section provides tests of differences between sectors to make statistical inferences. Based on the discussion above, two testable hypotheses are produced below:

H1: Industrials sector firms disclose significantly larger use-of-proceeds commitments than non-Industrials and Financials sectors.

H2: Sectors (firms) disclosing R&D investment intention have better initial and long-run returns than non-R&D disclosing sectors (firms).

Table 2. Use-of-proceeds intentions across industries

	All IPOs (N=110)	Industrials (N=39)	Services (N=31)	Financials (N=22)	Non-Ind. (N=71)	REITs (N=11)	TECH (N=7)
Panel A: Number of (%) declarations by IPO firms							
SPECIFICITY	92 (83.6%)	36 (92.3%)	27 (87%)	15 (68.2%)	56 (78.8%)	9 (81.8%)	6 (85.7%)
INVEST	73 (66.3%)	28 (71.8%)	20 (64.5%)	12 (54.5%)	45 (63.3%)	7 (63.6%)	6 (85.7%)
CAPEX	67 (60.9%)	27 (69.2%)	19 (61.2%)	11 (50%)	40 (56.3%)	7 (63.6%)	4 (57.1%)
R&D	12 (10.9%)	7 (17.9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (7%)	0 (0%)	5 (71.4%)
DEBT	39 (35.4%)	21 (53.8%)	12 (38.7%)	3 (13.6%)	18 (25.3%)	2 (18.2%)	2 (28.5%)
GCP	52 (47.2%)	29 (74.3%)	11 (35.4%)	3 (13.6%)	23 (32.4%)	1 (9.1%)	4 (57.1%)
Panel B: Average percentage use-of-proceeds declarations (%)							
SPECIFICITY	79.59	90.02	78.16	65.95	73.86	77.36	81.43
INVEST	43.13	37.96	41.55	51.3	45.97	60.09	59.28
CAPEX	37.17	33.04	37.06	46.37	39.44	60.09	37.42
R&D	1.99	1.69	0	0	2.15	0	21.85
DEBT	17.07	25.48	18.61	8.63	12.45	8.18	13.57
GCP	19.92	27.25	18	6.02	15.9	9.09	12.85

Percentages in Panel A are the number of use-of-proceeds declarations in an industry divided by total firms in the industry. Percentages in Panel B show the average percentage use-of-proceeds intention in each industry.

3. Results

Table 3 reports the use-of-proceeds and stock return differences across sectors. Only t-tests and mean differences are presented for the sake of brevity. Consistent with the prior observations, Industrials sector has statistically significant differences with non-Industrials and specifically, with Financials sectors. Industrials significantly disclosure more specific use-of-proceeds intention, and commit more funds to R&D, debt payments general corporate purposes. The differences in investment intention are; however, smaller, and insignificant. This could be attributed to the role of CAPEX, which has a more uniform distribution across industries, with the exception of REITs. The combined investment variable becomes insignificant across industries. This also implies that the merged investment variables would not cause significant differences in the stock returns. The bottom two rows in the top panel validate this inference as stock returns are not significantly different across the three main sectors. It should be noted that Industrials sector has better long-run performance; although not significantly better. There are no significant differences between Financials and Services as expected since they do not send a distinguishing quality signal by committing to long-term R&D investments. The findings support the H1; however, also contrasts the notion that more specific disclosure would result in better stock returns (Leone et al. 2007) as larger specificity does not translate into higher returns. The bottom panel provides more granular data regarding the differences by comparing Technology sectors with others. Because Technology is a highly R&D intensive sector, the differences vis-à-vis other sectors could be imposed by this fact. The findings consistently show that Technology firms have significantly better returns than Industrials, Services, and REITs up to 14.5%. Long-run returns, measured

by 3-year BHAR, show better statistics, however, not significantly so. Overall, the impact of R&D on the stock returns is evident as there is other use-of-proceeds intentions are not significantly different from other sectors. Notably, Technology firms also have 13.2% better returns than Industrials firms, the other sectors with R&D commitments. This difference could be explained by the fact that average Technology firm commits 21.85% of proceeds to R&D while the average Industrials firm commits only 1.69% of proceeds. The results partially support H2.

To further investigate this matter and neatly demonstrate the R&D effect on returns, we present the complete statistics for R&D committing firms, and conduct difference tests between use-of-proceeds commitments and non-commitments. The list and tests are reported in Table 4. All 12 R&D firms remarkably disclose fully how they are going to spend the proceeds. Non-R&D sample average specificity is 77%, and the difference is statistically significant. In addition, R&D firms exhibit more investment commitment than all other industries, and the 64% combined CAPEX and R&D commitment is well above the 41% commitment for non-R&D firms. The primary source of this difference is additional R&D investments, as the average CAPEX investment (41%) is close to that of non-R&D firms (37%). More importantly, they tend to provide 10% larger initial returns and better long-run returns than non-R&D firms, which are both significant at the conventional levels. The differences in returns are only significant when comparison is based on R&D. Return comparisons based on other use-of proceeds intentions do not provide significantly different results. The specificity appears to be the principal factor introducing differences across intentions, and more specific disclosure results in significant differences in all groups, except returns. This indicates that, specific disclosure does not necessarily imply better aftermarket performance and it is im-

perative to be supported by investment commitment. CAPEX and investment disclosing firms overall report less debt payment intention while debt payment and general purpose commitment firms are significantly less committed to CAPEX and investment in general. The findings partially support the predictions of H2 that R&D commitment is associated with better returns.

Table 3. Differences in the use-of-proceeds disclosure and performance across industries

	Industrials vs. Non-Industrials		Industrials vs. Services		Industrials vs. Financials		Services vs. Financials	
SPECIFICITY	16.16%**	(2.16)	11.80%	(1.51)	24.07%**	(2.52)	12.20%	(1.04)
INVEST	-8%	(-1.02)	-3.57	(-0.41)	-13.34%	(-1.27)	-9.7%	(-0.80)
CAPEX	-6.38%	(-0.83)	-4.01%	(-0.48)	-13.31%	(-1.31)	-9.3%	(-0.77)
R&D	-0.4%	(-0.31)	1.71%**	(2.56)	1.71%**	(2.15)	0%	n/a
DEBT	13.03%**	(2.44)	6.87%	(0.97)	16.85**	(2.31)	9.97%	(1.28)
GCP	11.4%**	(1.99)	9.30%	(1.33)	21.3%***	(3.06)	12%	(1.62)
IR	-3.53%	(-1.28)	-1.15	(-0.50)	-4.97%	(-1.17)	-3.8%	(-0.81)
BHAR	17.30%	(0.97)	8.91%	(0.38)	25.30%	(1.12)	16.39%	(0.81)
	TECH vs. Services		TECH vs. Industrials		TECH vs. Financials		TECH vs. REITs	
SPECIFICITY	3.26	(0.20)	-8.59%	(-0.71)	15.47%	(0.78)	4.06%	(0.21)
INVEST	17.70%	(1.07)	21.31%	(1.54)	7.96%	(0.39)	-0.80%	(-0.03)
CAPEX	0.3%	(0.02)	4.37	(0.33)	8.93%	(0.43)	-22.66%	(-1.02)
R&D	21.8%***	(7.07)	20.1%***	(6.51)	21.8%***	(5.91)	21.8%***	(4.08)
DEBT	-5.04%	(-0.41)	-11.91%	(-1.03)	4.93%	(0.47)	5.38%	(0.54)
GCP	-5.14%	(-0.44)	-14.45	(-1.31)	6.85%	(0.79)	3.76%	(0.31)
Underpricing	12%***	(2.64)	13.2%***	(3.11)	8.22%	(0.87)	14.5%**	(2.76)
BHAR	26.12%	(0.53)	17.2%	(0.32)	42.51%	(1.05)	35.70%	(0.69)

Table shows results of two-sample unpaired t-tests for differences in the use-of-proceeds intentions across industries. Initial return (IR) is computed as first day closing price minus offer price, divided by the offer price. Buy-and-hold abnormal returns (BHAR) are computed as daily compounded stock return minus BIST100 stock return for the corresponding period. t-values are reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * show statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%.

4. Conclusion

This study aims to document the use-of-proceeds intentions and spending habits of firms going public across different industries. Based on the observed differences and the quality signaling properties of investment and R&D (Trueman 1986; Lev and Sougiannis 1996), it is predicted that Industrials sector would disclosure more specific information while more investment and R&D disclosure would result in better returns. The findings validate the predictions. Industrials and Technology sectors stand out as the most specific sectors about their use-of-proceeds, while Technology firms commit significantly more funds to R&D and investment in general than all other sectors. While Technology firms reap the yields of their commitments in terms of better returns, and being the only sector providing significantly better returns, Financials sector is the least specific about their use-of-proceeds and the worst performer in the long-run, although not significantly. The firms committed to R&D investments disclose 100% of their intentions, invest more, commit less funds to debt reduction and provide significantly larger initial returns than all other firms. The results underline the importance of the long-term investments and highlight that investors value the firms and sectors with a long-term vision and growth potential.

Table 4. Statistics for R&D vs. non-R&D disclosing companies

Company	IPO Year	INDUSTRY	R&D	CAPEX	SPECIFIC-ITY	INVEST	DEBT	GCP	IR	3-Year BHAR
Smartiks Yazılım	2019	TECH	0.30	0.00	1.00	0.30	0.50	0.20	0.2355	-
Papilon Savunma	2019	TECH	0.50	0.30	1.00	0.80	0.00	0.20	0.4386	-
Safkar Ege Soğutmacılık	2018	INDUSTRIALS	0.10	0.20	1.00	0.30	0.40	0.30	0.2474	-
Kafein Yazılım Hizmetleri Ticaret	2018	TECH	0.15	0.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	0.2516	-
Fonet Bilgi Teknolojileri	2017	TECH	0.30	0.00	1.00	0.30	0.45	0.25	0.0628	1.49
Özerden Plastik Sanayi ve Ticaret	2015	INDUSTRIALS	0.10	0.80	1.00	0.90	0.00	0.10	0.0479	-0.087
Seyitler Kimya Sanayi	2015	INDUSTRIALS	0.10	0.50	1.00	0.60	0.00	0.40	0.0714	0.371
Politeknik Metal Sanayi ve Ticaret	2014	INDUSTRIALS	0.09	0.78	1.00	0.87	0.00	0.14	0.0167	1.259
RTA Lab. Biyolojik Ürünler	2014	INDUSTRIALS	0.08	0.73	1.00	0.80	0.00	0.20	-0.0346	-1.001
Oylum Sınai Yatırımlar	2012	INDUSTRIALS	0.10	0.50	1.00	0.60	0.10	0.30	0.213	-1.172
Berkosan Yalıtım ve Tecrit Mad.	2011	INDUSTRIALS	0.10	0.35	1.00	0.45	0.25	0.30	0.054	-0.011
Ericom Telekom. ve Enerji Tekn.	2011	TECH	0.28	0.72	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.169	-
R&D IPOs Average	n/a	n/a	0.18	0.41	1.00	0.64	0.14	0.22	0.15	0.12
Non-R&D IPOs Average	n/a	n/a	0.00	0.37	0.77	0.41	0.17	0.20	0.05	-0.43
R&D vs. non-R&D (t-value)	n/a	n/a	***(14.21)	(0.33)	*(1.96)	*(1.96)	(-0.38)	(0.25)	**(2.25)	**(2.01)
CAPEX vs. non-CAPEX (t-value)	n/a	n/a	(0.30)	***(12.95)	***(6.54)	***(9.74)	*(-1.79)	(-0.51)	(0.84)	(1.23)
INVEST vs. non-INVEST (t-value)	n/a	n/a	** (2.13)	***(9.99)	***(8.05)	***(13.17)	*(-1.91)	(-0.77)	(1.61)	**(2.32)
SPECIFIC vs. non-SPECIFIC (t-val.)	n/a	n/a	(1.31)	***(4.96)	***(25.79)	***(5.81)	***(2.99)	***(3.33)	(0.76)	(0.72)
DEBT vs non-DEBT (t-value)	n/a	n/a	(0.33)	**(-2.25)	***(3.22)	***(-2.84)	***(16.48)	(-0.48)	(-0.44)	(1.08)
GCP vs. non-GCP (t-value)	n/a	n/a	**(2.41)	**(-2.14)	***(5.66)	(-1.62)	(1.43)	***(11.06)	(-0.54)	(0.92)

Table reports statistics for 12 IPOs between 2010 and 2019 that commit proceeds towards funding R&D investments. The R&D declaring companies include 5 TECH and 7 INDUSTRIALS firms. Other sectors do not commit funds to R&D. The bottom panel reports tests of differences in means across firms declaring or not declaring an intention. t-values are in parentheses. ***, **, and * show significance at 1%, 5%, and 10%.

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●*Chapter-3*●

DIGITALIZATION ATTEMPTS in EDUCATION: DISADVANTAGES of DISTANCE EDUCATION in the PERIOD OF COVID-19

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1. Introduction

The new type of coronovirus (COVID-19), which was first detected in the seafood and animal market, then spread to almost all countries of the world by contaminating from person to person, has emerged in Wuhan, Republic of China, at the end of 2019 as a result of various respiratory tract symptoms such as fever, cough and shortness of breath [1]. According to the statement made on March 11, after the announcement that 118 thousand cases were encountered in 114 countries and 4 thousand 291 people died due to the Corona virus epidemic, the World Health Organization announced that Covid-19 was included in the pandemic diseases group. The Covid-19 pandemic has significantly affected the daily lives of all people in the society. Therefore, with the aim of preventing the spread of the pandemic, countries had to take various precautions to protect their citizens and to reduce the expected adverse health conditions. The precautions taken were not only in the health field. In order to reduce the socio-economic consequences of the pandemic, various policies have been created and necessary precautions have had to be taken [2]. The COVID-19 epidemic has affected the education, which is one of the most important institutions as well as health, economy and socio-cultural fields of the society. After the occurrence of the first cases in Turkey, distance education process started with the break of schools on March 16, 2020. This process, in which joint elective courses were previously conducted through the distance education centers of universities, had to be organized in a way to cover the entire education life.

According to the definition of the California Distance Learning Project (CDLP), distance education: “It is a system that carries out education by establishing a connection between the student and educational resources.” According to the definition of

the United States Distance Learning Association (USDLA); “It is the delivery of education to distant students with the help of electronic tools such as satellite, video, auido, graphics, computer, multimedia technology.” As can be understood from the definitions made, distance education is the provision of education in any field without restriction of space and time for each individual [3]. If a country wants to develop socio-economically, it should give maximum importance to education under all circumstances. Because, in cases where appropriate place, time and conditions cannot be provided, distance education is required for every student to receive quality education and to enable equal opportunity [4]. With this motivation, the covid-19 period prioritized digitalization and started distance education.

Today, the views that education and training will evolve towards distance education have started to be discussed intensively with the experience of the covid-19 pandemic. With the COVID19 pandemic, especially the relevant people such as politicians and health science committees expected education to continue in this direction with the use of accessible computers, phones, laptops and tablets [5]. With the development of technology, distance education experiences, which were previously done by correspondence [6], have become more widespread on radio, television and the Internet. In Turkey, although the distance education began to be implemented in the ancient history, it has gained importance in spreading along with the granting of the right to make distance education to the Anadolu University in 1982. Later, it was widely used in graduate education of many universities and with the courses of the distance education programs that they have opened. Distance education has a flexible structure. Because it ensures that the stakeholders involved in the process can participate in the education from wherever they want as the place they attend. In addition, it gives the opportunity to bring

people in different situations and living in different regions together [7]. However, there are disadvantages as well as advantages of distance education. In their studies, Agnoletto and Queiroz emphasized that learning technologies adopted in emergencies and the logic of digitization in education are not easy as a starting point [8]. Similarly, in the study of Çetin et al. it was stated that distance education reduced teacher-student relationship, affected students' socialization negatively and caused a decrease in their motivation [3]. In this context, distance education emerges as an element that includes many difficulties and limitations by getting out of being a facilitating situation carried out from home or residence [9]. In fact, it is seen that situations that are seen as advantageous sometimes turn into disadvantages for some. This study will focus more on its disadvantages.

2.Findings and Discussion

With the declaration of Covid-19 as a pandemic by the World Health Organization, a great crisis occurred in the world and an extraordinary period started. One of these crises has been experienced in higher education. In accordance with the decision of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), it has been considered appropriate that the educational activities that were suspended due to the COVID-19 outbreak should be carried out with the distance education method. In this process, the theoretical courses started to be carried out with distance education and a new education process has started for academic staff and students [10].

Distance education, which is planned to become more common in the future, has been more on the agenda with the covid-19 pandemic process. Distance education has been used as an important method in terms of the sustainability of education during the pandemic process where face-to-face education is very diffi-

cult to continue. Due to the fact that there is such an intense and sudden transition to distance education, it has been an important curiosity about how the process was carried out. It is especially important how students, who are one to one actors of the process, interpret the process. Therefore, this study will focus on how university students critically evaluate this process. Thus, the main purpose of this study is to determine the problems of undergraduate students who are trying to receive distance education together with the universities that have switched to distance education during the pandemic process, and to create solutions by determining the problems in this process and to investigate the students' views on the disadvantageous aspects of distance education. In this context, the answer to the question *"What are the disadvantages of distance education in the covid-19 period?"* was sought.

Content analysis technique used in qualitative research methods was used in this study. According to Bernard Berelson, who contributed heavily to the subject, content analysis is a research technique that makes unbiased and systematic definitions of the disclosed content of communication. A written text is very important in data collection in content analysis. Because after the speech is over, the voice disappears and the written text is needed [11]. For this reason, the content analysis in this research has been made from the text that has been put into writing. The research was carried out by content analysis of the answers to the open-ended question form directed to 13 students at the undergraduate level. Participants are coded as participant1 participant2… participant13. As a result of the content analysis conducted in the study, which was prepared with the basic theme of distance education in the Covid-19 period, it was seen that the participants focused more on the disadvantages of distance education. Thus, the study focused on its disadvantages. Hence the

category under the basic theme has been *"disadvantage"*. Then subcategories under the category are: *Indiscipline, Lack of Communication*, *Inadequacy in technology, Inequality of opportunity, Inadequate infrastructure, Socialization, Inability to focus, Inability to get efficiency, Unsettled system, Inadequacy in applied courses.*

Table: 1 category -table of the number of subcategories and coded sections

Category	Sub- category	Coded sections of all documents
disadvantage	inability to get efficiency	2
disadvantage	inability to focus,	1
disadvantage	socialization	5
disadvantage	unsettled system	3
disadvantage	inadequacy in applied courses	1
disadvantage	inequality of opportunity	11
disadvantage	inadequate infrastructure	8
disadvantage	lack of communication	7
disadvantage	teachers' insufficiency in technology	6
disadvantage	indiscipline	4

Inequality of opportunity

Table 2: inequality of opportunity

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
	Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity
participant1	*"Distance education, contrary to what is said, does not provide equal opportunities to everyone. As long as the internet exists, there is also distance education. Some students or teachers may have limited internet access. In this case, a great inequality arises."*
	Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity
participant2	*"In addition, it may be difficult or even impossible for some people living in rural areas to reach communication tools such as Internet, computer and television. While the only connection of those people with education is the school they can go to, staying away from school in the distance education process is a great deficiency and sadness for them."*
	Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity
participant2	*"Students who could not have Internet and computer facilities could not benefit from the distance education process effectively, there were problems with microphone and sound."*

participant4	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"The opportunity to enter the distance education system at different times has disrupted the teaching of lessons collectively. It is the most negative side of distance education, which requires technological infrastructure, since not every student has equal economic conditions. "*
participant5	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"Some of our friends did not have positive results because they did not have computer and internet facilities."*
participant6	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"To mention the negative aspects, it has been a very difficult process for people who live in places with uneven internet infrastructure. Students who wanted to continue their education in villages or places where there are no base stations had difficulties. We live in a digital age, but there is a part that cannot have them. There are many people who do not have smartphones or computers at home. It was necessary to build a system by considering people who have economic difficulties or not to do this system at all. Yes, most people have TV at home, but many people do not have the resources needed for college students."*

participant7	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"In addition, there are inequalities in distance education in countries where there is no equal opportunity in education. Lack of technological tools and knowledge makes inequality obvious. "*
participant9	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"The fact that some students don't have sufficient financial means may also show the negative effects of this situation. Students who do not have digital opportunities may fall behind from education to a great extent and they cannot do anything to compensate for this. "*
participant10	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"Tablets, computers and phones, which we can define as the dominant elements of digitalization, are the basic arguments that provide the functionality of digitalization. And those who have them will be able to benefit from these opportunities. When it comes to the negative side of this issue, we will come across the concept of equal opportunity. For people who do not have the basic tools of digitalization, the distance education period during the pandemic process can be defined as a very troublesome process. "*

participant11	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"But not everyone could benefit from this process equally because of inequalities, because everyone did not have internet, television, and children did not have their own room. In developing societies like us, not everyone could get the same efficiency and benefit due to inequality of social opportunity. Someone gained the maximum benefit while others benefited minimally. In fact, they learned less than they could in school."*
participant12	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\inequality of opportunity** *"In the current pandemic process, thanks to distance education and digitalization, students' educational opportunities have been tried to be equalized. However, this rapid transformation requires the intense interaction of the individuals who will provide education with digital tools. On the other hand, first of all, individuals who will take education must have the necessary tools to participate in digital education. And with the pandemic process, it seems that unprepared digitalization in education is far from the ideal of equal opportunity. In order for digital education, which requires new conditions and new needs, to achieve the ideal of equality in education, full access to the necessary tools must be met by all members of the society without any problems. Leaving aside the educational materials that are suitable for the conditions of the digital age, it will be possible for individuals to fully adapt to the changing education with the changing technology only by changing their habits.*

Distance education process brought the equality of opportunity discussions back to the agenda. Having computers or tablets and internet access for all students is very important in terms of conducting distance education according to the principle of equality of opportunity [17]. Participants also conveyed this situation that they experienced and observed in their environment. Thanks to distance education and digitalization during the pandemic process, students' educational opportunities were tried to be equalized. Because the process started with the ideal of providing distance education to everyone equally. According to the participants, individuals who will take education must have the necessary tools and equipment to participate in digital education. However, according to them, it is seen that unprepared digitalization in education with the pandemic process is far from the ideal of equal opportunity. Because of the lack of equal opportunity, not everyone could benefit from this process equally. Because not everyone has an Internet, computer or a room of the students at home, it was not possible to talk about equality according to the participants. In this case, while some students got maximum benefit, some got minimal benefit. Some students even learned less than they could at school. According to the participants; contrary to what is said, distance education does not provide equal opportunities to everyone. Distance education was possible as long as the Internet was available. However, some students or teachers may have limited Internet access. In this case, a great inequality arises. In addition, it may be difficult or even impossible for people living in rural areas to access communication tools such as Internet, computer and television. While the only connection of those students to education was the school they could go to, staying away from school during the distance education process created a great deficiency for them.

Similarly, in the study conducted by Bayburtlu (2020) with

teachers, it was stated that some of the students had problems in participating in lessons due to the lack of devices such as computers and tablets and the connection problems of the EBA live course application [18]. In the study done with university students, it was concluded that 60.25% of the university students had a computer, tablet or laptop computer. Although 39.74% of the students stated that they do not have a computer or tablet computer, 97.69% of the students have smart phones that can open the platform where the distance education system is provided, while 2.3% do not have a smart phone. [10].

Inadequate infrastructure

Table 3: inadequate infrastructure

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"Better conditions should be provided to students by improving the conditions of distance education more, by increasing the quality of Internet* infrastructure*"*
participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"In the event that both teachers and some of the students did not have a fast internet* infrastructure*, sometimes problems occurred in the lessons."*

participant3	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"In addition, during the lesson, the teacher's live image or voice can sometimes be troubled, unable to meet the needs of using expressive elements such as facial expressions and body movements."*
participant6	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"Most universities have victimized both students and teachers while trying to put their new systems in place. It is one of the tragicomic events in the 21st century. While technology is developing rapidly in the world, technology is still limited and difficult to access in the country. "*
participant7	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"Problems arising from communication barriers can be considered as technical problems and time pressure"*

participant10	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"The emphasis should be on the robustness of the digital infrastructure because equipping the digital infrastructure very well will ensure the complete functioning of the system, which is a time-consuming and laborious process. The distance education system, which was tried to be implemented immediately as a result of the evolution of the situation with the pandemic, experienced technical problems in the first week, and even if it could be resolved in a short time, it revealed that the inadequate infrastructure should be eliminated. It should be the biggest footnote that we encounter that importance should be given to distance education in order for universities to be better prepared for such social events.*
participant11	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage** **inadequate infrastructure** *"When we consider the negativities such as power cuts, Internet problems, computer or phone failure, it is seen that digital education will affect education negatively."*

In distance education lessons, Ertmer mentioned that there are two types of barriers related to technology integration. The first kind of barriers considered externally are lack of access to technological tools, software, programs, lack of sufficient time or technical support in planning education. [14] According to the results of a study, it has been observed that the distance education system has infrastructure deficiencies. The fact that all students entered the education portal at the same time caused the system to crash [18]. Similarly, in another study conducted with school administrators, infrastructural deficiencies such as limited internet, lack of internet in the region where some students and teachers are located, and lack of tools such as tablets and computers

put distance education at a disadvantage [13].

Another disadvantage that the participants emphasized on the disadvantages of distance education is the inadequate infrastructure. According to the participants; First of all, disadvantages such as power cuts, internet problems, computer or telephones breakdown make distance education difficult. However, the insufficiencies in the digital infrastructure of universities made the process even more difficult. This situation caused the lessons not being taught at sometimes, and sometimes the appearance of teacher was lost and his/her gestures and mimics were not visible. Furthermore, according to the participants, there is an inequality of opportunity in this regard. Because the distance education infrastructures of each university are not the same. In the distance education systems of universities whose infrastructures are not developed, some technical errors, such as the inability of students to enter the course, and the freezing of the course broadcast, may arise. In this sense, distance education conditions should be made quality by improving infrastructure deficiencies and right to education should be given to the students in better conditions.

Lack of communication

Table4: lack of communication

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
participant1	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"At the same time, communication between student and teacher in formal education has decreased in distance education. The distance education system with insufficient feedback reduces students' participation to the course. Distance education reduces social interaction, which gives students a feeling of isolation. In general, this situation keeps the student away from the lessons."*
participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"Distance education cannot be as effective as face-to-face education because when questions are asked, there is no quick response. Until the students submit their questions through the message part, teachers may move on to another topic. Instant actions are very restricted in this way."*

participant5	**Digitalization attempts in slope: Covid 19 era distance education \ disadvantage \ non-communication** *"Students who are used to formal education did not like it. Because we could not reach our teachers whenever we wanted, and we could not have conversations. There was absolutely no education like in the classroom environment. We tried to ask questions by writing, but this situation was not very efficient because we could not communicate mutually."*
participant6	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"Of course, it can be difficult to ask questions from a distance, you may not get the exact answer you want, or you may not be able to express yourself well and your question may not be understood."*
participant6	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"It is not an accustomed situation for a student to be unable to ask questions to his teacher as he wishes, to communicate face-to-face, and to be unable to discuss with friends in class. This situation also affects people psychologically and decreases the motivation of the lesson."*

participant7	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"Physical distance is another problem experienced. As a result of the inability to meet face to face, obstacles occur in communication. In addition, the time pressure experienced during communication often creates problems. Since asking and answering questions can be long, asking questions can often be avoided. On the other hand, technical failures experienced during the communication may cause disconnection and difficulties in gathering concentration."*
participant13	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\lack of communication** *"Because the lessons are not as active as in face-to-face relationships, as the subjects that the teachers need to tell and teach in a certain period are certain and teachers cannot establish a dialogue with the student, lessons are not as active as in formal education."*

Communication is an important issue in educational institutions as in every institution. Educational institutions, together with their students, teachers, parents and other employees, are the institutions with the most intense communication circulation. [12]. While communication problems can be experienced in educational institutions even under normal conditions, it is an expected situation that these problems will increase even more in extraordinary periods. In a study conducted with school administrators during the Covid-19 process, it was observed that the administrators mostly experienced problems due to lack of communication [13]. Similarly, in this study, the participants stated that one of the biggest problems in distance education is the communication problem between teachers and students. It is thought that the obstacles in communication cause the lessons not to be

as effective as they are in face to face lessons. They said that students could not ask the professors the way they wanted, could not express themselves well and the question they asked was not understood, they were not able to discuss it with their friends during the lesson, and not being able to communicate with the teachers whenever they wanted was not a situation they were accustomed to and it affected them negatively. It is seen that the teacher passed on to another subject until they got the answers of the questions they asked to the teachers during the lesson. According to the participants, the distance education system, which has insufficient feedback, reduces students' participation to the course.

However, there are also studies that have found results contrary to this study and other studies. For example, in the study conducted by Zan and Zan (2020), students were asked what kind of way they followed when communicating with academicians who were responsible for the course. Students stated that they reached their academicians whenever they wanted by using different communication tools and they mostly prefered the communication system of the university [10].

Inadequacy in technology

Table5: inadequacy in technology

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
participant6	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\teachers' inadequacy in technology** *"The teachers had difficulties while using the new system because they did not know about it. No separate training was given for this. At least, training via video could be given to teachers and students for this unknown and different system. However, students and teachers had to learn the new system by their own efforts."*
participant7	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\teachers' inadequacy in technology** *"In some institutions that had to switch to this system suddenly during the pandemic process, it was difficult to access these opportunities of distance education. Students and teachers unfamiliar with computer use have difficulties in this regard. Some teachers even had difficulties in preparing the course materials, and this caused the students to have difficulties in getting the information which was wanted to be given in the course. During the pandemic process, which is not a normal process, the psychological conditions of those participating in distance education were already affected by this situation, so there were difficulties in concentration. It is observed that the teachers are not equipped to concentrate the learners, regardless of the pandemic process."*

participant9	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\teachers' inadequacy in technology** *"Educators and students should be trained for this, so that it should not be difficult to keep up with this new age and should be trained in the most efficient way."*
participant12	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\teachers' inadequacy in technology** *"Digital education will enable a new and experiential bridge to be established between teacher and student. Educators who guide students who are compatible with the digital age on how to learn to learn at the point of gaining their skills such as finding the right information among millions of information sources, knowing how to access the right information in the fastest way, and realizing what has been learned, have to constantly update and increase their knowledge with the changing technology. As far as the current observation, it is observed that trainers who are not ready for digital teaching on the scale of Turkey are inadequate about many aspects. Considering this situation regarding the continuity of digital transformation, it should not be difficult to predict that positive results will not be encountered in terms of the quality of education."*
participant13	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\teachers' inadequacy in technology** *"Many events such as crashes, errors, etc. have occurred due to density, it is obvious that teachers had great difficulties at first on this system, which they do not know how to use it."*

P. A. Ertmer defines the second type of obstacles considered internally for distance education as negative attitudes towards technology, negative attitude towards change, and lack of technological pedagogical content knowledge [14]. In order for the educational environment in which technology is used to be effective, the instructors should have field knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and technology knowledge [15]. However, considering the limitations brought about by the pandemic, teachers' weakness of the internet and technological infrastructure in the region where they live, their computer self-efficacy, their attitudes towards distance education, their possession of a personal computer and their pandemic fear and anxiety, it has been seen that they experienced many difficulties in conducting the process from distance [9]. According to a study conducted in Ireland, it was observed that teachers generally did not have distance education skills and experienced various problems related to hardware, software and technological knowledge [16].

In parallel with the studies above, the participants stated that they experienced problems as teachers didn't know the system used in the distance education process. According to the participants, unlike the "z generation" that grew up with technology, it is a more difficult process for teachers who have less command of technology to adapt to this system. This causes teachers not to be able to use the system efficiently. Participants stated that the teachers are not ready for digital education, so some of the problems experienced arise. They said that the training that would be given to the teachers earlier would be more beneficial. Because, according to the participants, everyone had to discover this process on their own. They stated that teachers sometimes prepared materials that were not related to the lesson, which caused them a lack of concentration. Participants observed that the teachers were not equipped to concentrate during the distance education process.

Socialization

Table6: socialization

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
participant10	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ socialization** *"With the pandemic process, digitalization has enabled people to withdraw from the physical environment in terms of learning and relationships, but being permanent of this process involves enormous problems in terms of social relations when it completely interferes with the nature, life and life styles of people. Because human relationships are dynamic processes that occur mutually. When the concepts of digitalization and education come together, they contradict each other at some points. For example; people who use digitalization in every field have different communication options. These people shape a large part of their lives in virtual environments and with virtual arguments. However, in education and education institutions, relations are more face-to-face and feedbacks are received one-to-one. In this respect, it makes our lives easier and helps by promising digitalization in extraordinary situations, but differentiates human relations when it is used too much. The issue of digitalization should be addressed without forgetting that human beings are social creatures, and without ignoring that human will gain the greatest experience from the environments where s/he will enter and intertwine with people.*

participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ socialization** *"It also has a negative side in terms of sociability. Students cannot socialize and chat with each other because they are not in a classroom or school environment."*
participant3	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ socialization** *"Since there is no real classroom environment in distance education, there is no real socialization and friendship relations."*
participant4	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ socialization** *"From the social level, education is the second institution that enables individuals to socialize and learn social norms after their family. By being a student of a school, individuals also become members of a congregation. Here they participate in various ceremonies and competitions all together. For this reason, schools are places where the feeling of being us is experienced and developed. It does not seem possible for digital education to keep us feeling the same. Since there is no environment in which individuals can exist with their material symbols in digital education, the class difference is less evident even if it does not disappear."*
participant8	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ socialization** *"The negative aspects of online education are more personal. For example, people are very passive, they get used to laziness. Students who have to communicate face-to-face with various people during the day are deprived of this communication skills due to online education. They can isolate themselves from society."*

Considering this process from the students' point of view, it is

undoubted that students should have the ability to use and manage digital technologies together with their ownership of digital technologies in order to overcome the process successfully and actively. From this point of view, the different socio-economic conditions of the students and their different abilities to use digital technologies reveals the existence of different conditions that students have to cope with in addition to only understanding the course they take [10]. One of these conditions is undoubtedly the issue of socialization. Because the function of school is not only education and training. Socializing is one of its functions. In this sense, the participants who stay away from their friendships stated that the distance education process has a negative effect on socialization. According to the participants, educational institutions are places where social norms are learned through socialization. When people are students of a school, they are also in a social environment. They are found in community in various settings. For this reason, schools are places where socialization is experienced and developed. It does not seem possible in digital education to experience this environment with the same degree. Participants who find the withdrawal of people from physical environments contrary to human nature stated that human beings are a social being and it is better to give education in social environments. According to the participants, students who are isolated from people in distance education are affected badly.

Studies on the subject support the discourses of the participants in this study. The participants in Young and the Gümrükçüoğlu's (2020) study titled "The Perspectives of the Faculty of Theology Students on Distance Education in the Process of Coronavirus (Covid-19)" criticized distance education for its lack of socialization and face-to-face interaction [19].

Indiscipline

Table7: Indiscipline

Name of the Document	Theme / Category / Subcategory / Code
participant1	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ indiscipline** *"Distance education, which is currently widely used, has both positive and negative aspects. Discipline understanding that can be controlled in formal education has become impossible in distance education. The authority of the teacher that provides the functioning of the course has disappeared in distance education. This situation may cause students not to follow the lesson and deal with different activities during the lesson."*
participant4	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ indiscipline** *"Distance education in a sense means individual education. Absenteeism in the class and the flexibility of absenteeism push students to take more responsibility. Lack of authority makes it difficult to be disciplined. As being face to face, gestures and mimics both facilitate and accelerates communication, distance education has been inadequate to close this gap."*
participant9	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ indiscipline** *"It is possible to see a decrease in the sense of responsibility of the students towards the lesson in the digital environment. It can be seen that digitalization makes people lazy in every field as well as in this field. Students cannot find enough discipline in themselves and cannot provide enough attention because they cannot feel the seriousness of the environment they are in."*

participant11	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\disadvantage\ indiscipline** *"In an education system where exams and trainings occur from distance through digital means, there are difficulties as well as convenience. Considering the mental states of the individuals, e can say that negativities such as unwillingness, not taking responsibility, and not attending classes occur in this process, which we constantly try to spend at home."*

It has been revealed by various studies that distance education in the Covid-19 pandemic creates difficulties in providing classroom discipline. In his study, Iwai mentioned that there was a chaos rush due to the difficulties of the instructor of the rapid transition between the difficulties of distance education and the difficulties of directing a classroom with a screen and microphone [27]. In the analyzes made in this study, students participating in distance education mentioned lack of discipline as a negative situation. Emphasizing the necessity of being disciplined, one of the issues that students emphasized on this subject was the disappearance of teacher authority with distance education. Students who think that there is no teacher authority with distance education state that this situation causes students not to follow the lesson and to deal with different activities during the lesson. In addition, it is stated that the sense of responsibility of students towards the lesson decreases in the distance education environment without sufficient discipline and they cannot concentrate their attention because they cannot feel serious enough.

Inability to focus, inability to get efficiency, unsettled system, inadequacy in applied courses

Table 8: Inability to focus, inability to get efficiency, unsettled system, inadequacy in applied courses

participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage\ inability to focus** *"During the lesson, there was a situation of getting bored very quickly and focusing on other things.*
participant5	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage\ inability to get efficiency** *"So we could not enjoy the lesson like in the classroom environment. During this period, we understood how important formal education is. Although we are young people of the technology age, we have seen that the lessons given on the Internet environment do not have positive results for us. In such a period, we all knew that this was the smartest solution, and we continued our education from where we left off. However, we motivated ourselves by dreaming of ending this process and returning to our old class environment as soon as possible."*
participant11	**Digitalization attempts in slope: Covid 19 era distance education \ disadvantage \ inefficiency** *"It is seen that the information given in an education system without face-to-face communication and interaction cannot be internalized much. Distance lessons are often ignored, and sufficient efficiency cannot be got from the lessons. It is also difficult to understand the subjects."*

participant1	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage** **unsettled system** *"Another issue is that the exam system is constantly changing. Dates that vary according to the course of the epidemic have caused delays or negativities in all areas. When it comes to education, as it requires regular study and learning, uncertainties psychologically stress students. Although this situation is acceptable like this, when we consider time management and stress factors, it is possible to change our perspective on education."*
participant5	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage** **unsettled system** *"We could not internalize this system much due to the problems experienced in the system, the disconnections and the concern of the current situation."*
participant8	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage** **unsettled system** *"The system sometimes doesn't work perfectly. During the broadcast, breaks occur."*
participant2	**Digitalization attempts in education: distance education in Covid 19 period\ disadvantage** **inadequacy in applied courses** *"While distance education is good for theoretical lessons, it can create a negative effect for practical lessons. Application may be required, and distance education can hardly meet this."*

There are some topics that the participants do not emphasize

as much as other points they mention related to the disadvantages of distance education. These are respectively; in ability to focus, inability to get efficiency, unsettled system and inadequacy of applied lessons. Participants mentioned that they had difficulty in focusing during distance education and that they got bored and distracted. Emphasizing that distance education is inevitable in the process we live in, the participants stated that they still could not get efficiency from this system. Another point is the problems occurred as a result of system failure about the topics like exam system, etc. The interruption and disconnection during the education also made the system defective. Overall, the fact that the lessons that require practice are made from distance was criticized by the participants.

Problems in accessing the Internet, which is the basic element of distance education, and the inadequacy of tools such as computers and mobile phones used to watch lessons have reduced course follow-up and efficiency. According to the results of a study, they stated that their lives changed during the pandemic process in general, and that they could not get enough from distance education, and that they understood the importance of face-to-face education in school better. The rate of students who can get efficiency from online courses is 15.3% [19].

3. Conclusion

In the known history of humanity, epidemics have been always seen as major threats. Plague, cholera, tuberculosis, syphilis, malaria, typhus, smallpox, measles, diphtheria, Spanish fever, SARS, Ebola, Zika can be given as examples of these epidemic diseases that we have encountered today as covid-19 [20,21,22,23,24,25]. Since these epidemics threatened human life and caused deaths, many states had serious struggles against

the epidemic at that time. Today, all countries of the world have taken important measures in the fight against Covid-19 and they continue to take them. Training takes place in an institution where the struggle is carried out with many institutions. Distance education process started in many countries and Turkey under the circumstances of precautions.

Distance learning is a form of teaching in which learners and instructors are present in different places and times, and the interaction between them takes place via electronic communication means [26]. With the occurrence of the pandemic in our country, face-to-face education was suspended, as in the whole world, and lessons began to be carried out with digital facilities. In line with these decisions taken by universities during the pandemic process, it is seen that the majority of both faculty members and students are trying to teach and understand, manage and adapt course content on synchronous and asynchronous platforms, along with course management systems that they were not familiar with before. Therefore, during the pandemic process in higher education, it has been entered into a new structuring by trying to bring strong and well-established universities and newly established universities to the same level in this emergency education, distance education competence, and by eliminating all strong systems of each institution [10]. This study critically examines university students' distance education experiences with its disadvantages. Issues that students see as disadvantages of distance education are: Inequality of opportunity, Insufficient infrastructure, Lack of communication, Inadequacy in technology, Socialization, Indiscipline, inability to focus, inability to get efficiency, Unsettled system, Inadequacy in applied courses.

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●*Chapter-4*●

POST-TRUTH POLITICAL STYLE: ALTERNATIVE FACTS AND TRUTHS

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Introduction*

Producing, transferring, storing and accessing information has been a task that requires great effort and time in most of the history. In this area where a limited number of people work, the reliability and value of the limited amount of information that emerged has also been higher than today. Until a short time ago, accessing information required a long time and extra effort, but today the nature of the information produced and consumed and the method of accessing them seem to have changed significantly. Web 1.0 technology, where the produced content is presented as fixed web pages, providing a service similar to the information presentation in traditional media, left its place to web 2.0 technology, which radically changed the way of content production and presentation in the digital world. Thanks to this technology, anyone with internet access can now have the opportunity to be a content producer (O'Reilly, 2009). In this sense, the internet and other opportunities provided by information technologies have turned everyone into a content producer that can produce and spread information on a daily basis. Thanks to the technological developments that took place in the last half century, information has become extremely easy to produce and spread, as Lyotard (2013) predicted in 1979. According to Eric Schmidt, CEO of Technology Company Google, every two days, information is produced as much as the information (information) that humanity produced until 2003. An important part of this information mass is user-generated information (Siegler, 2010). Therefore, the amount of information people can access is increasing every

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year, as everyone has the ability or power to produce and share information.

The last quarter-century with this facilitating medium has created profound changes in people's relationship with information. Information, which is now produced and consumed almost daily or even hourly, like a consumer material, can penetrate daily lives beyond the control of individuals thanks to technological developments. In the beginning, it was hoped that digital technology possibilities that provide easy and fast access to all kinds of information and facilitate the sharing of this information will have a positive impact on all areas of society. However, at the point reached today, the complexity created by the huge amount of information reaching people everywhere and at any time creates serious problems. Perhaps the biggest of these problems is the quality and reliability of this uncontrolled information. Therefore, it seems that it has become harder than ever to be optimistic about the quality of information in this period, when the production and sharing of information is extremely accelerated thanks to the opportunities provided by communication and information technology. Information, which is often unclear and spreading rapidly, enters people's lives and affects them. In addition, the abundance of this information about all areas of social life creates difficulties in determining their truth or accuracy. In fact, the widespread view that "true and correct" information is acceptable seems to have eroded.

There is a period of post-trust in which facts and evidence are replaced by personal beliefs and feelings. The nature of the news and what people consider to be news also turn into a market based on belief and emotion. It doesn't really matter any longer whether any story is real or not. The important thing is that the story is the way people want to hear it. For this reason, fake news no longer just means untrue or defamatory news. Fake news means

news that attacks a person's pre-existing beliefs. This is the truth of an era when the truth becomes insignificant (Rochlin, 2017).

Especially the quality and accuracy of the information or news in the field of politics is important for everyone. Because politics is a field of activity that can directly affect everyone living in a society. Any false or fabricated news can negatively affect the lives of millions of people. With the help of new internet technologies, it has become ultimately easy to access information produced by others through the production and sharing of information in the political field, like in any other social areas. Although the fact that individuals as citizens have such an opportunity has been seen as a positive phenomenon for democracy, the fact that so much *right* and *wrong* information, which is very easy to access, exists simultaneously and sometimes side by side in the same medium, brings about the necessity to be careful about their truth and accuracy.

All kinds of information overload and insecurity also appear to have altered the decision-making strategies for citizens of the digital age as to the authenticity or accuracy of this information. The line between the *factual truth* and the *believed truth* seems to be more ambiguous. Deciding on the quality and accuracy of information seems to have begun to be made through easier emotional processes rather than mental processes, given the amount of information circulating.

As a matter of fact, for the last half a century, a period has been entered in which *truth is not as important as before*, especially in the field of politics. Politicians are now making policies that appeal to people's feelings and instincts, not based on the correct information, and large masses of people also support this policy. Therefore, it is getting harder day by day to distinguish between false or fake information and what is true. This situation confines everyone to areas where they feel safe and creates small

islands of polarized and divergent citizens. This approach of individuals can be more problematic, especially when it comes to decisions regarding manipulated political information. Individuals imprisoned on their own islands seem to make decisions under the influence of their emotional ties rather than logical processes, especially when making political decisions. Citizens no longer want to know or hear the "right" thing.

Post-truth is one of the concepts used to describe this period based on the idea that truth and true are eroded. People have declared with their own free will that they want to live in a post-truth world where truth becomes unimportant. The post-truth style of politics, in which the truth has no significance or diminishes, has been normalized to the present day and people have come to believe in the incorrect arguments of politicians. Even if this information is proven to be inaccurate, they continue to believe. As a matter of fact, in this text, there is a discussion about the age we live in, which is called "post-truth", where true and false or truth and false information about the political field are mixed together.

Knowledge of Truth and Accuracy of Information

Throughout history, humanity, who has been in search of truth and correct information, has constantly discussed the source and accuracy of information. Sophists, nihilists and skeptics argued that correct information is impossible, while rationalists who put reason forward have argued that human beings can reach correct information through *reason.* In fact, Descartes arrived at the proposition "I think, therefore I am" by pure reasoning, without any external data, using a principle of reasoning that he began by doubting everything he knew. Based on this, he concluded that people can reach the right information by using only their mind (Baykent, 2017:3).

The term modernity is used to denote a new intellectual and social situation that puts the human mind above all else and is based in the history of Western thought. Even though its associations and usage looks like new, the word *modern* is not actually a new concept. The concept was first used by Saint Augustine (also known as Augustinus, Aurelius Augustinus, Saint Augustinus) in the 4th century AD. The word *Modernus,* which is derived from the Latin word *Modo* and means "right now, today, belongs to the present" was used by Augustine to emphasize the break of the Christian world from the period of traditional, pagan and Roman thought. The word is used in a progressive reference to the *present, detached from the past, new* Christian thought. In other words, the term modern is used to mean that the old goes away and is replaced by something new and more advanced and better. (Kızılçelik, 1994:87; Moorhead, 2006). However, centuries later, in the Enlightenment Period, the same definition was also used to describe an intellectual period and movement that aimed to bring the *power of reason* instead of the *divine power* of Christianity, which dominated the Western world in all areas. *Modernization* has been used with positive references to mean *developed, good, enlightened.*

According to some thinkers, the modern period, which emphasizes the superiority of the human mind instead of the superiority of the divine mind, put the human being, which he saved from the authority of god, under the yoke of another authority. For example, Frankfurt School thinkers Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer describe this situation as the Enlightenment's betrayal of its own ideals and "instead of entering into a truly human state, humanity sinks into a new kind of barbarism" in their work The Dialectics of Enlightenment. They cited "modern, scientific consciousness" as the main reason for this. "The individual has been erased", the boundary between nature and

the individual has sharpened, and "nature" has turned into an "object" of the human mind (Bottomore, 2013:22-23; Dellaloğlu 2003). In this framework, Enlightenment and modernity rose above knowledge and the authority it provided. Progressiveness, which is the defining feature of this period, has determined the direction and goal of humanity, which aims to break from all kinds of bonds of the past. The belief that the mind can overcome anything is another fundamental feature of modernity.

As a result, with the Enlightenment, "reason" was brought to the fore as the ultimate means of accessing correct information. In the Western world of thought, the thinkers of the period attempted to put an end to the centuries-long dominance of the divine "mind", that is, the Christian mind, by bringing the human "mind" to the fore, and one of these thinkers called this new era "Enlightenment". In essence, Kant said that human beings should use their own mind for their development and liberation, they do not need a higher mind. Instrumental reason has brought humanity to modernity. However, one dominance was replaced by another, and it was lacking in correct information to assist in the "happy life", which is one of the basic fields of philosophy.

Postmodernity's view of knowledge is based on the idea that there cannot be a single "truth". Indeed, it would not be wrong to say that Michel Foucault played a leading role in the formation of the view that there is no "universal" real knowledge in the postmodern period. Foucault (2003) argued that no power can survive without retaining the production, distribution, control and retention of knowledge to emphasize the increasing importance of knowledge. This type of knowledge is not only scientific knowledge, but all kinds of information belonging to individuals or institutions in the information hierarchy where the state is at the top is important for the survival of the power. According to Foucault, truth can be produced and this is intertwined with

power mechanisms. While the mechanisms of power enable the production of truth on the one hand, on the other hand, the same mechanisms contain power effects that bind individuals to this truth production. However, with the influence of Plato thought, which states that knowledge is not with power but with truth in ancient times, the relationship between knowledge and power did not find much place in the field of thought until Nietzsche. According to Foucault, the French Revolution and the end of the Monarchy played an important role in the re-awareness of the relationship between knowledge and power in the West.

According to Lyotard (1979/2013), the positivist method of modernity has a style that represses differences, so postmodernity is the pursuit of what is not presented in modernity. The way to achieve this is to replace the hegemony of knowledge with the plurality of narratives and procedural freedom. Because scientific knowledge is nothing more than a legitimation tool in the language game for him.

According to Lyotard (1979), the status of knowledge has changed as societies enter the post-industrial age and cultures enter the postmodern age. The beginning of this process is the end of the 50's. Information, which has become a commodity for the market, no longer a market value, can no longer remain constant in this period. Because, with the establishment of the hegemony of informatics, a new set of rules regarding a certain logic, hence the discourses to be counted from knowledge, imposes itself. Knowledge has become an important production force. Therefore, it can have a direct impact on the productive capacities of states, and in the future, while nation-states fight for raw materials, labor, etc. (Lyotard, 1979/2013:8-16). These predictions of Lyotard seem to have come true to a large extent before the end of the first quarter of the 2000s.

According to Furedi (2006), enlightenment and moderni-

ty have created a disappointment on humanity. The main reason for this is the perception that intellectual authority cannot make a significant difference in the search for correct information (truth). All these developments have gradually eroded the belief in knowledge and its authority. It is possible to say that the meaning of the Enlightenment tradition ascribed to knowledge and the special status it gave to it is no longer valid. Modernity, according to Bauman (2012) (in Shore, 2017), replaced the "unchangeable, rigid" ones of the pre-modernity with "more stable and rigid" ones. He says that postmodernity, which he describes as fluid modernity, makes these rigidities non-constant, constantly changing, that is, "fluid". With postmodernity, absolute knowledge and truths, which have universal validity, have also increased in a way that varies according to individuals and has taken a fluid structure. According to Bauman (1987), as a result of postmodernism, intellectuals and consequently knowledge lost their "legislator" role and took on an "interpretative" role instead. Intellectuals, who used to have a shaping role in public opinion, now, like a translator, have to make an effort for people in another tradition to understand the information produced within a certain tradition.

According to the historian Tony Judt (2005) (in Shore, 2017), the seductive part of postmodern theory is not only its insistence on destroying the "certainties" of the old, but also that it targets the possibility of "certainty" itself. Postmodernity has abandoned the idea that it is a holistic structure that connects individuals to the world and the universe, trying to find a link between object and subject, internal and external, thought and being. According to Jacques Derrida (1978), another French philosopher working on postmodernity, these structures need a center, a common ground, whether God or something else, otherwise an endless game will continue between "signs" and "shown". In order

to reach an information, there must be a "transcendent signifier" above all else, showing that the difference between "sign" and "shown" is absolute and irreducible. At this point Derrida comes to the point where he is criticized for Nihilism and extreme relativism: There is no such "transcendent signifier above all else" and neither can it be. There is neither a center nor a god that keeps the structure of the world constant, so words, meanings, truths, and texts are constantly in tension with each other and self-destruct. Meaning is never fixed, constantly changing, incomplete, and self-destructive. Meaning is both different and will change from before and after a while. The relationship between words and things is not fixed, words are constantly in a game with each other. For this reason, it cannot be a decisive, final truth for everyone. Life is not a closed system, in fact there is no closed structure, life is in a continuous motion (in Shore, 2017:5).

As can be seen, among the thinkers associated with postmodernity, especially Foucault and Derrida claim that instead of universal, final or unchangeable truths, there are plural, variable and even unattainable truths. It does not seem difficult to find similarities between this kind of approach to knowledge and the obscurant and skeptical approach put forward by Sophists in Ancient Greece. There are many studies arguing that this kind of flexible and relative approach to knowledge in the world of thought, especially in the 1980s and after, gradually sprout up and paved the way for a situation that became more evident in the 2000s. This new period is described as the *post-truth period* following the postmodern period, in which the plurality of truth and its relativity is strongly defended.

The Concept Post-truth

Scientific advances since the enlightenment have brought humanity to a technologically advanced stage never before. Human beings have turned the nature of which they used to be an object using their mind, began to dominate it, and after a certain stage began to distance themselves from it and become alienated from it (Dellaloğlu, 2003). However, people's efforts to gain knowledge of the world they live in have always remained alive.

Although it is not known exactly when humanity started to gain information about the world in which it lives and to use mental processes to make sense of it, it would not be wrong to say that this mental feature has been used for thousands of years. In this process, the person who developed his thinking and language skills learned to represent the reality he/she lived in with words and, in later stages, to record his knowledge about reality through writing. Humanity's relationship with the truth and information about it and debates on the source of knowledge have been the basis for discussions throughout the history of thought (Uçak, 2010). However, what is true is that during this period in the first quarter of the 21st century, significant changes occurred in the perspective of knowledge and the status of knowledge in general (Lyotard, 1979/2013:11). "Post-truth" is one of the concepts used to describe this period based on the thought that truth and correct information have eroded. The concept of "post-truth" is used to mean "the truth has become trivial".

Oxford Dictionaries chose the word "post-truth" as the word for 2016. The word for the previous year was an "emoji" that depicted the smiley face with tears (😂), that is, a small picture or icon describing emotions or thoughts. The word for 2017 was chosen as "youthquake", the word for 2018 as "toxic", and the word for 2019 as "climate emergency", which means "climate

emergency." According to the Oxford Dictionaries' explanation, the words chosen each year since 2004 are chosen from among the words that are thought to represent the beliefs, moods and things that preoccupy people that year (fear, anxiety, anxiety, etc.). Although different words are selected in America and England for some years, a comprehensive language research program of Oxford Dictionaries collects 150 million words from current Internet-based publications published in English every month, and analyzes new word formations and changes in existing meanings by computer. The editors of the dictionary determine the prominent words during the year by making use of other sources, besides this, suggestions submitted via social media and the dictionary's blog are also taken into consideration and all collected data are evaluated. As stated by the Oxford Dictionary, the words people use contain important information about the culture of the day, the belief structure, in short, the "spirit" of that age (Oxford Dictionaries, 2019).

The words chosen in the years before and after the year in which the word post-truth was chosen as the word of the year actually seem very meaningful. Emojis have become an important part of electronic-based communication, which has become easier, faster and more intense with the Internet in the digital age. In particular, interactive websites made possible with Web 2.0 technology, social networking networks, blogs, forum sites, micro blogs etc. where anyone can be a content producer. words alone are insufficient to convey the meaning that one wants to convey. Therefore, in order to convey the "correct" information and message, other "indicators" such as emojis, writing all of the words in capital letters, using characters other than standard characters have been put into use. These unwritten rules of internet communication seem to have become a standard over time. Especially on forum sites, these rules are notified to users and they are asked to comply with them.

Sometimes communication is largely conducted through these new indicators. Such indicators are widely used in applications such as SMS, WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger that provide instant communication, or in social networks such as Twitter with character limitations in communication. It is also very common to use abbreviations, removing the vowels of words to speed up communication. Such new indicators used have led to the entry of elements other than language into the lives and worlds of meaning of individuals. As a result, in the digital communication age, indicators seem to have a more important role than those shown. However, this does not mean that they correspond to more meaning or concepts. On the contrary, it started to squeeze communication into a narrower framework in the name of speed and practicality. Trying to say the most things as soon as possible does not seem to encourage creativity and further reflection. To see this, it will be enough to go to any social networking site and look at the current posts or look at the comments left on the news on a news site. This kind of communication style seems to have increased a growing polarization behind the armor of anonymity, hatred of the different, and the spread of rumors focused on risks and fears, rather than fostering mutual understanding and increasing the exchange of ideas, which are the optimistic expectations that emerged during the prevalence of the Internet (see Ünal, 2018; Alpay, 2017; Delibaş, 2017; Geers et al., 2017; Lee et al, 2014; Şener et al., 2015; Timisi, 1999).

The Oxford Dictionaries chose an emoji as the word of the year in 2015 that signs became more antecedent and popular than shown, and in 2016, the word post-truth was chosen as the word of the year as an adjective. The year 2016 can be shown as a year in which the objective facts are not taken seriously by individuals in different countries anymore, but rather the "indicators" that appeal to the emotions and instincts of the people.

Post-truth Political Style and Alternative Truths

Postmodernity has argued that there cannot be a single truth based on the criticism of the homogenizing and universalizing principles of modernity, that the heterogeneity and multiplicity of the truth and therefore the claims of inclusive truth are not possible. Post-truth, on the other hand, seems to have made the "truth" (or true) or factual knowledge that post-modernity divides and breaks down under the name of heterogeneity to an unimportant position. The period when the truth becomes insignificant (post-truth) should not be considered as simply false information dominating social life or political discourse.

For the last half a century, in the field of politics, it is seen that in some countries, as McIntyre (2018) has stated, a period has entered where truth is not as important as before. Politicians now make policies that appeal to people's emotions and instincts, rather than on the correct information, and large masses of people also support this policy (Alpay, 2017; d'Ancona, 2017; Marcus, 2000; Pennycook and Rand, 2018; Winter, 2015). The American playwright Tesich, in an article he wrote in 1992 in Nation Magazine, mentions the example of the Watergate Scandal that broke out in the USA in the 1970s and resulted in the resignation of President Nixon, explaining that at that time "correct" information was important and politicians were afraid of it.

However, later, according to Tesich, as a result of the syndrome caused by the Vietnam War, American citizens no longer want to know or hear the "right" thing. According to him, people started asking politicians to protect themselves "directly". People have declared, by their own free will, that they want to live in a post-truth world where truth becomes unimportant. Such a demand, which Tesich described as "tyrants cannot even see in their dreams," received an answer from American politicians: For example, when President Reagan said that he did not sell weapons

to Iran first in 1986, and a week later, nothing happened (Tesich, 1992). Then, before the Gulf War, US Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld convinced the US Congress to war with incorrect information, neither for George W. Bush (father Bush) nor for other politicians of the government. Because the world is progressing in a period of "post truth" (Tesich, 1992). Contrary to Kant (2001), who sees enlightenment of humanity as "dare to know / learn", today's motto seems to be turning into "dare not know / not learn" (d'Ancona, 2017).

This post-truth style of politics, in which the truth does not have any significance or diminishes, has come to be normalized until today and people have now come to believe in the "untrue" arguments of politicians, and even they have started to believe even if this information is proven wrong. The first of the two most concrete examples of this situation in the recent period is that before the referendum on the exit of the UK from the European Union in 2016, the supporters of the separation were fully informed that '350 million pounds are sent to the EU every week, if they leave the Union, this money can be used in the National Health System' and printing inaccurate information in capital letters on the bus and circulating it in the streets during the campaign (McIntyre, 2018; Pasha-Robinson, 2016). In the Brexit Referendum, factual evidence was presented that the information used as propaganda by those who favored leaving the European Union did not reflect the truth. However, as can be seen from the election results, individuals did not rely on this, rather than the discourses that praised the times of the Great British Empire, that the British would take control again, and that they would get rid of the foreign threat.

Another example is that Donald Trump, one of the presidential candidates in the US presidential elections, continued to use many arguments that proved to be untrue, and people accepted

this and chose him. Donald Trump, a businessman who has been commercially bankrupt for many times and whom many circles saw as impossible to win, was elected president of the United States, the most powerful state in the world today, despite the fact that 70% of the information in his speeches during the campaign was wrong. There are many studies showing that it does this by appealing directly to voters' feelings, prejudices, and instincts (see Ball, 2017; Binark, 2017; de Saint-Laurent et al., 2017; Hopkin & Rosamond, 2018; Jegan, 2017; Leonhardt et al., 2017; Llorente & Zarzalejos, 2017; Orsi, 2017; Pasha-Robinson, 2017; Rochlin, 2017; Subramanian, 2017; Tutal, 2017).

Opinion polls in the US revealed that 20% of those who voted for Trump thought he did not have the qualifications to be president. As a result of the fact-checking platforms' pre-election and election speeches and examining the statements, they found 217 lies and found that Trump told 79% of these lies (Alpay, 2017:54). However, despite their belief that Trump did not have presidential qualifications and his lies, those people chose to vote for this candidate. Trying to explain this situation with "reason" does not seem very possible. One of the verification platforms, Polifact (Politifact, 2019) site constantly monitors the speeches of politicians and determines their accuracy. Since he was chosen according to this platform, Trump's speech, statement, etc. only 29% of his narratives are true, mostly true, or half true. Based on this information, it seems possible to say that Trump adopted incorrect information not only as a temporary election strategy but as a general policy-making style. The fact that he was elected seems certain that this policy was somehow reciprocated, and that there was a large group that did not care or ignore the truth.

As Fuller (2018) points out, post-truth, especially in the field of politics, is about deciding what is right and what is wrong under what circumstances rather than talking about what is right or

wrong. In other words, this situation is not about deciding what is right or wrong, it is about creating conditions that can decide what is right or wrong. If suitable conditions can be established or suitable grounds can be found, "alternative truths" can always be defended against "factual facts".

The introduction of the concept of "alternative truths" into the literature around the world was the result of a very simple debate: The number of those who attended the inauguration ceremony held in January 2017 after Donald Trump was elected president of the United States, and those who attended the inauguration ceremony of the previous President Barack Obama in 2009. "It was the largest crowd ever to have ever witnessed a president inauguration," said Sean Spicer, then Spicer of the White House, on his number; dot." used the sentence. However, when looking at the two photographs taken at the same time at both ceremonies, it is clearly seen that the crowd in Obama's ceremony was more.After that, when Trump's Palace adviser Kellyanne Conway asked why one of the journalists lied about a subject whose evidence is very clear on NBC television, Kellyanne Conway replied, "Our media spokesman did not lie, he presented alternative facts." (Sharpe, 2017). To put it briefly, it can be said that Conway declared the dominance of a new paradigm in the way of doing politics by defending that there are "alternative facts, truths" in the face of factual facts.

The defense of "alternative facts" against factual facts can be seen as the greatest danger in front of the truth. This concept is reminiscent of the propaganda technique of Joseph Goebbels, the propaganda minister of Hitler, known as the Big Lie Theory or the Goebbels principle. According to Goebbels, "whether the output of propaganda is true or false depends only on the reliability of the source" (Dobb, 1968:348), in other words, many inaccurate information can be presented as correct information and

the masses can be persuaded by using the sources that the public trusts. It seems possible to say that there are many people who apply the propaganda method that Goebbels expressed by saying "Tell such a big lie that everyone will believe" (in Erdem, 2017). However, at this point, there is a significant difference in the application of this principle today, according to Goebbels, "Lies were useful things in situations where lies could not be denied" (Dobb, 1968:348). If the lie can be denied, it won't work, so the "truth" still has a judgment. However, the rationale behind the conceptualization of "alternative reality" seems to be that this basic principle of "truth" is not taken seriously anymore. As mentioned above, in the post-truth period, "right" or "wrong" seems to lose its importance. Especially in the political sphere, the fact that the "Truth" is obvious is not enough to make it "true".

At this point, it is necessary to add that there are those who think that liberal democracy should exist in order to talk about a post-truth situation. For example, according to Han (2018), it is not possible to talk about the existence of a healthy relationship with truth in the regimes of leaders such as Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, Franco, Salazar, Pinochet. In fact, these regimes are also regimes in which "truth does not matter". In these regimes, mostly ideologies or individual truths were important, not truths. Arendt (2015) states that Nazism and Fascism are a "spectacle" and Gentile (1995) says that they are "spectacular plays", and they also reveal the relationship between these regimes and reality (in Han, 2018) Therefore, the term "post-truth" regimes or societies is not used for these regimes, even if it is known that the truth is not important in regimes that have adopted strict regimes (dictatorship, monarchy, totalitarian, etc.) that existed in the last century and still exist partly today. According to Han (2018:5) "post-truth society is only valuable if there is talk of a liberal democracy". Because in other regimes righteousness does not be-

long to everyone, it is something that only rulers can have. Even the individual truths of the rulers can be imposed on society as truths.

Result

It can be said that the production and sharing of knowledge has gained such speed that the human mind can no longer cope with the existing mass of information. In other words, there is an extraordinary shower of data. With our current infrastructure and mental capacity, it does not seem possible to deal with these data. This "information overload or information bombardment" faced causes enphobesity (information obesity), that is, the inability to make healthy decisions as a result of excessive information (Rogers et al., 2013). Individuals who experience a kind of "information poisoning" with information overload seem to have changed their decision-making strategies regarding the "truth or accuracy" of information while in this "obesity" state. It is observed that the line between "what is really true" and "believed to be true" becomes more ambiguous. This "separation" of humanity from objective reality has also affected his perception of social life, which is largely isolated from nature. People who dominate nature, especially in the last half century, have become unable or unwilling to cope with what this isolated "universe" has created. Not knowing what you want and leaving aside access to the truth emerges as the main problem.

"Post-truth" is one of the concepts used to describe this period based on the thought that truth and correct information have eroded. The concept of "post-truth" is used to mean "the truth has become trivial". For this reason, people seem to prefer to act with their emotions and use their mind to rationalize these emotion-based decisions, as Kahneman (2015) put it, instead of trying to find the "correct" information or the truth from the mass of

information at hand. People pursue or oppose something according to individual feelings and beliefs.

This approach of individuals may be more problematic, especially when it comes to making decisions regarding manipulated political information. Because this period, which can be named as the digital age, brought many uncertainties about citizenship and political knowledge acquisition (Binark, 2017). Thanks to the new internet technologies, it has become very easy to produce, share and access information produced by others in the political field as in other areas of social life. However, in this new media environment, where not only true but also false information is circulating in the political sphere and everyone has the opportunity to access them, the attitude of individuals towards "true and correct" information is an area worth examining.

Considering that the field of politics is a field of conflict, information with political content also has the potential to be a biased knowledge by its nature. The field of politics is one in which real and correct information is more ambiguous. The use of inaccurate or unconfirmed information is more common in the field of politics. As Keyes (2004) also states, humanity has taken refuge in false information and used lies throughout history. In fact, the ability to lie is an important virtue for politicians according to thinkers like Plato, Machiavelli and Nietzsche. According to them, politicians can skillfully deceive the people they lead in the interests of society. Throughout history, politicians have also resorted to untrue or differently expressed information to gain support as if to endorse the ideas of these thinkers or to protect their interests and positions. However, politicians also feared that the information presented to the public by them turned out to be untrue. Because the knowledge of the truth or "true information" (truth) has always been important to people.

Einstein said that seeking the truth is more valuable than hav-

ing it (Furedi, 2006), but today it seems that the relationship of individuals with true information has changed and it seems to be more useful than information itself. Furedi (2006) states that information has become an economic object, and that instead of content, the benefit of content becomes more important. This causes the content of information to be destroyed or devalued and vulgarized.In addition, Furedi argues that relativism (relativism) about truth and morality has a great place in today's society and argues that in the postmodern period, the view of enlightenment and the search for information and truth does not have its old importance.This has led to the widespread use of a cynical approach to the truth and the right, where everyone has their own right. The thought that there is no truly universal truth claimed by Michael Foucault also served as a supportive of this cynical attitude. Furedi adds that in today's world there is a distrust of intellectuals, experts and even educated people (Furedi, 2006). It would not be wrong to say that in a period when a way of thinking about the lack of universal correct information is common, the way individuals handle political information is also directly affected by this idea.

All in all, for the last half a century, a period has been passed gradually in the field of politics, when reality is not as important as before. Politicians are now making policies that appeal to people's feelings and instincts, not based on the correct information, and large masses of people also support this policy. Citizens no longer want to know or hear the "right" thing or the truth. People are beginning to ask politicians to protect themselves "directly". People have declared, by their own free will, that they want to live in a post-truth world where truth becomes unimportant. The world is now progressing in a "post truth" period (Tesich, 1992). Unlike Kant (2001), who sees the enlightenment of humanity as "dare to know / learn", today's motto seems to turn into "dare

not know / not learn (d'Ancona, 2017). This post-truth style of politics, in which the truth has no significance or is diminishing, has come to the present day by normalizing and people have now come to believe in the "untrue" arguments of politicians, and even continue to believe this information even if it is proven wrong.

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