

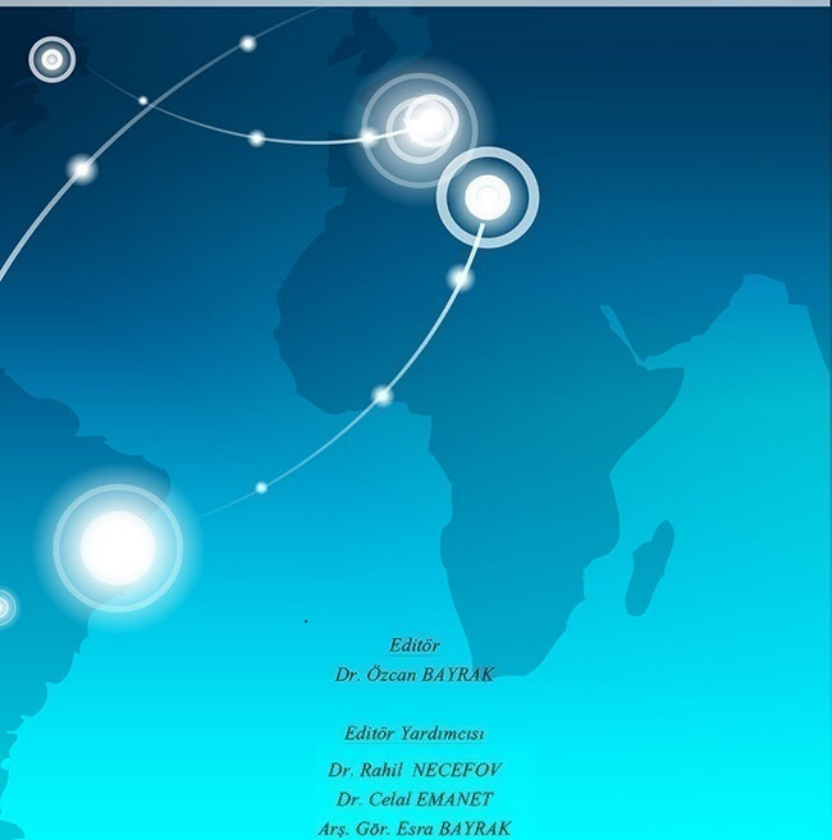
ISSN: 2148-2489



# ASOS JOURNAL

The Journal of Academic Social Science

Yıl: 4 - Sayı: 26



*Editör*

*Dr. Özcan BAYRAK*

*Editör Yardımcısı*

*Dr. Rahil NECEFOV*

*Dr. Celal EMANET*

*Arş. Gör. Esra BAYRAK*



# ASOS JOURNAL

The Journal of Academic Social Science

## Editör

Dr. Özcan BAYRAK

## Editör Yardımcıları

Dr. Rahil NECEFOV

Dr. Celal EMANET

Arş. Gör. Esra BAYRAK

**ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) uluslararası hakemli bir dergi olup yılda 4 kez yayınlanır.** ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) Dergisi, sosyal bilimlerin her alanından yazı yayınlayan bir dergidir. Bu çerçevede özgün bilimsel makaleler, çeviriler, çeviri-yazılar, röportajlar, kitap, makale, sempozyum, panel ve bilimsel etkinlik tanıtma çalışmaları ile nekroloji metinleri yayınlar. Ayrıca, sunulduğu yer, toplantı ve tarihin kaydedilmesi ile başka bir yerde yayınlanmamış olması şartıyla sempozyum bildirimleri de yayınlanabilir. Ancak bu yayın etkinliğinden kaynaklanması muhtemel herhangi bir sorunun sorumluluğu yazara aittir. Yayınlanması için ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) Dergisi'ne gönderilen yazıların basım ve yayın hakları dergiye devredilmiş olur. Bu yazılar dergi yönetiminden izin alınmaksızın bir başka yayın organında yayınlanamaz, çoğaltılamaz ve kaynak gösterilmeden kullanılamaz.

ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) Dergisi, yayınlamış olduğu metinleri çeşitli mecralarda yayınlatabilir. **ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) Dergisi'ne gönderilmiş yazılardan kaynaklanması muhtemel herhangi bir yasal, hukuksal, ekonomik ve etik sorumluluk, söz konusu yazı yayınlanmış olsa bile yazarlarına aittir.** Dergi herhangi bir yükümlülük kabul etmez. ASOSJOURNAL (The Journal of Academic Social Science) Dergisi'nin yayın dili Türkçe olmakla birlikte İngilizce, Almanca, Fransızca, Arapça, Farsça vb. dillerden gelen yazılar da değerlendirmeye tabi tutulur ve hakemler tarafından yayımlanması uygun görüldüğü takdirde yayınlanır.

[www.asosjournal.com](http://www.asosjournal.com) / [asosjournal@gmail.com](mailto:asosjournal@gmail.com)

ISSN: 2148-2489 YIL: 4 / SAYI: 26



ASOS JOURNAL  
The Journal of Academic Social Science

**ASOSJOURNAL**  
Akademik Sosyal Arařtırmalar Dergisi  
The Journal of Academic Social Science

**DERGİ YÖNETİMİ**

**Editör**

Dr. Özcan BAYRAK

**Editör Yardımcıları**

Dr. Rahil NECEFOV    Dr. Celal EMANET    Arş. Gör. Esra BAYRAK

**Alan Editörleri**

Dr. Nuran ÖZLÜK	Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı	Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi
Dr. Cengiz ÖZMEN	Tarih	Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi
Dr. İbrahim ÇANKAYA	Sosyoloji	Uşak Üniversitesi
Dr. Rahil NECEFOV	Felsefe	Azerbaycan Milli İlimler Akademisi
Dr. Murat SUNKAR	Coğrafya	Fırat Üniversitesi
Dr. Ömer Tuğrul KARA	Türkçe Eğitimi	Çukurova Üniversitesi
Dr. Onur KÖKSAL	Eğitim Bilimleri	Selçuk Üniversitesi
Dr. Vedat AKTEPE	İlköğretim	Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi
Dr. Murat KUL	Beden Eğitimi	Bartın Üniversitesi
Dr. Derya YILMAZ	Arkeoloji	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi
Dr. Mutlu TÜRKMEN	Beden Eğitimi	Bartın Üniversitesi
Dr. Bülent ÖZKAN	Dil Bilim	Mersin Üniversitesi
Dr. İsmail BEKCİ	İşletme / İktisat	Nevşehir Üniversitesi
Dr. Tahir ÇELİKBAĞ	Güzel Sanatlar	Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi
Dr. Serdar TUNA	Resim - İş Eğitimi	Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi
Dr. Gülay KARŞICI	Müzik Bilimi	Marmara Üniversitesi
Dr. Süleyman KARACELİL	İslami İlimler	Adıyaman Üniversitesi
Dr. Ahmet AKKAYA	Yabancılara Türkçe Öğr.	Adıyaman Üniversitesi
Dr. Nesrin DELİKTAŞLI	Fransızca Müt. Terc. ABD	İstanbul Üniversitesi
Dr. Eyüp AKÇETİN	Yönetim Bil. Sis.	Balıkesir Üniversitesi
Dr. Oktay KIZILKAYA	İktisat	Ahi Evran Üniversitesi
Dr. Ahmet KURNAZ	Özel Eğitim	Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi
Dr. Fevzi RENÇBER	İlahiyat	Şırnak Üniversitesi
Dr. Kemal ÖZGEN	Matematik Eğitimi	Dicle Üniversitesi
Dr. Fatma ÜNAL	Sosyal Bilgiler Eğt. ABD	Bartın Üniversitesi
Dr. Nalan ECE	Muhasebe - Finans	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniv.
Dr. Selahattin GÖNEN	Fizik Eğitimi	Dicle Üniversitesi



Dr. Selçuk SEÇKİN	Sanat Tarihi	Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi
Dr. Barış ÇAYCI	Fen Eğitimi	Niğde Üniversitesi
Dr. H. Derya CAN	Hindoloji	Ankara Üniversitesi
Dr. Aşkın HATUNOĞLU	Psikoloji	Katip Çelebi Üniversitesi
Dr. Emine KOCA	Moda Tasarımı	Gazi Üniversitesi
Dr. Umut BALCI	Alman Dili Eğitimi	Batman Üniversitesi
Dr. Sevgi Sümerli SARIGÜL	Dış Ticaret ve Pazarlama	Erciyes Üniversitesi
Dr. Kasım TATLILIOĞLU	Gelişim Psikolojisi	Bingöl Üniversitesi

### **Yabancı Dil Uzmanları**

Okt. Ufuk KÖSE	Adıyaman Üniversitesi
Okt. Özge GÜMÜŞ	Adıyaman Üniversitesi
Dr. Erkan ZENGİN	Hacettepe Üniversitesi

### **İndeks Sorumlusu**

Dr. Celal EMANET	GSIC New Jersey USA
Dr. Onur KÖKSAL	Selçuk Üniversitesi
Hasan KIZILDAĞ	Fırat Üniversitesi

### **Grafik Tasarım**

Öğr. Bülent POLAT	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
-------------------	------------------------

### **Hukuk Danışmanı**

Avk. Bülent KAYALI
--------------------

### **DANIŞMA KURULU**

- Prof. Dr. Mustafa S. KAÇALIN - Marmara Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. İsmail BEKÇİ - Nevşehir Üniversitesi - Nevşehir / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. İbrahim KAVAZ - Bitlis Eren Üniversitesi - Bitlis / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Süleyman ÇALDAK - İnönü Üniversitesi - Malatya / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Fenüze NURİEVA - Kazan Federal Üniversitesi - Kazan / Tataristan  
Prof. Dr. Ali AKAR - Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi - Muğla / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. İsmet EMRE - Bartın Üniversitesi - Bartın / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Mehmet TÖRENEK - Atatürk Üniversitesi - Erzurum / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. H. Dilek BATISLAM - Çukurova Üniversitesi - Adana / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Alemdar YALÇIN - Gazi Üniversitesi - Ankara / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Füsun TOPSÜMER - Ege Üniversitesi - İzmir / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Zümrüt KULİZADE - Anas Institute - Bakü / Azerbaycan  
Prof. Dr. Muammer GÜL - Adıyaman Üniversitesi - Adıyaman / Türkiye



Prof. Dr. Muhittin ELİAÇIK - Kırıkkale Üniversitesi - Kırıkkale / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Minaxanım Niriyeva TEKELİ - Qafqaz Üniversitesi - Bakü / Azerbaycan  
Prof. Dr. S. Burak ARZOVA - Marmara Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. İsmail ÖZSOY - Fatih Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Tahir BALCI - Çukurova Üniversitesi - Adana / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Turgut Hacı ZEYREK - Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi - Antalya / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Mimar TÜRKKAHRAMAN - Akdeniz Üniversitesi - Antalya / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Şebnem R. Temir G. - Haliç Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Mehmet Fatih KÖKSAL - Ahi Evran Üniversitesi - Kırşehir / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Turan ÖNDEŞ - Atatürk Üniversitesi - Erzurum / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. H. Ahmet ÖZDEMİR - Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi - Konya / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Tuncer ASUNAKUTLU - Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi - Muğla / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Hamza GÜNDOĞDU - Sakarya Üniversitesi - Sakarya / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Ümit Gücenme GENÇOĞLU - Uludağ Üniversitesi - Bursa / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Yılmaz KURT - Ankara Üniversitesi - Ankara / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Osman GÜNER - Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi - Samsun / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Ali YAKICI - Gazi Üniversitesi - Ankara / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Azize M. ÖZGÜVEN - Yeni Yüzyıl Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Osman GÜNER - Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi - Samsun / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Mehmet ARSLAN - Gaziosmanpaşa Üniversitesi - Tokat / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Mustafa BULAT – Atatürk Üniversitesi - Erzurum / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Yavuz ODABAŞI - Anadolu Üniversitesi - Eskişehir / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. M. Hakan CEVHER - Ege Üniversitesi - İzmir / Türkiye  
Prof. Dr. Sudi APAK - Beykent Üniversitesi - İstanbul / Türkiye

### **YAYIN KURULU**

Prof. Dr. Muhittin ELİAÇIK – Kırıkkale Üniversitesi  
Prof. Dr. Nadir İLHAN - Ahi Evran Üniversitesi  
Prof. Dr. Tarık ÖZCAN - Fırat Üniversitesi  
Prof. Dr. Vedat ÇINAR – Fırat Üniversitesi  
Prof. Dr. Cihan IŞIKHAN - Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Sabri Tevfik HAMMAN - Sahoc Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Murat SUNKAR - Fırat Üniversite  
Doç. Dr. Nedim BAKIRCI - Niğde Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. İbrahim ÇANKAYA - Uşak Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Mehmet GÜNEŞ - Marmara Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Gülay KARŞICI - Marmara Üniversitesi



Doç. Dr. Bahir SELÇUK - Fırat Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Süleyman CAN - Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Ganire HÜSEYNOVA - Erciyes Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Ergün SERİNDAG - Çukurova Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. Ersin OZANSOY - İstanbul Üniversitesi  
Doç. Dr. İrfan KALAYCI - İnönü Üniversitesi  
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kulzhanova BAKYTGUL - KAZAKİSTAN  
Ph. D. Rahil NECEFOV - Azerbaycan Milli İlimler Akademisi  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. İnci Bilgin Tekin - De Montfort Üniversitesi  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Fatih ÖZEK - Fırat Üniversitesi  
Dr. Alireza ZADEGHAN - Tebriz Üniversitesi

### **YURT DIŞI TEMSİLCİLERİ**

Doç. Dr. Sabri Tevfik HAMMAN - Sahoc Üniversitesi - MISIR  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. İnci Bilgin TEKİN - De Montfort Üniversitesi - İNGİLTERE  
Dr. Rahil NECEFOV - Milli İlimler Akademisi - AZERBAYCAN  
Dr. Alireza ZADEGHAN - Tebriz Üniversitesi - İRAN  
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kulzhanova BAKYTGUL - KAZAKİSTAN  
Dr. Faruk ÖZTÜRK - Bişkek - KIRGIZİSTAN  
Dr. Celal EMANET - Garden State İslamic Center Vineland - New Jersey - USA  
Doç. Dr. Leyla GADYİVEYA - Dağıstan Devlet Üniversitesi - DAĞISTAN  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Osman ERCİYAS - Lefke Avrupa Üniversitesi - KKTC  
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Liailia Ihsanovna MINGAZOVA - Kazan Federal Üniversitesi - TATARİSTAN  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Eman HAYAJNEH - Ürdün Üniversitesi – ÜRDÜN  
Dr. Fatima HOCİN - Üsküp Blaje Koneski Filoloji Fakültesi - MAKEDONYA  
Alina MİNSAFİNA - İstanbul Üniversitesi - RUSYA  
LuanVARDARI - Prizren Üniversitesi - KOSOVA

### **TARANDIĞI İNDEKSLER**

**SOBİAD** (Sosyal Bilimler Atıf Dizini)

**INDEX COPERNICUS**

**ACADEMICKEYS**

**SIS** (Scientific Indexing Services)

**İSAM** (İslami Araştırmalar Merkezi)

**ASOS** (Akademia Sosyal Bilimler İndeksi)

**OAJI** (Open Academic Journals Index)



**ASOS JOURNAL**  
The Journal of Academic Social Science

**RESERARCH BİBLE**

**DRJI** (Directory of Research Journals Indexing)

**AKADEMİK DİZİN** (Akademik Türk Dergileri İndeksi)

**İCİ** (Indian Citation Index)

**CİTEFACTOR** (Academic Scientific Journals)

**TEİ** ( Türk Eğitim İndeksi )

**SJOURNALS INDEX**

**JOURNAL INDEX**

**AJNS** (International Publishing of Academic Journals)

**ADVANCED SCIENCE INDEX**

**ACARİNDEX.COM** (Akademik Araştırmalar İndeksi)



**ASOS JOURNAL**  
The Journal of Academic Social Science



# ASOS JOURNAL

The Journal of Academic Social Science

## İÇİNDEKİLER

**Savaş SERTEL**

*CUMHURİYET SENATÖRÜ VE MİLLETVEKİLİ CELALETTİN BEDRİ ERTUĞ'UN SİYASİ HAYATI (1961-1991) SENATOR OF THE REPUBLIC AND DEPUTY CELALETTIN BEDRI ERTUG'S POLITICAL LIFE (1961-1991)*

s. 1-23

---

**Cemal ÖZTÜRK**

*İÇ GÜVENLİK HİZMETLERİNDE ALGILANAN LİDERLİK İLE ÖRGÜTSEL BAĞLILIK ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN İNCELENMESİ*

*A RESEARCH ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT AND PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP AT DOMESTIC SECURITY SERVICES*

s. 24-33

---

**Yavuz CANKARA**

*THE FACTORS DEVELOPING THE HUNGARIAN GEOPOLITICS BETWEEN YEARS 1919-1943  
1919-1943 YILLARI ARASINDA MACAR JEOPOLİTİĞİNİ ŞEKİLLENDİREN UNSURLAR*

s. 34-42

---

**Rıdvan ERDOĞAN**

*VAN ORGANİZE SANAYİ BÖLGESİNDE (OSB) İŞYERİ VE İŞGÜCÜ ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA  
IN THE VAN INDUSTRIAL ZONE A STUDY ON EXPLORATION WORKPLACE AND LOBOUR*

s. 43-68

---

**Tuğba YOLCU - Ayşe Aslı SEZGİN**

*BELEDİYELERDE YÖNETİME KATILIMIN YENİ BOYUTU ÜZERİNE BİR TARTIŞMA: HALKLA İLİŞKİLER UYGULAMALARI  
ÖRNEKLERİ*

*A DISCUSSION ON A NEW DIMENSSION ABOUT GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPALITIES: EXAMPLES OF  
PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTICES*

s. 69-83

---

**İlknur GÜRSES**

*UZAM OLARAK BEDEN: MORIMURA'NIN OTOPORTRE FOTOĞRAFLARINDA MEDYALARARASILIK  
BODY AS SPACE: INTERMEDIALITY IN MORIMURA'S AUTO-PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHS*

s. 84-101

---

**Taner BİLGİN**

*BİRİNCİ DÜNYA HARBİNDE ARAP COĞRAFYASINDA TÜRK ASKERİ (1914-1918)*

*THE TURKISH ARMY IN THE ARABIAN GEOGRAPHY IN THE WORLD WAR I*

*s. 102-128*

---

**Fatma Nur YORGANCILAR**

*IN TV COMMERCIALS, THE THEME OF WOMEN AND SEXUALITY ON THE MIND OF CONSUMER: A NEUROMARKETING APPLICATION*

*TV REKLAM FİLMLERİNDE KADIN VE CİNSELLİK TEMASININ TÜKETİCİ ZİHNİNDEKİ ETKİSİ EBM*

*s. 129-148*

---

**Hacı Mustafa AKKAYA**

*PVC, PROTEİNE KARŞI: THEO JANSEN'İN KİNİTİK HEYKELLERİ*

*PVC VS. PROTEİN: KİNİTİK STATUES THEO JANSEN*

*s. 149-157*

---

**Pınar Özden CANKARA - Mine DİRGİN**

***TURKEY'S PERCEPTION FOR ARAB SPRING EXPERIENCE OF SYRIA***

***SURİYE'NİN ARAP BAHARI DENEYİMİNE TÜRKİYE'NİN YAKLAŞIMI***

***s. 158-169***

---

**Vedat AVCİ**

*COĞRAFI BİLGİ SİSTEMLERİ (CBS) İLE GÖKDERE HAVZASI VE ÇEVRESİNİN (BİNGÖL) EROZYON DUYARLILIK ANALİZİ*

*EROSION SUSCEPTIBILITY ANALYSIS OF GÖKDERE BASIN AND ITS SURROUNDINGS (BİNGÖL) BY GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEM (GIS)*

*s. 170-193*

---

**Feyza SÖNMEZÖZ - Fatma Leyla HASESKİ HAKYOL**

*OKUL ÖNCESİ EĞİTİM KURUMLARINDAKİ MÜZİK EĞİTİMİNİN OKUL ÖNCESİ ÖĞRETMENLERİNİN GÖRÜŞLERİNE DAYALI OLARAK DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ*

*AN EVALUATION OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN PRE-SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS BASED ON PRE-SCHOOL TEACHERS' VIEWS*

*s. 194-217*

---

**Yasemin DARANCIK - Derya USLU**

*ALMANCA ÖĞRETMENLİĞİ BÖLÜMLERİNDE VERİLEN FORMASYON VE ALAN DERSLERİNİN İLK VE ORTAÖĞRETİME UYGUNLUĞU*

*DIE ANGEMESSENHEIT DER PÄDAGOGISCHEN FORMATION UND DER FACHSEMINARE IN DEN ABTEILUNGEN DER DEUTSCHDIDAKTİK BEZOGEN AUF DIE GRUNDSCHULE UND MITTELSCHULE*

*s. 218-240*

---

**Ahmet ÜNGÜDER**

*HARİD FEDAI'NİN KOZA ADLI ŞİİR KİTABINDA DİVAN ve HALK ŞİİRİNİN İZLERİ*  
*TRACES of OTTOMAN and FOLK POETRY in HARİD FEDAI'S POETRY BOOK NAMED as KOZA*  
*s. 241-254*

---

**Aybuke CEYHUN SEZGİN - Fatma KOÇ**

*GASTRONOMİ ALANINDA DOĞAL TATLANDIRICI STEVİA'NIN KULLANIMI*  
*USE OF NATURAL SWEETENER STEVIA IN THE FIELD OF GASTRONOMY*  
*s. 255-265*

---

**Nuh DOĞAN**

*OTOMOBİL-SEVERLERİN DİLİ: BİR TOPLUMSAL DİL TÜRÜ VE KENT FOLKLORU ÖRNEĞİ*  
*THE LANGUAGE OF CAR-ENTHUSIASTS: EXAMPLE OF A SOCIOLECT AND AN URBAN FOLKLORE*  
*s. 266-293*

---

**Ceyhun KONAK**

*'CEZANNE' İN İZİNDEN "KÜBİZM"*  
*THE INFLUENCE OF CEZANNE ON CUBISM*  
*s. 294-301*

---

**N. Ozan BAKIR - Sibel AYDOĞAN**

*TÜRKİYE'DE FAALİYET HALİNDEKİ ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİNİN İNCELENMESİ*  
*EXAMINED OF OPERATING SHOPPING MALLS IN TURKEY*  
*s. 302-326*

---

**Tülay EKİCİ**

*BİREYSEL SES EĞİTİMİNDE SES KUSURLARININ TANIMLANMASI VE DÜZELTİLMESİ*  
*DEFINING AND CORRECTING OF VOICE MISTAKES IN INDIVIDUAL VOICE TRAINING*  
*s. 327-343*

---

**Sinan ÇAYA**

*POZİTİF ENERJİ SAÇAN COŞKULU BİREYLER*  
*EXUBERANT INDIVIDUALS, WHO EMIT POSITIVE ENERGY*  
*s. 344-360*

---

**M. Serhan YÜCEL**

*ANKARA ADLİYE HUKUK MEKTEBİ'NİN İLK YILI*  
*THE FIRST YEAR OF ANKARA LAW SCHOOL*  
*s. 361-387*

---

**Aslı Öney AKÇAY**

*KÜRESEL MAKRO-FİNANSAL ŞOKLARIN TÜRKİYE EKONOMİSİ'NE AKTARIM KANALI: GLOBAL VAR YAKLAŞIMI  
TRANSMISSION CHANNEL OF GLOBAL MACRO-FINANCIAL SHOCKS TO TURKISH ECONOMY: GLOBAL VAR  
APPROACH*

s. 388-415

---

**Sibel AKOVA**

*KÜLTÜRLERARASI İLETİŞİM VE KÜLTÜR FARKINDALIĞI YARATMA: YERELDEN KÜRESEL BELEDİYECİLİK  
DİYALOĞUNA, İSTANBUL MALTEPE BELEDİYESİ ÖRNEKLEMİ  
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND CREATION OF CULTURAL AWARENESS: TO THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN  
LOCAL AND GLOBAL MUNICIPALITY, THE EXAMPLE OF ISTANBUL MALTEPE MUNICIPALITY*

s. 416-428

---

**Emin ONUŞ**

*KIBRIS'TA TARİHİ-BELGESEL OYUNA BİR ÖRNEK: SEVİL EMİRZADE ve CON RİFAT ADLI ESERİ  
AN EXAMPLE OF A HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY PLAY IN CYPRUS: SEVIL EMIRZADE and HER PLAY JOHN RIFAT*

s. 429-442

---

**Osman TÜRK**

*MEHMET AKİF ERSOY'UN "SAFAHAT" ADLI ESERİNDE SOSYAL EĞİTİM UNSURLARI  
SOCIAL EDUCATION ELEMENTS OF MEHMET AKİF ERSOY'S ART WORK NAMED SAFAHAT*

s. 443-457

---

**Bayram DEMİRAL - Naile Rengin OYMAN**

*ISPARTA MÜZESİ'NDEKİ DÜZ DOKUMA ÇUVALLAR  
FLAT WEAVING BAGS IN ISPARTA MUSEUM*

s. 458-472

---

**Eren CANBOLAT - Funda Pınar ÇAKIROĞLU**

*ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN FAST-FOOD TÜKETİM ALIŞKANLIKLARI  
FAST-FOOD CONSUMPTION HABİTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS*

s. 473-481

---

**İsmail KAHRAMAN - Semih SUMMAK**

*OKULLARDA SOSYAL SERMAYENİN GELİŞTİRİLMESİNE YÖNELİK BİR KARMA YÖNTEM ÇALIŞMASI A MIXED  
METHODS STUDY ON DEVELOPING OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN SCHOOLS*

s. 482-504

---

**Onur DONAT - Pınar SAVAŞ YAVUZÇEHRE**

*BATI'DA ve OSMANLI'DA KAMUSAL MEKÂNIN TARİHSEL SÜREÇTEKİ DEĞİŞİMİ  
CHANGE OF PUBLIC REALM IN HISTORICAL PROCESS IN THE WEST AND OTTOMAN*

s. 505-519

---

**Hatice BAYANA**

*İVAN DENİSOVİÇ'İN BİR GÜNÜ ADLI ROMANIN HAYAT-ESER AÇISINDAN İNCELENMESİ  
STUDİİYİNG A NOVEL CALLED "IVAN DENİSOVİCH'S A DAY" İN TERMS OF LIFE - WORK*

s. 520-526

---

**Ayşegül ESKİKURT - Muhittin AKGÜL**

*KUR'ÂN-I KERİM'DE İSRAF WASTING IN QURAN*

*WASTING IN QURAN*

s. 527-537

---

**Bünyamin AKDEMİR - Bayram KIRMIZIGÜL**

*DESTİNASYON REKABETÇİLİĞİNİN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİNDE ORTAYA ÇIKAN FARKLILIKLARI BELİRLEMeye  
YÖNELİK BİR ARAŞTIRMA*

*A RESEARCH TOWARDS DETERMINING THE DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF DESTINATION COMPETITIVENESS  
ASSESSMENT*

s. 538-553

---



**Pınar Özden CANKARA<sup>1</sup>**

**Mine DİRĞİN<sup>2</sup>**

**TURKEY'S PERCEPTION FOR ARAB SPRING EXPERIENCE OF SYRIA**

**Abstract**

Having the civil commotions which started by the beginning of year 2010 in Tunisia, make influence in countries such as Egypt, Libya, Syria; has become factors which started the Arab Spring process in the Middle East. Having Hasan Akleh set himself on fire in 2011 constitutes a start-up phase of this process for Syria. As result of the violence that Assad regime applies on the opponents and civilian population in the country, attracted the focus of international actors on the region. Turkey is one of the countries which is influenced from the civil war in Syria. Turkey experiences refugee crisis and border security problems because of having the longest land border with Syria. Turkey has been imposed with great duties in the context of taking measures to these problems. By Russia's inclusion in the civil war in Syria, the number of actors on the region has increased more. The steps which may be taken in order to establish a security zone and a provisional government constitute the main headlines which are prepared for Syria.

**Keywords:** Syria, Civil War, Turkey, Refugee Crisis, Assad

**SURİYE'NİN ARAP BAHARI DENEYİMİNE TÜRKİYE'NİN YAKLAŞIMI**

**Özet**

Tunus'ta 2010 yılında başlayan halk hareketlerinin Mısır, Libya, Suriye gibi ülkelerde de etkisini göstermeye başlaması, Ortadoğu coğrafyası için Arap Baharı sürecini başlatan gelişmeler olmuştur. 2011 yılında Hasan Akleh'in kendini ateşe vermesi, bu sürecin Suriye için başlangıç aşamasını oluşturur. Ülkede Esad rejiminin muhaliflere ve sivil halka uyguladığı şiddet neticesinde, uluslararası aktörlerin bölgeye olan ilgileri yoğunlaşmıştır. Suriye'deki iç savaştan etkilenen ülkelerin başında Türkiye gelmektedir. Türkiye; Suriye ile en uzun kara sınırına

<sup>1</sup> Yrd. Doç. Dr., Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi ABD., pinar.cankara@bilecik.edu.tr

<sup>2</sup> Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi, Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kamu Yönetimi ABD., minedirgin@hotmail.com

sahip olması neticesinde; mülteci krizi ve sınır güvenliği sorunları yaşamaktadır. Bu sorunlara alınacak önlemler bağlamında da Türkiye'ye büyük ödevler yüklenmektedir. Suriye'deki iç savaşa, Rusya'nın da müdahil olmasıyla, alandaki aktör sayısı iyice artmıştır. Güvenli bölge oluşturulması ve geçiş hükümeti kurulması gibi çözüm adına atılabilecek adımlar, Suriye için hazırlanan önerilerin satır başlarını oluşturur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Suriye, İç Savaş, Türkiye, Mülteci Krizi, Esad.

## INTRODUCTION

Turkey had been avoided from pursuing an active policy in the Middle East after World War I. However, there were some exceptional circumstances in Turkey's Middle East policy. Two Iraq interventions and Afghanistan intervention made by USA and further conversions which occurred by Arab Spring, caused Turkey to change its policies in this geography (Davutoğlu, 2012: 397). Ahmet Davutoglu emphasizes his thoughts in his book named "Strategic Depth" about how the relations with this geography must be, as (Davutoğlu, 2012: 401); "Each step to be taken in the region from this moment on, will cause a dynamic counter balance. Turkey must incline for a behavior of an active intervening actor in short term progresses of the balance equations, more than constant tension and alliance policies." While traditional Middle East policy of Turkey is predicting to approach to the region, the policy that is pursued by the country today is to subsist in the area actively, including the solutions of the problems experienced in the Middle East geography (Özcan, 2010: 371).

Middle East has been into a conversion process since 2011. The Arab Spring which is seen in Syria has taken an important place in international politics maneuvers of Turkey because the two countries share a 910 kilometers of borderline. Though Bashar al-Assad who governs Syria since 2000 asserted that Arab Spring would not influence his country, he wasn't successful in this foresight. Justice and Development Party (AK Party) which came into power in 2002 in Turkey took important steps in order to improve "Zero Problem with Neighbors" policy and the relations with Syria. Reciprocal visits of leaders and the trade agreement signed between two countries have ensured the elimination of the problems occurred in the past. However the increasing violence of civil war in Syria; and Assad regime's being increased the pressure on civil population and not showing a positive approach to the diplomatic solutions, removed the applicability of the visions specified as "zero problems with neighbors" in international policy of Turkey. Furthermore, Turkey which supports Syrian opponents, specified the details of Train-Equip Program which covers the training of opponents, with USA.

Turkey warned Bashar al-Assad regime about making democratic reforms, but when it has seen that there is not such an action taken in Syria, then Turkey started to interpret the reactions of Opponents on the basis of human rights. The Arab Spring is democratic claims which are realized by civil population against the authoritative regimes for Turkey. For this reason, Turkey comprehended the Opponents in Syria and the civilians who escape from there. On the other hand this approach caused Turkey to pay a price; tens of people lost their lives as result of the explosions happened in the territories such as Reyhanlı, Cilvegözü, Akçakale. An open-door policy has been applied for the refugees coming from Syria into Turkey, and living areas have been provided to the refugees by the established camps in the regions that are close

to the borderline. It is decided by the negotiations done by European Union (EU) to make 3 billion Euros of contribution to Turkey which suffered economic problems by the increasing number of refugees. Prime Minister Davutoglu stated that the incoming amount would not be spent for Turkey but would be spent for Syrian refugees. In this study, the attention will be attracted first on improving relations between Turkey and Syria in the first half of 2000s, and then the way, how the relations between two countries broke away, will be analyzed over the reactions of Turkey towards human drama occurred in Syria, which experienced Arab Spring and is still having politic upheavals and civil war.

### **1. A Brief Overview on the Relations of Turkey with Syria Before Arab Spring**

Turkey-Syria relations pursued a tensed progress for long years because of the Syria's support to terror and the borderline problems. Their relations were problematic because Turkey thinks that Syria was supporting Armenian, Kurdish and Arab terror organizations with armor and logistics in 1980s (Pehlivanoglu, 2002: 113). When it was 1990s, their connections gained acceleration towards improvement. The two countries, which supported the territorial integrity of Iraq as a result of the Gulf Crisis that started in this period, made agreement on some matters such as preventing border crossings and smuggling (Ayata, 2011: 181).

In 1998, Turkey asked Syria to deport the leader of PKK Terror Organization. Turkey started to store military troops on the borderline and the international press started to give headlines about a war might arise between two countries. The headline of Hürriyet Newspaper in 7th of October 1998 was: "We across there". Moreover, Turkey performed a military exercise on İskenderun Gulf. Syria sent Abdullah Ocalan to Greece in order not to increase the tension, and the dose of the tension between the parties so decreased. When two countries signed Adana Protocol on 20th of October 1998, Turkey-Syria relations have achieved a positive atmosphere (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/dosya/turkiye-suriye-iliskileri-inisler-ve-cikislar>).

Bashar al-Assad who came into power in Presidency of Syria in 2000; did not touch in oath-taking ceremony on the Hatay Problem which is an important cause between Turkey and Syria; and he took a step which will realize end up of the Hatay problem by accepting the current situation of the borders in an official visit that he did to Turkey in year 2004 (Toraman, 2015: 50). Another matter which is worth to be mentioned in the relations developed in 2000s was the attendance of Ahmet Necdet Sezer, the President of Republic of Turkey in that period, in the funeral ceremony of Hafız Assad (Ayata, 2011: 181).

Turkey-Syria relations made progress more than ever in the period of governments of AK Party. Syria has an important place within the "Zero Problems with Neighbors" policy of AK Party and Turkey attached importance in persistence of bilateral relations. The visit of Assad in 2004 to Turkey, and the visit of Erdogan, as the Prime Minister of Republic of Turkey in that period, to Syria in the same year; were the steps which are taken about getting relations to gain acceleration. Also President Ahmet Necdet Sezer has made a visit to Syria. A Free Trade Agreement which is signed between two countries in 2007, caused relations which were gaining acceleration in political aspect, to reflect also on economy (Toraman, 2015: 52).

Prime Minister Erdogan made two official visits to Syria in 2009. The University of Aleppo awarded Prime Minister Erdogan with a title of honorary PhD in July, 2009. In the ceremony, Prime Minister Erdogan used these statements in his speech (Türkiye Bülteni, 2010a: 42): "Can brothers be apart from each other's? They must come together. Muslims are brothers,

but brotherhood cannot be realized with words, a practice is required". The visa application for the citizens of two countries has been reciprocally removed in October, 2009 (Türkiye Bülteni, 2010a: 31-32). The heading "Two Brother Countries: Turkey-Syria" has been used in the official publication organ of the AK Party entitled "Turkish Bulletin" in November-December 2010 issue. Prime Minister Erdogan's visit to Syria dated 11th of October 2010 has been referred under this heading. While Assad, the President of Syria, was defining the situation between two countries as "a strategical relation", Prime Minister Erdogan was stating that two countries are in a good coordination especially for struggling with terrorism (Türkiye Bülteni, 2010b: 40-41). Moreover, the trade volume between two countries was on improvement in these years. Erdogan's salutation to Assad as "brother" during the foundation of friendship-dam on Orontes River in 2011, reflects the positive atmosphere of the relations (Toraman, 2015: 52).

## **2. Arab Spring and its Effects in Middle East**

The civil commotion which overthrew the dictators in a couple of months who were in power for long years and who made sense that they would fulfill the persistence of this task unless there is no intervention to them; is named Arab Spring (Kibaroglu, 2011: 26). The reason for using Spring term here is the thought of Northern Africa and Middle East folks, who realized a political conversion, have entered in a positive progress in the aspect of human rights. Democracy is a western experience. Once western world built parliamentary tradition against the absolute monarchy, it assumed itself superior to the rest of the world in the terms of rights and duties. In this context, anybody who is not familiar with democracy in political aspect, and with liberalism in economical aspect, is undeveloped for them. Democracy claim of these undeveloped communities is affirmed for this reason and these conversion movements which are generally realized gorily, are tagged as "progressive" events. There is nowhere in where the Arab Spring is experienced but no civil deaths and human rights violations have happened, however this is a spring for them because of western type of political and economic order has been achieved.

Muhammed Buazizi having himself set on fire in 2010 in Tunisia and the next progresses, constituted the start of the events, changing the lives of millions of people in the Middle East. Dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has left his country and Hosni Mubarak has left the government. Events are spread in Libya and Syria with a domino effect (Dinçer and Kutlay, 2012: 2).

## **3. Spread of Arab Spring in Syria**

Bashar al-Assad has been in government of Syria by the death of his father in July 2000. By this government type of Syria which is handed down from father to the son, a "Presidency Monarchy" has been established. Assad, who was chosen again by the election done in 2007, asserted that the Arab Spring which emerged in 2010 would not influence his country (Şen, 2013: 58). However, upon Buazizi having himself set on fire in Tunisia, also Hasan Ali Akleh having himself set on fire caused the start of commotions on 26th of January 2011 in Syria (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2-yillik-ic-savasinkronolojisi/dunya/dunyadetay/07.01.2013/1652039/default.htm>). The protests which were started on 17th of March 2011 in Dera town for first; were spread in towns such as Laskia, Hama, and Humus. When Arab Spring approached from the aspects of human drama and violence, Syria reflects the most gorily image to the world. The main factors which accelerate the civil commotions in Syria were the economic difficulties in

the country, the authoritarian government of Assad which is deprived of taking politically democratic steps and intolerant society against these circumstances (Şen, 2013: 59).

The opponents, who took as an example for themselves the government changes that happened in Tunisia and Egypt, were gathered around a claim of a political change from Assad (Tüysüzoğlu, 2015: 106). The civil commotions which started as peace purposes at first, become a civil war after Assad imposed an authoritarian government with security concerns. By the increase in the civil war in Syria, military officers who were disturbed from the behavior of regime towards civil population have resigned from their duties in the army in order to support opposing party. This opposing group would establish the structure which is known as Free Syrian Army in a short while (Ulutaş et.al., 2015: 7).

Bashar al-Assad came up before the folk after approximately four months in University of Damascus on 10th of January 2012 and accused external powers for the chaos situation in which the country was. Assad, attaching attention on parliament's being opened for first in 1917 in Syria, evaluated the ongoing events as a "test in which the loyalty of the society is measured". The most striking comment of Assad was the statement of that he wasn't fighting against his own nation, but against the mindset behind these people (Hürriyet, 2012). Though Assad applied some measures, by considering the countries which are under influence of Arab Spring, and in order to prevent the reactions which might come up in his country, such as petrol support to the retired people, monetary support to the needy families, to take back the raises which are made on the medicines; these policies did not work because of the change claim of the nation and thus authoritative policies were started (Şen, 2013: 69).

The factor that Bashar al-Assad didn't consider; was these commotions having accelerated in his country, constituted a social ground. As Syria is heterogeneous from the aspect of sects, establishment of national-state was painful. Nation is established over common language, common religion, perception of history and common place. Assad family is Nusayri and he made assignments to the administrative level from his entourage during his governments. As Sunni nation cannot find a place for themselves in political ground, they participated in Muslim Brotherhood Organization and constituted the opposing party. While Syrian Kurds were mentioning their autonomy claim, this will of them has disturbed Sunni Arabs. The nation which is divided on the ground of sects and races, was far from establishing a Syrian nation. When radical Islamist organizations, such as ISIS and Al-Nusra that observed the leadership gap in the region by Arab Spring, were added on this schema; civil war of Syria became more complicated. Moreover, the country has insufficient economical sources. The economy which is indexed to agriculture, reached a stalemate because of the drought and war circumstances. Petrol production of the country which was already undeveloped in terms of industrialization was decreasing. This schema was setting forth why peace was not established in the country (Tüysüzoğlu, 2015: 107-117; Dışişleri Bakanlığı, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-ekonomisi.tr.mfa>).

#### **4. Groups Which Support and Dissent the Regime in Syria**

The most important actor that Syria Government used in civil war is the army. Though a great number of soldiers have passed in the opposing party from Syrian Army as result of the civil war, the army is still keeping its power. Another efficient group that is used by the government, is an organization which is named as "National Defense Power" and is known that it has around 100.000 participants (Tüysüzoğlu, 2015: 121). Besides those, there is a group as

well which is known as Shabihas and is trained by Hezbollah-Iran Revolutionary Guards. Shabiha, which means ghost in Arabic; is comprised of military officers who resigned from army and the policemen. Shabihas who are an Unconventional Warfare Organization was actually established after Syria's 1975 Lebanon intervention, and it still subsists (Çelik, 2013; <http://www.Aljazeera.com.tr/haber/sebihalarin-hayati>; <http://www.sabah.com.tr/galeri/dunya/esadin-olum-sebekesi-sebiha-kimlerdenolusuyor>). It is known that Shabihas are Shia oriented (Dinçer, 2012: 6).

Syria National Council is the main organization among the organizations taking place in the opponent wing. Syria National Council was established on 23rd of August 2011 in Istanbul. It contains Kurdish and Salafi groups (Şen, 2013: 65). Then in 2012 Syria National Coalition was established in Qatar, and pursued an aim to embody all opponents. After a while, Syria National Council was included in the organization. Also the structure which is mentioned as Free Syria Army subsists by undertaking the protection of Syria National Coalition as a part of them in the protest demonstrations of the opponents. Though Syrian Kurds are one of the names to be mentioned in relation to the opposition against regime, they didn't take place in the Syria National Coalition. The reason of that is, the self-government discussions taking place between Sunni sections (Tüysüzöğlü, 2015: 123, 125).

Another group which is seen as opponent to the Syria regime is Al-Nusra Front. This organization, which is known as being adhered to Al-Qaeda, invites Syrians to revolt against the regime. This group, which includes some radical Islamists apart from the Salafis, caused concerns in international society. It constitutes 2-3% of the Syrian opponents (<http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/959258-el-nusra-cephesi-kimdir-el-nusra-teror-Orgutune-zaman-kuruldu>). If the probability of Assad regime's cession of administration becomes real in the future, the concern is the probability of having Al-Nusra Front impose their thoughts upon the society (Abuhasan, 2013: 72). Leader of Al-Nusra Ebu Muhammed el-Culani stated in an interview he has given to Al-Jazeera in 2013, that they fight off with Assad regime and Hezbollah and they don't target Western countries ([http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/05/150528\\_el\\_nusra\\_cephesi\\_suriye](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/05/150528_el_nusra_cephesi_suriye)).

The result, which came out from all events happened in Syria, is Syrian opposition is not as efficient as it was in Egypt and Libya. In Egypt and Libya examples, the army could unite around a certain aim in the form of opposition. In Syria there is not a strong organization which can create an alternative regime (Şen, 2013: 69).

##### **5. The Attitude of International Arena Against the Progress Experienced in Syria**

The progress in Syria has shown to the western world and to the countries existent in the region that movement and revolt may happen also in Muslim countries when conditions are available (Dinçer and Kutlay, 2012: 3). The crisis in Syria caused changes in the international policies of international system and big powers. It caused determinant effects not only in the Middle East geography but also in global aspect (Ulutaş et.al, 2015: 13). The first country of which we can show as the most important supporter of Syria regime is Iran. Iran which increased its efficiency by using Hezbollah, supports Syria regime in order to increase its power in the Middle East (Ulutaş and Hoca, 2014: 11). Assad does not have anything in common with Iran because Assad is in Nusayris which is a branch of Shia (Oğuzlu, 2011: 36).

Russia supported Assad government against the developments in Syria. Russia's aim is to increase its effect in the region over Syria and to get back its image it lost in Cold War years and its power in the international system (Ulutaş and Hoca, 2014: 11). The military base that Russia has in Tartus is a quite important strategic location in order to increase its efficiency on Mediterranean. This military base has a big importance especially in order to prevent the increasing efficiency of NATO on the region. For this reason, Russia's support to Syria comes up as an incontrovertible fact (Has, 2012: 4-5).

USA shown a passive behavior to the civil war that emerged in Syria since beginning. Behind this action, there is an aim of creating position in its favor by retaining the rival party as a friend, instead destroying it, in accordance with the strategy-change that it applied as result of the experiences it experienced and obtained in Iraq (Kibaroglu, 2011: 27).

In the other hand, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Jordan, Qatar, Turkey, USA, England, France, Germany and Italy came together and established an organization named "Group of Friends of the Syrian People". This organization takes decisions in the meetings they hold, such as imposing sanctions to the Syrian regime and increasing the support to the opponents (Şen, 2013: 73). Also National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces has attended in their meeting that they held in Paris on 12th of January 2014 which was hosted by Minister of International Affairs of France, Laurent Fabius. It is stated in the meeting that the right of Syrian society to determine their own fate and their right of protecting themselves against violation, were supported (Dışişleri Bakanlığı, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-halkinin-dostlari-cekirdek-grup-toplantisi-paris\\_te-gerceklestirildi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-halkinin-dostlari-cekirdek-grup-toplantisi-paris_te-gerceklestirildi.tr.mfa)).

Qatar and Turkey which sought solution for the crisis in Syria by applying diplomatic ways, started supporting opponents because of the increasing violence level of the crisis. Both countries want a solution without Assad because they thought Assad regime has lost the legitimacy because of the massacre he did (Ulutaş et al., 2015: 19). The countries have been aligned like that in the seek for solution in Syria: While Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Jordan, by receiving support also from western countries, were requiring the change of Baas regime in Syria with a Sunni-Salafi approach; Iran, Russia, central Iraq Administration and Lebanon were constituting an anti-western axis and anti-western block by putting Shiah forward on identity basis (Ertuğrul, 2012: 1).

## **6. The Steps Taken by International Actors in the Crisis of Syria**

A Conference has been held in Geneva on 30th June 2012 and participations have been realized in the level of Minister of International Affairs from USA, Russia, China, England and France which are regular members of UN Security Council as well as Iraq, Kuwait, Turkey. Koffi Annan proposed a provisional government which is comprised of Assad supporters and opponents, in a speech that he held. But a certain date is not predicted for the establishment of this provisional government (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/dosya/ilk-cenevreden-bugune>). It is seen that civil war is becoming more violent by Assad regime after Geneva Conference. As a result of the massacres that are experienced, parties have diverged. Having the actors, which were supporting the resolution of civil war, gliding to other fields because of the progresses happened in that period such as Ukraine crisis (Tüysüzoglu, 2015: 129), caused the crisis resolution to get to a difficult situation.

A second conference has been held in Geneva on 22nd of January 2014. It is declared that Assad regime used chemical guns on the Eastern Guta region of Damascus on 21st of August 2013 and 1500 people whose 450 were kids, had lost their lives in the attack. Upon this, Conference of Geneva II has been held by the participation of Ministers of International Affairs and representatives of approximately 40 countries. Destruction of chemical guns has been accepted by Assad regime in the conference and it is aimed to establish a provisional government by making contact with opponents. The negotiations between Assad regime and opponents have started on the third day of the conference, but no solution could be achieved. Though there was no solution achieved, the importance of the conference was having Assad who lost the legitimacy in the international sphere, being addressed and having Assad regime sharing the same environment with opponent wing (Semin, 2014).

When silence environment could not be established between the parties in Syria, it is decided to start "Train-Equip Program" for Syria between USA and Turkey. There are two options foreseen in Syria for a regime without Assad; first is an international operation. Second option is having opponents being winners against Assad regime. It is aimed to train Syrian opponents by this program that is signed between Turkey and USA. By this way, opponents may be more efficient in fighting off with ISIS and regime-supporter powers. As a result of the program, they tried to ensure second option of the regime without Assad. It is aimed to get the program to be hosted by Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar as well as USA (Kurt, 2015: 4).

#### **7. Turkey-Syria Relations During Arab Spring**

Assad regime's use of excessive armed force on the civil population because of the civil war that started in Syria as result of the Arab Spring, caused Turkey to support opponent party and the breakdown of the relations became inevitable (Balçı, 2012: 9). The meeting between Davutoglu-Assad in August, 2011 was the last meeting between two countries (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2-yillik-ic-savasin-kronolojisi/dunya/dunyadetay/07.01.2013/1652039/default.ht>). During Arab Spring, the democracy emphasis in the statements of both, Prime Minister of the period, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the Minister of International Affairs of the period, Ahmet Davutoglu; has an evidence-characteristic of how much they provide support to this process (Yıldırım, 2014: 63). Leaders in Turkey, as a country of the region, have shown the steps to be taken, to the leaders of the countries which has been experiencing the Arab Spring such as Libya, Egypt and Syria. The support given to the civil commotions resonated with the community of the region and Turkey has acquired the sympathy of the communities living in this area (Kibaroglu, 2011: 31).

It is known that Turkey, which is closely follower of the civil commotions started in Syria, warned Assad about leaving the administration. Turkey, which took steps at first by the thought of this crisis may be prevented, did not close dialogs with Assad. However, losses of lives, which were increased by the policies of Assad in that progress and the concomitant developments, led Turkey to think (Ulutaş and Hoca, 2014: 13). The policy of using diplomatic ways with Assad has been applied on opponent wing as well and as result of this, opponents were provided with the opportunity to hold a conference in Istanbul; and Syria National Coalition has been established in which opponents were united (Toraman, 2015: 54).

The probabilities are evaluated for the "Security Zone" which is an argument that is mentioned often by Turkey in the context of Syria crisis in recent years. This aim, which was emphasized for first in the meeting which is done by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan with

Deputy President Joe Biden within the USA visit, has taken its place in the form of an agenda item as an area on which many studies must be done. It is thought to establish this security zone, which is aimed to be created, on Azzez-Cerablus line at Syria side and on an area which cannot be controlled by Kurdish powers (Taşçı, 2015).

In the other hand, it is seen that the Turkmen group which is often mentioned with Syria crisis, felt themselves closer to Turkey and is under the influence of identity awareness which is awakened together with the revolution. The group, which is organized by the revolution, established the "Syria Democratic Turkmen Movement". Turkmens uphold the idea of acquiring idiosyncratic rights in Syria lands by the probability of a new regime to be established (Balci, 2012: 14).

### **8. Influences of Syria Civil War on the Security of Turkey**

After the influence of Arab Spring to Syria, it is seen that the armed conflagrations that emerged in the country, have influenced also Turkey (Abuhasan, 2013: 83). Having the longest borderline with Syria and the geographic structure which is as a natural extension of Anatolia, show that Turkey needs to increase its measures against threatens and risks (Dinçer, 2012: 3). When the security problems that Turkey encounters after the start of civil war, are examined; a Turkish jet has been shot by regime powers in June, 2012 and Turkey responded to this attack. Bodies of the martyr pilots have been reached in July. 5 Turkish citizens lost their lives as a result of the commence of fire to the Akçakale town of Şanlıurfa province in October, 2012 (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2-yillik-ic-savasin-kronolojisi/dunya/dunyadetay/07.01.2013/1652039/default.htm3/1652039/default.>). Again in October, conveyance of Turkish Armed Forces to the foreign countries accepted by Turkish Grand National Assembly and military troops started to be conveyed to the Syria borderline (21. Yüzyıl Türkiye Enstitüsü, 2013).

Owing to the explosion of the bomb-laden-vehicle in Cilvegözü border gate on 12th of February 2013, 14 people; and due to the explosion in Reyhanlı town of Hatay which is located at Syria border on 11th of May 2013, 52 people lost their lives (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/kronoloji/kronoloji-suriyede-isyandan-ic-savasa>). Peshmerga started to pass to Syria over Turkey in order to fight off with ISIS in October, 2014 (<http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/163049-suriye-ic-savasinda-dort-yilda-neler-oldu>). The most tensioned event happened between Turkey and Syria was "Shah Fırat Operation". The reason of the operation which launched in the night of 21st of February, was the conflicts which increased in the region where the mausoleum located and the probability of mausoleum's affection from this. This probability is an unignorable fact which will lead Turkey to the conflicts. The region where the mausoleum located is important because of being the only piece of land belonging to Turkey located out of its borders. At the end of the operation, the mausoleum moved to Eşme, where is a close region to the Turkish borderline (Kurt, 2015: 1-3).

By inclusion of Russia into the civil war on 30th of October 2015, it is seen that Bayırbucak Turkmens have been targeted. Location and height of Bayırbucak shows that the area is located on a strategically important location in specifying the direction of civil war and this is a reason for Bayırbucak to be targeted. Many Turkmens have lost their lives as result of the intense Russian bombardment that increased in November, and remaining thousands of Turkmens have come to the borderline of Turkey (Acun, 2015). The size of Syria Civil War was changed all of a sudden on 24th November 2015 by getting Russian warplane shot down. The

reason for shooting down the warplane was violation of Turkish air space according to the explanations done by General Military Staff and Presidency (Kaya, 2015). By this event, relations of Turkey with Russia have tensed up.

## 9. The Problem of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Immigrations of the refugees, who were affected in a negative way from the civil war that happened in Syria, and who escaped from the conflicts in their countries and took refuge in neighbor countries such as Turkey and Lebanon, have realized in two surges. The Syrian citizens who immigrated to the neighbor countries have been lodged primarily in these places. The first surge of the refugee crisis was started in the summer of 2015. Refugees, who changed their directions to the European countries by thinking they cannot benefit from education and health services in neighbor countries, were immigrating to the European countries over Mediterranean coasts in surges (Kutlay and Akçalı, 2015: 1-2).

Syrian refugees, who entered into Turkey first on 29th April 2011, maintain their lives in the camps founded on the borderline. In these camps which are founded for refugees, various facilities have been established such as elementary and secondary/high schools, health clinics, supermarkets, social domains, playgrounds from which they can cater (Dinçer et.al., 2013: 7-19). Prime Minister Erdogan has charged AFAD and Kızılay to get Syrian refugees to lodge in Turkey and to get necessary infrastructures to be realized. In the same time, the visa exemption application, which started before, has been maintained in order to facilitate refugees to enter in Turkey (Ulutaş and Hoca, 2014: 31). The latest data show the number of Syrian refugees exceeded 4 million 185 thousand, and this number is 2 million 72 thousand in Turkey as of October (<http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/suriyeli-multecilerin-sayisi-4-milyon-185-bine-ulasti>).

The problem of Syrian refugees catches both Turkey and EU countries wrong-foot. Turkey let them to enter in the country unrestrainedly, by considering this situation as a human drama. Turkey emphasizes that they extended a hand for its Muslim friends. On the other hand the behavior of EU countries was not like Turkey's. While Prime Minister of Germany, Angela Merkel, stated that her country might open its doors for Syrian refugees, who are in the capacity of qualified employee, the thing what she actually has done is human discrimination. This approach of Merkel founded snarky by Turkey. Yet, refugees are still losing their lives in Aegean Sea in order to reach at Europe continent. Turkey tries to integrate Syrian refugees in Turkish nation by providing them with right to employment. But the passing from Syrian borderline into the Turkey lands, actually constitutes a risk for internal security of Turkey.

## Conclusion

Syria crisis stalemates the policies of Turkey in the region as well as constituting the threat of removing tolerance of Turkey on the region and the savings that have "soft power" content. Moreover the international politic rules which are summarized as "Zero Problem with Neighbors" lost the validity. The democracy emphasis that Turkey is stating since beginning, was considered as the sole solution for the stability to be ensured in the region. The efforts of international actors in order to establish a provisional government in Syria, remained inconclusive.

Putting the economic affection on Turkey aside, that is caused by refugees; when social problems they caused are considered, their influence on the country progresses in a negative

way. Somehow EU, which started to concern by having refugees who came to Turkey turning their directions towards other European countries, stated that they would provide financial assistance about refugee issue. Though a hospitable behavior is mentioned by open-door policy, the 910 km. of borderline with Syria requires not considering the border passing only in the context of refugees who escape from the war. Because having many factors available in the region which will commit malpractices, has an importance in the terms of not creating an environment which is available for threat also for Turkey.

Participation of a country such as Russia, having economic and military capacity, in this crisis in September 2015 increases the complication of this situation more. Russia's eagerness coming from past for "Warm Waters" and its idea to achieve this whim by today's Syria, covered it up with a supporter structure of Assad regime. Russia increases its efficiency in this geography by its Laskia and Tartus fleets. It is obvious that relations also between Turkey and Russia was changed recently in the context of Syria crisis. The support of Russia for Assad regime and having Russian warplane being shot down by Turkey on the grounds of air space violation, are main factors which laid the groundwork for occurrence of a negative atmosphere in bilateral relations. However, in consideration of these developments, the current situation in the region must be read carefully and the steps which are required to be taken must be developed in the direction of ending up the human drama which is happening here. By saying "War cannot be without Egypt and peace cannot be without Syria" years ago; Henry Kissinger provided the actors, who are seeking peace today, with a point to which they should pay more attention.

### SOURCES

21. YÜZYIL TÜRKİYE ENSTİTÜSÜ, (2013), "Suriye Krizinin Kronolojisi", <http://www.21yyte.org/tr/arastirma/suriye-krizi-izleme-merkezi/2013/09/02/7192/suriye-krizinin-kronolojisi>, (Erişim Tarihi: 24.12.2015).
- ABUHASAN, Mohammed, (2010), Arap Baharı Sonrası Suriye'de Yaşanan Gelişmeler ve Türkiye'nin Güvenliğine Etkileri, Yayınlanmış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Polis Akademisi Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Ankara.
- ACUN, Can, (2015), "Bayırbucak Neden Hedef Seçildi?", <http://setav.org/tr/bayirbucak-neden-hedef-secildi/yorum/33429>, (Erişim Tarihi: 25.12.2015).
- AYATA, Ali, (2011), "Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu Politikası", Değişen Dünyada Türk Dış Politikası, (Der.) Murat Ercan, Nobel Yayınevi, Ankara, ss. 169-197.
- BALCI, Bayram, (2012), "Suriye Krizi: Türkiye'nin Ortadoğu Rüyasının Sonu Mu?", Perspectives, Sayı: 2, ss. 9-15.
- ÇELİK, Cengizhan, (2013), "Rejimin Kanlı Canavarı: Şebbihalar", <http://www.gazetevatan.com/rejimin-kanli-canavari--sebbihalar-541446-gundem/>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016).
- DAVUTOĞLU, Ahmet, (2012), Stratejik Derinlik, 79. Baskı, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul.
- DİNÇER, O. B.; FEDERICI, V.; FERRIS, E.; KARACA, S.; KİRİŞÇİ K.; ÖZMENEK ÇARMIKLI, E.; (2013), Suriyeli Mülteciler Krizi ve Türkiye: Sonu Gelmeyen Misafirlik, USAK& Brookings Ortak Raporu, Ankara.

- DİNÇER, O. B.; KUTLAY, M., (2012), “Arap Baharı ve Suriye: Komplolar ve Propaganda Savaşları”, USAK Analiz, Analiz No:18, Ankara.
- Dışişleri Bakanlığı, 2016, “Suriye’nin Ekonomisi”, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-ekonomisi.tr.mfa>, (Erişim Tarihi: 18.01.2016).
- DİNÇER, Osman Bahadır, (2012), Kapıdaki Kriz Suriye: Uluslararası Yaklaşımlar ve Türkiye İçin Öneriler, USAK Raporları, No: 12-02, Ankara.
- ERTUĞRUL, Doğan, (2012), Türkiye Dış Politikası İçin Bir Test: Suriye Krizi, TESEV Dış Politika Programı.
- HAS, Kerim, (2012), “Türkiye-Rusya İlişkileri Ekseninde Suriye Krizi”, USAK Analiz, Analiz No: 20, Ankara.
- KAYA, İbrahim, 2015, “5 Soru: Rus Uçağının Düşürülmesi ve Uluslararası Hukuk”, <http://setav.org/tr/5-soru-rus-ucagin-dusurulmesi-ve-uluslararasi-hukuk/yorum/33412> (Erişim Tarihi: 24.12.2015).
- KIBAROĞLU, Mustafa, (2011), “Arap Baharı ve Türkiye”, Adam Akademi, Sayı: 2, ss. 26-36.
- KURT, Veysel, (2015), Türkiye’nin Suriye Politikası ve Şah Fırat Operasyonu, SETA Perspektif, Sayı: 96.
- KUTLAY, M.; AKCALI Ö., (2015), “Mülteci Krizi ve Türkiye-AB İlişkilerinde Eksen Kayması Riski”, USAK Analiz, Sayı: 29, Seri: 1, Ankara.
- OĞUZLU, Tarık, (2011), “Arap Baharı ve Değişen Bölgesel Dinamikler”, Ortadoğu Analiz, Cilt: 3, Sayı: 30, 2011, ss. 33-40.
- ÖZCAN, Mesut, (2010), “Türkiye’nin Ortadoğu Politikası: Mesafeden Müdahaleye Dönüşüm”, Türkiye’nin Değişen Dış Politikası, (Der.) Cüneyt Yenigün ve Ertan Efegil, Nobel Yayınevi, Ankara, ss. 371-387.
- PEHLİVANOĞLU, Öner, (2004), Ortadoğu ve Türkiye, Kastaş Yayınevi, 1. Baskı, İstanbul.
- SEMIN, Ali, (2014), “Suriye Krizi, PYD ve 2. Cenevre Konferansı”, <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/96/-suriye-krizi--pyd-ve-2--cenevre-konferansi/#.Vn1FrvmLTIU>, (Erişim Tarihi: 25.12.2015).
- ŞEN, Yağmur, (2013), “Suriye’de Arap Baharı”, Yasama Dergisi, Sayı: 23, ss. 55-79.
- TAŞÇI, İlhan, (2015), “10 Soruda Suriye Sınırında Güvenli Bölge”, [http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/07/150728\\_guvenli\\_bolge\\_nedir\\_](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/07/150728_guvenli_bolge_nedir_), (Erişim Tarihi: 25.12.2015).
- TORAMAN, İbrahim, (2015), Arap Baharı ve Suriye, Yayınlanmış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Yalova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yalova.
- TÜRKİYE BÜLTENİ, (2010a), Ocak-Şubat 2010, Yıl: 7, Sayı: 62, s. 42.
- TÜRKİYE BÜLTENİ, (2010b), “İki Kardeş Ülke: Türkiye-Suriye”, Kasım-Aralık 2010, Yıl: 8, Sayı: 67, ss. 40-41.

- TÜYSÜZOĞLU, Göktürk, (2015), “Suriye İç Savaşı’nın Değerlendirilmesi”, Türkiye’nin Yakın Havzasındaki Devlet-İçi Çatışmaların Analizleri, (Der.) Ertan Efeğil ve Esra Pakin Albayrakoğlu, Gündoğan Yayınları, İstanbul, ss. 105-138.
- ULUTAŞ, U.; HOCA, H., (2014), Suriye: Devrim Mi, Bölünme Mi?, SETA Analiz, Sayı: 95.
- ULUTAŞ, U.; KANAT, K. B.; ACUN, C., (2015), Sınırları Aşan Kriz: Suriye, SETA Analiz, Sayı:120.
- YILDIRIM, Bilal, (2014), “Türk Dış Politikasında Yeni Tarz-ı Siyaset: Ortadoğu’da Çok Boyutlu Politikadan Asabiye Politikasına”, Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi, Cilt:1, Sayı: 1, ss. 57-79.
- “El Kaide’den el Nusra Cephesi’ne: Batıya Saldırmayın”, 28 Mayıs 2015, [http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/05/150528\\_el\\_nusra\\_cephesi\\_suriye](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/05/150528_el_nusra_cephesi_suriye), (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016).
- “El Nusra Cephesi Kimdir?”, 18 Haziran 2014, <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/959258-el-nusra-cephesi-kimdir-el-nusra-terror-orgutu-ne-zaman-kuruldu>, (Erişim Tarihi: 10.12.2015).
- “Esad, Arap Ülkelerini Topa Tuttu”, Hürriyet, 10 Ocak 2012, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/esad-arap-ulkelerini-topa-tuttu-19647068>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016).
- “Esad’ın Ölüm Şebekesi Şebbiha Kimlerden Oluşuyor?”, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/galeri/dunya/esadin-olum-sebekesi-sebbiha-kimlerden-olusuyor>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016).
- “Kronoloji: Suriye’de İsyandan İç Savaşa”, <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/kronoloji/kronoloji-suriyede-isyandan-ic-savasa>, (Erişim Tarihi: 24.12.2015).
- “Şebbihaların Hayatı”, 6 Nisan 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/sebbihalarin-hayati>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016);
- “Türkiye-Suriye İnişler ve Çıkışlar”, 6 Ocak 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/dosya/turkiye-suriye-iliskileri-inisler-ve-cikislar>, (Erişim Tarihi: 18.01.2016).
- <http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/163049-suriye-ic-savasinda-dort-yilda-neler-oldu>, (Erişim Tarihi: 24.12.2015).
- <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/dosya/ilk-cenevreden-bugune>, (Erişim Tarihi: 25.12.2015).
- <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/suriyeli-multecilerin-sayisi-4-milyon-185-bine-ulasti>, (Erişim Tarihi: 25.12.2015).
- [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-halkinin-dostlari-cekirdek-grup-toplantisi-paris\\_tegerceklestirildi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/suriye-halkinin-dostlari-cekirdek-grup-toplantisi-paris_tegerceklestirildi.tr.mfa), (Erişim Tarihi: 14.01.2016).
- “2 Yıllık İç Savaşın Kronolojisi”, 2013, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2-yillik-ic-savasin-kronolojisi/dunya/dunyadetay/07.01.2013/1652039/default.htm> (Erişim Tarihi: 30.10.2015).