

ARTICULATION OF CONSERVATISM IN TURKISH
TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

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ARTICULATION OF CONSERVATISM IN TURKISH
TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

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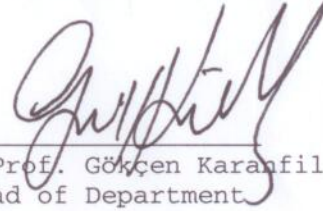
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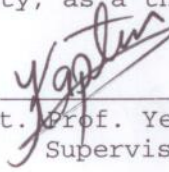
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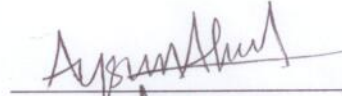
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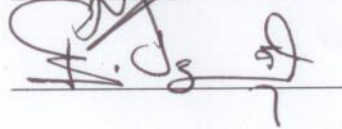
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ABSTRACT

ARTICULATION OF CONSERVATISM IN TURKISH TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

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MA, Media and Communication Studies

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This thesis analyzes the articulation of cultural conservatism into designated television advertisements by conceptualizing conservatism as a stance or attitude, rather than a political program, and by focusing cultural dimension of conservatism over advertisements as ideological media forms. In order to reveal the implicit symbols and values within the text, semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis will be conducted on the advertisements of Arçelik and Turkcell brands. The results give insights about articulation of cultural conservatism into advertisements through the analysis of conservative themes with constructivist representation approach. It is revealed that the discourses and images of the conservative values are articulated in the advertisements with dominant cultural codes and references.

Keywords: conservatism, cultural conservatism, Turkish television advertisements, semiotic analysis, critical discourse analysis

ÖZET

MUHAFAZAKARLIĞIN TÜRK TELEVİZYON REKLAMLARINA EKLEMLENMESİ

Şentürk, Esin

Medya ve İletişim Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

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Muhafazakarlığı bir tutum ve düşünüş şekli olarak kavramsallaştıran bu çalışmanın amacı, kültürel muhafazakarlığın ideolojik bir medya formu olarak, belirtilen televizyon reklamlarına eklenmesini incelemektir. Metin içinde gizlenmiş olan sembollerini ortaya çıkarmak adına, Arçelik ve Turkcell markalarının reklamları, eleştirel söylem analizi ve göstergebilimsel analiz yöntemleri ile incelenmiştir. Tezde, yapısalcı bir temsil anlayışı ile analiz edilen sonuçlar, kültürel muhafazakarlığın reklamlara eklenmesi hakkında önemli içgörüler sunmaktadır. Muhafazakar değerlerin söylem ve imajlarının, reklamlara, dominant kültürel kodlar ve referanslar aracılığı ile eklenmesi görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: muhafazakarlık, kültürel muhafazakarlık, Türk televizyon reklamları, göstergebilimsel analiz, eleştirel söylem analizi

To my mom, Ayşe Yağcı, for her support, encouragement, and constant love.

In memory of Mehmet Ayvalıtaş, Abdullah Cömert, Ethem Sarısülük, Medeni Yıldırım, Ali İsmail Korkmaz, and all resisters around the country.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CDA: Eleştirel Söylem Analizi (tr), Critical Discourse Analysis (en)
- CUP: İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (tr), Committee of Union and Progress (en)
- DLP: Demokratik Sol Part (tr), Democratic Left Party (en)
- DP: Demokrat Parti (tr), Democrat Party (en)
- GPRS: General Packet Radio Service (en)
- GSM: Global System for Mobile Communications (en)
- IMF: International Monetary Fund (en)
- JDP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (tr), Justice and Development Party (en)
- JP: Adalet Partisi (tr), Justice Party (en)
- MP: Anavatan Partisi (tr), Motherland Party (en)
- MÜSİAD: Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (tr), Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (en)
- NMP: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (tr), National Movement Party (en)
- NOP: Milli Nizam Partisi (tr), National Order Party (en)
- NSP: Milli Selamet Partisi (tr), National Salvation Party (en)
- PRP: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (tr), Progressive Republican Party (en)
- RPP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (tr), Republican People's Party (en)
- RTÜK: Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu (tr), the Supreme Board of Radio and Television (en)
- TOBB: Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (tr), the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (en)
- TPP: Doğru Yol Partisi (tr), True Path Party (en)

TRT: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (tr), Turkish Radio and Television Association (en)

TÜSİAD: Türk Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (tr), Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen

VP: Fazilet Partisi (tr), Virtue Party (en)

WP: Refah Partisi (tr), Welfare Party (en)

INTRODUCTION

As a significant media form, advertising can provide insights about social circumstances and transformation in a society. Advertising basically means promoting a good or service through various media. Although, it has a major role upon contemporary market society, it cannot be explained only by economical functions. Advertising, as a cultural and economic fabric of a society, should be analyzed regarding political, economic and cultural environment.

Advertising has evolved within and through society. It is not only affected by society, but also affects the society as well. In other words, regarding constructivist representation approach, advertisement is constructed in and through the social environment and transformation. In turn, advertisements can show representations of social codes and values.

Considering social transformation, especially after 1980s, neoliberal politics has a remarkable effect around the world. It has had also influences political, economic and cultural scope of Turkey. The most significant component of neoliberal policies is conservative values, embraced by many neoliberals. In order to understand Turkey and its transformation, elevation of conservatism, a major right-wing thought, should be considered. In this context, representations of conservatism, significant for Turkish social transformation, will be traced through advertisements.

The thesis is dedicated to investigate Turkish cultural conservatism themes in Turkish television advertisements. The thesis focuses on emerging occasion of conservatism and its definitions for explicit conceptualizing of conservatism, at first place. Chapter I is framed into four sub-titles; Concept of Conservatism, Re-thinking Conservatism, Conservatism as a Modern Thought, and Themes of Conservatism.

In order to understand what conservatism is, what it is opposed to, and what it tries to conserve, Chapter I starts with the emerging of conservative thought. Conservatism basically means that aim to maintain the world in its current state. As a political doctrine, conservatism emerged in the Age of Enlightenment. After a short part about Age of Enlightenment, the French Revolution is analyzed in 1.1.1.3, in order to explore how social changes should occur according to conservative thought. The French Revolution is remarkable, because the notion of revolution is major theme of conservative thought. Conservatives criticized destructive radicalism and rapid changes which can be traced explicitly in the French Revolution. Although conservatives are not against whole changes, they support sustainable and gradualist changes, unlike rigid and radical ones. The notions of revolution and social changes are considered with Edmund Burke's, founder of modern conservative social and political analysis, texts.

Chapter I also includes review of reactionism and traditionalism, separately from characteristics of conservatism. Then, relationship between conservatism and modernism is deeply analyzed in Chapter 1.3. For exploring modernism debates, the thesis is influenced by Marshall Berman's well-known book; 'All the Solid Melts into Air'. The thesis regards conservatism as a permanent companion of modernism.

Because conservatism is a product of counter-revolutionist moment, and the birth of conservatism is parallel with emergence of modernism, conservatism does not have pre-modern history. The thesis regards conservatism, which is based on social experiences and traditions, as a stance, modern thought, rather a political program. Conservatism which has a hybrid relation with modernity, adapts itself to the different courses of modernizations.

The thesis frames conservatism themes at the end of the Chapter I. Considering different types of Turkish conservatism through Tanıl Bora's descriptions; cultural conservatism, Islamism as conservatism, conservative revolution, nationalist conservatism and conservative liberalism, this study focuses on cultural conservatism. The cultural conservatism are categorized in seven themes; tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant and rural, religion, technology, and woman and family.

Chapter II is dedicated to analyze conservatism in Turkish history that emerged with Atatürk's Reform. This chapter includes milestones of conservatism with Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic era. In addition, the transformation of Turkish modern history which has taken place since 1980s is reviewed within this chapter in terms of its relationship with neo-liberal policies. In turn, the chapter focuses on the last decades through the Justice and Development Party government.

As this research was undertaken within the field of media and communication studies, advertisements are conducted for the analysis as a fertile media text. Chapter III investigates cultural conservatism themes in advertisements with Stuart Hall's

constructivist representation approach is borrowed. This chapter also consists of definitions, main debates and social role of advertising.

The main research questions of the thesis are discussed in three statements. Do Turkish advertisements articulate the discourses of conservatism into discourses of advertising in 2000s? How are the conservative values, images, words, symbols, indicators articulated in advertisements? What is the role of advertising in promotion and for depiction of conservative ideology in Turkey? In turn, Chapter IV aims to investigate the Turkish cultural conservatism themes in Turkish television advertisements from a constructivist approach. The themes of cultural conservatism tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant and rural, religion, technology, and woman and family are analyzed with semiotic and critical discourse analyses in five brand advertisements of Arçelik and Turkcell.

The literature review indicates that conservatism is generally studied from political science perspective. Therefore, it could be argued that there is a gap in the literature in terms of shortage of studies which aims to understand interconnection between everyday life practices and conservatism. As a significant contribution of this study, the thesis differs from previous researches on the subject and focus on the interplay between advertising, as a media form, and conservatism. On the other hand, since the research subject of the study only covers advertisements and since the number of selected advertisements is limited, the further studies could be designed more extensively in terms of sampling. In addition, as this thesis displays, further researches could be conducted around other media texts, rather than advertisements.

CHAPTER I

CONSERVATISM

1.1 The Concepts of Conservatism

This first chapter of the thesis is dedicated to understand thought of conservatism through exploring dynamics of emergence, major concepts, and debates about the relation between modernity and conservatism. However, the main problem of describing or writing about conservatism is the way it is conceptualized. Therefore, it should be mentioned that what conservatism is opposed to, and what it tries to conserve.

The dictionary meaning of conservatism is that it aims to maintain the world in its current state, which is considered to be safe and familiar. In simple terms, everyone wants to spend their life in the manner that they are used to; because changes always include risks which are unpredictable for conservatives. Furthermore, another definition of conservatism by Allan G. Johnson is given in the Dictionary of Sociology;

Conservatism is based on a relatively pessimistic view of human nature as basically evil, unreasonable, and violent if left to its own devices. The only way to control this destructive potential is to enforce rigid moral codes through strong traditions, social institutions, and a hierarchical society governed by elites whose power rests on both their inherent superiority and private property inherited across the generations. This implies that social inequality is inevitable and, indeed, necessary to maintain society (2000:59).

1.1.1. The Birth of Conservative Thought

In order to understand conservatism as a modern thought, when and why did conservatism emerged should be explored. According to Özipek, conservatism has two different meanings. The first definition is based on mode of thought, and the second is based on political doctrine. Özipek argues that on the one hand, as a mode of thought and attitude, traces of the beginning of conservatism can be ascribed to the first known period of history of mankind. On the other hand, as a political doctrine and a specific ideology, conservatism has a comparatively recent history (2009: 66). The second description of conservatism emerged from criticism of the 18th century, which is also called the Age of Enlightenment or the Era of Revolution, which brought a number of social, political and economic changes to the Western World. Several revolutions of this period include the 1688 Glorious Revolution in England, American colonies in 1776, and the 1789 French Revolution. In this context, similar to many other scholars, Beneton defines conservatism as the “product of counter-revolutionist moment” (1991: 49). Since the Age of Enlightenment paved the way for revolution; philosophically and intellectually, the study includes a brief discussion of this period before focusing on the relationship between revolutions and conservatism. In order to give clear explanation, it should be highlighted that the terms of revolution and conservatism are not positioned as binary opposition in this study. Moreover, the forthcoming part aims to analyze what attitude of conservatism is against the revolution, why and how conservatives criticize it.

1.1.1.2. The Age of Enlightenment

According to Tanıl Bora, birth of conservative thought can be traced back to reaction against the Age of Enlightenment and absolutism (2009: 56). Çiğdem (1997: 38) states that describing conservatism simply as reaction to the French Revolution implies that it is merely a defender of the ‘ancien régime’ (old regime); thus, overlooks the fact that conservatism takes many forms. To avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to discuss the Age of Enlightenment, briefly.

Conservative objection attaches a latent epistemological dimension to the Enlightenment which defends an abstract universalism. According to Öğün (2009, 551), the idea of universal rationalism arose from John Locke’s and other empiricists’ new human perception which exempt from thought of ‘original’ or ‘great sin’. John Lock contributed to the criticism of the original sin based on Augustinian thought, and he expressed that the human mind is a blank slate, ‘tabula rasa’, at birth and it is also innocent (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 262). The knowledge, data, rules are added this slate through experiences.¹ Thus, the reason has a universal value. In other words, the argument of this philosophy is that; if the same knowledge and data is added to every human mind, the results will be the same in everywhere and every time (Öğün, 2009: 552).

According to the Enlightenment philosophers, the universal civilization can be created by means of the reason. In contrast to this idea, conservative objections appear. Conservative mentality rejects defining the reason as tabula rasa, not

¹ For detailed information about the term of ‘tabula rasa’, see: Yolton, J. W. (1993). *The Blackwell Philosopher Dictionaries: A Locke Dictionary*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. pp: 288-289.

reason in itself or 'per se' reason (Öğün, 2009: 553). It also criticizes reason as a universal value and exalts the historical and traditional diversities. Furthermore, Immanuel Kant who was one of the most important philosophers in Western history argued that there are some objects such as metaphysics that cannot be explained by empiricism or reason itself. Although Kant praised the role of the reason in the Enlightenment, he claimed that the reason has some limitations (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 350).²

Conservatism frequently is defined as a counter-Enlightenment movement. When Enlightenment became radical, reaction to the Enlightenment intensified (Valjevac, 1951: 141-6, quoted in Bora, 1997: 8), symbolized most dramatically by the French Revolution. However, as Müller stated that conservatism arose not against the Enlightenment but within it (1997:24). In other words, conservatism opposed the extremism and radicalism of the Enlightenment, but not every paradigm, which can be listed by Hamilton as reason, empiricism, science, universalism, progress, individualism, toleration, freedom, uniformity of human nature and secularism (1996: 20) or dimensions.

Moreover, these and other philosophers claimed that political society is not natural but artificial (mechanic) (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 337). The consequences of these theoretical political thoughts have been put into practice. For example, the concept of social contract, universal human rights, and social transformation which is based on the human mind and realism which is not based on the history, and last but not least, traditions were the main motives for revolutions.

² For detailed information, see: Guyer, P. & Wood, A. W. (1998). *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant Critique of Pure Reason*. London: Cambridge University Press.

1.1.1.3. The French Revolution

Considering these developments, the thesis focuses on the relationship between the French Revolution and conservatism. The French Revolution caused rapid and radical change in almost every realms of human life. In addition, the French Revolution can be described as the beginning of the new era in which conservative ideology became crystallized. Thus, the notion of revolution is central to theme of conservative thought.

To clarify the relation between the French Revolution and conservatism, this study begins with an analysis of the French Revolution, followed by an explanation of the Revolution. According to Çiğdem (1997: 37), “The French Revolution has aimed to restore and change the society entirely, and eventually re-form it according to the values of the Enlightenment.” The origin of the French Revolution lays in the economic crisis in 1770s and 1780s, after a lengthy period of relative abundance. The society was angry and anxious, because every social class faced a dramatic decline in status (Lee, 2004: 11). In addition, it is a common consensus that poverty was the reason of the Revolution. According to Lee, this economic crisis made explicit two significant internal powers existing in the 18th century. Because of the crisis, these powers threatened to damage the structure of the society. Lee explains these powers as follows:

On the one hand, the first power was that the conflict between the second estate, aristocracy and the third estate, bourgeois becoming more intense. On the other hand, the second power was that these two estates attempted to destroy politics of monarchy and absolutism, simultaneously. (2004: 11)

Despite an explicit conflict between the second and third estates, this was suppressed by a temporary and artificial alliance between the two based on the common enemy.

Hence, the absolutist power of monarchy prevented such an abrupt explosion (Lee, 2004: 14-15). In other words, the estates had different starting points against central government, but they came together around a common cause. The ancien régime could not protect these estates' interests, and keep them away from exploitation. Hence, they agreed that a change in government was necessary. Finally, Louis XVI as King of France gave in to pressure and made some alteration in government. The second and the third estates abandoned their temporary coalition, and the conflict began explicitly. The results of this crisis period became the revolution (Lee, 2004: 18).

In that sense, when the social classes expressed their opposition, they utilized thoughts of the Age of Enlightenment's philosophers. As Lee stated especially Montesquieu and Rousseau had a strong influence upon the revolutionist soul and it can be said that their thoughts hastened the revolution. For instance, separation of powers theory by Montesquieu and Rousseau's "Man was born free." statement were used by the Parliament of Paris and the Parliament of Rennes in France, 1788 (Lee, 2004: 16-17).

If the French Revolution is analyzed in three stages, as Lee did, the first stage (1789-1792) can be called moderate, although sudden social and institutional transformation occurred and the whole structure of the ancien régime was destroyed. During the second stage (1792-1794), the Revolution became more doctrinaire and radical. For example, the republic was proclaimed in September 1792, and January 1793 Louis XVI was executed. The third and the last stage of the Revolution lasted

from 1794 until Napoléon Bonaparte took the power and extended the geography of the Revolution across Western World.

According to Çiğdem; “The French Revolution is the whole historical experiences from the Age of Enlightenment to the ‘Code Napoléon’ which is the French civil code, established under Napoléon.” (1997: 38). However, after the Revolution, there was such a widespread disappointment, much worse even than with the ancien régime. The distrust of philosophers and revolutionists brought us a counter-Enlightenment, and counter-revolutionist political ideology. (Özipek, 2009: 67).

1.2. Rethinking Conservatism

One of the most important books on the French Revolution is named “Reflections on the Revolution in France” written by Edmund Burke, who became the leading figure of conservative thought or the founder of modern conservative social and political analysis. In this book, Burke criticized destructive radicalism of the French Revolution which was based on the ideas of Rousseau, reason, and universal human rights, among other factors.

Edmund Burke describes how social changes should occur in his widely read book that change, if it is to occur, should come about slowly and as a logical extension of the natural order of things, not as a revolutionary way (1790). In other words, Burke was not against changes, at all. He stated that changes should be compatible with historical, political and social context of every nation. For instance,

the English Glorious Revolution in 1688 is a well-known example in order to explain how changes should be according to conservative viewpoint and conservatives support which type of revolution. In Burke's point of view, the English Revolution provides the continuity of history (Beneton, 1991: 19). In other words, this revolution is an ideal type of change consistent with its history, unlike radical French Revolution.

In 1688, James II was overthrown and William III and Marry II ascended to the throne (Öğün, 2009: 567). Through their moderate projects the change occurred³. The word moderate is the key word in comparison to the English Glorious Revolution and the French Revolution. Hence, on the one hand, Burke commended the English Glorious Revolution of 1688, which was liberal at its time. He argued that the Glorious Revolution was a defensive revolution as it protected a former government constitution which gave an assurance of freedom (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 345).

However, on the other side, Burke criticized destructive extremism of the French Revolution. He stated that "Social changes should be sustainable, proven, and gradualist rather than rigid, fast and radical." (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 346). In addition, conservatives also opposed to the French Revolution, because as Burke argued, the revolution enhanced the terror and devastated the mediator institutions which are the buffer between the society and the government (Güngörmez, 2003: 151). Although Burke accepted that transformation is necessary for the state to protect itself, he distrusted large-scale social changes which are precarious to him.

³ Miller, John. (2000). *James II*. London: Yale University Press. pp: 201-209.

However, the French Revolution did not protect the existing state and monarchy, on the contrary it aimed to destroy them and reconstruct a new society based on a new set of abstract rights based on reason (Tannenbaum & Schultz, 2007: 347).

According to Burke, there was nothing fundamentally wrong with the ancien régime in France, and that French had no need to bring the monarchy down (Hamilton, 1996: 45). Furthermore, one of the most important differences is related to the meaning of the word “Revolution”. In the 1688 Glorious Revolution, “revolution” and “restoration” had the same meaning. The French Revolution changed the meaning of revolution by resorting to violence. In this context, it is remarkable that the radicalism of the French Revolution which includes bloody and brutal transformation is a discursive choice of conservatives. The conservatives construct the rhetoric of the Revolution as violent, without adding any positive results of the Revolution. As Bora states, although bourgeois as the third estate behave revolutionist during the Revolution, after the Revolution settled, the bourgeois attitude change in conservative way, according to Marxist analysis (1997: 7). Since the situation after the Revolution became compatible with the interests of bourgeois’.

As Tannenbaum and Schultz states that Edmund Burke, David Hume and Immanuel Kant developed philosophical and political thoughts which criticize the capacity of human mind during the Era of Enlightenment and they accepted the limitation of it. As Burke argued, most of human acts have unintended or unpredicted results. If someone tries to create a society via the concept of social contract, its

success or results will be unpredictable. These three neo-modernist philosophers offered alternative notions for re-formulating the social contract (2007: 353).

Furthermore, according to Özipek, for conservatives, “According to religious based conservatives, human being is an imperfect creature and has limited capacity because of the nature of human being or the “original/great sin” with a pessimistic view of human nature (2009: 69). However, the French Revolution dethrones God and divinizes people; which mean kings are not the agent of God in world anymore (Güngörmez, 2003: 152). A human being can never achieve wisdom relying purely on his own reason. To remedy this, there is a need for the social institutions and values, such as those formed in religion, tradition, history and experiment (Özipek, 2009: 69). In a nutshell, conservatism defines mass social change as risking undesirable results. Therefore, the social changes should be progressive, gradual, and sustainable, unlike the French Revolution.

To sum up, the birth of conservative thought section of the thesis, some important parts should be stressed. According to Mannheim (1969: 100), the birth of conservatism which should be seen as separate from reactionism and traditionalism which will be discussed following two parts, needed specific historical and sociological circumstances (quoted in Çiğdem, 2009: 15). As mentioned above, these circumstances were the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

The arguments of Edmund Burke from England, Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald from France, Vincenzo Cuoco from Italy and Friedrich Gentz from Germany are that the reason for the conservative moment existing is the French Revolution, the most crucial watershed of modernism. Thus, conservatism has no pre-modern history. (Çiğdem, 2009: 16).

The conservative thought has criticized the radicalism of the French Revolution, but not every revolution. It has criticized radical transformation projects which try to re-construct society and politics. In this context, conservative thought emerged as a mode of thought and an ideology which was based on criticism of the French Revolution and the Age of Enlightenment. Therefore, conservative thought is suspicious of any idea that aims to have radical and permanent impact on human life. According to conservative mentality, social order should be formed on the basis of experiences and tradition. According to Hippolyte Taine who was a French critic, historian, and the leading figure of French conservatism, every improvement of human life has the signature of the reason (quoted in Öğün, 2009: 554). As Öğün states, conservatism does not deny the abstract reason, but tries to discipline it through historical and traditional principles. Conservatives describe this ‘ameliorated’ reason as ‘right way Enlightenment’ (2009: 554). Thus, conservatism firstly rejected universalism of the Enlightenment, but after the ameliorate process, conservative mentality espouses it.

1.2.1. Reactionism

Conservatives have some difficulty in explaining exactly what they aim to conserve. In this sense, Öğün (2009: 566) describes conservatives as defeated people after all, however, he emphasizes that their positioning as the defeated is determining in this context. At this point, conservative and reactionary attitude differ from each other, but distinction between them are ambiguous. According to Dubiel (1935: 131), conservatism determines its direction through ‘status quo ante’ (previous state) in the political platform (quoted by Bora, 1997: 7). On the other side,

the reactionary viewpoint seeks to return to status quo ante. Thus, it should be explored that what conservatism is as much as what conservatism is not.

In this context, in order to understand the distinguishing characteristics of ism from conservatism, an analysis of the emergence of Western conservatism will be explored. There are two main approaches that attempt to explain the emergence of conservatism in the western world. These approaches emerged against revolution not only as dissociation, but also a beginning time (Özipek, 2009: 67). The first one is reactionism as French conservatism; and the other approach is Anglo-Saxon moderate conservatism.⁴

It should be mentioned that why this thesis does not address American conservatism at this stage. As it is mentioned earlier, conservatism emerged within the unique historical experiences in Western world. On the other side, the experience of American conservatism is entirely different, because American Revolution differs in the French Revolution. For instance, as Beneton itemizes in three bullets, the American Revolution is not an ideological revolution. It is not dissociation with old regime, even it is an establishment. In addition, American regime became consistent and permanent regime in a short time. He also stresses the American Revolution is a source of American tradition which includes a liberal tradition (1991: 77-78).⁵

⁴ For detailed information, see: Akkaş, H. H. (2000). *İngiliz Muhafazakar Siyasal Düşüncesi ve Edmund Burke*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi. pp: 4-5.

⁵ For detailed information about American conservatism, see: Beneton, P. (1991). *Muhafazakarlık* (C. Akalın, Trans.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. pp: 77-83.

The first approach reacts to implementations of the Enlightenment reason which is the source of rationalism and revolutionary theories, in the political project. In this sense, the Continental Europe conservatism refers a social counter-revolutionist (reaction) movement, against revolutionist thinking in society, especially in French society. The Continental European conservatism rejects the revolutions a body of positive and negative outcomes (Özipek, 2009: 67). In addition, it aims to restore status quo ante and supports traditional authority.

This approach is also called French reactionary conservatism or counter-revolutionist conservatism. If the revolution refers radicalism, it can be easily said that radicalism and reactionary are the opposite pole. For instance, the French conservatism whose leading figures are Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre, denied the Enlightenment and the French Revolution regarding their political results, and tried to construct theocratic and monarchic form of government. Furthermore, as Bora states that French reactionary conservatism was influenced by a restoration wave which aims to re-construct society based on monarchic form of government and religious worldview. Hence, this approach can be defined as strict and religious (Catholic) (1997: 11). However, in the subsequent years of revolution, the revolutionist institution (or foundation) became operable in society. Hence, the French reactionary conservatism lost its power.

The other approach, Anglo-Saxon conservatism, lines up with gradualist and evolutionist changes. It supports parliamentary regime and has maintained its progress. Therefore, this moderate conservatism could influence the tradition of

thought that develop within it (Özipek, 2009: 67). Furthermore, its most crucial characteristics are being moderate and liberal, unlike reactionary French conservatism, because as Beneton states, political liberalism did not root in France in prerevolutionary time (1991: 51). For instance, Anglo-Saxon conservatism internalizes the parliamentary revolution as a part of historical tradition (Bora, 1997: 11). According to Beneton, English conservatism becomes integrated with national tradition and suitable for adaptation. Thus, conservative party has being ruling party or the major opposition party (1991: 68).

As Taşkın states, the phenomenon of change is vital for ideology of conservatism, because it distinguishes conservative ideology from adjectives such as reactionary, modernist, reformist, and so on (2009: 187). One of the difficulties about an accurate analysis of conservatism is the word itself; ‘conservatism’. On the one hand, the conservatism literature agreed on that it covers not only the past, but also the future. Moreover, conservatism stresses continuity of tradition as much as the need of change because of living conditions. On the other hand, the connotations of the conservatism sometimes can be insufficient about showing positive attitude of changing in the first place (Göka & Göral & Güney, 2009: 302).

Conservatism does not reject changes completely. The important point is the desire of continuity, rather than changing. People want to change in order to sustain what they possess (Atay, 2009: 175). Furthermore, conservatism criticized the project or idea of returning to the previous state, if the project endangers for continuity of order. The underlying motive for conservatism is the continuance of sustainability and having control in the changing process (Taşkın, 2009: 187).

Essentially, conservatism can internalize the phenomenon of change because of historical persistence. In other words, according to conservative viewpoint, change is acceptable if it is moderate, occurred with familiar references and do not enforce the order radically.

On the one hand, one of the most prominent features of conservatism is to desire for compromising. According to McAllister (1995: 10), this attitude is related with desire of conservatism for chronic order (quoted by Arın, 2009: 469). On the other hand, conservatives are obviously more negotiator than reactionists regarding the changing. Moreover, on the one side Öğün describes reactionists as knights with ambitious souls; on the other side conservatism has a pragmatic attitude to discussing the situations (2009: 566). Having a pragmatic attitude is also significant to understand conservatism. This description shows that conservatism does not overlap with strictness of reactionary. Therefore, conservatism cannot be explained with features of reactionism since progression based on a tradition or, namely, reform is claimed to be a counter poison against revolutions which are depicted as destroying traditions by conservatives (Öğün, 2009: 566). Furthermore, in my point of view, being a negotiator is the crucial term for the characteristic of conservatism; because in this case, conservatism is articulated with liberalism.

In this context, it should be stressed that conservative thought does not express obvious relationships based on interests, and individual benefits, unlike classical liberalism, if these are not in great danger (Taşkın, 2009: 187). Moreover, conservatives believe that this danger targets organic unity of nation. In order to

eliminate the danger, they want to popularize a discourse which is more indirect and spiritual. Therefore, again unlike the liberals, conservatism is a right-wing ideology (Argın, 2009: 468). For instance, although liberals tend to become leftist or rightist from time to time, conservatism is determined to be on the right wing (Argın, 2009: 468). In this sense, it should be mentioned why conservatism is depicted as a right-wing view.

If conservatism is analyzed as a political doctrine, an ideology or as and as Mannheim (1969) meant a mode of thought, rather than an attitude or state of mind, which can be articulated in every doctrine or ideologies, the right wing tendency can be traced (quoted in Çiğdem, 1997: 32). On the one hand, conservatism makes a fierce criticism of capitalism and liberalism. According to Beneton, in 19th century, conservative criticism of capitalism was more intense than that of the socialists. Although socialists analyze and accept the capitalism as a compulsory phase between past and future, conservatives tend to refuse capitalism in the aggregate. In conservative point of view, expansion of capitalism is a destructive process, because capitalism demolishes the norms, practices and establishments of traditional society, and constructs a mass industrial society (1991: 93). However, it has to stress that this attitudes of conservatives against capitalism cannot be generalized, because there are some form of conservatisms that get along well with capitalism.

On the other hand, these criticisms do not carry conservatism to left side, such as socialism. In other words, conservatism does not internalize the optimistic viewpoint of liberalism or socialism (Özipek, 2009: 69). Because, as it mentioned earlier, conservatism has a pessimistic view on human nature (Johnson, 2000: 59). In

other words, according to Müller (1995: 17), conservatism is based on an attitude, a non-analytic tangible stance, rather than a political program (quoted in Bora, 2009: 57). Conservatism stresses feelings, perceptions, not reason; which means it distrusts the abstract. Hence, because of this suspecting position, conservatism appears as a ‘social pessimism’ or pessimism against social (Bora, 2009: 57).

In this context, if conservatism is described as right wing ideology, it should be separated other ideologies, especially other right wing ones. Argin stresses two different points in order to separate conservatism to other ideologies. The first one is that conservatism is not a simply conformism which means taking stand of the status quo (2009: 469). According to Kalb (1997), conservatives want to conserve status quo, because conservatism determines its attitude based on status quo which is depicted as proper with political and cultural principles by conservatives (quoted in Argin, 2009: 469). In this sense, conservatism does not unconsciously resist to future, instead it aims to progress with traditions and moderate attitude.

The second point argued by Argin is that conservatism is not tenacious reactionary (2009: 469). The reactionism tries to return history to status quo ante. However, “Conservative attitude cannot be only determined by a desire which aims to protect the previous state.” (Çiğdem, 1997: 33) First of all, conservatism is particular about past, and has an instrumentalist relationship with it. Moreover, when status quo does not need status quo ante which means status quo becomes stable or past loses its instrumentalism, conservatism adapts itself to the present condition or state (Çiğdem, 1997: 33). Reactionary attitude aims to conserve everything about past, but on the other side conservatism aims to protect something deliberately.

Furthermore, in contrast to reactionism, as Argin highlights, conservatism is affiliated with tradition, not past; present state of past, not past in itself. This characteristic of conservatism distinguishes it from reactionary and conformism (2009: 469).

1.2.2. Tradition

In order to understand what conservatism deliberately aims to protect things, this thesis explores these things and it brings us to notion of 'tradition', since conservatism tries to preserve chosen traditions. In other words, conservative thought does not try to conserve everything from past, as mentioned above, it chooses and aims to reconstruct something from past. Therefore, it prevents to explore conservatism as concern of conserving things as its current state, at all (Beneton, 1991: 10). Furthermore, according to Nisbet, "If the central ethos of liberalism is individual emancipation, and that of radicalism the expansion of political power in the service of social and moral zeal, the ethos of conservatism is tradition, essentially medieval tradition." (2004: 11). In addition, Karl Mannheim (1927) describes the relation between conservatism and tradition as; conservatism becomes conscious and rationalistic about traditionalism (quoted in Bora, 1997: 7). According to Beneton, it is given that conservatism as a modern phenomenon is an intellectual and political movement. In other words, conservative doctrine was formed to protect traditional, political and social order in Western world; and conservatism is fundamentally anti-modern. Therefore, pure conservatism means traditionalism (Beneton, 1991: 10-11).

According to Hultkrantz (1960: 229-231), tradition is defined as a form of culture passed down within a society (quoted in Atay, 2009: 175). The most distinctive criterion of the tradition is the rituals or beliefs, which originated from the past and are maintained in the present. Furthermore, Shils describes tradition as;

In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a 'traditum'; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present. It makes no statement about what is handed down or in what particular combination or whether it is a physical object or a cultural construction; it says nothing about how long it has been handed down or in what manner, whether orally or in written form. (1981: 12)

In order to explain tradition in a more apparent manner, it should be separated from another concept; traditionalism. Although these two notions seem as if they have an organic relation, they have different approaches attaching them to contrary meanings (Atay, 2009: 160). Jaroslav Pelikan's famous statement unfolds the difference between tradition and traditionalism; "Tradition is the living faith of the dead; traditionalism is the dead faith of the living." (Quoted in Atay, 2009: 160) This statement affirms tradition, and on the contrary it disclaims traditionalism.

On the one hand, tradition is described as a bridge between past and present state. Ayvazoğlu (1996: 163) describes tradition as a protection reflex of a culture and power of maintaining with constant regeneration (quoted in Atay, 2009: 155). On the other hand, traditionalism as 'the death faith of living' refers to a content which underlines a static and unchanging past. Furthermore, another attached meaning of tradition is that it does not remain stable; it is selected by social dynamics and actors of today. Therefore, as Atay states; tradition is chosen, constructed or invented and it changes through needs of present state. Moreover, traditions are sorted out from past functional traditions. Eventually, as a conservative perspective, tradition can be a guide to construct or change today (2009: 157). In

other words, tradition can be a basis for the change. Ahmet Hami Tanpınar's statement summarizes this perspective explicitly; "New life is needed... However, even in order to bound and change horizon, it is necessary to keep our feet on the ground." (Quoted in Atay, 2009: 155)

Tradition is defined by Asad (1986) as a discourse which explains conceptualizing previous state with today's unique practices (quoted in Atay, 2009: 156). Moreover, these thoughts highlight that protection of tradition can be possible, if substance of tradition reproduces in modern times, rather than hiding away from changing. In other words, tradition is defined beyond the limited content about past, and engages to present state and future with an organic connection. Furthermore, encoding tradition and modernity as opposite poles, changing of modernity cannot be understood clearly. For instance, Timothy Luke (1996) claims that 'tradition-in-modernity' or 'modernity-as-tradition' can be traced in modern times. Moreover, he opposes the binary opposition about tradition and modernity such as 'modernity as positive new-ness' and 'as negative old-ness' (quoted in Onbaşı, 2003: 87).

In this context, Atay stresses that tradition can be understood as a supplement which came from past to present, exists today and will be endured in future (2009: 156). Life that is different in every tradition entails us to argue different forms of conservatism in every tradition (Göka & Göral & Güney, 2009: 302). "Conservatism has local or national, cultural connections, unlike universal ideologies."⁶ (Bora & Onaran, 2009: 234). According to Müller (2001: 2624), conservatism needs strong

⁶ In this sense, conservatism and nationalism have some similarities. However, although nationalism is a project in itself, conservatism is against a project, modernity; it is not a project (Bora & Onaran, 2009: 260).

continuity of symbols and institutions (quoted in Bora & Onaran, 2009: 234). Thus, it can be said that conservatism is not a global phenomenon, because it needs local and historical roots which are different in every societies.

As Atay argues; tradition and modernity was positioned as contrary notions for long time in social sciences. This argument describes tradition as an obstacle for living today and constructs the future. Tradition has negative connotations for modern societies which have existed since 18th century. In addition, it is depicted with some adjectives such as agrarian, rusticity, ahistorical, and passivity. (2009: 155). According to this modernist argument, tradition only belongs to past, and it is nonfunctional for today. However, as Bauman mentions (2001: 15819), if tradition is understood as a historical continuity in cultural manner, it becomes a component of modernity (quoted in Atay, 2009: 155). Since, tradition is modernity's engine, instead of its brake. This statement shows that reproduction and the act of changing are included in tradition; unlike the modernist approach, which depicts tradition as opposition of innovation, improvement, and changing.

The notion of 'past' is a very crucial reference of conservative mode of thought. As Bora and Onaran mention, past is the changing dynamic of modernism and source of tradition and authenticity which are devastated by modernity. However, every past reference is not the indicator of conservative thought. Furthermore, for instance, the notion of nostalgia is one of the important sign of conservatism, but not the absolute evidence (2009: 234). In other words, nostalgia does not point to conservatism; although as an attitude or mode nostalgia is articulated with conservatism.

Nostalgia is simply against troubles of modernism such as alienation, degeneration, and defends sincere, moral and epic life images which are in integrity of pre-modern history. It aims re-experience this pre-modern history (Bora & Onaran, 2009: 235). Furthermore, the last quarter of 20th century, nostalgia is encouraged, aestheticized and marketed by culture industry. According to Megill (1998: 331), the feeling of losing some unique things with the pace of change can be said to be the characteristics of conservative nostalgia (quoted in Bora & Onaran, 2009: 236). As Bora and Onaran argues, conservative nostalgia remembers the past which is eroded by modernity as a political project. Therefore, conservative nostalgia can be analyzed not only in terms of longing for the past, but also putting forward some chosen tradition. In other words, just as conservative thought, conservative nostalgia sorts out elements of past before it is named as element of nostalgia (2009: 236-260).

1.3. Conservatism as a Modern Thought

First of all, "... if modernism was founded from inside of ancien régime, conservatism has to be taken into account as a modern formation." (Çiğdem, 1997: 35) As Bora states; although the basic tendency of conservatism is not modern, conservatism is not the opposite of the modernization, rather its permanent companion. Moreover, conservatism can articulate ideologies as a thought, instead of ideological manner in itself (1997: 3). In other words, it is not a political program; it should be depicted as a stance, position. Thus, conceptualizing of conservatism is complicated; it sometimes cannot be distinguished or separated from other ideologies. Meanwhile, modernity does not exclude conservatism in political context,

and cultural conservatism is a very crucial part for reinforcement of modernism (Çiğdem, 1997: 36). Thus, this thesis addresses conservatism as an attitude, mode of thought. Even though the cultural conservatism has some political influence; the essential concern of this study is cultural conservatism, rather than political conservatism. However, it should be taken into account that these categories cannot be separated with clear-cut lines; they can fuse each other easily. In addition, according to Argin, conservatism positions itself beyond-politics, because it encodes itself cultural, moral and spiritual (2009: 467-468).

According to Mollaer, several meanings are attributed to the term of conservatism at the same time, as ‘the other of modernism’. In political-cultural perspective, conservatism refers reactionism, fanaticism, orientalism, and communitarianism, in theological perspective; religiousness, Islamism, and in sociological perspective; traditional society, underdevelopment, rusticity and ‘gemeinschaft’ (as homogenous society which has strong religious connections) (2011: 59). This thesis tries to explore what conservatism is and is not. Although these manifold terms are mentioned, the most vital connection of conservatism is aimed to be analyzed in following modernity part.

The occasion of conservatism’s presence overlapped with the transformation of the traditional society into modern societies. In other words, modernity is defined as a post-medieval historical period (Heidegger, 2002: 68). As discussed above, conservatism arose in the West and reacted French Revolution’s perceived impact on traditional society (Nisbet, 1986). According to Nisbet (1986: 11),

Modern conservatism is, in its philosophical form at least, the child of the Industrial and French Revolutions: unintended, unwanted, hated by the protagonists of each, but the child nevertheless. What the two revolutions; the Industrial and French Revolutions attacked, the conservatism of such men as Burke, Bonald, Haller and Coleridge defended. And what the two revolutions engendered conservatism attacked. ... From conservatism's defence of social tradition sprang its emphasis on the values of community, kinship, hierarchy, authority and religion...

The birth of conservatism is parallel with emergence of modernism. Therefore, as it was mentioned above, conservatism has no pre-modern history. Conservatism as a modern thought is identified with modernism itself (Bora & Onaran, 2009: 234). In addition, conservatism is a fertile source for criticizing modernism. It should be stressed that conservatism cannot be totally generalized in the category of anti-modern. In this connection, this part of the thesis is devoted to understand the relation between modernism and conservatism, because thinking about conservatism requires thinking about modernism, as well. Thus, how modernity is defined should be answered, primarily.

1.3.1. Defining Modernity

Modernity is a term for the massive social and cultural changes which took place in northern Europe from the middle of the 17th century, and it is consequently bound up with the analysis of industrial capitalist society – as a revolutionary break with tradition and with forms of social stability founded upon a relatively stagnant agrarian civilization. (Morley, 1996: 52)

According to Hall, modern societies identifies with the onset of industrialization in the 19th century. 'Formations', including four major social processes which are identified with political, economic, social, and cultural, breaks with the tradition, tracing modern societies back to their origins in the rapid and extensive social and economic development which followed the decline of feudalism

in Western Europe (1996: 3). Before enlarging of the criticism of modernity, the historical background of modernity as the transition from medieval to modern societies should be mentioned briefly.

In context, in Marshall Berman's well-known book; 'All the Solid Melts into Air' which is about dialectics of modernization and modernism, modernity is divided into three conventional phases. These phases can be called early modernity, classical modernity and late modernity. The first period starts with 16th century to the end of the 18th which is called early modernity, and Berman defines this period as; "People are just beginning to experience modern life; they hardly know what has hit them." (Berman, 1988: 16)

The second period begins with 1790s to 1900s (Berman, 1988, 17). In this study, greater emphasis is given to 18th century in order to understand conservatism profoundly, because as Hamilton writes; "When the great rupture between traditional and modern societies first took shape in the French Revolution." (Hamilton, 1996: 45) This era includes the Revolutions and its effects which include radical changes in every dimension of social, political and personal life. According to Berman, this phase is not modern at all, but modernism emerges and unfolds (1988: 17). In this phase, "Modernity is understood as a cluster of trends and institutions emerging from the middle ages, including the industrializing capitalist economy and the nation-state system." (Hubert & Thompson, 1996: 231) In addition, as Morley stresses, modernization was always economically driven by capitalism (1996: 52).

Finally, the last phase appears in 20th century. Berman (1988: 17) explains this phase as; “The process of modernization expands to take in virtually the whole world, and the developing world culture of modernism achieves spectacular triumphs in art and thought.” Wagner summarizes emerging of modern society; “The late 18th century was an historical period during which a major conceptual-intellectual transformation coincided with a major politico-institutional transformation.” (2001: 1). Thus, this double transformation marks the emerging of “modern society”.

Modernity represents a unique period through constructing a new social reality or as Wallerstein (1998:77) states; a new world view (*Weltanschauung*). According to Duman, on the one hand, modernity refers to a rigid epistemological break from old world in scientific, political, economic, social and cultural sense. Thanks to this rigid epistemological break, “It aims to construct a new world with an understanding of a new reason, individual, society, nation-state and religion.” (Duman; 2008: 101). In this sense, the constructional transformation in societies, caused by modernity is crucial. According to Morley (1996: 52);

We have a set of interrelated notions here: modernization, rationalization, and progress, and an implicit vision of the gradual perfectibility of society, to be achieved by rational planning and social reform. However, as we know, things do not always go to plan.

1.3.2. Relationship between Modernity and Conservatism

Considering this, there is a new life style which brings new troubles, and many scholars criticize modernity. For instance, Weber (1998) defines modernity as “disenchantment of world” and Durkheim (2002) states that people alienate from themselves and society becomes or has anomaly (quoted in Duman, 2008: 98). In

addition, Marx highlighted being modern, rather than modernity itself. According to Marx, “All that is solid melts into air; all that is holy is profaned.” (Quoted in Berman, 1988: 89) Moreover, according to Giddens and Pierson (2001: 28), being modern means a new society which substitutes itself with past. The new society does not embrace the old tradition, custom, routine, habit, belief and expectation which characterize its own history.

On the one side, modernity as an Enlightenment project aims to construct a new social order, on the other side it leads to a new disorder. Thus, conservatives criticize modernity because of the consequences of these transformations. The criticism of conservatism about modernity aims to purify extremism of modernism or control and tame modernity as an Enlightenment project. Furthermore, conservatism is depicted as an expression or response of the inconvenience of modernity and the disappointment of the Enlightenment project. Because, according to Morley, “... the promises of modernity such as to achieve the emancipation of humanity from poverty, ignorance, prejudice, and the absence of enjoyment, are no longer considered feasible.” (1996: 52). In this context, it should be mentioned that while conservatives criticize modernity, they define it at the same time, because as it mentioned earlier, conservatism cannot be defined as an anti-thesis for modernization.

To sum up, this study particularly avoids situating these two terms as opposite concepts. I would like to stress some important definitions. For instance, the relation between conservatism and modernity is defined as hybrid by Mollaer (2011: 64). Moreover, the fact that conservatism is determined by modernism and the attitude of

conservative thought cannot be defined as anti-modernism; may be a counter-ideology of modernism (Bora & Onaran, 2009). In this sense, Bora highlights the conservatism and modernism relationship as conservatism adapts itself to the course of modernization. Furthermore, modernization has more than one process itself. Hence, it should be called modernization processes, instead of process. Destruction and reconstruction, refreshing regularly, and changing the codes are the characteristics of the modernization (Bora, 2009: 55 and Bora, 1997: 7). Moreover, conservatism re-arranges and improves itself in every new phase of modernism. This study takes into account to the latest phase of modernism.

1.4. Themes to Frame Conservatism

As Öğün states the mainstream conservatism spreads wherever modernity is. Thus, conservatism has flexibility to exist in a different cultural ground (2011: 15). Tanıl Bora differentiates Turkish conservatism five types as cultural conservatism, Islamism as conservatism, conservative revolution, nationalist conservatism and conservative liberalism. According to Bora, Turkish right wing is formed nationalism, conservatism, and Islamism same as the name of his book. He defines them as states rather than positions. He explains each of them figuratively as nationalism is solid state, Islamism liquid phase, and conservatism is gaseous state of Turkish right wings. When Tanıl Bora explains the phases of Turkish right wing, he particularly chooses the word “gaseous” state for conservatism. He utilizes the different meaning of this word such as hard to realize and intangible. Furthermore, he uses spoken language meaning of “gaseous” as raise to the bait, figuratively (2009: 8-9). Regarding the information, conservatism is not a homogenous structure

obviously, that's why it is hard to describe. This thesis is interested in representation of conservatism. Thus, regarding mentioned conservatism descriptions and debates, the study aims to investigate cultural conservatism type in order to seek text and context relation and interpret the advertisements.

This thesis chooses some important themes of conservatism in order to explore the cultural grounds and how conservatism articulates or affects there. These themes are tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant and rural, religion, technology, and woman and family. Tradition, nostalgia, and local and cultural connections of conservatism are explored above, so other themes will be discussed now.

One of the most important themes of conservatism is peasant and rural, because it is the pattern of conservative discontent against modernity. According to Bora and Erdoğan (2009: 637), conservatism depicts modernity as the moment when tradition is destroyed. In addition, for the conservative discourse, rural and peasant are the indicators of this loss. This discourse takes side of natural, real, virtuous and informal attitudes, rather than supporting formality, the unnatural and politeness which is also decoded as femininity by conservative discourse and urbanity (or civilization) (Bora & Erdoğan, 2009: 643). In other words, conservatism supports untouched peasant against degenerated urban. Furthermore, as it is mentioned earlier, conservatism needs local (national) and historical (cultural) connections. Moreover, according to Beneton, the desirable society for conservatives is rural society, rather

than industrial city. The Industrial Revolution dislocates people to be machines' employ. Urbanization detaches people from their own traditional society and nature. Rural societies unite people, whilst cities detach them (1991: 95-96).

The other theme is religion which has critical role for conservative thought. Religion is defined as a necessary for the stability of societies (Bora, 1997: 9). Conservatism takes a stance towards spiritualism against materialism. Conservative thought regards religion connections and its rituals, rather than religiousness itself (Beneton 1991:110). For instance, going on pilgrimage or be circumcised is very remarkable even vital ritual for Muslim communities. Moreover, as Beneton claims that if conservative movement is still alive, it is because religious conservatism (1991: 117).

The theme of technology has some differences from other themes, because conservatism coheres with the technological aspect of capitalism (Bora, 1997: 15). According to Wallerstein (1998), conservatism identifies with technological modernism, but it does not internalize itself with modernity of freedom. In other words, conservatism does not have troubles with modern technologies, but it criticizes modernity from cultural perspective. For instance, Bora and Onaran mention that Turkish conservatism is enthusiastic about absorbing Western technology. However, it avoids taking Western culture such as moral codes, behaviors and attitudes. In addition, they highlight Turkish conservatism opposed to the technology in a quite mild way in comparison to other novelties that modernity has brought with it. (Bora & Onaran, 2009: 241).

Finally, the last theme includes woman and family concepts. According to conservative thought, family is very blessed, and holy. Because of modernity, the linkage between generations is destroyed. Same as the tradition part of this study, conservatism regards virtuous family connections. For this theme, the term of individual is also vital. Furthermore, according to Beneton, conservative thought defines three fundamental criticisms against modernity; epistemological, political, and sociological criticisms.⁷ The sociological criticism claims that human is not autonomous, and is dependent to society. In other words, humankind hands down a heritage and needs social and moral norms (1991: 49).

After the discussing the major debates and characteristics about conservatism, this study considers conservatism as an intellectual stance, a mode of thought rather than a political position is a modern thought. This thesis aims to investigate how the chosen main Turkish cultural conservatism themes, which are tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant, religion, technology, and woman and family, are articulated in selected Turkish advertisements.

⁷ For detailed information about epistemological and political criticism, see: Beneton, P. (1991). *Muhafazakarlık* (C. Akalın, Trans.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. pp: 48-49.

CHAPTER II

CONSERVATISM IN TURKEY

2.1. The Milestones of Conservatism in Turkish History

The conservatism, as Mannheim states (1969: 100), emerges in cases where historical and sociological factors come together (quoted in Çiğdem, 2009: 15). For modern Turkish history, the occasion of needed moment for conservatism is Atatürk's Reforms (Çiğdem, 2009:16). The rises of conservatism began with Turkish modernism. In other words, the history of conservatism is as old as the history of the Turkish Republic. Moreover, the republic does not point at only political regime change, but also it reflects the radical transformation from Ottoman Empire in social, political, cultural and ideological fields. To follow footsteps of Turkish conservatism in Turkish modern history, this study starts with reformist movements in Ottoman Empire in order to explore the periods from reforms to revolution.

2.1.1. Modernism in Ottoman Empire

Exploring the Turkish modern history, we need to trace the first reformist movements in Ottoman Empire in order to understand the period from reforms to revolution. Initially, the question of starting point for modern history of Turkey should be answered. As Eric Jan Zürcher states, it starts from the period of the

French Revolution and its aftermaths (2004: 2). In this time, "...Selim III (r.1789–1807) came to the throne in April, revolution in France was just getting underway" (Ahmad, 2003: 25), but the Empire was in difficult economic and political conditions. "Selim introduced military reform in these inauspicious times. Inspired by the example of the French Revolution, whose impact was felt in Istanbul, Selim called his new army the 'new order' (Nizam-ı Cedid)." (Ahmad, 2003: 26) However, for sustaining the reforms, Selim III had to raise the taxes which confronted with oppositions. Consequently, the period of Selim was ended in 1807 and Mahmut II (1808-1838) came to the throne. Moreover, "The policies of Sultan Mahmut II from 1826 onwards determined the direction that Ottoman reform efforts would take for the next 80 years." (Zürcher, 2004: 39).

In the light of this information, it can be said that the roots of the modernism in the Ottomans were based on 18th century. However, this reformist attempts generally focused on only military institution in order to win the battles against European countries. Later, since reformist attempts of Selim III failed, Sultan Mahmut II adapted different modernization processes which included the bureaucracy, government, economy and social. To summarize which reforms were done during the reign of Mahmut II, we can itemize some important breaking points.

Mahmut II aimed to reinforce the central state through building a modern army after all, similar to policies of Selim III. In order to establish a powerful central state and army, he needed better economic and effective taxation system. For instance, Mahmut II destroyed the old janissaries system and created new army in 1826. Many European military were invited to the empire by Mahmut II to establish

a modern army. Moreover, “Mahmut II realized that a modern army was not enough, and that an effective bureaucratic machine was needed to control the country and to ensure the collection of revenues.” (Zürcher, 2004: 41).

This transformation also brought new hierarchical religious institution. “The ulema, who had so effectively opposed earlier reforming sultans through their coalition with the janissaries, had now lost their strong arm and the sultan made use of their weakened position to curb their power.” (Zürcher, 2004: 40). In other words, Mahmut II aimed to control over the religion through centralizing it, same principles as he had done with the army. In addition, another reform field was education. Mahmut II established military school which was studied modern medicine, although the common education system was not modern. Gradually, new bureaucratic class was emerged because of these reforms.

After Sultan Mahmut II died in 1839, his son, Abdülmecit was to reign from 1839 to 1861. This period (1839-1876) is known as Tanzimat (reforms) period in Turkish historiography. “The accelerated transformation of the traditional structure of the Ottoman Empire thereafter was a result of the so-called Tanzimat period.” (Jung & Piccoli, 2001:30). The reforms were imitation of the European modernization in order to not be destroyed by Europe (Tezel, 2009: 26). This period started with the ‘The reform edict of Gülhane’ proclaimed by some state officers and ended with the dissolution of the first Ottoman parliament by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1878. The reform edict of Gülhane included four basic reforms;

The establishment of guarantees for the life, honor and property of the sultan’s subjects; an orderly system of taxation to replace the system of tax farming; a system of conscription for the army; and equality before the law of all subjects, whatever their religion (Zürcher, 2004: 51)

Later, the Ottomans continued to make reforms in order to establish modern army, hierarchical bureaucracy, effective taxation system and secular state. However, these reforms strengthened cultural disconnection between state officers and society. Therefore, against these reforms some conservative groups which highlighted glorious past of the Ottoman Empire and Islam were emerged. In addition, these conservative groups reviled the European culture. For instance, the Young Ottomans including some young bureaucrats and writers started to defend not westernization but modernization. In other words, they criticized the officers of the Tanzimat as being Western wannabe. They also defend to create parliamentary and constitutional system to hold Muslims and non-Muslims together, and mixture between liberalism and Islamic tradition (Zürcher, 2004: 67). As a result, the Young Ottomans were supported many people in Islamic societies.

Although officers of the Tanzimat aimed to modernize Ottoman Empire, they did not try to establish a parliamentary system. Therefore, opposition groups including the Young Ottomans started to make pressure on the Sultan to open a parliament. Later, the Sultan Abdülhamit II proclaimed the opening of the parliament which was known as First Constitutional Era (I. Meşrutiyet) due to the war against Russia and pressure of opposition groups in 1876. However, the Sultan closed the parliament as a result of being defeated by Russia. Between 1877 and 1908 was period of Abdülhamit II because of his single power. On the one hand the period of Abdülhamit II is criticized by some scholars because of his repressive regime, Hamidian absolutism, which attempted to eliminate opposition groups and control all society. On the other hand, Sultan Abdülhamit II continued to make many reforms in the area of transportation, military, bureaucracy, and education.

Against the Hamidian absolutism several opposition fractions was established in Turks, Armenians, Bulgarians and Arabs. Among these groups, Young Turks was the most effective one. The Young Turk movement was mainly supported by politicians who were excluded by Abdülhamit and military officers who educated in modern military schools established by Abdülhamit. This group was also divided into two groups such as conservatives and radicals. The conservative group in the Young Turk movement was led by Prince Sabahattin and the group supported liberal economy, decentralization in the government and improvement of some conservative values. In contrast, radicals which were basis of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, in Turkish, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) defended centralization the state, radical transformation on the politics and society, and independent state economy (Zürcher, 2004: 3). Eventually, military officers of the CUP rebelled against the Abdülhamit II in 1908, and Abdülhamit proclaimed the opening of the parliamentary the second time which also called as the Second Constitutional Era. According to Jung and Piccoli (2001:40), the new era brought many important changes into the Empire, as they states;

...the reforms caused massive changes in the social fabric of Ottoman society. The new social forces, whose foundations had been laid by the reforms of the administrative, military and educational institutions of the Ottoman state, later played an essential role in the formation of the Turkish Republic.

Later, the CUP become the dominant party in the parliament because they well-organized around the country. However, the opposition group, Ahrar Fırkası which led by Prince Sabahattin and some conservatives was unable to win the elections due to lack of organizational power. These two parties represent dichotomy between centralist-secular tradition and decentralized-conservative tradition as this study will explain comprehensively this dichotomy in the following parts. For

instance, the ideas of the CUP were maintained by the Republican People's Party (RPP, in Turkish, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) which was the founder of the modern Turkish Republic. Furthermore, the ideas of Ahrar Fırkası were continued by the Democrat Party (DP, in Turkish, Demokrat Parti) which was the winner of first free elections of Turkish republic.

The counter-revolution of April 1909 against the CUP mainly led by radical Islamists and some conservatives was repressed by the military officers of the CUP (Zürcher, 2004: 95-97). Therefore the CUP became the most dominant party and the Ahrar Fırkası lost its power around the country. Between 1909 and 1913, although the CUP was dominant party, it could not become single power. During this period, there were ideological debates between Turkish nationalism, Islamism and Ottomanism. Among them, conservatives mostly associated with the Islamism and the Ottomanism. However, since the Ottomanism lost its legitimacy after the Balkan Wars, conservatives started to focus on Islamism. The conservatives generally supported the Islamic values, liberal economy and constitutional state (Zürcher, 2004: 127-132).

In 1913, prominent members of the CUP, Cemal Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Enver Pasha took the control of the country and started to make some significant reforms in the area of education, military, economy, society. For example, the religious member of the cabinet was removed and the economy transformed from liberalism to nationalism (Zürcher, 2004: 121-123). Since the prominent leaders aimed to improve power of the Ottoman Empire, they cooperated with Germany which also tried to become hegemonic country in the world. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire entered the

First World War with Germany but the Empire lost the war. After the war, the Ottoman Empire was mainly abolished by other members of the CUP including Mustafa Kemal who is the founder of the Turkish Republic.

To sum up, from the era of Sultan Mahmut II to establishment of the republic, the Ottoman Empire pursued to become modern state like the European countries. The Sultans or the state officers believed that the Empire should have strong army which was needed strong state institutions and effective taxation system. In order to make these reforms, the Empire also needed to take the support of European countries such as England and France. Therefore, the Empire also made many reforms to create secular system which protect non-Muslims in the country. In contrast to these reforms, several conservative groups opposed to way of the modernization. The conservatives generally did not react to modernization of the Empire; instead they were against to adaptation of western values and culture in society and state. Moreover, the conservatives always supported liberal economy, decentralization of the state and constitutional state. Another important characteristic of the conservatives is that they generally associated with ideology of Islamism and Ottomanism. Therefore, they were mainly supported by religious communities. Although, the conservatives had ideological background, they could not become significant movement in the late history of the Empire, because the radicals who supported nationalist economy, centralization of state and secularism well organized in the country. Lastly, the conservatives did not become an important power until the DP era in the republic.

2.1.2. Era of the Turkish Republic

After the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was invaded by western powers including France, England, and Greece. Against this invasion, nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal started war for independence. Later, since Mustafa Kemal and his supporters won the war, they abolished the sultanate and established new republic in 1923 (Komsuoğlu & Eskişar, 2009: 17). The republic aimed to create a state formation based on secular nationalism. Therefore, they adopted secular policies and arrangements to reduce the power of Islam in politics and society. For instance, the republic abolished caliphate, adopted secular education, closed religious institutions. Against these reforms, the Progressive Republican Party (PRP, in Turkish, Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) established by military officers who had been colleagues of Mustafa Kemal during the independence war.

Similar to conservatives in the Ottoman Empire, the PRP advocated decentralization, separation of powers, evolutionary change and liberal economic policy (Zürcher, 2004: 168). However, the PRP was dissolved in 1925, because of Sheikh Sait Rebellion and radical Islamist movement. Moreover, according to the RPP, members of the PRP had supported the rebellion and exploited religion for political purposes. After the dissolution the PRP, Mustafa Kemal started to make secular reforms instantly. For example, in 1925 the religious shrines (türbe) and dervish convents (tekke) were closed. Furthermore, the turban and the red felt cap which had been the traditional headgear for Ottoman men were banned and replaced to Western style hat. As Zürcher states (2004: 173); “These measures met with

stubborn resistance from the population. ‘Tekkes’ and ‘türbes’ played an important role in everyday Muslim life and the hat was considered a symbol of Christian Europe.”

The new republic continued to adopt strict secular policies until end of the 1940s. Moreover, during this period, although conservatives had many problems with the state, they preferred to integrate into state institutions not struggle with them. According to the Bora, this moderate attitude of conservatives was based on an idea that society without religion cannot survive or moral roots are needed for society among some republicans in 1930s (2009: 125).

Due to pressure from the Western powers and Turkish society, the RPP allowed multi-party system. Later, four members of the RPP resigned, because of agricultural law and they established the DP in 1945. The DP lost the elections in 1946, because of massive vote rigging by the RPP. Therefore, the RPP realized the power of the DP; it needed the Islamic and nationalist motives, unlike its previous stance. For instance, elective religion course was added to curriculum of elementary schools, religious vocational courses and divinity schools were opened that are important for the conservatism debates Bora summarizes this period as in political and ideological manner; religion became the significant element for national identity (2009: 125).

The DP became the government in 1950, after single party period of the RPP for 27 year. According to Komsuoğlu and Eskişar, the DP started to use religious symbols in the election propagandas. In fact, the DP tried to balance between

secularists and conservative people. The DP also encouraged Islamist organizations to attend politics and society, but it never took Islam as a fundamental ideology. In other words, the DP aimed to create a conservative identity which is compatible with secularism. In contrast to the Republican period, the DP helped Islamist organizations to recover their power through opening Quran courses and mosques (2009: 20). The era of the DP continued until May 27, 1960, when the military institution made the coup d'état, because of undemocratic and Islamist steps of the DP. This coup d'état is described that starting the military intervention period in Turkey. Adnan Menderes, the prime minister, and his two ministers were executed in 1961, and the DP was dissolved from the politics. After the military intervention, the first task was the new constitution which is more democratic than the previous one.

In 1961, the RPP came into power again with the support of military institution. However, between 1965 and 1971, ancestor of the DP, the Justice Party (JP, in Turkish Adalet Partisi) led by Süleyman Demirel, became the single power in the government. The period between 1971 and 1980 is known as period of anarchy and instability. Furthermore, with the industrialization of economy, small business groups suffered from new economic structure. They preferred to religious opposition against new government, because according to Şerif Mardin (1983: 109); the Kemalist ideology left no spaces for other main ideologies (quoted in Komsuoğlu and Eskişar, 2009: 21). During 1960 and 1980, alienating people in society which was process of transformation behave conservative attitudes.

Necmettin Erbakan who was the leader of small business groups, namely the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB, in Turkish,

Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği), resigned from the JP, because of his radical Islamic attitudes. Later, Erbakan established the National Order Party (NOP, in Turkish, Milli Nizam Partisi) in 1970. The NOP is very remarkable because it was the first Islamic based party in the history of modern Turkey. However, the NOP was dissolved by the constitutional court due to using religion for political purposes, similar to its succeeded parties such as the National Salvation Party (NSP, in Turkish, Milli Selamet Partisi, 1972-1980), the Welfare Party (WP, in Turkish, Refah Partisi, 1983-1998) and the Virtue Party (VP, in Turkish, Fazilet Partisi, 1997-2001). Necmettin Erbakan established a movement, namely National Vision Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi) that has own political elites, socio-economic supporters against Kemalist ideology.

2.2. 1980s: The Transformation of Turkish Modern History

The anarchy, terror and economic crisis in 1970s created a great chaos in Turkey. Therefore, military headed by General Kenan Evren took over the power from instable governments led by Süleyman Demirel in September, 12, 1980. This was the third coup d'état after May 27, 1960 and March 12, 1971. “The political atmosphere, whose bases were laid down during 1980-1983 interim regime, was characterized by the aim of de-limiting the political sphere by constitutional means.” (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 204-205) There was a constitutional ban upon whole political parties. In other words, the military government excluded all ideologies including leftists and rightists. However, this intervention occasioned political conditions of neoliberal process (Uzgel, 2010: 16).

2.2.1. Neo-liberalism

Analyzing of recent history of Turkey and its relation with neo-liberalism which influences political, economic and cultural scope of Turkey, require to mention (neo) liberalism briefly. Classical liberalism arose in the late 17th and the 18th centuries. Classical liberals like Adam Smith and David Ricardo emphasize ‘free market’ and ‘laissez-faire’ economics. “Dedicated to the protection of private property and the legal enforcement of contracts, classical liberals argued that the ‘invisible hand’ of the market ensured the most efficient and effective allocation of resources while facilitating peaceful commercial intercourse among nations.” (Steger & Roy, 2010: 3) However, perception of deregulation of the economy as a state policy has changed because of Great Depression of the 1930s, and after the World War II which are remarkable for capitalism history. Thus, in order to preserve and stabilize the capitalist system, state interventionist theories were adopted.

The most significant figure of state interventionist theories is John Maynard Keynes, whose principles rose to prominence in the 1930s. “Many policy-makers after the Second World War looked to Keynesian theory to guide them as they sought to keep the business cycle and recessions under control.” (Harvey, 2005: 20-21) In addition, Manfred B. Steger and Ravi K. Roy mention that the political applications of Keynesian ideas called as ‘golden age of controlled capitalism’, which lasted roughly from 1945 to 1975 (2010: 7). However, this golden age of controlled capitalism decelerate with the severe economic crises in the 1970s. David Harvey notes this situation that; “By the end of the 1960s embedded liberalism began

to break down, both internationally and within domestic economies. Signs of a serious crisis of capital accumulation were everywhere apparent.” (2005: 12).

Because of breaking out of the nature of capitalism including crises and recessions such as the 1970s crises, capitalists needed to seek new solutions: neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism is based on the classical liberalism theories. For instance Adam Smith and David Ricardo’s self-regulating market ideas.

These British philosophers considered that any constraint on free competition would interfere with the natural efficiency of market mechanisms, inevitably leading to social stagnation, political corruption, and the creation of unresponsive state bureaucracies. They also advocated the elimination of tariffs on imports and other barriers to trade and capital flows between nations. British sociologist Herbert Spencer added to this doctrine a twist of social Darwinism by arguing that free market economies constitute the most civilized form of human competition in which the 'fittest' would naturally rise to the top. (Steger, 2003: 40)

The neoliberal doctrine is opposed to Keynesian state interventionist theories and it adopted the invisible hand theory of the market which “was the best device for mobilizing even the basest of human instincts such as gluttony, greed, and the desire for wealth and power for the benefit of all.” (Harvey, 2005: 20-21) Furthermore, Steger (2003: 41) summarizes measures of neo-liberalism as;

...privatization of public enterprises, deregulation of the economy, liberalization of trade and industry, massive tax cuts, monetarist' measures to keep inflation in check, even at the risk of increasing unemployment, strict control on organized labor, the reduction of public expenditures, particularly social spending, the down-sizing of government, the expansion of international markets, and the removal of controls on global financial flows.

Neoliberal economy policies were implemented during the military rule under Augusto Pinochet in Chile for the first time. Later, the United Kingdom under Margaret Thatcher, elected in 1979, and the United States of America under Ronald Reagan, elected in 1980 adopted the neoliberal policies into their countries. Neo-liberalism provided these two politicians not only an economic reform, but also a

political project compatible with conservative values. Conservatives benefit from neo-liberalism in order to integrated conservative values to their countries, because they believed that neoliberal policies overlap with conservative values. “In turn, many neoliberals embraced conservative values, especially ‘family values’, tough law enforcement, and a strong military.” (Steger & Roy, 2010: 14) Furthermore, combination of general principles of neo-liberalism and local differences of conservatism reveal different forms in different countries, but common values of conservatism can be traced in everywhere (Balaban, 2010: 54-55).

2.2.2. Neo-liberalism and Transformation of Turkey

In 1980s, the coup d'état, and after changing economic and social structure have influenced Turkey and its center politics deeply. There has been a transformation in various fields. Thus, the Motherland Party (MP, in Turkish, Anavatan Partisi) as a significant actor of this transformation should be elaborated. According to Pınar Bedirhanoğlu, historical circumstances of neoliberal state policies in Turkey should be examined with capital accumulation crisis in 1970s. In order to resolve the crisis, the neoliberal policies were enabled through two stand-by agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1978 and 1979. Moreover, economic stabilization program also known as January 24, 1980 Decisions were applied by Turgut Özal (2010: 47). This program was implemented instantly in politically repressive circumstances of the September 12 regime. The 24 January Decisions introduced a new economic path based on Thatcherite neo-liberal policies. “The key notion in this new way was transformation, meaning ‘opening up’,

by means of export-oriented economic measures and decreasing the role of state in the economic sphere to the greatest extent possible.” (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 211)

Turgut Özal who had been member of the NSP during 1970s came into power with the MP between 1983 and 1991 and aimed at integration with international markets through rooted changes in economy. The founding features of center space in Turkish politics of the MP can be characterized with four tendencies; nationalism, liberalism, conservatism with Islamist overtones and social democracy (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 206). The nationalist discourse of the MP is based on conservative framework in socio-cultural issues. In other words; “As a center party the MP’s nationalism is decorated with liberalism and conservatism.” (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 207). This is liberalized version of Turkish-Islamic synthesis. This version also stresses downsizing of the state through liberal attitude both tradition and religion, as well (Doğanay, 2007: 73-74).

Aylin Özman and Simten Coşar (2007: 209) conceptualize to stance of the MP as ‘progressive conservatism’ through two axes: “First, it connoted the commitment of the party to the preservation of national values. Second, it prioritized economic and technological progress as a national issue that would enhance ‘integration between state and society’.” This new identity can be described as a balancing strategy between military through emphasizing to laicism and Muslim majority with religious tolerance. “Thus, while trying to appeal to the electorate by resorting to Muslim sentiment, the MP has separated ‘reactionary’ or/and ‘fundamentalist’ Islam from Islam as a traditional characteristic of the Turkish

nation.” (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 209) In this context, the True Path Party (TPP, in Turkish, Doğru Yol Partisi) which came into power after the MP had almost the same stance about Islam and laicism.

The neoliberal transformation of Turkey required re-defining society, politics, economy, security, human rights, secularism, identity, etc. The new identity formation was the synthesis of liberal, conservative and nationalist elements which has roots from Young Turks thoughts, especially Prince Sabahattin’s liberal tendencies, which were mentioned in previous part. The synthesis of the MP is summarized in seven headings by Levent Köker. These are existence of state for society, financial liberalism (free market and freedom of enterprise), political and social liberalism (freedom of conscience, belief/religion, and thought), authorizing social initiative through strengthen local administrations, down-sizing of government in order to leverage it, and final and most important one for this thesis respecting traditional behaviors mainly religious based in public (Köker, 2009: 288).

Although the MP’s liberal coloring mostly refers economic policy, the MP’s liberal-conservative stance should be regarded. In turn, especially the last head from Köker’s article should be elaborated, because this stance provided that some traditional behaviors became public and visible. The most apparent one of the MP’s conservative tone is emphasizing on family and cultural politics through traditional historical values. Regarding of Muslim majorities demands, during 1980s, government of Özal attempted legislating two amendments about hijab, but they were vetoed. Furthermore, during the president period of Özal, some symbolic conservative activities became observable. For example, in 1991, Özal performed

Friday prayer which is more special prayer than other days for Muslim people (Köker, 2009: 288-289). It shows that a religious ritual integrates political ritual and becomes visible. To sum up, neoliberal policies and conservative tendencies articulated in cultural dimension.

In this context, Özal's pragmatism provided fertile ground to conservative-liberal synthesis. Period of the MP government reshaped the center right politics through moderate and reconciliatory political discourse, supporting pragmatic values rather than ideological values; in terms of policies rather than politics-oriented, and conservative social values (Göle, 2011: 46). According to Özman and Coşar (2007: 212);

...not merely the MP but the center-right political parties at large introduced neo-populism as one of their central strategic tools. Briefly, neo-populist practice required a strong/personalist leadership, the curbing down of the power of trade unions, and constant denunciation of the past politicians and style of politics, and lastly de-ideological politics.

These neo-populist attitudes and the new center-right politics will be traced in discourse of the Justice and Development Party (JDP, in Turkish Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi), as well.

As it is tried to explore above, while the center right politics and cultural dimensions have transformed, additionally the economic capital has also changed. This alteration was mostly apparent upon middle class which was favored by protectionist policies. Ahmet Insel (2003: 297) describes the traditional middle class in 1980s as; "... urban artisans and midsize traders and farmers in Western Anatolia, wage earners, most of whom worked in the public sector and large private-firm employees". However, because of new policies, the traditional middle class lost its economic standing and a new class started to rise. This new middle class comprises

“... the small and midrange enterprisers who live mostly in midsize cities and some of whom are employer and employee simultaneously, and the young executives who have received university education” (2003: 297). The characteristics of the new class were “culturally conservative, politically nationalist, moderately authoritarian, and economically liberal” (İnsel, 2003: 296).

The new middle class of liberal-nationalist-conservative synthesis could increase their power and needed to represent in the new Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (MÜSİAD, in Turkish, Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği) which was established in 1990, rather than in the previously established the Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TÜSİAD, in Turkish, Türk Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği). The founders of the MÜSİAD were named as Anatolian Tigers. The MÜSİAD was defined as “new patterns of capital accumulation” (Özman & Coşar, 2007: 212), and had an important role for neoliberal and political Islamist change. The MÜSİAD was based on the Islamic capital and base of contemporary Islamic capital can be traced to the MÜSİAD. Moreover, this capital rising will continue with the JDP.

This new rising class of conservative enterprisers’ political representatives was the MP in 1980s, later the True Path Party, and nowadays the JDP, rather than the radical Islamist parties; i.e. the NOP or the NSP. Furthermore, the MÜSİAD supported the WP and very significant Islamist politician figure Necmettin Erbakan until February 28, 1997 military memorandum.

In June 26, 1996, Necmettin Erbakan with the WP established 54th government with its coalition partner the TPP. This coalition, especially Erbakan's position as prime minister strengthened the MÜSİAD's standing. However, in a National Security Council meeting in Turkish Military leadership at 28 February 1997, Erbakan was forced to resignation and end coalition government. According to Uzgel (2010: 18), this memorandum experience told to Islamist movement that forming a government is not enough, the more important thing is being a long lasting political power. The most tangible and direct impact of February 28 was separation in National Outlook Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi). Furthermore, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan will say that; "We removed our National Outlook identity after 28 February indirect Military Coup." after the JDP came into power.

This memorandum also known as 'postmodern coup', did not only end the government, but also affected the relationship between the new middle class and the WP. The Islamist bourgeois from Anatolia criticized the WP because not able to adapt global change, so they split with the WP. After this process, the new middle class was in quest of a new political movement which eases to integrate with global system, has less problematical with state apparatus, and does not resist to Western system (Uzgel, 2010: 18). Finally, the JDP came up as a sinewy actor accelerating the transformation. According to İnsel (2003: 296), the results of the November 3 elections which were the first election that the JDP joined show that, "the JDP is the clear winner in the struggle to become the political representative of the new middle class" for now.

2.2.3. Era of the Justice and Development Party

The JDP was established in August 14, 2001 under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In November 3, 2002 the JDP won the parliamentary elections with a two-thirds majority of seats with 34.29%. The JDP became the ruling party, marking the end of the era of coalition governments that began in 1991. Erdoğan normally would have become prime minister, but was banned from holding any political office after a 1994 incident in which he read a poem deemed pro-Islamist by judges. Therefore, Abdullah Gül became prime minister for 58th government. Later, Erdoğan became prime minister in March 15, 2003 to establishing 59th government of Turkey. The local elections of March 28, 2004 were an important second test for the JDP. It increased votes to 41.67%. Moreover, the JDP achieved victory in the rescheduled July 22, 2007 general elections with 46.58% of the vote. In other words, it controlled 341 of the 550 available parliamentary seats. There was a significant raise in votes received by the JDP in 2007, compared to 2002. The other local election was in March 29, 2009 in which the JDP achieved to gain 38.39%. The final parliamentary elections, June, 12, 2011, presented another victory for the JDP with 49, 95%.

As the numbers above indicate, the ruling power of the JDP has been consolidated in a short term period. However, the political and economic circumstances of that period provided a basis for the establishment of the JDP. As the economical dimension, the crisis of February 2001 created instable economic and political environment.

The crisis of February 2001, in fact not only an economic crisis but also a sign of the institutional collapse and paralysis of the September 12 regime, was the beginning of

the end: the complete and almost irreparable breakdown of the economy, which had until then been the only sphere of free social activity. Soon after, the regime collapsed as well. (İnsel, 2003: 295)

On the other side, the establishment period of the JDP overlapped with crisis of National Outlook Movement and lack of a new actor in center right politics, and the JDP benefit from it. Thus, the JDP joined its first election with the advantage of combining the votes of traditional National Outlook Movement and center right. As it is mentioned above, the JDP fulfilled the lack of center right political actor for new middle class which are economically liberal and at the same time culturally conservative. Furthermore, it can be said that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became a strong charismatic leader in a context of neo-populism.

The JDP, which is the prominent representative of center right politics, "... proposes that democratization be achieved by placing the individual at the center of all policies" and "declares its acceptance of Turkish society with all its colors, its points of commonality and difference, emphasizing the potential for enrichment and strength offered by this fact." (İnsel, 2003: 296) Furthermore, the JDP portrays itself as a conservative party that advocates a liberal market economy and Turkish membership in the European Union. Indeed, it is the party of liberal-conservative alliance. In this context, the JDP defines itself as a center right party, rather than an Islamist party, and it prefers to name this new identity 'conservative democrat' which does not exist in political science terminology (Uzgel, 2010: 22). Moreover, the JDP aims to distance itself from moderate Islam labeling through conservative democrat identity.

In addition to Islamist labeling distance, the JDP also differentiates itself from existing/common nationalist position. It was a transformation of the JDP that is based on using nationalist discourse only as an election campaign strategy rather than an ideological stance. This transformation can be also considered as an embodiment of neoliberal ideology of the JDP, which is descended from Turgut Özal's thoughts. This is because the JDP represents not only Islam and democracy combination, but also Islam and neo-liberalism. Similarly Uzgel argues that, state is not something to be sanctified, but it is an essential source of its power and an instrument for actualizing neoliberal process and sometimes reinforcing its position against opposition parties. The social reflections of this transformation included integration of Anatolian bourgeois with world economy, wider and effective representation of Islamist intellectuals in media, and increasing visibility of religion in public sphere (2010: 23).

This is remarkable that the JDP, which was from National Outlook Movement, firstly re-defined its politics perception, and transformed itself. Later, it aimed to start a transformation in all across the country. The important goal for the JDP was reproducing local values through global conservative political tradition (Uzgel, 2010: 21). This new identity supports gradual social changes rather than radical ones and regarding family and tradition values, similar with Edmund Burke's thoughts that were mentioned in previous parts. Similarly, Insel (2003: 300) notes that the JDP believe that; "The local culture and institutions that are produced and unified within their own natural processes without external intervention do not conflict with universal values." The JDP aimed to bring together globalization process and protection of traditional values, including religion. This aim is not unpredictable,

because conservatives generally embrace the religious values and liberal economy. In other words, although the JDP showed its differences from National Outlook Movement and Islamism was not the key reference point for this new party identity, religion had a special role to define conservatism for the JDP (Uzgel, 2010: 21).

The JDP expresses its conservative stance most clearly in family and women subjects. The party defines family as a strong institution of social security. As the JDP believes that society is a living organism and family is the most crucial part of it, and should be protected. “The authoritarian patriarchal reflexes of the family tradition rooted in the Turkish soil are reflected in the values and the behavior of the JDP cadres in the form of traditionalism.” (İnsel, 2003: 301)

The JDP “sees the home as the natural place and child-rearing as the natural duty of women. It is “prolife” in this context, too, not only in its opposition to abortion. On the other hand, in contrast to elitist conservatism, popular conservatism does not hold itself superior to society by virtue of lineage. In terms of tastes, lifestyles, and family relationships, it represents, not an upper-class attitude, but a much more common cultural world.” (İnsel, 2003: 302)

The discourses of the JDP especially upon private life, including religious beliefs, family issues and even alcoholic beverage and cigarette consumption which are prohibited by Islam, cannot be considered as inclusive. The discursive choices of the JDP and especially Erdoğan frame which behaviors or attitudes are appropriate, which are not. The discourse of the JDP about women which was declared by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is mostly related with population planning. In every opportunity, Erdoğan highlights the importance of protection of family and claims population-planning as a betrayal of country. For instance, Erdoğan’s this phrase reflects this idea; “At least three children.” Erdoğan mostly expresses these discourses through taking strength from conservative values.

CHAPTER III

MEDIA AND ADVERTISING

3.1. Media and Advertising

As it is mentioned in the previous parts, the main aim of the study is the investigation of Turkish cultural conservatism values or codes in selected Turkish advertisements. As this research was undertaken within the field of media and communication studies; how the cultural conservatism themes are represented in selected advertisements should be explored. In addition, Stuart Hall's representation theories will be used to explain how this study interprets the advertisements.

The concept of representation is the production of meaning through language, in the simplest term (Hall, 1997: 28). One of the most common-sense usages of representation is that "Representation means using language to say something about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people." (Hall, 1997: 15) It has an important impact to cultural studies, because the concept of representation is about "producing and exchanging meaning between members of a culture" (Hall, 1997: 15).

Hall explores different theories about how language is used to represent the world in three approaches; the intentional approach, the reflective approach, and the constructionist approach. These are the main theories to exploring how representation of meaning through language works. The first approach is the intentional which “holds that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language” (Hall, 1997: 25). In other words, this approach claims that the speaker or writer expresses only his or her intended meaning.

In order to explain the second approach, the reflective or mimetic; Hall (1997: 15) asks a question; “Does language simply reflect a meaning which already exists out in the world of objects, people and events?” In this approach, “meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world” (Hall, 1997: 24) However, the world cannot be reflected in the mirror of language in an accurate way, due to the complex relationship between language and the real world. Hall states that community members interpret the world in roughly similar ways. “We are able to build up a shared culture of meaning and thus construct a social world which inhabit together. That is why ‘culture’ is sometimes defined in terms of ‘shared meanings’.” (1997: 18)

The last approach, which has been the most prominent one for cultural studies in recent years, considers the relation between the world and language in a different way. The constructivist or constructionist approach claims that “meaning is constructed in and through language” (Hall, 1997: 15). According to the

constructionist perspective, “meaning is produced within language, in and through various representational systems which for convenience, we call ‘languages’. Meaning is produced by the practice, the ‘work’ of representation. It is constructed through signifying.” (Hall, 1997: 28) Therefore, “Neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language.” (Hall, 1997: 25)

In turn, this study regards the constructivist approach to explore the relationship between advertising and socio-cultural transformation and circumstances. The advertisements as a constitutive part of the cultural transformations represent the socially conducted values and meanings because of the fact that they affect and are affected by our attitudes values and every aspect of our lives. In other words, this thesis acknowledges that the relationship between advertising and society that it belongs to, can be read in terms of the constructionist approach of representation theories. Advertising is depicted as a family album of society, giving a picture of how life is. In this context, analyzing advertisements, including discursive and visual elements, can give clues about the society. Therefore, approach of this study is based on the constructivist perspective in terms of construction of advertisements in and through society. From this point, defining advertising and the debates about advertising will be discussed in this chapter.

3.1.1. Definition of Advertising

Mass communication is formed by other institutions of social structure, and at the same time it is affected by them through social changes. Especially in the capitalist economies, the mass communication media have a major role for

supporting and contributing the consumption. As Kevin Robins states, in 1980s, perception about consumption culture changed under the neoliberal policies with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. The entrepreneurship and liberalization of trade and industry have a critical progression (1999: 174). “Because of the advances of industrialization, which made it possible to produce more goods than the local market could absorb, advertising took on the role of creating demand for a product.” (Wells & Moriarty & Burnett, 2006: 7) However, advertising should be considered not only complex industry mechanism, but also a major cultural institution (Leiss, et al. 2005: 245).

The environment of consumption was reinforced by mass media. Especially, the advertisements provide some clues about how to live life and find well-being contemporary market society.

The popularity of these attacks appears to rest on the general impression they create that advertising is a powerful and only present apparatus with better knowledge of consumers and they have of themselves, and that this knowledge is used to manipulate them into buying goods they do not need. (Leiss et al. 2005: 7)

In this context, the main aim of advertising can be defined as influencing targeted consumer mass, calling them to action and affecting habits of them, and finally increasing profit of companies. Advertising simply means promoting of goods or services through various media. However, advertising cannot be only explained through its economical function; it also has an important role upon social structure formed by political, social and cultural dimensions. According to Leiss and et al. (2005: 15), “Advertising became a key site of negotiation between the economic and cultural spheres.”

The phenomenon of advertising has been a subject of research in several disciplines such as mass communication, marketing, sociology, linguistics, semiotics, cultural studies, etc. The basic meaning of the advertising is persuading the audience in order to buy the advertised product. “Advertising is paid persuasive communication that uses non-personal mass media to reach broad audiences to connect an identified sponsor with a target audience.” (Wells & Moriarty & Burnett, 2006: 5)

William Wells, Sandra Moriarty and John Burnett (2006: 5) describe four basic components of the modern advertising. The first one is that; “Advertising is a paid form of communication, although some form of advertising, such as the public service announcements (PSAs), use donated space and time.” The second one is reaching large audiences of potential consumers. The third component is explored as;

Most advertising tries to persuade or influence the consumer to do something, although in some cases the point of the message is simply to inform consumers and make them aware of the product or company. In other words, it is strategic communication driven by objectives, and these objectives can be measured to determine whether the advertising was effective.

Finally, the last one is that;

The message is conveyed through many different kinds of mass media, which are largely non-personal. What that mean is that advertising is not directed to a specific person, although this is changing with the introduction of the Internet and more interactive media.

Regarding these components, strengths of advertising can be listed as; introducing products, explaining important changes, reminding and reinforcing, and persuading (Wells & Moriarty & Burnett, 2006: 5). In addition, advertisements can

reach mass audiences by using non-personal mass media, geographically dispersed audiences. Technological developments, such as the printing press, made it possible to reach wider audiences.

When the major types of advertising is observed looking at the major media types of advertising; newspaper, television, direct mailing, radio, magazine, outdoor, yellow pages, newsletter, brochure, telephone and internet can be counted at first. The advertising is controlled, identifiable information and persuasion by means of the mass communication media. Thus, advertisements can reach to consumers everywhere in their daily life. People are exposed to heap of advertisements unconsciously or not. In addition, advertising can be also differentiated by different types; brand advertising, retail/local advertising, direct-response advertising, business-to-business advertising, institutional advertising, public service advertising, and political advertising. This study will focus on brand advertisement on television which will be elaborated in ‘Sample of Analysis’ part.

Advertising provides the target audience a reason why they should accept the idea or buy a product, or service. The hierarchy of effects model for advertising is that, firstly creating awareness, then knowledge, liking, preference, conviction, and finally actual purchase. It is designed to move the consumer from understanding a product's benefits, to linking those benefits with personal values through verbal and visual elements. In addition, fantasies, dreams, desires, or fears are reflected in the advertisements. In other words, advertisements dramatize the life and feelings.

Advertising uses two approaches; hard-sell approaches that use reason to persuade consumers, and soft-sell approaches that build an image for a brand and touch consumers' emotions (Wells & Moriarty & Burnett, 2006: 6). It creates two different stages of feeling; personal and social based stages. Personal based feelings include safety, security, love, comfort, happiness, uniqueness, excitement, joy, pride, pleasure and achievement. Meanwhile, the social based feelings are recognition, status, respect, involvement, and approval, and so forth. The main goal of the advertisement is not only presenting of value of products, but also prompting of the consumers' feelings. Hence, advertising uses symbols. Using signs or other representations which have traditional meanings become symbolic representations in advertisements.

Using metaphorical association is very important, especially in visual communication. In that point, I shall use the Roland Barthes' denotation and connotation concepts. On the one hand, denotation refers to the literal meaning of a word, the dictionary definition, first level meaning, in short. On the other hand, connotation refers to the associations that are connected to a certain word or the emotional suggestions related to that word. In language and myth table of Barthes (Table 1); signifier and signified creates a sign which is a new signifier and it can be related with another signified, this final sign means myth. For instance, books are a symbol of knowledge, yacht of wealth, pigeons of peace.

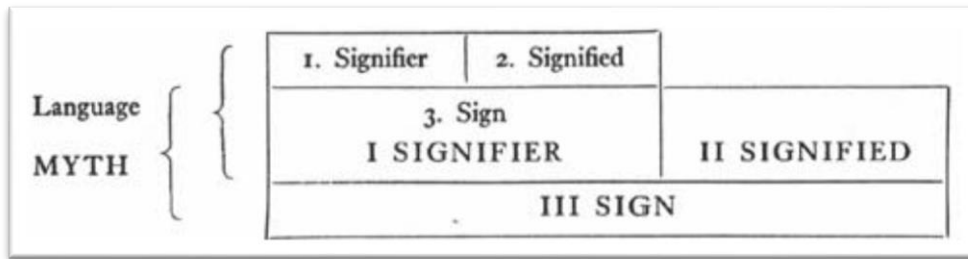


Table 1: Barthes, 1991: 113

Advertising is fed by culture through its verbal and non-verbal elements. The verbal elements language as a verbal element, and non-verbal elements such as living styles of society, the clothes, objects that exhibit the culture of the society, the folkloric elements are utilized by advertising. Advertisements can be linked itself, directly or indirectly, with norms, judgments or social values which may have no direct link with the advertised products. According to Emel Kökpınar, (2006: 2); it can be claimed that “media through which advertisements reach the target, rebuilds an event that has been already built by society and recodes the social codes”. In turn, relationship between advertisements and society should be explored.

3.1.2. Social Role of Advertising

It can be said that advertising is a fertile source to give clues about social activities and changes. According to W. Ronald Lane, Karen Whitehill King, and J. Thomas Russell (2005: 5);

Advertising is part of the cultural and economic fabric of a society. It grows in concert with a dynamic and advanced economy. Consequently, the history of advertising can only be studied from the perspective of a country’s political, economic, and cultural environment.

Because, the modern advertising is fed from “the development of mass media, a rising middle class, effective transportation, and the growth of mass production”

(Lane & King & Russell, 2005: 5). On the one hand, in the simplest term, the ultimate goal of advertising is to convey information about products, services or ideas to the target audiences. In other words, the role of advertising consists of creating a message and sending it to target audience, hoping they will react in a certain way. On the other hand, to explicit analysis about advertising, it can only be explored within the context of the social, political and economic development or transformation of a country. In other words, beyond the marketing functions, each advertisement conveys an ideological message. As a popular culture product, advertising has an important role for representation and reproduction of capitalist system's dominant ideologies in everyday life. Thus, advertisements also relates between signs and products (Arslan, 2012: 65). It utilizes values, images, words, symbols, and sounds in order to persuade or influence the consumer to do something or accept and internalize the ideas.

Analyzing of advertisements gives insight about how cultural factors affect advertising strategies, how cultural values, norms and stereotypes are represented in advertisements. Advertising is an ideological form which is constructed in and through the social behaviors or attitudes, women and men roles, perception of true and false, etc. The cultural values are major point of advertisement messages, so they are deliberately and carefully articulated into advertisements. The main aim of this strategy is that desired and accepted norms are linked with advertised product.

Therefore, advertising, a part of cultural industry, has a crucial role upon social, economic and political in order to create consumption demand and frame the social behaviors.

Advertising industry constructs the consumption society and it aims to individuals internalizes the ideologies.

The strategic work of advertising is based on a constant surveillance of changing culture. Fads, fashions, trends, and individual behaviors are being monitored and diagnosed through a constant stream of market intelligence tools, which helps industry, adjust to social change. ” (Leiss, et al. 2005: 263-264)

In other words, characteristics of consumers, consumer trends, and social structure of markets are the major concerns of advertising. Therefore, analyzing advertisement, as a media form, gives clues about social conditions, and its construction. According to Wells, Moriarty and Burnett (2006: 5), “Advertising has evolved as society has changed: It has had an effect on society and at the same time society has had an effect on advertising.” In other words, advertising and society cannot change without affecting each other so; society and its transformation can be analyzed through looking advertisements. Therefore, this thesis will analyze five selected Turkish advertisements, in order to find out cultural conservatism themes in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Aim of Analysis and Research Questions

The thesis will attempt to investigate the themes of Turkish conservatism in selected five Turkish television advertisements from constructivist approach among representation theories. This study assumes that neo-liberalism and conservatism are more apparent in everyday life. It can be claimed that the rising conservative thought has an effect on new consumption tendencies, regarding neo-liberal policies. Hence, this relationship can be represented in advertisements as a social communication variation. In order to trace the conservative thought in advertisements, seven specific conservatism themes are highlighted; tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant and rural, religion, technology, and woman and family.

These themes have been determined during the literature review process. The literature on conservatism reveals that although conservatism, itself, is generally known as a right wing ideology, it is still difficult to conceptualize it. In other words, there is no consensus on the conceptualization and definition of conservatism; therefore, many of the studies start with its own framework. Similarly, this thesis also attempts to draw a framework and conceptualize conservatism as a stance or

mode of thought, rather than political ideology. Furthermore, since this thesis mainly focuses on the representations within media texts and interplay between conservative mode of thought and everyday life practices, it actually prefers to frame conservatism as cultural conservatism. As a result of literature review on cultural conservatism and the analysis of selected advertisements, the most common and prominent themes have been identified within the scope of this study. In this context, the main research questions of the thesis are listed below.

Research Question 1: Do Turkish advertisements articulate the discourses of conservatism into discourses of advertising in 2000s?

Research Question 2: How are the conservative values, images, words, symbols, indicators articulated in advertisements?

Research Question 3: What is the role of advertising in promotion and for depiction of conservative ideology in Turkey?

As it is discussed previous chapter, advertising does not only affect the society, but also is affected by society in terms of constructivist approach. Analyzing advertisements can provide insights about the society. Therefore, the thesis chooses advertising as a way of signification, to understand the social circumstances or cultural transformation. However, this study acknowledges that analyzing five advertisements cannot represent the big picture about all tendencies. As a result, the thesis points out the representation of articulated cultural conservatism themes only in selected advertisements.

In this context, it should be mentioned that how the thesis regards concept of articulation, briefly. Articulation as a theory and a method has epistemological,

political, and strategic levels. This study borrows Stuart Hall's definition about the concept of articulation to explore the relationship between conservatism and advertisements. Articulation is

“the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. ... The so-called ‘unity’ of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements which can be rearticulated in different ways because they have no necessary ‘belongingness’. (Hall, 1986b: 53).

In other words, the articulated elements can be linked to a social force, but this relationship is not necessarily connected.

4.2. Method of Analysis

In order to figure out the conservatism themes, this study aims to trace cultural dimensions and codes in selected advertisements as a text. In turn, the thesis focuses on textual analysis. Semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis among other textual analysis, which are rhetorical analysis, and content analysis, is used to understand not only text itself, but also context of the text. Furthermore, visual codes, its connotations and relations with ideologies are crucial points for the analysis. As a result, semiotic analysis helps to interpret the qualitative data.

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) considers language as a social practice and it is interested in language and power relation. In other words, “the CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse).” (Wodak, 2001:2). The CDA shows clues about how we shape the world and make sense of everyday life, because every ideology has many discourses, latently. According to Fairclough and Kress (1993: 2ff);

... fully critical account of discourse requires a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts. (Quoted in Wodak, 2001: 2-3)

Regarding all linguistic aspects to contribution of the communicative context to text meaning, the CDA aware the importance of non-verbal aspects of texts, which brings us to focus on semiotic devices and meanings of images. “People rarely communicate mono-modally, through language alone, but multi-modally, through a combination of visual images, languages, sound and even body language.” (Simpson and Mayr, 2010: 87)

Similar to linguistic structures, visual structures also express meanings and enhance the overall message of a text. “If images seem to just show ‘what is’, we need to show that may not always be quite so. If images seem to just allude to things and never ‘say them explicitly’, we need to make these allusions explicit.” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996:18) Furthermore, it is quite obvious that we cannot mention universal grammar of visual design. According to Simpson and Mayr, “visual language is not transparent and universally understood, but culturally specific.” (2010: 87) The CDA analysts, especially focusing on meanings of images, point out that visual communication, similar to language, is used ideologically, because visual icons show about the attitude, values, and politics of a particular time and place.

In order to analyze meaning of sign, semiotic analysis also will be utilized. The shortest definition of semiotic is the study of signs. Hall describes sign as words, sounds or images carrying meanings. “These signs stand for or represent the concepts and the conceptual relations between them which we carry around in our heads and

together they make up the meaning-system of the culture.” (1997: 18) Semiotic as a huge field, is one of approaches to analyze and interpret qualitative data including sign, symbol and their meanings.

According to Daniel Chandler (2007: 13); “We seem as a species to be driven by a desire to make meanings: we are surely ‘homo significans’ – meaning-makers.” In addition, the theory of semiotics became a major approach especially in cultural studies field in 1960s with Roland Barthes’ popular work ‘Mythologies’. Barthes (1967, 9) argues that;

Semiology aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification. (Quoted in Daniel Chandler)⁸

In other words, anything, including sounds, gestures, objects or images, can be listed as a sign, as long as it is interpreted something as signifying.

We interpret things as signs mostly unconsciously, through signs and familiar system of convention relations (Chandler, 2007: 13). The world we live is filled with signs and semiotics which present a way of understanding the world through signs, codes or symbols.

Through the study of semiotics, we become aware that these signs and codes are normally transparent and disguise our task in reading them. Living in a world of increasingly visual signs, we need to learn that even the most realistic signs are not what they appear to be. By making more explicit the codes by which signs are interpreted, we may perform the valuable semiotic function of denaturalizing signs. (Chandler, 2007: 11)

In order to explore text, in this case media texts, applying semiotics helps to seeking latent and connotative meanings of texts. “The semiotic approach provides a

⁸ <http://users.aber.ac.uk/dgc/Documents/S4B/sem01.html> (17.03.2013)

method for analyzing how visual representations convey meaning.” (Hall, 197: 41) In other words, semiotic studies focus on how meanings are made and how reality is represented through regarding context.

Representing and influencing reality should be investigated accordingly cultures, because social codes are determined by social differentiation. Therefore, cultural codes are vital for analysis of this study. In addition to linguistic codes, non-verbal codes give clues about the specific socio-cultural contexts and roles. “In the semiotic approach, not only words and images, but also objects themselves can function as signifiers in the production of meaning.” (Hall, 1997: 37) Chandler summarizes social codes as verbal language (phonological, syntactical, lexical, prosodic and paralinguistic sub-codes); bodily codes (bodily contact, proximity, physical orientation, appearance, facial expression, gaze, head-nods, gestures and posture); commodity codes (fashions, clothing, cars); behavioral codes (protocols, rituals, role-playing, games) (2007: 149).

4.3. Sample of Analysis

This part mainly focuses on the reasons behind selected advertisements. In addition, this part also aims to elaborate sample of analysis. First, the study regards market aggregation, also called mass marketing, strategy in order to decide sectors of brands. This strategy is simply defined as marketing a product to the mass audience. Market aggregation has heavy exposure of brand and product upon audiences and is

generally used for undifferentiated marketed products, which are simple and seen as necessary point. As a result, household appliance and telecommunication sectors are chosen.

In order to select brands from these two sectors, the market shares and major brands of the sectors are analyzed. Based on the official websites information in 2012; Arçelik⁹, as the leading brand in Turkish household appliance industry, and Turkcell¹⁰, the biggest company in telecommunication sector, are chosen. In addition, this study also attempts to use the reports of Nielsen Media Research, a global leader in measurement and information. The Nielsen Media Research measures media audiences, including television, radio, newspapers, etc. According to Nielsen report about ‘The Biggest Advertisers in 2012’ of Turkey shows that Turkcell is the leader advertiser among 100 brands. Arçelik is 15th in the list, but it is the leader brand among household appliance industry (table 2).

After the process of choosing the brands, which media type of advertising is used for the study should be elaborated. This study focuses on television advertisements among newspaper, radio, magazine, outdoor, internet, etc. According to Turkish Association of Advertising Agencies (in Turkish, Reklamcılar Derneği), television advertisements have the biggest share of media investments in Turkey in 2012 (table 3).

⁹ http://www.arcelikas.com/UserFiles/file/Arcelik_Kurumsal%20sunum_ocak_2012.pdf

¹⁰ <http://www.turkcell.com.tr/site/tr/turkcellhakkinda/yatirimciiliskileri/Sayfalar/turkiyegmpazari.aspx>

2012'NİN EN BÜYÜK REKLAMVERENLERİ	
1	Turkcell
2	Vodafone
3	Unilever
4	P&G
5	Benckiser
6	Avea
7	Hayat Kimya
8	TTNET
9	Türk Telekom
10	Ülker
11	Henkel
12	Termikel
13	Finansbank
14	Eti
15	Arçelik
16	İstikbal Mobilya
17	Colgate/Palmolive
18	Boyaş Mobilya
19	Fırat Plastik
20	Nnr Pazarlama
21	Frito-Lay
22	Emin Otomotiv
23	Lorea'l Türkiye
24	Evyap
25	Balderesi Gıda
26	Digitürk
27	Casper.
28	Ferrero / Kinder
29	Vestel
30	Coca Cola
31	Organik Bal Dünyası
32	Pepsi Cola Servis ve Dağıtım
33	Denizbank
34	Arma Holding
35	Nestle
36	Fiat
37	Metin İlaç
38	Sütaş Gıda
39	Kraft
40	ING Bank
41	Ng Bilişim
42	Bosch
43	Feza Yayıncılık
44	Bank Asya
45	Limon Prodüksiyon
46	İş Bankası
47	Mondi.
48	Avon
49	Neova Sigorta
50	Garanti Bankası
51	Caprice Gold İstanbul Otel
52	Halkbank
53	Eczacıbaşı
54	Türk Hava Yolları
55	Vakıfbank
56	Erdemoğlu
57	Glaxo Smith Kline
58	Kilim Mobilya
59	Bn Elektronik
60	Biota
61	Nissan
62	Elektromed
63	Petlas
64	Yapı Kredi Bankası
65	Türk Ekonomi Bankası
66	Dr.Öetker
67	Migros
68	Opet
69	Numil Gıda
70	Profilo
71	Hyundai Assan
72	Dap Yapı
73	Dermomed-Ozoderm
74	Akbank
75	Pınar
76	Mars Gıda
77	Aktar Kor İsmail
78	Çınar Bitkisel
79	TAB Gıda
80	Çaykur
81	Johnson Wax
82	Türkiye Finans Katılım Bankası
83	Karakoca Maden Suyu
84	Uğur Soğutma
85	Ford-Otosan
86	Danone
87	Brisa
88	Kuveyt Türk
89	Johnson & Johnson
90	Şölen
91	Evkur
92	Cardin Concept
93	Sur Yapı
94	Sar Elektronik
95	Sinpaş GYO
96	Atlas Pazarlama
97	İnternetç İletişim
98	Dünya Pazarlama
99	Shell
100	Liderler Pazarlama

Bu liste televizyon, gazete, dergi, açık hava, radyo ve sinema mecralarında yapılan reklamların tarife fiyatları (rate card) üzerinden hesaplanmasıyla elde edilmiştir. Hesaplama sosyal reklamlar ve telemarketing çalışmaları dikkate alınmamıştır.

Kaynak: Nielsen, 1 Aralık 2011 – 30 Kasım 2012.

Table 2: The Biggest Advertisers in Turkey (2012)¹¹

TÜRKİYE MEDYA YATIRIMLARI *							KARŞILAŞTIRMALI REKLAM YATIRIMLARI-2012		
TV	BASIN	AÇIK HAVA	RADYO	SİNEMA	DJİTAL	TOPLAM	FARK		
TOPLAM	TOPLAM	TOPLAM	TOPLAM	TOPLAM	TOPLAM	TOPLAM	%		
2.605,84	1.113,59	328,08	129,80	54,15	421,14	4.652,80	8,00		
ÖLÇÜLEN	GAZETE				DISPLAY				
2.050,18	1.012,14				379,77				
ÖLÇÜLMİYEN	DERGİ				MOBİL				
555,66	101,45				41,37				

Table 3: Media Investments in Turkey (2012)¹²

¹¹ <http://www.mediacaonline.com/2012nin-en-buyuk-reklamverenleri/>

¹² <http://www.rd.org.tr/>

Media represents the cultural codes and elements of society to the individuals. “A code is a set of conventionalized ways of making meaning that are specific to particular groups of people. The main tool of media reflecting the social and cultural codes is television.” (Kökpınar, 2006: 1) Television is the most accessible medium of mass communication; almost every household have a TV set.

The television advertisement includes interaction of sight, sound, color, motion, and drama. Therefore, television as an enterprise and creator of mass culture has a power of redirecting through it messages. Television has a crucial stand for representation and reproduction of individuals’ social role and function. Similarly in media process, advertising has a gate-keeping model and it is based on acceptable action. Considering these information, this study focuses on television advertisements.

Advertising can be also differentiated by types, and this study focuses on brand advertisement type among retail/local advertising, direct-response advertising, business-to-business advertising, institutional advertising, public service advertising, and political advertising. Regarding brand advertisement, soft-sell approach advertisement is conducted for the analysis. The soft-sell approach aims to build an image for a brand and touch consumers’ emotions, unlike hard-sell approach. Hard-sell approach uses reason to persuade consumers. In turn, the soft-sell advertisements do not point the excellence of the products, directly. Regarding the specialty of brand advertisements, they emphasize characteristics of the brand, not a specific product or its features. They aim to build a long term relationship with its current customers and potential consumers through these image ads. These ads do not call consumers into

action, rather they intent to create or reinforce positive reputation for the brand. The brand also uses the persuasive power of advertising in order to manipulate its messages by using social codes, images, values, symbols, sounds, etc.

To sum up the sample of analysis part, some points should be highlighted. This study focuses on two different sectors, white appliances and cell phone operator; and the study chooses the leader brands from these sectors; Arçelik and Turkcell. In order to figure out the existence and articulation of cultural values and transformations, soft-sell television advertisements are analyzed, rather than product-oriented hard-sell approach. That is why; brand advertisements are analyzed. Moreover, these TV ads were broadcasted in prime-time block which starts from 20:00 to 22:59, in terms of market aggregation, because it is with the most viewers. In order to find the specific ads, I reached the communication departments of the brands, and they provide the advertisements.

4.4. Data Analysis and Discussion

In this part, five brand advertisements in total of designated brands will be analyzed, in terms of selected cultural conservatism themes; tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant, religion, technology, and woman and family. In addition, semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis are conducted to investigate the articulation of cultural conservatism into these advertisements. The part starts with Arçelik chapter including three advertisements with different time

periods. Later, two brand advertisements of Turkcell will be analyzed. In order to investigate the conservatism themes in the advertisements, the table 4 is presented below. The analysis will elaborate this table for each advertisement.

Themes	ARÇELİK			TURKCELL	
	1st Ad (2002)	2nd Ad (2010)	3rd Ad (2012)	4th Ad (2008)	5th Ad (2011)
Tradition	x	x	x	x	x
Nostalgia		x		x	x
Local and cultural connections	x	x		x	x
Peasant and rural	x	x		x	x
Religion					x
Technology	x		x	x	x
Woman and family		x	x		x

Table 4: Conservatism themes and Advertisements

4.4.1. Case of Arçelik TV Advertisements

This part of the thesis explores three Arçelik brand advertisements, which were broadcasted in 2002, 2010 and 2012. Arçelik is chosen because of its domestic market position; it is the leading brand in Turkish household appliances industry. Arçelik A.Ş. is established in 1955 by Vehbi Koç. It has operations in durable consumer goods industry with production, marketing, and after-sales services.¹³ Its extensive product range includes large home appliances, built-in appliances, consumer electronic products, air-conditioners, kitchen furniture, and small home appliances.

Arçelik A.Ş. is the one of the well-known brand of Koç Holding A.Ş., the top industrial conglomerate in Turkey. According to the official website of Arçelik, it states that Koç Holding is the only Turkish company to be listed in Fortune Global

¹³ http://www.arcelikas.com/page/10/ARCELIK_AS_HAKKINDA (22.03.2013)

500 list.¹⁴ The founder of Koç Holding, Vehbi Koç is also one of the founders of the TÜSİAD.¹⁵ Arçelik was established within a powerful, wealthy and famous family holding in Turkey.

For this chapter, the chosen brand advertisements of Arçelik are deeply analyzed by using semiotic and critical discourse analysis. In order to select brand advertisements for Arçelik, I reached Yasemin Başçavuşoğlu from Arçelik, and she provides these three brand advertisements, regarding to decided criteria about the advertisements. Furthermore, related to the main aim of this thesis, these selected ads are analyzed in terms of cultural conservatism themes.

4.4.1.1. New Brand Personality of Arçelik: Launching Çelik

In 2002, Arçelik decided to reposition and launched a new logo in order to reflect the innovative and dynamic structure. The advertising agency of Arçelik, Young and Rubicam, created a new advertising character for Arçelik; Çelik the robot, and the new logo was launched with this character. They utilized connotative meanings of a robot, and stress that Arçelik is a modern, technological and innovative brand. Arçelik succeed to brand loyalty upon customers through Çelik advertisements which are easy to remember and catchy. Brands are not only formed of physical elements, but also the soul of the brands is an essential complement of them. These humanistic features build brand personality; and Arçelik reconstruct its brand image through the character of Çelik.

¹⁴ <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/global500/2011/snapshots/6769.html> (22.03.2013)

http://www.arcelikas.com/page/10/ARCELIK_AS_HAKKINDA (22.03.2013)

¹⁵ <http://www.tusiad.org.tr/tusiad/founders-of-tusiad/> (22.03.2013)

<http://www.arcelikas.com/sayfa/79/Kurucumuz> (22.03.2013)

The analysis starts with the launching advertisement of Çelik, in 2002. The date 2002 signifies an important general election for Turkey. The fifth government, coalition government of the Democratic Left Party (DLP, in Turkish, Demokratik Sol Parti), the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP, in Turkish, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi), and the MP, of Bülent Ecevit who was the leading figure of social democrats, was damaged by the economic crisis of February 2001. The crisis created instable economic and political environment and the JDP took advantage to it. As a result of this period, from 18 November 2002 to present, the JDP become the single party government. In addition, although, the historical backgrounds of the whole selected advertisements provide the more explicit reading for ads, the thesis does not aim to address direct links between the historical context and texts. In turn, the thesis with constructivist representation approach, does not explore the relationship between advertisements and historical contexts through direct reflection.

The first advertisement of Arçelik¹⁶ is located in an Arçelik factory. The ad shows a night watchman, Sırrı, at the first scene. When Sırrı does his routine controls in factory and singing a folk song, suddenly the machines start to work. Although he checks the noise and asks another employee, Muharrem (we cannot see or hear him), with his walkie talkie (picture 1), he cannot understand why the machines work and he is scared. When he runs around the machines and asks loudly; “Who is there?”, Çelik appears and they meet (picture 3).

¹⁶ The advertisement can be watched via this link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=liQYKKFr8qY>

- (1) Watchman: Ana (a Turkish expression), what is this? Ana, o ne?
(2) Çelik: Hi. I am Çelik Arçelik. Who are you? Selam. Ben Çelik Arçelik.
Ya sen kimsin?
(3) W: I am Sırrı, Sırrı the watchman. Ben de Sırrı, bekçi Sırrı.
(4) Ç: Where are you from? Nerelisin?
(5) W: Erzincan. Erzincan.
(6) Ç: From the inside? İçinden mi?
(Pack shot) Arçelik'te bi'seyler oluyor! Something is happening in Arçelik!



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Picture 4

At first, the night watchman, Sırrı, is afraid of the robot which is made by Arçelik machines by themselves (picture 2), but when Çelik introduces himself (picture 4) and asks where Sırrı is originally from, Sırrı smiles and answers; Erzincan

which is a city in the eastern Anatolian region of Turkey (line 4 and 5). The character of Sırrı is played by Şafak Sezer. He is a famous Turkish actor and usually appears in comedic roles and he is also from Erzincan originally, same as his character in the ad. In that point, Sırrı overcomes his fear and it is the starting point for their friendship between a human and a humanized robot. The question, “Where are you from originally?” should be highlighted, because it reveals rural and urban differences. This question can also read as a rural unity seeking in urban. According to conservative thought, as it is mentioned in first chapter of the thesis, rural area represents loss of natural, real and virtuous one. The next question of Çelik is more specific and cultural; “From the center?” (line 6). This conversation expresses local and national codes, and authenticity emphasis of Arçelik. In addition, through this question, Arçelik introduces its new brand identity, just launched by this ad, with Turkish people who are represented by Sırrı in this particular ad. Thus, Arçelik becomes one of us thanks to what Çelik represents.

In order to sum up the first advertisement of the thesis, four selected Turkish conservatism themes can be mentioned. The themes presented by the ad are tradition, local/cultural connections, peasant and rural, and technology. Among these themes, technology and local connections are more visible in the ad.

Çelik, a technological masterpiece, is not a snob or mechanic robot; on the contrary, he is sympathetic and warm kind. He has a character and soul like a human. His facial expressions, body language and lexical choices symbolizes that he is one of us. Through the advertisement, Arçelik can combine Turkish traditional and cultural codes with modern, technologic, and innovative brand image. Arçelik

stresses not only cultural values of Turkey, but also highlights technological superiority that belongs to West. In other words, the brand represents a successful hybridity; combining the West and the East through different aspects at the same time. In that point, the conservative thought about technology is remarkable. As it is mentioned previous parts, conservatism can easily absorb technological modernism. However, conservatism avoids cultural perspective of modernism. The moral codes or attitudes of the Western culture are criticized by especially Turkish conservatism perspective, but this conservative thought accepts the Western technology. Thus, this selective combination between technological modernism of the Western and cultural values of Turkish tradition is represented in the advertisement very explicitly.

4.4.1.2. Arçelik Truck

Arçelik achieved a remarkable success from the new brand positioning. It became the leading, superior brand in Turkey's white goods market. According to Nielsen Brands Survey in 2008, Arçelik was selected the first brand that comes to consumers' minds and consumers feel close and familiar to the brand.¹⁷ Regarding to its market leader position, structure of the next image campaign of Arçelik emphasizes national and local values, 'Turkey's brand' image and unity all around the country. The first ad of this analysis ends with stressing that something new happens in Arçelik, and they introduces new brand position with a new character. It also overlaps with the change in political environment in Turkey. Later, the brand used Çelik lots of its hard sell ads. However, the second ad of the analysis does not

¹⁷ http://www.arcelik.com/UserFiles/file/Arcelik_Kurumsal%20sunum_ocak_2012.pdf (05.04.2013)

include Çelik. As I mentioned above, the first ad of Çelik balance modernity and tradition. On the other side, the second ad highlighted only national and moral values without any western attribution.

In this context, for the Arçelik brand analysis, the second advertisement¹⁸ is again an image ad, broadcasted in 2010. I choose this particular advertisement because Arçelik point out this ad as a brand advertisement after the first ad. I would like to mention about the historical context of this period briefly. From to 2010, the JDP participated to two general elections and one local election and the JDP raised its votes compared to 2002. In 2007, the slogan of the JDP summarizes the achieved victories will be continued; “Don't Stop, Keep Going On!” what the party translates this Turkish phrase; “Durmak yok, yola devam”. Coming to power alone gives strong political power to the JDP. Prime Minister Erdoğan suggested Abdullah Gül, one of the founders of the JDP, for the 2007 presidential election in April 2007. Gül was elected 11th president on 28 August 2007 in the third round of voting. Some scholars and politicians described this era as consolidation power of the JDP. For instance, a writer, Amberin Zaman, described his presidency as new era in Turkish politics in The Telegraph, for being the first devout Muslim president in Turkish Republic.¹⁹

When we turn back to analysis, the ad is about an Arçelik truck driver’s road story, around the country. Tone of voice used in the ad is emotional and sincere, rather professional. The driver is a blue-collar worker, also fatherly and sincere, as

¹⁸ The second ad of Arçelik can be watched via the link: <http://www.arcelik.com.tr/reklam-filmleri-tir.html>

¹⁹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1561631/Turkey-elects-Islamist-president-Abdullah-Gul.html>

well. Moreover, the name of the driver is unknown. Although we know some specific details about the driver, name which is the first thing about a person says about himself/herself is deleted from his character. Because of this preference, he is perceived as one of Arçelik drivers, not a specific person. At the same time, being a character without a name makes him an ordinary person. This choice and the casting should be stressed, because Arçelik does not target upper class that prefers more expensive products or brands. On the contrary, Arçelik reach its target audience through their advertising strategies by using an ordinary man. This man can be linked with the majority of the Turkish people, so he becomes one of us. It also creates common sense thinking and transcends the individual differences. The target audience can be easily acquainted themselves with the driver. Thus, may be, if his name is given, he becomes an individual, and could not an anonymous person or member of a majority.

Thanks to the driver again, there is a connection between different social classes who produce, delivers and consumes Arçelik. The anonymous character of the driver, representing lower class, binds Arçelik with middle class, but it does not include upper class. Thus, this creates communality among these classes. He carries the same values with the target audience, besides Arçelik goods. In other words, he represents the classical meaning of the authenticity and traditional personality. He has traditional social values and he carries these abstract values with tangible brand products.

He has been transported for approximately 20 or 30 years the goods of Arçelik all around the country no matter how the conditions are tough or which

season is it, and he loves his job (line 1-3). Selected landscapes of the ad signify this, as it can be seen in picture 5 and 6 which are the iconic places for Turkish audiences. Moreover, the landscape of the ad is selected in rural environment, there is no urban visual.



Picture 5



Picture 6

The second line in text refers a significant poem which is called ‘Atatürk’e Ağıt’.²⁰ The poet was Cahit Külebi who was famous with patriot poems and this poem also mentions about Anatolian lands; from Edirne to Ardahan which are geographically the border towns between northwestern to northeastern cities of Turkey. Furthermore, the ad shows a bridge image in rural area (picture 8) which represents a passage over a physical obstacle. It has a metaphorical meaning as connecting, becoming closer the things. This verse and the image of bridge stress the integrity of Turkish nation, no matter the physical distance. In this sense, discourse of the ad highlights the country as a mosaic and prefers to use word Anatolia rather than Turkey.

²⁰ <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR,25358/ataturke-agit--cahit-kulebi.html>

Regarding this perspective, stresses rural parts and lexical choice about Anatolia, rather than Turkey in the ad, are meaningful for conservative thought. Using Anatolia exalts the descents of the Turkey. Because, Anatolia has hosted many civilizations and all of them left behind unique artifacts. The ad points that this country is a cultural mosaic. Furthermore, besides the geographic denotation of Anatolia, bounded by the Black Sea to the north, the Mediterranean Sea to the south and the Aegean Sea to the west, Anatolia is also known as Asia Minor. In other words, in parallel with the decisions about landscape images in the ad, the lexical choice about Anatolia stresses authenticity and orientalism. According to conservative thought, modernity destroys traditions and naturalness. This discourse constructs natural, real, virtuous attitudes against unnatural urbanity. In this sense, Turkey has more modern connotations, rather than undegenerated, natural Anatolia. The Republic of Turkey signifies a nation state; on the other hand, Anatolian emphasis of the advertisement refers the roots of the country.

The ad shows Anatolian landscape and people from Anatolia. Firstly, the ad mentions about physical beauty and naturalness of Anatolia, already the ad prefer to use rural Anatolian villages' landscapes (picture 7 and 8). In line 3 and 4 of the text, the driver depicts Anatolia as; "Its air is clean and everywhere is green." In turn, these features is not experienced in urban environments frequently, these are intrinsic to rural. In addition, naturalness is also used as a binary opposition of the ruined urban for conservative perspective.



Picture 7



Picture 8

The other Anatolia emphasis is the people of Anatolia. The text of the ad describes people from Anatolia as friendly, sincere, and hospitable which are traditional values of Turkish society (line 4-5). As it is mentioned in first chapter in the thesis, tradition can be described the rituals or beliefs which origins from the past and are maintained in the present. Regarding conservative perspective, same as the nature of Anatolia, its people who has simple life-styles are natural and undegenerated. For instance, people shared their food with the driver without charge as it is clearly seen in pictures 9 and 10. Giving your food to another person freely is not an urbanized behavior. It can be easily called as solidarity which has strong roots with rural life-style. Moreover, this attitude represents nostalgia and is highlighted by images and text of the ad. This can be considered as a protection reflex of culture and aim to maintain it in present state for conservatism.

The text of the ad also highlights the notion of unity, especially in the lines 4-5 and 8. The driver talks about an 'imagined community' based on a production model of the company that is all around the Anatolia. In order to explore imagined Arçelik community, I would like to mention what imagined community is and how Arçelik position itself as a sub-identity of this community, primarily. The imagined

community, according to Benedict Anderson, is that a nation is a community socially constructed, which is to say imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group (1991:7). Anderson defines a nation as an imagined political community which is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. An imagined community is different from an actual community because it cannot be based on everyday face-to-face interaction between its members. As Anderson claims, a nation is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each member lives the image of their communion (1991: 5-7). In turn, the text of ad constructs an ‘imagined Anatolian community’ through these sentences; “Wherever you travel in Anatolia, there is always an Arçelik seller. Whereas, some of them invite me to their home, some invite me to their shop. I have always a place to knock a door in everywhere in my country.” (Line 8-10). This statement explicitly shows that storytelling of this ad is constructed base on an imagined Arçelik family, as a sub-identity of an imagined Anatolian community.

In turn, this expression (line 8-10) depicts that Anatolia is knitted with Arçelik store which are interconnected in Anatolia, not Turkey. Thus, I prefer to use imagined Arçelik community. Furthermore, it should be stressed that there are obvious traditional codes and lower and middle class indicators as it can be seen in pictures 11 and 12. Through the text and images, the ad stresses the simple life styles and shared life experiences.



Picture 9



Picture 10



Picture 11



Picture 12

Whereas, the ad continues with the driver comes across to a wedding procession in an Anatolian village. Rituals and beliefs are essential for conservative thought. These traditions should be maintained in the present, in order to being a bridge between past and present states. As we can see in picture 13, the bride wears a red belt. The red fabric belt is a symbol of virginity in Turkish tradition and when a young woman become bride, her father gives this belt to the daughter. This ceremony connotes that girl leaves her family home as a virgin, and the girl will become a woman in her new home. Moreover, according to Turkish tradition, close friends and family members give gold, money or marriage portion to bride and groom. Therefore, we can see lots of gold on bride arms (picture 14) and also an Arçelik product in picture 15. This Arçelik gift has an important visual codes; a red ribbon. For the context of the ad, the red belt of the bride and the red ribbon of the product have same connotations; virginity. They both signify pureness, and Arçelik product

identifies itself with the bride. In this sense, regarding conservative thought about family and marriage that is essential, Arçelik becomes a part of a newly formed family. Thus, Arçelik has a remarkable role for family which is very crucial for Turkish tradition.

The ad continues with marriage theme. In the next scene, driver says the young couple seems very happy and he admits that he misses his wife in line 5-7. When he says this, camera zoom in to his wife's photographs which are located his eye level in his truck (picture 16). There are also amulets against the bad eyes near the photographs. These cultural codes are articulated in the ad meticulously. Representation of marriage and wedding process are very remarkable indicators for the cultural conservatism, because conservatism regards virtuous family connections.



Picture 13



Picture 14



Picture 15



Picture 16

The ad ends with emphasizing that the road story of the driver will continue. He says; “Let’s continue to road.” in lines 10-11. This statement is very close with the slogan of the JDP; “Don't Stop, Keep Going On!”. Although it cannot be exact translation from Turkish, because of translation choice of the JDP, these two sentences have the same pattern. The slogan of the JDP actually includes the word ‘road’ at the end of the sentence, latently. The Turkish audiences easily complete the missing word; ‘road’. These two sentences both highlight that there are lots of work to do and they are the correct choice to make things right. The road has a metaphorical meaning for this particular advertisement. We watch road story of a truck driver’s who has driven over years (line 1) and he will keep going his road. This expression and the slogan of the JDP overlap. They both stress continuity.

The ad ends with the pack shot; “Our love, respect, excitement are mutual. Have a happy novelty from Arçelik.” The word novelty is a major point to analyze, since the JDP claims a new age and newness in its discourse. The emphasis of newness can be also seen in the first ad. On the one hand, conservatism can be easily understood as being opposed to newness which is identified with modernity, that’s why sometimes conservatism is confused with reactionism. However, conservatives are more negotiator than reactionists, as it is mentioned in first chapter of the thesis. Although conservative and reactionary attitude differ from each other, the connotations of the conservatism sometimes can be insufficient about showing positive attitude of changing in the first place (Göka & Göral & Güney, 2009: 302). On the other hand, conservatism does not reject changes completely. According to conservative perspective, change is acceptable if it is moderate, occurred with familiar references and do not enforce the order radically. In other words,

conservatism accepts gradualist and evolutionist changes and newness. In this advertisements, Arçelik choices the moderate changes with familiar references and also articulate these traditional codes within a modern newness.

Lastly, this advertisement of Arçelik, the second ad of the thesis emphasizes five themes; tradition, nostalgia, local and cultural connections, peasant and rural, woman and family. The ad strategically shows cultural connections and Turkish traditions with a nostalgic tone of voice. The tradition theme is presented explicitly in marriage part of the ad which is also an essential theme for conservatism. Moreover, selected landscapes around the country highlight rural parts and local connections.

(1) I may say for 20, you may say for 30 years, I have carried Arçelik throughout
(2) Turkey. Like some people say “from Edirne to Ardahan”, I am living it. I love my
(3) job so much. You travel all over the Anatolia. Its air is clean and everywhere is
(4) green. You meet many people; young and old. You sit with them, eat, drink with
(5) them; it is like they know you since the years. Once you look from cross, you met
(6) with the wedding procession; bride and groom are shaking their hands to you.
(7) You understand; they are happy. Then you miss you wife without intention.
(8) Wherever you travel in Anatolia, there is always an Arçelik seller. Whereas,
(9) some of them invite me to their home, some invite me to their shop. I have
(10) always a place to knock a door in everywhere in my country. Let’s continue to
(11) road.

(Pack shot) Our love, respect, excitement are mutual. Our love, respect, excitement are mutual. Have a happy novelty from Arçelik.

“Ben deyim 20, siz deyin 30 yıldır Türkiye’nin her tarafına Arçelik taşıyorum. Hani derler ya Edirne’den Ardahan’a kadar, heh, işte onun tam gerçeğini yaşıyorum. Ben işimi çok seviyorum. Anadolu’nun her tarafını geziyorsun. Havası temiz, yeşilliktir her taraf. Çok insan tanıyorsun; genci yaşlısı... Onlarla oturuyosun, yiyosun, içiyosun; sanki seni yıllardır tanıyolar. Karşıdan bi bakıyorsun, düğün alayıyla karşılaşıyorsun, gelin damat el sallıyolar size. Bakıyorsun mutlular. İster istemez hanımını özlüyorsun. Anadolu’nun neresini gezersen gez, bir Arçelik Bayii, servisi mutlaka var. Kimi evine buyur eder, kimi dükkanında ağırlar. Memleketin her tarafında çalacak bir kapım var. Haydi yola devam. (Pack shot) Sevgimiz, saygımız, heyecanımız karşılıklı. Arçelik’ten nice mutlu yeniliklere.”

4.4.1.2. Çelik Gets Married with Çeliknaz

The third and final advertisement of Arçelik²¹ is about the wedding ceremony of Çelik and Çeliknaz, the female robot and the new character of Arçelik ads. The brand shows Çelik's birth figuratively in 2002 and in 2012, we watch their wedding. Arçelik elaborates that the character of Çelik is a sustainable idea for advertisement. Arçelik achieves integrated communication as the one voice and one message through character of Çelik. In this final ad, we see Çelik growing up and getting married. This perspective, a child growing up and someday getting married, is a preconception of traditional Turkish families, because these families add positive values to the institution of marriage.

Before starting to analyze this ad which is broadcasted in 2012, the context of the ad should be mentioned. In June 2011, last general election, the JDP gained approximately half of the total votes, 49,95%. With the last election, the JDP won the whole election since 2002 which is its first election. These results give very remarkable political power to the party. This political consolidation of the JDP can be noticed in their discourses and political sanctions, after a decade. The Prime Minister Erdoğan's famous victory speeches after elections generally emphasize that the party embraces whole colors and identities such as Kurds, Arabians, Zaza, Cherkes, also workers, employees, retirees, farmers, peasants, handicapped, poor

²¹ It can be watched via the link:

<http://www.arcelik.com.tr/icerik.aspx?syg=293&sgt=1&icr=5461&lang=tr-TR>

people and youth. Especially in his speech after 2011 election, Erdoğan stated that at this election hope of downtrodden and sufferer people wins. He also stressed economic stability and stated ambitions of Turgut Özal make sense now.²²

On the one hand, Erdoğan declared the importance of freedom of expression and he promised enlarging the scope of freedom for everyone. On the other hand, when we look at the general discourse of the JDP, it is observed that they generally highlight the importance of traditional Turkish values; which are not in terms of nationalism, but mostly more global Islamic values, not an inclusive stance. Consequently, the promise of enlarging freedom of expression loses its meaning with the JDP's strong emphasis on traditional values, respecting only some particular stance or way of life style. Erdoğan frequently talks about how Turkish family is structured and what are the values we must preserve. As it is mentioned previous chapter, Erdoğan obviously centers institution of family for social peace and security.²³

In order to understand the media reflections of discourse of the government, the Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT, in Turkish, Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu) and the Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTÜK, in Turkish, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu) can give hints. The TRT, national public broadcaster of Turkey, is criticized for cadre issue and increasing of having religious content in TV shows in the governance of the JDP. The TRT was established in 1964 and before the introduction of commercial radio and subsequently commercial

²² <http://www.habersarayi.com/guncel/guncel/3355-erdoganin-secim-sonrasi-balkon-konusmasi.html>

²³ <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haber/2378/4-aile-surasi-basbakan-erdogan-bugune-kadar-yasadigimiz-sayisiz-krizi-mille>

television in early 1990s; it held a monopoly on broadcasting.²⁴ In addition, approximately 70% funding of the TRT come from taxes; electricity bills and sales tax on TV and radio receivers. As Gülseren Adaklı states that the TRT responded these criticisms that the religious shows have started in İsmail Cem's general director period (1974-1975) and there is no significant raise to religious shows. However, Adaklı stresses that the crucial point about the topic is not the increase in the quantity of the religious programs; rather it is about the proliferation of religious themes in any kind of programs or shows which are not labeling as religious programs (2010: 599). Through the consolidation political power to the JDP, its concerns are transferred to the media. In this sense, for instance, sanctions of the RTÜK upon TV shows and series have represented political atmosphere and been parallel with ideology of the government party. In other words, through sanctions of the RTÜK, the ideology of the JDP can be analyzed, because as Erol Önderoğlu states that these sanctions are kind of a regulation upon social life (2012: 170).

In this context, the final ad of Arçelik is about establishing a family which is the major theme for sustaining the society, for conservative thought. The analysis starts with the jingle of ad which is sang by Yaşar, a famous pop singer in Turkey. Yaşar sings first song of the wedding, 'La Cumparsita', one of the favorite songs for wedding ceremonies, with adaptation Turkish lyrics (picture 15). This jingle represents the tradition of Turkish culture forms with Western culture forms. Yaşar is a remarkable choice for the ad, because he recently got married and he is not a sensational pop singer. Thus, his image and brand positioning of Arçelik are

²⁴ <http://www.trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/Tarihce.aspx>

overlapping. The lyrics of jingle are about the feelings of Çelik to Çeliktaz. It wishes couples, loving each other, gets married. It reminds Erdoğan's speeches and wishes, which are mentioned above, about unmarried couples getting married.

In turn, it can be easily observed that in Turkey there is a trend about preserving traditional values and especially family institution as insurance the social peace. Through the discourse of the JDP and Erdoğan, mentioned above, some specific life styles are excluded in media (Önderoğlu, 2012: 168), because of articulation of government party's ideology into social life practices. Through taking into consideration the circumstances about the RTÜK and the TRT, very popular TV shows decide to change their scenarios and marry the well-known characters, such as 'Behzat Ç.'²⁵, and 'Bir Erkek Bir Kadın'²⁶.

In the ad, Çelik and Çeliktaz perform tango as their wedding dance, in company with 'La Cumparsita (picture 18-19). The choice of tango is remarkable, because it represents middle class behavior or choice. Nowadays some couples attend dance courses for their first dance in the wedding. The ad does not prefer to use an Anatolian folk dance 'halay' for instance, rather chooses tango. This choice

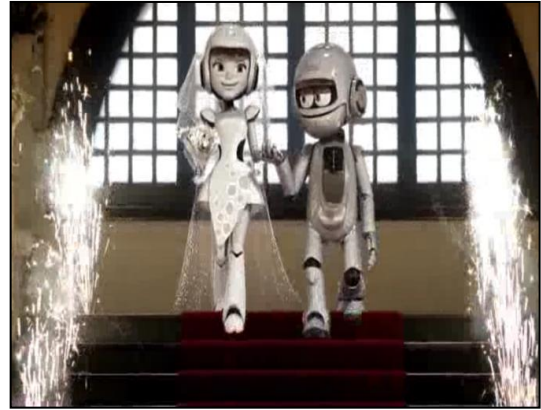
²⁵ Behzat Ç. concerns a detective's story and it is converted from a novel. In the story, Behzat Ç. who is a rough, truthful and passionate and his team try to solve criminal cases. In addition, as he had an unsuccessful marriage, he cannot trust women any longer. Therefore, does not want to marry again. However, he has a girlfriend and eventually he marries with her. Furthermore, although the issues related to the criminal cases are dominant in the story, Behzat Ç.'s private life affects his business life substantially. Thus, the changes in his private life shape the story in a sense.

²⁶ A couple is narrated in Bir Erkek Bir Kadın. Actually, it is adaptation of a foreigner TV series and it is adapted in many countries. In the show, a couple is together approximately 7 year relationship, but they do not marry. The dialogues of the show are sincere and funny. Moreover, in each episode, another story is showed and it can be accepted as sit-com. As an international adaptation show, Bir Erkek Bir Kadın is very different in comparison to other Turkish TV series. Recently, the characters of the show get engaged and will marry.

shows that this ad targets upper-middle class, unlike first two ads of Arçelik. These first two ads include classical authenticity, but this final ad prefers to show more modern, as Westernization, signs and life-styles. Furthermore, the wedding gown of the Çeliknaz is designed by a famous designer; Bahar Korçan. These details signify a modern middle class behavior or life-style (picture 17).



Picture 16



Picture 17



Picture 18



Picture 19

The lyrics of the ad emphasizes positive side of the marriage and mutual love in heterosexual couples should be ended with marriage, in line 5, “If love is something like that, everyone gets married”. Same as the previous advertisement, this ad mention about a famous phrase, “not affected by evil eye” (line 6). The ad constructs happiness through these indicators; such lyrics say “... world is mine”, if

Çeliknaz say yes to Çelik's proposal. In other words, eternal happiness is expressed by marriage, because finding himself/herself is also associated by finding the true love.

(1) The first time I fall in love like this	İlk kez böyle aşka tutuldum
(2) Day by day, have a crush on you	Gün geçtikçe sana vuruldum
(3) My love, I find myself at you	Aşkım sende kendimi buldum
(4) I was different, settle at you	Bir başkaydm sende duruldum
(5) If love is something like that, everyone gets married	Böyleyse aşk herkes evlensin
(6) We are happy, is not affected by evil eye	Mutluyuz biz nazar değmesin
(7) Say yes to me, world is mine	Sen evet de dünya benim olsun
(8) Beauty, my love	Güzeller güzeli aşkım

(Pack shot) Çelik entering to each home in Turkey with its technological novelties, now enters into matrimony with Çeliknaz, grace and design masterpiece. And a new era is beginning in Arçelik. Arçelik designs novelty with love.

(Pack shot) Teknolojik yenilikleriyle Türkiye'de her eve giren Çelik, tasarım ve zerafet harikası Çeliknaz'la şimdi de dünya ewine giriyor. Ve Arçelik'te yeni bir dönem başlıyor. Arçelik yeniliği aşkla tasarlar.

The pack shot which is vocalized by Halit Ergenç²⁷, a famous actor and also a family man, like Yaşar. Regarding the discourse of the pack shot, Çelik passes through a new period of his life, and Arçelik declares that the brand symbolically goes through a new phase. In all these three advertisements of Arçelik, pack shots emphasize a novelty, but in this final ad novelty associate with love. In turn, designing novelty is shift to designing novelty with love. The focusing on love shows that novelty is combining with aesthetic.

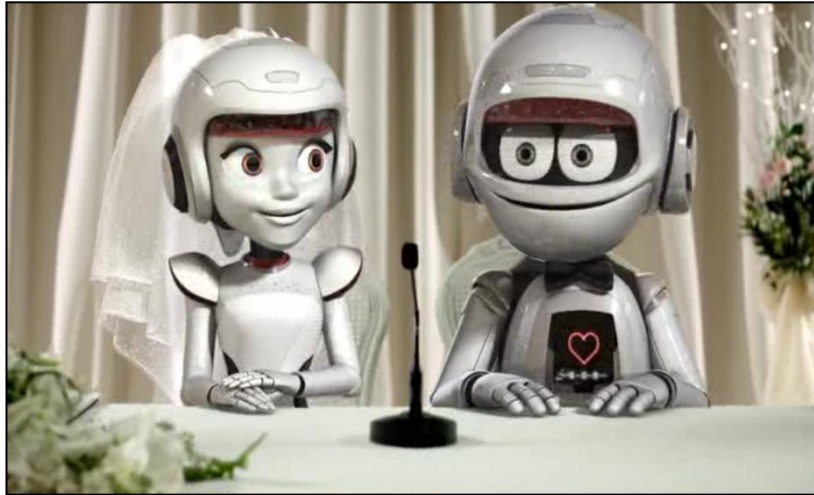
²⁷ Halit Ergenç has starred as Suleiman the Magnificent in a historical Turkish television series, called Magnificent Century, since 2011.

The pack shot describes features of man and woman explicitly. For instance, the name of female robot is created from male robot's name. There is an usage of suffix to Çelik(naz). In Turkish female names includes Naz, at the same time some names end with 'naz'. Naz also means coyness which is associated with femininity. Furthermore, the connotation of Çelik is strong, durable and steady male which also stress the brand personality features. Çeliknaz, on the other side, represents grace and beauty. At this point, it should be pointed out that advertising is an ideology form which constructs the social attitudes such as women and men roles, perception of true and false, etc.

In this context, Arçelik not only describes its products features, but also reproduce gender roles in the society. The characteristics of Çelik and Çeliknaz represent men and women roles. In other words, the brand not only stresses their technologic features by Çelik, but also shows masterpiece of design and grace by Çeliknaz. According to brand positioning, combination of grace and technology is the key notions about brand personality, so their marriage is literally the perfect match.

When focusing on the visual codes in the ad, white and grey tones, usually used in electronic appliances, are used for skin color for robots and through this choice, brand's technologic image are stressed. On the other side, the humanistic attitudes, voices and behaviors are added to the robots. For instance, smiley faces and kind attitudes of the robots break the perception of snob or serious characteristics of technology and add positive and humanistic dimensions. The faces shapes of the robots are also not sharp, and only in this ad, a heart symbol is shown in Çelik's

breast (picture 20). To sum up, Arçelik that aims to merge technology, a highlighted theme for the analysis, with grace and design shows viewers that it will renovate and update itself and will have products that will be graceful and fancy design through its products and advertisements.



Picture 20

In order to summarize the family theme in the ad, it can be easily said that this part of the ad exalts the notion of marriage and family which is an important conservatism theme for this study, because family is blessed and essential for Turkish tradition and also conservatism. That also implicitly underlines the heterosexuality of characters featuring in the ad. The sociological criticism of the conservative thought claims that human is not autonomous, is dependent to society. Therefore, humankind hands down a heritage and needs social and moral norms (Beneton, 1991: 49). Furthermore, conservatism regards virtuous family connections, and criticizes modernity for destroying linkage between generations. In turn, Arçelik gives a significant place for marriage notion in this ad.

To sum up Arçelik advertisements analysis, some points are explicitly highlighted by advertising strategies. The selected three Arçelik ads stress traditional values which are the main subject for conservatism and determined by social dynamics and actors of today. These specific traditional values of the Arçelik ads are chosen, constructed or invented and they changes through needs of present state same as conservative perspective upon traditionalism. However, as it is discussed in “Tradition” part in this thesis, in order to open a new scopes or view, there should be a solid ground. This solid ground metaphor refers chosen traditions and values. In this context, Arçelik figures out positive newness of tradition in modernity by emphasizing modernity and tradition at the same time, as Timothy Luke (1996) conceptualizes as ‘tradition-in-modernity’ (quoted in Onbaşı, 2003: 87). Furthermore, these ads exalt concept of family and marriage which are also embrace by conservative values.

Finally, the discourse of the ads constructs to reach target audience of the brand. In order to explore characteristics of the target audience, descriptions of Ahmet İnsel are crucial. İnsel claims that cultural dimensions, economic capital, and traditional middle class have transformed since 1980s in Turkey. He defines new middle class as culturally conservative, politically nationalist, moderately authoritarian, and economically liberal (2003: 297). In this context, Arçelik utilizes this liberal-nationalist-conservative synthesis into these advertisements through semiotic codes and discursive choices and some mentioned conservatism themes, except religion.

4.4.2. Case of Turkcell TV Advertisements

This chapter aims to investigate brand advertisements of Turkcell. In order to choose advertisements of Turkcell, this study reach Semih Dadaş, from Turkcell corporate communication department. According to Dadaş; Turkcell has lots of specific campaigns and renewed features, so the brand prefers to announce them, primarily. Regarding the decided criteria for analysis, Turkcell provides two brand advertisements which were broadcasted in 2008 and 2011. He also noticed that Turkcell does not have a comprehensive advertisements archive before 2005.

Turkcell is the biggest telecommunication operators among three companies; Avea and Vodafone, in Turkey.²⁸ According to official website of Turkcell²⁹, it started to serve its clients in 1994 as a pioneer of the Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) operating corporation. Furthermore, Turkcell has been the market leader in five countries out of nine on which it has served. Turkcell have made contracts with more than 110 countries for 3G application and also have signed contracts with more than 165 countries in order to serve the General Packet Radio Service (GPRS) application. Since the establishment, Turkcell has invested USD 4,5 billion for communication. The company also makes USD 17.1 profit for one person.

²⁸

<http://www.turkcell.com.tr/site/tr/turkcellhakkinda/yatirimciiliskileri/Sayfalar/turkiyegsmpazari.aspx>

²⁹ For further information, see: <http://www.turkcell.com.tr/site/en/turkcellhakkinda/Sayfalar/genel-bakis/genel.aspx>

Therefore, the amount of net profit within a month is close to USD 500 million. The number of subscribers is 35.2 million which makes Turkcell as the biggest GSM operator in Turkey.³⁰

Turkcell has also supported many social projects with regard to education, technology, sports and art. For instance, ‘Kardelenler’ (in English; Snowdrops) appears to be the major social responsibility project of Turkcell. Through this project, many school-age girls whose families cannot provide their tuition are donated scholarship. Turkcell also won IPR Excellence Awards, Foundation of Women Executives' Public Relations, Crystal Obelisk, and PR News CSR Awards by this project. Its second prominent project ‘Running towards the Future’ is a contribution of training competent human resources in Turkey in 2007.

4.4.2.1. Coverage Area Power of Turkcell

The first advertisement of Turkcell is called ‘Power of the coverage area of Turkcell’ (in Turkish, ‘Turkcell’in Çekim Gücü’)³¹. The ad shows lots of unknown actors as they are anonymous Turkcell users. After the advertisement was broadcasted, Turkcell users made their own videos by using same song and lyrics with the ad. Then, they shared their own videos on internet sites, such as YouTube, Facebook, etc. via Turkcell’s official channels. According to Semih Dadaş, this

³⁰ For detailed information about numbers, see:
<http://yenisafak.com.tr/Bilisim/?t=31.07.2011&i=332581>
<http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/464969.asp>
<http://www.finanstrend.com/haber/73183/turkcell-in-abone-sayisi-33.5-milyon-oldu>

³¹ The advertisement can be watched via the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APjevNF9nZk>

advertisement is the first co-creation and user-generated content work of the brand. Turkcell utilizes the new communication method in order to interact with its customers.

In traditional perspective, advertising is defined as non-personal, one-way, paid form communication to inform, persuade or remind a product, service or thought; directed at a target audience through mass media. However, due to changes in consumers, markets, organizations and technologies, companies need to adapt themselves to a new era which addresses consumer-generated ads, personal advertising and two-way communication. Especially today's digital era, co-creating with consumers, employees or stakeholders gained more importance.

Co-creation involves the pursuit of mutually beneficial relationships between marketers and customers by empowering customers to be creative collaborators in the production process. Because, in this new era, individuals are no longer passive recipients and this era calls for companies to develop or create experience in conjunction with their stakeholders. Therefore, Turkcell has gained competitive advantage and generated sustainable growths against its competitors; Avea and Vodafone; through creating engagement with systematic continuous process of both discovery and execution of new value creation opportunities.

The first advertisement was broadcasted in 2008, and has same historical context with second Arçelik ad. The ad aims to highlight quality of the coverage area of Turkcell, same as name of the ad, through showing several difficult landscapes

and conditions. This advertisement will be analyzed into seven parts representing seven regions of Turkey (chronological order of the ad; the Black Sea Region, the Marmara Region, the Aegean Region, the Mediterranean Region, the Southeastern Anatolia Region, the Eastern Anatolia Region and the Central Anatolia Region), and different locations or conditions are added in order to strength context of ad. Regions as a whole, as parts of the ad, are depicted with their characteristic landscapes, accents, music and their instruments, architecture, and physical appearance of people.

The first part of the ad is located in the Black Sea Region, one of Turkey's seven census-defined geographical regions. The part includes six scenes representing characteristics of the region. The first scene of the ad starts with a plateau, an area of highland and usually consisting of relatively flat terrain, image. A man from the Black Sea Region plays a local musical instrument; ‘tulum’, a form of bagpipe and sing the song as whole other actors do (picture 21). The second scene of the ad continues with a woman, from same region, playing another folk instrument, ‘kemençe’ or kemenche; adjacent to the Black Sea Region (picture 22). The scene shows a special plateau wood house, vegetation, and high mountains which depicts the region.



Picture 21



Picture 22

In the next scene, the ad shows a ‘cellocan’, at first time. The cellocan is a child who wears cellocan costume, including a hat with two aerials in order to link with coverage area, yellow-black jump suit and a big white bow-tie for both girls and boys, same as in picture 23. The word cellocan is created by the copywriter in 2006; it is reproduced from word of cell phone. The suffix of ‘can’ is added to cell and create a new word which was not exist in Turkish; cellocan. The cellocans, responsible to coverage area power of Turkcell, are the mascot of the brand. According to Turkcell advertisement fantasy, all Turkcell consumers have a cellocan. The cellocans lead the consumers to a fit campaign for each one and serve them powerful coverage area by their receivers or aerials on their hat. In this ad, a cellocan raises his hands and jumps with happiness in front of an architecturally unique stone bride of the region.



Picture 23

The ad continues with inside of a home from the region and two women and a man who sing the song and tap out the rhythm of the jingle (picture 24). The women wear special local headscarves which are iconic clothing for Turkish audience. These headscarves will also be seen in following scenes, because they all tie in different way region by region. The last scene completes the first part; a man who has

significant physical appearance of the Black Sea Region, sings jingle of the ad in front of a unique wood house which is a special plateau houses adjacent to the Black Sea Region (picture 25).



Picture 24



Picture 25

All scenes from the first part of the advertisement include the Black Sea region people who talks with regional accent and all of them have physical characteristics of the region. People wear particular dresses and headscarves which are explicit indicators of the region. As mentioned before, architectural elements are articulated in the scenes deliberately, such as unique houses or bridge. Furthermore, the musical instruments and jingle also express the regional elements.

The jingle of the ad has an important role for creating coherence and consistence of the creative idea of the ad. It has one sentence lyrics repeated at the end of the ad, “Turkcellli’nin gücü, Turkcell’in çekim gücü” (in English, “Turkcell users’ power, Turkcell’s coverage area power”). The important creative touch about the jingle is that it is adapted region by region; played with folkloric instrument and sang by people with regional accent. Thus, the jingle not only becomes a unique folkloric music, but also a common ground for different regions of Turkey as a connector. In order to explain the powerful coverage area of the brand, the ad

deliberately shows all regions of Turkey and differences. However, the ad regards these differences in a positive and consolidative way. In other words, the advertisement expresses power of coverage area of the brand through showing all regions of Turkey and different landscapes which can be a problem for the coverage area. Although the ad highlights differences through regions, it prefers to represent the country as an undivided whole. All actors in the ad represent different regions and sing the jingle in their own accent, but especially the background of the music represents that they have common or shared values.

The second part of the ad is located in another region of Turkey, the Marmara Region, especially in East Thrace. Same as the first part, the ad shows local music instruments and articulate them into jingle. The clearest example of this is that the tone of the music changes swiftly with clarinet, a local significant instrument for the Marmara Region from the Black Sea Region to the Marmara Region. Thus the second part starts with the clarinet and local music tone. The first scene of the second part foregrounds two men plays clarinet in a street, and in the background the wall of a house and a carpet is laid on the wall. A child also chases a chicken in front of the wall. This house and the street represent that it is not a metropolitan; rather, it seems a village. Alone child with a barnyard fowl and laid carpets on a wall without any protection also strength the idea that this place is a secure neighborhood, a village.



Picture 26

The next scene continues with belly dance of four casually dressed girls (picture 27). The musical instruments, clarinet and tambourine, are remarkable indicator of the region. In picture 28, they look at the camera directly and say “The coverage area of Turkcell.” At that moment, their local accent is clearly heard.



Picture 27



Picture 28

In the next scene, the ad shows eight men drinking tea, a Turkish traditional appetite in a traditional coffee house. The coffee houses represent a social interaction places for only men from middle and low classes. They provide social membership as informal clubs. Then, the last selected scene from the second part of the ad includes 10 men with local music instruments in front of a riverside (picture 30). These men hold their instrument in their left hands, and hold their cell phones in right hands. When they raise their right hands up, signal signs appear around the phone in order to stresses coverage area. This scene is important one because of the chosen instruments; violin, tambourine, clarinet and drum. These music instruments reveal the regional characteristics same as the first part.



Picture 29



Picture 30

Before showing another region, the ad chronologically takes places two different locations. The first one is located in a sailboat at an open sea (picture 31). There are five men who are all of middle age and no accents (picture 32). One man talks on a cell phone while sailing. The other scene is located in a construction yard. When the building construction is compared with other constructions near it, it can be said that it is a skyscraper. A man with safety hat and work vest appears firstly and says the lyrics without any accent (picture 33). The ad shows him visually as the dominant item at the scene. In other words, he is not a building worker; he is probably a civil engineer. Then, five men are shown; they raise their hand with their cell phone and repeat the lyrics. This visual (picture 34) is different from the previous one (picture 33), we do not see these five men individually, so according to visual codes, it can be said that they are building workers. The class difference is crucial; because the brand stresses that everyone can use Turkcell, regardless of their economic or social classes.

Furthermore, in these two scenes, there is no dominant musical tone or instrument, so we can hear the actors repeats the lyrics of the jingle. It cannot be defined as a specific place or region. Therefore, these two scenes aim to highlight the coverage area of Turkcell which are not negatively affected by different hard conditions or locations.



Picture 31



Picture 32



Picture 33



Picture 34

The advertisement proceeds to present regions. The third part of the ad takes places the Aegean Region and the Mediterranean Region, together. This analysis does not separate these two regions, because the ad does not distinguish these two regions clearly. Same as previous transitions, this part also starts with changing music. In picture 35, a man plays special spoons as a music instrument in front of a seaside and in picture 36, a man plays ‘kabak kemane’, a folkloric music instrument seem like kemenche, which both belong to the Aegean Region.



Picture 35



Picture 36



Picture 37



Picture 38

This part shows architectural and botanical indicators about the mentioned regions. For instance, a middle age woman with special headscarf related to region again stands in front of two fold stone houses, bougainvillea and oleander flower (picture 37). These indicators signify the Aegean and the Mediterranean Region features. Then, we see a middle age man holding his phone up and signal signs appear again. He sits down in front of a blue house door (picture 38).

Another coffee house is seen in picture 40 and 41. Two men sit down around a table and play a table game, 'okey' which is a table-game of traditional coffee house. This coffee house is different from previous one (picture 39) through its color, blue symbolic color of these two regions. The color blue and white are generally used for buildings in the Aegean and Mediterranean Region, because of climate conditions of these regions. A man holding a cell phone connects another person via

video chat (in picture 40). Later, he shows the phone another man who is sitting next to him. This man wears a special peasant headscarf related to the Aegean the Mediterranean Region (picture 41). We can see who they are talking with; a fisherman, thanks to video chat features of Turkcell, as shown in pictures 42 and 43. Especially in picture 43, the marina and fishing boats depict the regional visuals explicitly.



Picture 40



Picture 41



Picture 42



Picture 43

In the next scene, the ad presents a young woman teacher and an elementary school student together in the schoolyard (picture 44). The ad does not show a cell phone at this scene, rather it shows an internet modem, called ‘Turkcell 3G VINN’, which is put in the teacher’s laptop. The latent message within this scene is that thanks to this modem, the teacher can reach the internet without any problems everywhere, such as a village elementary school.



Picture 44

After the north, west and south regions, the ad suddenly changes the visuals and music, and the fourth part starts. This part is located in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, architectural features and the music of the first scene expresses the regional characteristics. In the first scene, picture 45, two man who have flat caps, play ‘bağlama’ a common musical instrument for Turkish folk music and a woman sings the jingle. They sit down at a village square, and architecture of the buildings and the color used portray the regional characteristics. Furthermore, another significant visual image is hoodoo, called as fairy chimney from the Central Anatolia Region which is near to the Southeastern Anatolia Region. In picture 46, three cellocans are seen in front of hoodoos.



Picture 45



Picture 46

When the topic is the Southeastern Anatolia Region, the special tradition ‘sıra gecesi’ scenes are not a surprise for the ad. The ‘sıra gecesi’ associated with

Şanlıurfa and Mardin cities in the region, is a folkloric actuality meeting including local music, dance, food and conversation. Nowadays, it is very popular among foreign and domestic tourists, but actually it is an entertainment that only men can access. The ad presents three different ‘sıra gecesi’ scenes. These scenes have almost same musical instruments; drum, goblet drum, violin, ‘bağlama’, and qanun (in Turkish; kanun) which are the fundamental instruments of Turkish folk music.

While, in picture 47 a music group consisting of eight musicians plays the jingle at outdoor place, pictures 48 and 49 have more significant traditional indicators. For instance, in picture 48, there are some authentic objects on the wall such as hookah, kettle and round metal tray at the center of the image. Moreover, picture 49 has almost same musical instruments, but different from other two scenes, there are traditional costumes, such as ‘şalvar’ (in English; baggy trousers) which are worn by both women and men in the Southeastern Anatolia Region and also the Eastern Anatolia Region, and dance. Thus, music is the major indicator to represent the regions.



Picture 47



Picture 48



Picture 49

In order to show local characteristics and differences, another crucial indicator for the ad is the dresses. The next three images clearly represent the dresses, make-up, and special headscarves for both men and women of the Southeastern Anatolia Region. In pictures 50, 51, and 52, unique headscarves and traditional local dresses are seen. In picture 50, the make-up of an old lady is significant indicator. Her chin and middle of eye brows are tinged with kohl. Moreover, picture 52, a young woman sits in front of traditional carpets on the wall and behind her there is a round metal tray. On the tray, there are two myrrh cups, a kind of coffee, without handle and a unique coffeepot which indicates the regional taste. In turn, architectural features and housewares which are shown in picture 52 are very remarkable in order to signify the regional characteristics.



Picture 50



Picture 51



Picture 52

Another specific item of the region is presented in picture 53; dome-shaped houses in Harran, in a district of Şanlıurfa Province. These houses belong exclusively to the Southeastern Anatolia Region. In this scene, an old man with a unique headscarf, ‘poşu’ (in English, keffiyeh) which is similar to Arabic men’s accessories is seen. Moreover, the last image of the fourth part highlights the geographical features of the region. In picture 54, a boy rides a donkey that is used for transportation in the region. Although there is not any settlement or asphalt road, his cell phone has signal symbols, same as picture 30 and 38.



Picture 53



Picture 54

Same as previous parts transitions, the ad prefers to show different locations or circumstances between the Southeastern Anatolia Region and the Eastern Anatolia

Region parts. This part includes two musicians with a saxophone and an acoustic guitar inside a subway station at İstanbul, the largest city in Turkey. This scene stresses that the coverage area quality of Turkcell is not affected negatively even in an underground. The next scene shows a group of white collar workers group who enjoys the music, called ‘fasıl’. In picture 56, the ‘fasıl’ depicts with a qanun, oud, and violin.



Picture 55



Picture 56

The next two scenes of the ad show other challenging locations for coverage area; such as a pit. Picture 57, two pitmen are seen in front of the entrance of a tunnel. Then, we can see the inside of the pit (picture 58). The wagons, used for inside transporting to workers and staffs, and shape of the tunnel signify that is a pit. In picture 58, an engineer talks with cell phone inside the pit. Furthermore, the ad continues to point out difficult locations. Picture 59 is located in a deep sea steamer and the captain talks with cell phone at deck. The next picture is not chronologically following the next scene; it is from next the Eastern Anatolia Region part. However, this study prefers to collect these situations or locations in this sub-part. The picture 60 shows an old man talking cell phone in an old train. Thus, it can be assumed that the railway is ‘Orient Express’ from İstanbul to Kars.



Picture 57



Picture 58



Picture 59



Picture 60

The fifth part, the sixth region of the ad is dedicated to the Eastern Anatolia Region. The selected scenes of this part are very remarkable iconic places for the region. Picture 61 is located at 'Ani', situated in Eastern Anatolia province of Kars. It has also borders with Armenia. In the scene a grandfather with his grandchildren is seen in front of 'Ani'. The next scene only shows the Mount Ararat, the highest mountain in Turkey, located in the Eastern end of Turkey, near the border with Iran.



Picture 61



Picture 62

This part, same as others, reveals not only geographical differences, but also highlights local music, accent and dresses. The picture 63 takes places in three local musicians with drum and ‘zurna’ also called ‘surna’. They are all dressed up traditional regional costumes, such as ‘şalvar’ and a special belt. This picture is as remarkable as previous two, because behind the musicians, there is İshak Paşa Sarayı (in English; Ishak Pasha Palace) which is an Ottoman-period palace and located in the Doğubeyazıt district of Ağrı province of eastern Turkey.



Picture 63

The following two scenes stress to dresses of the region. In picture 64, two middle age women with special headscarves raise their phones in front of significant regional landscapes. Moreover, in the last scene of the part (picture 65), a man who wears flat caps and has significant physical appearance of the region also raises his phone.



Picture 64



Picture 65

The final part of the advertisement presents the last region of Turkey; the Central Anatolia Region. According to geographical appearance, the first one is probably located in Konya; in the Central Anatolia Region of Turkey. There is a man who drives horse-drawn vehicle and a boy in an asphalt road (picture 66). In this picture the pack shot text, which is same with the lyrics of the jingle appears. The last two scenes, there are two ‘halk ozani’ (in English; Ashik) sings the jingle and play the ‘saz’. This scene represents a nostalgic Turkish tradition especially in the Central Anatolia Region. In these scenes, we can only hear their music without any background rhythm, so their accent is also heard clearly.



Picture 66



Picture 67



Picture 68

To sum up, in order to express how powerful coverage area of Turkcell is, the strategy of the ad focuses on all regions of Turkey. Moreover, it takes places in difficult locations or situations which can possibly affect the coverage area negatively; such as pit, open sea, top of skyscraper building, road without asphalt,

mountains of the Black Sea Region, the Southeastern Anatolia Region, and the Eastern Anatolia Region, so and so forth. On the one hand, the ad stresses different unique characteristics of the regions through their dresses, geographical features, landscapes, accents, vegetation, architecture, tone of music and musical instruments. On the other hand, the ad points out a comprehensive background for the country through the coverage area of Turkcell. The explicit message of the ad claims that if people have a Turkcell operator, they can reach the strong signals in their phones, no matter where they are.

In turn, in Turkcell ad advanced technology is highlighted in relation to the coverage area, while the coverage capacity is emphasized in dramatized settings situated in different regions of Turkey with specific cultural colors. The cultural codes, regional and local connotations, nostalgic features and especially rural parts are articulated cultural conservatism themes in this advertisement. The advertisement apparently highlights its technological characteristics with local and cultural bonds. As it is mentioned before, conservative thought criticize degenerated urban and exalts rural where people unite. Strategy of the advertisement eliminates dislocating people from rural and detaching urban image through its technology; and also likens it to characteristics of rural which is depicted as undegenerated, natural environment.

Thus, the ‘culturally friendly technology’ seems to be the main message of this ad, a message, which is closely associated with one of the main and most important claims of Turkish conservatism; technological modernism is acceptable,

provided that ‘we’ keep ‘our’ tradition ‘pure’. Therefore, it can be claimed that Turkcell has similar reflexes of Turkish conservatism. It combines the technology with very specific local bonds.

4.4.2.2. Life is beautiful, when it is shared

The second selected brand advertisement of Turkcell³², called ‘Life is beautiful, when it is shared’ (in Turkish; Hayat paylaşınca güzel), was broadcasted in 2011. Because of its historical context is same as third advertisement of Arçelik, the study does not mention again the socio-political conditions about the country. Regarding the brand positioning about Turkcell, this ad is remarkable, according to Dadaş. He notices that through this advertisement, the brand refreshes brand positioning and brand key.

Before exploring the ad scene by scene, the study starts with analyzing the jingle of the ad. The musical background of the advertisement has very similar features with hymn, type of religious song. In addition, singing tone of the jingle overlaps with the hymn style. The singer, Zara who is a famous Turkish folk music singer, adds emotional and spiritual tone of the message of the advertisement. Furthermore, lyrics of the jingle highlight the main message of the ad which is the same with the name of the ad. As it can be seen in scenes, sharing happiness and joy through hugging is emphasized also in lyrics (line 4 to 6).

³² The ad can be watched via the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qqW29e-kRMM>

(1) Sanırsın sen	You think that
(2) bu dünya karanlığın ortasında	the world is middle of darkness
(3) Kötüler var, savaş var öfke var her yanında	There are evils, wars, anger all around
(4) Bakarsan etrafına göreceksin sevenleri, people	If you look around, you will see
(5) Sarılıp öpenleri, bitanem diyenleri dearest	who love, hug, kiss, say my
(6) Paylaşınca çoğalan o sevgiyi muhabbeti share	Love, chat that increase when
(7) Göreceksin bakarsan sevginin zaferini	If you look, you will see the victory of love

(Pack shot) Nowadays, when you go out, you will see love statements that we hang at streets. Take a picture which you love with your cell phone and send to your beloved people. You send, we pay, because the life is beautiful when it is shared the love. Because life is beautiful, when it is shared.

(Pack shot) Bugünlerde sokağa çıkınca göreceksiniz, her yere sevgi sözcükleri astık. Beğendiklerinizin cepten resmini çekin, sevdiklerinize yollayın. Yollaması sizden, ödemesi bizden olsun, çünkü hayat sevgiyi paylaşınca güzel. Çünkü hayat paylaşınca güzel.

The advertisement will be explored by dividing into four sections; as peasant and rural, family, youth, and love. The first section is dedicated rural and peasant themes which are one of the most crucial themes for this study, in order to investigate indicators of cultural conservatism. The following six scenes from the first part are all located in small villages. As it is mentioned in previous parts, in conservative point of view, rural and peasants are a part of the binary opposition with modern urban. Rural depicts natural, real, not degenerated life style. Notion of peasant also represents undiplomatic attitudes, and sincerity, unlike people who live in degenerated urban. In other words, the preserved rural from modernism is emphasized in the first part of the advertisement. Moreover, nostalgia, one of the most crucial components of conservative thought, can be describe as “longing of pre-

modern” era. According to Rohkrämer (1999), in opposed to troubles of modernism which is alienating, corrupting and isolating, and disenchantment; pre-modern era is depicted as social movements which are more sincere, virtuous, and seeking to experience epic life images (quoted in Bora & Onaran, 2009: 235). In this context, it can be said that this ad includes authenticity.

In addition to rural and peasant themes, these following scenes can be linked with family theme. Picture 69 depicts coming back home a truck driver and coming together with his wife and children who live in a village. Picture 71 and 72 has similar narrative; a man comes back his village, lots of people welcome him, and he hugs his mother. In picture 70, a wedding ceremony can be seen. A bride has a red belt, same as picture 13, and groom kiss mother’s hand. This action is very remarkable behavioral code for Turkish tradition representing the respect of elderly people. The next two scenes show a shepherd hugging his children with love (picture 73-74).



Picture 69



Picture 70



Picture 71



Picture 72



Picture 73



Picture 74

The first part of the ad focuses on family through showing parenting and children. The second part of the advertisement highlights family upon relation between grandparents and grandchild. The first two scenes of the second part (pictures 7 and 8) are shot in a hospital, a grandfather waiting for newborn news. When the doctor comes with a good new, the grandfather says a Turkish expression “çok şükür” (in English, thank goodness) to express his gratefulness and he hugs the doctor. This statement is used in manner of religious and indicates a verbal language as a social code.



Picture 75



Picture 76

These scenes below (pictures 77 to 79) are essential for this study, because an important religious ritual as behavioral code, making a pilgrimage, is depicted. There are grandparents, who just arrived from an international flight, reunite with their

family. Their clothes explicitly indicate that the international flight is from Mecca. Mecca is regarded as the holiest city in the religion of Islam and non-Muslims are prohibited from entering the city. According to Muslim belief, visiting Mecca, a pilgrimage, also known as Hajj, is obligatory for all able Muslims. The situation is determined by clothes, physical orientation, and international arrivals sign. Same as the first part of the ad, relation between religion and modernity has some opposition points as spiritual religion and materialist modernity. Being pilgrim is always precious act for Muslim people, but it is not very visible in the media, especially in the advertisements. But now, through this Turkcell ad, which has not any product linked by religion, being pilgrim is visible for masses in their daily life.



Picture 77



Picture 78



Picture 79



Picture 80

The last scene from second part of the ad again focuses on relations between generations, and religion. In picture 80, grandparents and a boy have taken souvenir photos. The special costume of boy signifies that he is circumcised. Circumcision, an

indicator to be Muslim for Muslim males, generally celebrates with an associated family or community event; that is why boys wear the costume. According to Muslim belief the procedure is established by Islam's prophet directly and so its practice is considered a 'sunnah' (in Turkish, *sünnet*). These last four scenes (pictures 77 to 80) highlight main Muslim rituals and even duties. According to conservative thought, as it is mentioned previous parts, religious rituals are essential for conservatism, even more important than religiousness itself (Beneton 1991:110).

The first two parts of the ad highlight the family values. According to conservative thought, family is very blessed and sacred, because it is unintended by human being. The one of the main criticisms of conservative thought upon modernity is corrupting the relations between generations. Therefore, stressing the relationship between grandparents and children are remarkable to remind the history of families and generations.

The third part of ad constructs its scenario upon young people. The first scene of this part begins with a young man coming back to home, where is rural again, from military service which is compulsory for men in Turkey. As viewers, we understand the situation from his dark green backpack and his hair-cut which are iconic for military. As it is mentioned earlier parts of the thesis, conservatism needs national and local elements, connections. These pictures 81 and 82 represent the national connections, explicitly. Moreover, new middle class in Turkey, characterized by İnsel, are not only culturally conservative, moderately authoritarian, and economically liberal, but also politically nationalist (2003: 297). The scene of soldier refers the characteristics of the new middle class.



Picture 81



Picture 82

The other scenes (picture 83 and 84) of the third part continue to present sharing joy and happiness with friends which are the main message of the ad. In picture 83, two young girls learn their exam results from an announcement board at a university campus, and they hug each other to celebrate the good results. Three boys who hug each other are seen in picture 84 in a place from a rural area of southeastern region of Turkey. Furthermore, the final two scenes of the part present a notable role-playing scene. In a traditional coffee house in a rural area again, when two young men and an old man sitting, another old man comes to their table and these two young men stand up immediately (Picture 85 and 86). In Turkey, young people tend to show respect the elderly people like these acts as a behavioral codes.



Picture 83



Picture 84



Picture 85



Picture 86

The final part of the advertisement is about love. The important choice in this last part is showing love in a regular flow. The ad presents the viewer a heterosexual young couple hugging (picture 87 and 89), just after that we see hugging of mother and child (picture 88 and 90). The flow of the advertisement can be interpreted that love is strengthened by being a family. In other words, marrying and being parent are the ultimate goal for love between heterosexual couples.



Picture 87



Picture 88



Picture 89



Picture 90

To sum up, the advertisement, representing the cultural conservatism themes, is analyzed into four parts; peasant and rural, family, youth, and love. All these four notions provide notable examples about articulation of Turkish cultural values and traditions into the ad. These values and traditions represent decided Turkish conservatism themes for the thesis. Although all these scenes in the ad can be described as scenes from everyday life, some rituals, ceremonies and cultural traditions explicitly exalts by the advertisement. In turn, three specific images in this ad should be stressed; pilgrimage which is one of the most divine symbols for Islam, circumcision which is again an important ritual for Muslim people, and military service. These three images constitute the trivet of Turk Muslim nationalist consumer citizen. Moreover, as it is discussed in previous parts, family values which are embraced as conservative values by neoliberals, describes the major reason to be happy.

CONCLUSION

Although it is difficult to conceptualize conservatism, the thesis frames conservatism as a stance or mode of thought, rather than a political program. The thesis mainly aims to analyze representation of conservatism in advertisements as a significant mass communication variation. Therefore, the thesis focuses on articulation of cultural conservatism themes among different conservatism types in advertisements.

In this context, the themes of cultural conservatism are deeply analyzed in three brand advertisements of Arçelik and two brand advertisements of Turkcell in terms of determined criteria about advertisement with critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis. Because of the flexibility of conservatism which exists in various cultural grounds, this part of the thesis elaborates the themes through literature review. As it can be seen in Table 4, all highlighted cultural conservatism themes are apparent in the selected advertisements. Hence, this part works over the relationship between themes and research subject, considering literature review.

Tradition, the first cultural conservatism theme, can be traced in all advertisements. As a prominent theme for conservatism, tradition is described as a bridge between past and present and protection reflex of a culture. In other words, rituals or beliefs of a society which origin from the past, should be maintained in the present state, according to conservative thought. Conservatism considers human being as imperfect and has limited capacity with a pessimistic view of human nature. Because of the deficiency, conservatism claims that social order should be formed on the basis of experience and tradition. In turn, sustainability and persistence are the major concepts for conservatism. Regarding this definition about tradition theme, it can be stated that all the selected brands link the traditional codes into their advertisements. This can be interpreted that the advertisements have the same protection reflex considering tradition theme with conservative thought.

The theme of local and cultural connections appears in four advertisements, as it can be seen in table 4. Because of strong continuity of symbols and institutions needs of conservatism, conservatism cannot be defined as a universal ideology and a global phenomenon. These four advertisements including this theme have shown that local and historical roots are different in every society and are needed by conservatism.

The advertisements, representing local and cultural connections, are also the samples for peasant and rural theme. This theme is one of the most prominent one, because it is the pattern of conservative discontent against modernity. According to conservative thought, the theme depicts the loss of traditional rural which is destroyed by modern urban. In this sense, conservatism criticizes modernity through

untouched peasant which connotes sincerity, naturalness and virtuous against degenerated urban. In turn, the sample reveals the loss of rural and peasant by representing rural landscapes and characteristics of peasant, frequently.

The other theme articulated in four advertisements, as well, is theme of technology. This theme is differentiated itself by coherence with the technological aspect of Western modernism. Although, conservatism criticizes modernism through cultural perspective, such as moral codes or attitudes, it internalizes technological features of modernism. It should be stressed that the samples of this study comprise of brands that provide technological pattern. In turn, the brands aim to protect cultural values, while highlighting their technological novelty. This is defined as cultural friendly technology in the thesis.

Nostalgia is the other theme of the analysis as remarkable sign for conservatism. Conservative nostalgia refers the damaged yesterdays by modernity. Although the thesis avoids labeling every past references as a conservative indicator, theme of nostalgia presents the past that eroded by modernity. It can be investigated that three advertisements among five ads articulate this theme into their discourses.

The theme of woman and family is also represented in three advertisements. According to conservative thought, 'divine' family connections are destroyed by modernity. It claims that societies need social and moral norms which are handed down a heritage, because conservatism considers humankind as dependent to a heritage. In addition, regarding discourses of the JDP, the family theme is depicted as an insurance of the social peace. As it is discussed in 'Era of the JDP' part in this

study, the political tendencies reproduce local values. In turn, themes of family and determined roles for woman are represented through the same pattern with cultural conservative reflex.

Religion theme, which has a critical role for conservative thought, can be only seen in one advertisement, second advertisement of Turkcell. Although the common sense assumes that conservatism and religion has a vital relationship, this theme is the least represented cultural conservatism theme in the sample of analysis. This ad presents religious rituals, such as pilgrimage and circumcision. Conservatism has a powerful protection reflex upon religion as spiritualism against materialism. Considering new middle class definition, religion is not emphasized explicitly, but embedded in culturally conservative characteristics. Traditional values, especially religion are aimed to be protected by the JDP within a globalization process.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the cultural conservatism themes are articulated in the selected brand advertisements. Although the thesis acknowledges the sample of the analysis cannot reflect the all tendencies of society and advertising strategies; analyzing advertisement can provide insights. It can be claimed that these brand advertisements have similar protection reflexes of Turkish cultural conservatism.

In overall, the thesis investigates the representation of interrelation between Turkish cultural conservatism and the advertisements as a constitutive part of the cultural transformations. The analysis of the study shows that protection reflex of

conservatism upon cultural values could be similarly observed in the selected advertisements. The main reason behind this finding is that the conservative values are not only directly articulated within the media texts, but actually embedded into many other social life practices.

The advertisers who live within this cultural context internalize, normalize the dominant cultural codes and shape their state of mind, accordingly. In order to select and reach the advertisements of selected brands, authorized persons from the brands are contacted as it is mentioned. Because these are informal interviews and not well constructed, they are not taken places in the thesis in detail. However, it can be figured out that the decision makers of the advertisements do not deliberately determine the strategies of advertisements with conservative values. They adopt and are also influenced the ‘common’ values. Therefore, the creation process and strategy setting are under the impact of shared values and protection reflexes.

To conclude, the articulation of conservatism within ads does not appear with the implicit and common sense characteristics, rather the advertisements represent conservatism from ‘ordinary’ and ‘familiar’ discourse and images. Even the high technologic products are advertised with a reference to cultural values and shared experiences.

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