FROM 'STATE ADMINISTRATION OF AIRLINE MANAGEMENT' TO 'TURKISH AIRLINES': THE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TURKISH AIRLINES ADVERTISEMENTS

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FROM 'STATE ADMINISTRATION OF AIRLINE MANAGEMENT' TO 'TURKISH AIRLINES': THE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TURKISH AIRLINES ADVERTISEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

FROM 'STATE ADMINISTRATION OF AIRLINE MANAGEMENT' TO 'TURKISH AIRLINES': THE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TURKISH AIRLINES ADVERTISEMENTS

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M. Des. in Design Studies

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Turkish Airlines has had international success by being the best airline in Europe over the past three years. It became a global brand with the assistance of last year's great number of international campaigns and sponsorship agreements, representing the 'Turkish' name in the international arena. While we examine the history of the Republic of Turkey, Turkish Airlines occurs as a part of the development policies during the establishment of the republic long before becoming a global brand. Along with the demarcation of the boundaries of the new republic, to reach the economical, industrial, and technological level of western developed countries, these countries became a model and a westernization process began. As a part of this process, Turkish Airlines was established in 1933 as a state-owned organization with the name of State Administration of Airline Management which was a symbol of power and development. The Republic of Turkey went through various economic and political processes between 1933 and 2013. Turkish Airlines privatizated in 2001, with the brandization process and promotion policies reflecting this process until today. In this context, the national airline company Turkish Airlines, became problematical at how it represented national identity, which is an extension of modernization. In this study, cultural factors that affect the construction of national identity in the social structure and their relations with the advertisements that are part of this process are discussed as a design process of national identity. The representation of national identity in printed advertisements that were published from the foundation of Turkish Airlines to 2013 is examined periodically through the semiotic reading method. As a conclusion of this study, different representations of national identity in Turkish Airlines advertisements are seen through different relations with westernization that is seen as a model during the modernization process of Turkey.

Keywords: Turkish Airlines, culture, national identity, representation, design, advertising

ÖZET

HAVAYOLLARI DEVLET İŞLETME İDARESIDEN TÜRK HAVA YOLLARINA: TÜRK HAVA YOLLARI REKLAMLARINDA MİLLİ KİMLİĞİN TEMSİLİ

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Türk Hava Yolları geçtiğimiz iki yıl içerisinde Avrupa'nın en iyi havayolu şirketi seçilerek milli bir başarıya imza atmıştır. Son dönem yürüttüğü çok sayıda uluslararası kampanya ve yaptığı sponsorluk anlaşmalarıyla küresel bir marka haline gelmiş, 'Türk' adını uluslararası arenada temsil etmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihini incelediğimizde Türk Hava Yolları'nın temellerinin küresel marka olmadan çok önce, cumhuriyetin kuruluş dönemi kalkınma politikalarının bir parçası olduğu görülür. Yeni cumhuriyetin sınırlarının çizilmesiyle beraber, batılı gelişmiş ülkelerin sahip olduğu ekonomi, sanayi ve teknoloji gücüne ulaşmak için, bu ülkeler örnek alınmış ve bir batılılaşma süreci başlamıştır. Bu sürecin bir parçası olarak kalkınmanın ve gücün bir sembolü olan Türk Hava Yolları, o zamandaki adıyla Hava Yolları Devlet İşletme İdaresi 1933 yılında bir devlet teşekkülü olarak kurulmuştur.

1933-2013 yılları arasında geçen zamanda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti bir çok ekonomik ve politik süreçten geçmiş, bu süreç 2001'de özelleşmiş olan Türk Hava Yolları'nın

markalaşma süreci ve tutundurma politikalarına günümüze kadar yansımıştır. Bu bağlamda Türk Hava Yolları milli hava yolu şirketi olarak, modernleşmenin bir uzantısı olan milli kimliği nasıl temsil ettiği bir sorunsal haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada milli kimliğin sosyal yapı içerisindeki inşasına etki eden kültür faktörleri ve bu sürecin bir parçası olan reklamların ilişkisi milli kimliğin tasarım süreci olarak ele alınmış, Türk Hava Yollarının kuruluşundan 2013 yılına kadar yayımladığı basılı reklamlardaki milli kimlik temsili semiyotikokuma metoduyla dönemsel olarak çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda Türk Hava Yolları'ndaki milli kimlik temsil etme biçimlerinin Turkiye'nin modernleşme referansını oluşturan batılılaşmayla farklı şekillerdeki ilişkisi görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Hava Yolları, kültür, milli kimlik, temsil, tasarım, reklam

To my love

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, in the context of current ideologies, the understanding and the interpretation of Turkish national identity have changed. National identity takes on a shape under an ideological expression in its period. In Turkey, this ideology was driven by the idea of a glorified western civilization level, which is interpreted as modernization today.

The modernization process of Turkey is different from those of the western countries. In Turkey, modernization was constructed through glorifying some parts of the west and the Turkish culture concurrently during the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Aydos (2010: 10) interprets that period for Turkey as 'late modernization'. According to her, the national identity of Turkey was constructed through the social transformation that refers to the west. On the other hand, in Turkey like other less developed countries they construct a national identity by glorifying some parts of their culture. Adding to that, Keyder (2002: 51, 52) defines this period that Turkey experienced as 'modernization from above'. His approach attributes to the differentiation between modernization forms that are being modern and

modernization as a project. He claims modernization as a process (being modern) involving a self-generated association due to the people's will and interest. Besides, the modernization project is constructed by modernizers to dominate the state through picking some aspects of being modern. 'Modernization from above' refers to this second type of modernization that has been a westernization process since the Ottoman period. In this respect in a country that did not have an industrial revolution and colonization in an exact independency struggle; establishing an independent economy, attaining contemporary civilization levels in these borders, creating an acceptable political self in relations with other countries, rely on a transformation from a war-weary people to an unified nation in that period.

In this sense, the modern Turkish image was constructed by a new elite class during the foundation of the republic. This class was created within the changes in clothing, social life, and living spaces around industrial zones. They became an icon of social development policies and this image was used as an implementer of an idealized social life style in promotion materials.

Advertisements, which are irresistible parts of our lives, contribute to the social transformation with regard to constructing the values of national identity and social structures. They have a role in the penetration of new constructed national identity to the determined layers of social structure. Advertisements facilitate and accelerate this relation; on the other hand, they become one of the integral parts of this mutual relationship by reproduction in this new social structure (Goldman, 1992: 34, 35;

Odih, 2007: 72, 90, 93). Therefore, advertisements as representation values in different media can be investigated with regards to the structure of national identity.

According to this case, today's global company Turkish Airlines, which has been a national symbol since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, can be interpreted as a part of the modernization process and cultural transformation with its existence in society through media in Turkey.

During the foundation of Turkish Airlines as a national institute, it was not labeled with a name that referred to a nation. Instead, its name, 'State Administration of Airline Management' reflected its belonging to a newly constructed state; a young republic. This structure was built on modernization aims. Similar to western countries, the Turkish Republic as a state had to realize economical and industrial developments, which seemed necessary for the construction of a powerful monolithic symbol. So, one of the icons of technological power and developments emerged within the construction of modernization by means of an aviation institute which was Turkish Airlines. In that period, the idea that constructed the contemporary civilization level also showed that the future was in the sky (Yalçın, 2010: 199). Therefore, flying, which was a dream of humanity as a symbol of freedom, would be embodied in the name of a powerful state and part of a nation. On the other hand, not only the symbolic meaning of having an aviation company made Turkish Airlines crucial also it was the only institution that could exist since the foundation of the Turkish Republic as a global company and a national pride of today. Therefore, the main question that motivated this study is how national identity is represented in advertisements of Turkish Airlines as a global company, which was an institution of the Turkish State.

1.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to analyze the discourse of national identity through advertisements of Turkish Airlines since its foundation up to the year 2012. Identity is a product within formations and practices in institutional and historical sites by strategies based on differentiation and exclusion methods of the power. Therefore, as a process, identity is fragmented due to its individual or/and social context that link to the time and the location (Hall, 2000: 17). One of the consequences of this fragmentation is national identity. National identity is a process that located among collective being and becoming through the idealized cultural images (Edensor, 2002: vii). Cultural experiences such as, rituals, every day practices, conventional habits and representational forms that are shared by a mass provide a ground for new cultural values through communication and mobility (Smith, 1991: 143, 144). In this context, the collective values of masses also, how masses share values, enable a cultural diversity in society. These collective behaviors were formed within particular experiences, which are parts of a social value network. National identity process involves some of these experiences, which are symbols of development and being civilized. Flying experience in terms of its technological, economic and social infrastructure constitutes one of them. In this research, how forms of flying experience seen as a material and a social power in Turkish society during the modernization process of Turkey is discussed.

Through this aspect, it is possible to say that Turkish Airlines is the face of flying experience in Turkey in respect to providing different types of services within the name that belongs to a particular nation, which is 'State Administration of Airline Management'. This shows the crucial position of Turkish Airlines in terms of defining the culture of flying, positioning it in the global economy as the best aviation company in 2011, 2012 and 2013 in Europe and its existence since 1933.

In this study, a close relationship between Turkish Airlines and the sociological and political conditions of Turkey since 1933 to 2013 in the context of national identity is discussed. In addition, space, things, acts, and forms that Edensor mentions in his work within the structure of culture, popular culture, and everyday practices are associated with advertisements (2002). In this respect, in different periods of its history, Turkish Airlines refers to different discourses of national identity.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The basis of this study is constructed in a combination of a theoretical study and a case study. In the theoretical part, it is aimed to explain the dynamics, which affect the construction of national identity through advertisements. Moreover, in the second part, the settlement of Turkish national identity is examined in the context of Turkish Airlines, which was founded as a state institution in the early republic period and still is in existence as a globally known, private aviation company today.

In the first chapter, a discussion about the interaction of culture and national identity is suggested. In this context, the first part is an investigation on interaction between the modern image and popular culture within the construction of national identity. In the second part, construction of national identity is discussed through material culture.

The second chapter is about the interrelation of marketing and national identity. In the first part, commoditization of national identity as a designed object is examined. On the other hand, the second part is established via the contents of advertisements as meaning-making process. Within this part, general aspects on ideology and advertisements as the agents of social life are introduced. Later, state of representation values over the referents of advertisements is discussed. Eventually, the audience, which is directly related with the culture of flying, is examined.

The last part is about the flying culture in Turkey. In this chapter, since the foundation of Turkish Airlines, developments on understandings of flying culture are discussed in light of Turkish political and economical changes and technological improvements. Printed advertisements, which are designed from the foundation of Turkish Airlines to 2013, are analyzed with considering the modernization process of Turkish nationality, construction of elitism, experience, global and popular structures through semiological reading.

CHAPTER 2.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

Terry Eagleton's (2000: 21) responses to the crisis of culture, as civilization; here, 'Culture means a body of artistic and intellectual work of agreed value, along with the institutions which produce, disseminate and regulate it'. According to him, this understanding of culture involves both a symptom and a solution. In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that national identity is a product of this type of culture. On the other hand, Mardin (2011: 21) explains culture as an indigenous method of society in terms of solving problems in education, technology, politics, law, economics, art and religion. According to Mardin (2011: 22), with respect to Milton Singer's indication, in social sciences, culture relates with all of the systems that depend on learning in society. He further emphasizes two crucial concepts of culture. One of the approaches to the culture is, a structure that refers to social relations between social units, which includes who the authority is, whose job is what, family duties, who is awarded. The second one is the aspect of culture as a process that sustains social structure; and culture represents communications and symbols in this structure. National identity with its individual and social grounds directly relates with culture in terms of being a consequence of the modernization process.

2.1 National Identity

Ernest Gellner "maintains that the institutionalization of cultural norms shared over a large geographical area, and the dissemination of national ideologies, can only occur in modern, mass societies" (cited in Edensor, 2002: 2). He mentions nations, which are essentially grounded in nineteenth century modernism, merge opposed to culture in terms of building a social infrastructure. This national infrastructure includes a central authority over a heterogeneous culture to establish dominance via policies and norms, which constitute a base for common adherence (Edensor, 2002: 2). According to Hobsbawn (cited in Edensor, 2002: 5), "The nation is an essentially modern construct". He emphasizes that continuity of a nation is provided through selected and interpreted traditions by European elites and a historical national linage is constructed towards their ideological purposes. In this respect, the existence of national identity relates with the collective conscious, which is designed by modernist ideology (cited in Edensor, 2002: 5). Both aspects underline the idea of how uniformity is settled in society. Aydos (2010: 31-33) mentions grounding a collective conscious in bordered people and creating a homogeneous nation from them was an achievement of modernist ideology. This homogeneous structure is based on a cultural phenomenon on a historical background to provide mobilization of the population. Thus, culturally, a national medium is produced for individuals of this particular population to league together concurrently and separate from other societies. In this context, construction of national identity as a modernist approach has a supplemental role concerning thinking of individually being a part of a particular nation and disjunctive role to determine the differences from other national entities.

2.2 National Identity through Cultural Experience

Today's global thoughts with local strategies show that boundary of national identity is still valuable which regards to the modernist approaches. Edensor explains this relation through identity, which grounds in popular and everyday (2002: vi). In this context, everyday experiences and popularity directly and indirectly touch the structure of national identity in respect to understanding its supplemental and disjunctive roles in population. In these borders, the entity of national identity is not only settled through the strategic orders for dominating the population from above, also the everyday practices support its naturalization process and sustainable existence.

Today, especially in modern cultures, which are accepted as origins of nationality by their expansionist approaches on constituting the process of national identity, dominance is still an issue. Urry's approach to the collective identity deals with the construction of national identity in this social stage. Urry (2002: 82) claims:

The collective identities of different social classes (and other social forces) are structured through 'grid', the basic system of classification, and 'group', the boundaries that distinguish what is internal from what is external. Such collective identities depend upon particular systems of information specific to a given social group. However, the growth of the media has minimized the importance of such separate and distinct systems of information. This is because individuals from all social groupings are exposed to more generally available systems of information, and because each grouping can now see representations of the private spaces of other social groupings.

Hence, contemporary ways of utilizing technology and ease of getting knowledge via various communication tools are not only the matter of their founders and their political will, but other nations are also taking a role from this game by means of constituting their own national identity within these varieties. However, this relation consists of duality, which is based on a differentiation between others and us, as well as domestic and foreign policies and their acceptable forms in public arena. Edensor (2002: 4) mentions this establishment of national identity as a common-sense entity under the conditions of modernity in regard to rising of "popular forms of entertainment, leisure pursuits, political organizations and a host of vernacular commonalities' which is not generated by national elites, but also is facilitated through the mobility engendered by advances in transport and communication technologies".

2.2.1 Popular Culture

Popular culture by its structure, like other cultural integrations, includes conventional understanding based on a collective experience. It supplies and replaces the affective power of cultural forms and practices of a nation by meanings, images, and activities. In this context, cultural sharing not only exists with the top down dominant foresight, but its power is redistributed and sustained through popular culture (Malesevic, 2011: 279; Edensor, 2002: 12). In its form of existence, its dynamics are much more fluid, variable and influential on modern people in terms of what 'popular' is. Edensor explains popular in context to the construction of national identity as a prevalent culture amongst people. In this context, Leavis interprets popular culture has a dynamic and changing nature, which ruins the essence of sense of belonging in idealized folk culture (cited in Edensor 2002: 13, 14). Folk culture becomes crucial in this case in terms of its representation, which is seen erased and valorized by modern mass culture. However, the notion of folk culture provides an environment

for new vernacular practices and styles. Thus, individuals, who are expected passive and ready to be reformed by elites, turn into an active entity in modern mass society and traditions are reflectively reshaped by the dynamic nature of popular culture (Edensor, 2002: 14). Edensor (2002: 15) states:

National elites, governments and patricians continue to perpetrate the idea that 'high' culture is something that the nation must be associated with, as a form of international prestige. The national badges of high culture –national galleries, opera houses and international concert halls, national theatres, learned societies and high cultural institutions –remain marks of status. Governments are often happy to lavish funds on such cultural flagships. Yet whilst such institutions remain at the heart of statist versions of national self-image, they have been unable to retain their hierarchical pre-eminence.

This outcome deals with Featherstone's 'new cultural intermediaries' that have confronted the traditional guardianship of culture through popular cultural productions. The intermediaries such as cinema, music and design provide an environment to creating new values among the bourgeoisie class and cause an existence of new expertise and interests via the knowledge of popular media. Consequently, a new cultural mobilization and association appears independent from cultural values (Edensor, 2002: 15; Urry, 2002: 81).

Popular culture includes its own collective thinking on idealized images in everyday life. These images are constructed by a symbolic order of dominance and population concurrently with everyday practices. They are even excluded as cultural norms by an authority, which may become a significant object of popular culture. Symbolism and everyday dynamics are part of the same ongoing process, and chosen value is remade by collective conscious in society within active and communicative qualities of national identity as a medium. However, popular cultural forms are different from national identity in terms of their referents to the time. While, popular culture belongs to the future with every day experiences, national identity belongs to the past in terms of being bordered in ideal and symbolic images of rewritten history (Edensor, 2002: 17).

2.2.2. Material Culture

Material existence of objects has been seen as a proof of the collective sense in everyday practices. Their corporeal entity is the embodiment of the 'shared ways of living and common habits' in society (Edensor, 2002: 103). In this context, they have a supplemental position to settle and sustain identity within "practices, representations and spaces which gather around them" (Edensor, 2002: 103). National identity according to its relation with everyday, relates with these multi-cultural dimensions of objects in the context of being expressed and experienced (Edensor, 2002: 103).

Material infrastructure of things continually reinforces the society by means of constructing and characterizing social interaction moderately. In this relation, mostly temporarily, population creates a collective value on particular things about their meaning, purpose, function and user (Edensor, 2002: 104). Edensor (2002: 104) explains the relations between things and humans formed due to cultural norms. According to him, "human interactions with things are integral to cultures: the complex and varied specificities of the ways in which things are used, understood, made, shared, owned, domesticated, recycled, given as gifts, utilised in ritual,

altered, discarded, talked about, used to transmit particular values, curated and represented" (Edensor, 2002: 104).

Objects are communicative in terms of bringing people together, creating a sense of belonging, giving people a purpose to move and all of these relate with imputed values to objects in society. This power is formed in historical background of their stuff. Therefore, given values and the diverse meanings of objects are concerned with time and place. From birth until death, all identification processes and habits are formed in these dimensions with complexity of identity settlement among the notions of gender, ethnicity, era and status. Their significant role is in forming identity as embodiments of cultural practices. Thus, objects have a crucial role in the construction of national identity by means of their common grounds, which provide an environment for their entity (Edensor, 2002: 103-110). Additionally, Broadkar (2010: 25) explains this relation with these words:

The ubiquitous presence of things in our material landscape, they press on us. They present not only as visual and material elements of our environmentsthey also serve as the basic components of our cultural lives. Inherently polysemic, they are utilitarian gadgets as much as they are frivolous excesses; they play a significant role in formation of identity, style, status and they are material embodiments of cultural practices.

Nevertheless, developments in communication and transportation technologies, changing consumption habits in time, also strategic positioning and habituation in the world cause new representations of national identity. Therefore, political purposes on masses inevitably occur only in opportunities of 'the new'. Today, new consumerism, new cognition to social structures, new classes with regards to national dominance requires being locally consumable and globally competitive for other

nations. This kind of entity merely can exist in using suitable media in suitable medium to reach the target. About this relation, Foster (1999, cited in Edensor, 2002: 111) claims 'that national material culture has been subsumed under a movement from political ritual to commercial ritual, where the market rather than the state has become the key reference point for national identity. According to this, how national identity is positioning in global arena is crucial in terms of which tools of media is used, in which market, with what kind of product and these directly connect with marketing an its significant extension, advertisements.

CHAPTER 3.

MARKETING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Douglas Kellner (2001 cited in Broadkar, 2010: 61) maintains that various usage of commodities are "defined by the system of political economy and some of which created by consumers and users".

Marketing now embraces not only direct advertising but also the expansion of administrative planning to encompass all the social arrangements surrounding mass-consumption. Lifestyles are defined and choreographed in terms of privatized consumption. Hairstyles, cars, jeans, stereos, liquor, cigarettes, pets, furniture and apartments are packaged and positioned as lifestyle ingredients. The task of assembling this ensemble of commodified meanings and the subsequent acts of exchanging and valorizing the commodity-signs each person possesses necessitate the existence of a suitable built environment. The franchising of food establishments, the selling of vitality and beauty through fitness clubs, the creation of retirement havens, the construction of instant 'communities' in apartment complexes and the manufacture of a new kind of public gathering space in sanitized shopping malls create the social spaces most appropriate for privatized consumption. This level of commoditization is inseparable from the world of magazine advertising we have been observing (Goldman, 1992: 35).

Commodification of national identity refers to the market. In this competitive arena corporate companies despite their "spectacular and mundane themed spaces of national identity, the tourist industry more overtly stages identity in the production of 'indigenous', 'folkloric' customs where tourists may collect signs of local or national distinctiveness" (Edensor, 2002: 87).

3.1 Designing National Identity

In national ideologies every nation is expected to have unique identity and special experiences to present to the rest of the world within a thought, which is 'A nation is a whole' (Aydos, 2010: 24). This holistic thought is structured with a complex combination of previous ethnic practices and the reflections of the contemporary. Although different combinations of these components are represented by national identity in different times, they always signify the one territorial nation (Aydos, 2010: 33-34). The success of national identity undoubtedly lies behind the power of its design. Design as an interdisciplinary field, while representing our artificial world as a domain, also has a crucial role as a dominant character of the artificial production. This motive of design grounds in its process, which is driven by policies, emotions, technology, habits and necessities in a particular time and place (Broadkar, 2010: 64). National identity, which is emphasized in modernization process by using this inherent quality of design, is reformed in an ongoing process to build values for individuals.

Hernstein Smith (1988) defines value as "an effect of multiple, constantly changing, and continuously interacting variables; in other words 'the product of the dynamics of a system, specifically an economic system". For him "Value is fluid; what something means to someone at any given time is dependent on a range of factors like personal needs, individual preference, available resources, market conditions, branding, profit margins, etc" (cited in Broadkar, 2010: 46). Furthermore, Simmel (2001) explains value as 'a demand' which link subject and object to each other and like Simmel, Frondizi (1971) interprets value "as a result of the relation between the

subject and the object" (cited in Broadkar, 2010: 48). This comprehensive infrastructure of value causes diversification in itself. Broadkar states them as economic, aesthetic, brand, emotional, historical, environmental, social, cultural, political, and symbolic value.

• Financial/economic value of the object refers to the price of objects and their affordability.

• Aesthetic value of the object refers to the physical characteristics of things as well as the cultural, historical and social milieu in which they exist.

• Functional value of the object refers to how it works; in addition, utilitarian value of the object is a function of its engineering and design.

• Brand value of the object refers to the perception of the consumer in terms of tangible and intangible qualities

• Emotional value of the object refers to its ability, which could be its form, function or both, to inspire specific emotions and feelings in people.

• Historical value of the object refers to its historical uniqueness such as its archeological, periodical, producer, user and designer significance.

• Environmental value of the object refers to its sensitivity to the natural world.

• Social value of the object refers to its societal impact in providing ethical circumstances for labors and trade principles.

• Cultural value of an object refers to collective understanding of an object among people.

• Political value of an object refers to a negotiation between society and government in terms of including a political power such as seals, badges.

• Symbolic value of an object refers to an understanding that is independent form object itself (2010: 50-52).

Things' entity depends on their augmented and diminished value that is changed due to the context in their life span. In this sense, design behaves as "a service that can offer tangible and intangible value" to the things (Broadkar, 2010: 49). Thus, design becomes the first step of the evaluation process by foreseeing the medium of objects in manufacturing, market and their usage. It also behaves as a mediator of consumption and meaning making process through signs.

Broadkar (2010: 227) attributes the roles of things come from their meaning. Design as a dominator of signification process, settles these relations between signs and things. In commoditization process, Baudrillard (2001, cited in Broadkar, 2010: 60) attributes the existence of commodities to the signs and symbols within cultural structure of consumption. According to him, "those are what we are consuming, instead of function or necessity of things". Kellner (1989, cited in Broadkar, 2010: 61) mentions that various uses of commodities are defined by either political, economic systems or consumers/users. In other words, meaning making process is dually structured in production and consumption within a mutual mediation of things and people. In this context, national identity seems that it has to position itself in this duality to sustain its existence, and this medium is the global market.

3.2 Advertisements

Advertisements produce meaning by creating arbitrary connections between identities and objects of consumption. By this way, they function as a form of cultural mediation in its composition of images. As Malefyt and Moeran (2003: 25) explain, 'advertising agencies act as a cultural broker' that tell their customers what is domestic and what is not. In other words, advertising contributes to the formation of identities including national identity by producing a discourse on 'domestic' and 'non-domestic', by defining these terms. Advertising mediates and organizes socio-cultural relations around the meanings and identities that it produces. That is why understanding the function of advertising introduces a critical approach to the political economy of commodity sign production. "Deciphering ads became the task of methodically decomposing the political economy of commodity-signs became a matter of disassembling the conditions of joining and differentiating meanings in" (Goldman, 1992: 35).

By deciphering advertisements, it is possible to expose the socio-economical motivations that lie behind the ads and especially the ideological background of the advertising machine in general. What is sold through the advertisements are not the commodities but the identities that are attached to commodities. These sold identities are constructed within an artificial context created between goods and consumers.

Kemper (2003: 40) explains this fact by saying that foreign commodities engage for some people and are off-putting for others not according to the commodity but to the

context in which it is presented. He continues, "As the twentieth century drew to its close, the temptation grew for advertising firms to place commodities in 'zones of display' both provocative in tone and realistic in construction".

The increasing power of advertisements from the 20th century lies in the facts that they are placed in zones of display more than ever and as they produce, a more subtle discourse that is provocative but also that looks realistic. The more the ideology functions through ads, the more the deciphering of ads becomes important to understand the ideological background of the era.

3.2.1 Ideology

Barthes (1977: 49) interprets the ideology within a unique socio-cultural; in other words a historical context. According to him (1977: 49), "This common domain of the signified of connotation is that of ideology, which cannot but be single for a given society and history, no matter what signifiers of connotation it may uses".

Mazzarella (2003: 62) proposes a perspective to understand how the advertising images become projects of value. He says that such images are neither 'mirrors' of society (in Stephen Fox's phrase), nor radically detached from the social worlds through which they circulate. If we accept that, we can think how these images become part of what Daniel Miller (1997 cited in Mazzarella 2003: 62) has called 'projects of value'.

According to Mazzarella (2003: 63) the projects of values are what produce meaning within a cultural context. He explains that, "Projects of value are more or less successful attempts, by individuals and institutions, to generate value and meaning out of the elements of public culture – images, discourses, signs" (Mazzarella, 2003: 63).

According to him, the practice of advertising is also a project of value more specifically an institutional assemblage of many projects of value which is quite important. The importance of advertising especially comes from both the 'marketization' of public life and the 'imagification' of the market through advertising within contemporary era (Mazzarella, 2003: 63).

Therefore, Mazzarella (2003: 63) does not only indicate that advertising is a project of value in an institutional level but also he emphasizes that advertising images are loaded by prevailing contemporary ideological discourses. That is why the advertisements and the deciphering of ads are important and useful to expose the ideology behind. The advertising images, by the meaning they create, contribute to the marketization of public life. That means what is public becomes an object of consumption with an artificial identity attached to it. Because of the subtle use of image through ads, the image becomes an important medium to diffuse the ideology. That is why, this time, the imagification of the market comes forward as a fact. In this respect, the ideology is considered within a cultural and historical context that mediates the social and cultural relations through the advertisements within this study. In addition, the important role of the image is argued within advertising, because not only it conveys ideological discourses of the market but also it changes the market itself by imagification.

3.2.2 Representation

Stevenson (2001: 5) states that the arena in which contested representations of the nation are fought out is the media, in which contested representations of the nation are fought out is the media, in which the 'development of a sophisticated array of visual codes and repertoires. That means that by reading the images through the visual codes within a specific culture it is possible to see the representative elements of a specific nation. In this sense, to analyze how the representation functions within advertisement is a rich domain to understand the characteristics of a national identity as it is already constructed by a type of representation that addresses necessarily an ideological perspective.

"When human needs are ranked and ordered through a binary type of representation, they become structurally complementary to brand benefits that are correspondingly ranked and ordered" (Malefyt, 2003: 153). As Malefyt (2003: 153) states, marketing strategies fed on binary type of representation to create lack and demand, also the products or services in order to complete the artificial lack created by the market itself. He emphasizes that, the knowledge that is found within a culture is not found or discovered; instead it is created (Malefyt, 2003: 153). Malefyt (2003: 157, 158) underlines the historical characteristic of knowledge and the role of observer within the construction of the knowledge According to him from an anthropological perspective the knowledge is not 'found' in culture, and similarly in advertising the knowledge is not 'discovered' in consumer behavior, but rather is 'made' by its observers (Malefyt, 2003: 158).

Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that, the construction of the observer is the construction of the knowledge. Malefyt (2003: 158) emphasizes the function of ideology, the importance of the types of representation within a culture that offers a fundament to the construction of the meaning. When the knowledge, the meaning, and the identity are considered as something to create (not as something that exists beyond history and ideology) then analyzing these elements of the culture brings to light the prevailing ideology and the dominant ways of representing. Similarly, Malefyt (2003: 158) considers the social relations between advertising agencies and their clients within a constructed system of knowledge in which the value of production is not related to the process of use but rather to the process of consumption. Between advertising agencies and their clients there is a system of knowledge in which we can understand the value of consumer and brand representations as 'managed' goods (Malefyt, 2003: 158, 159). According to Malefyt (2003: 158, 159) in advertising the intent of managing impressions and directing communication shows that the production and circulation of brand and consumer images are, come forward as important.

He says, "their value is not realized through the accuracy of representing the consumer or brand in any 'real' way, but rather, through the act of presenting and managing those representations toward some 'real' end with the client" (Malefyt, 2003: 158).

3.2.3 Audience

Goldman (1992: 35) argues that the 'audience' for advertisements has itself been produced as part of the marketing process. In other words just like the meaning, the audience of advertisements are also produced. Moreover, Campbell adds that the consumers do not seek satisfaction from products or from their actual use but rather from anticipation. That is why according to him for the consumer the pleasure is imaginative. Goldman (1992: 35) concludes that the fundamental motivation for consumption is not simply materialistic but imaginative. The consumers seek to experience 'in reality' the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination but the perfect daydreams of imagination do not fit to the experiences of daily life. So, each purchase leads to disillusionment and to the continual longing for new products. Campbell says that there is dialectic of novelty and insatiability at the heart of contemporary consumerism (Urry, 2002: 13). His statement refers to the functioning of the advertising machine. Every new product maintains the lack experienced in daily life and related to an imaginative pleasure. The more people consume, the more the so called demand installs in their daily lives. In other words the audience of advertisement is produced as a continuity of a created lack and demand by the market ideologies. When the market is considered as global, then the meeting of local and universal occurs. These different layers overlap within the advertisement.

Edensor (2002: 108) explains the meeting of traditional and modern layers within the act of travelling. According to him when men go out into the world to do business, the domestic sphere is generally constructed as national. He indicates that a further symbolic function occurs in the world of fashion where 'haute couture' and design is a badge of innovative modernity and national prestige – and often retains a specifically national character where 'traditional' elements are fused with modern designs. (Edensor, 2002: 108).

One of the important occasions that cause this meeting between the traditional, local and cultural with audience is traveling. In this thesis, the meeting of the local with the (so-called) modern is focused. Urry (2002: 5) says that people travel to gain and to maintain a status. For him the myth of travel is the marker of status. If people do not travel, they will lose status. He states, "It is a crucial element of modern life to feel that travel and holidays are necessary. 'I need a holiday' is the surest reflection of a modern discourse based on the idea that people's physical and mental health will be restored if only they can 'get away' from time to time" (Urry, 2002: 5).

To sum up, according to the modern discourse on necessity, travelling and holiday involve a global travel myth that is constructed through media. In the scope of the study, the audience is considered according to first within this global myth of travel and second within a more specific myth of travel that is traveling from local to modern. The advertisements of THY will be decoded by analyzing how these myths function and how they contribute to the formation of national identity within this context.

CHAPTER 4.

FLYING CULTURE AND REPRESENATATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH PRINTED ADVERTISEMENTS OF TURKISH AIRLINES

In our daily lives, we are surrounded by different perspectives on being Turkish and several ideas on what globalization is. In this part, some understandings of being Turkish and influences of this identification is discussed since the foundation of the Turkish Republic to 2012. To do this, Turkey's political and economic changes and their impacts to Turkish Airlines by means of its institutional structure and symbolic value that refers to national identity is focused. In this context, different visual representations of national identity are analyzed through Turkish Airlines advertisements as a national symbol of Turkey since its foundation by semiotic analysis method.

4.1 Early Republic Period and Origins of 'Civil Flying' in Turkey - 30s and 40s

Nationalization in Turkey formed due to the political background of the administration systems since the foundation of the republic. Although the political aims seemed an idealization of the western world and a westernization process, application of the modernization project was a challenge for the diverse ethnic structure of the people who were used to a regime, which was driven by differentiations in religion. The general idea of being a 'nation' is a system which is based on an individual willing to be free by settling the conditions for freedom (Aydos, 2010: 31). In this context, the foundation of the Turkish Republic required regulations in political and economic structure for developing the war weary people who lived in Turkey. On the other hand, an applicable, powerful image had to be drawn for the international arena. In these circumstances, it was important to be in an idealized monolithic structure and Mustafa Kemal pieced together the people who were available to resist for protecting their land, also to a passive administration system. In this context, the first steps of the total independence were taken by declaring the capital of the state as Ankara and consolidating with this being known by the west in the Lausanne peace treatment in 1923 (Ahmad, 2007: 104, 105).

The national independence movement relied on a rooted change in social, economic, and political structure of the current system of the Ottoman period into Kemalist ideology. Although this independence movement was realized against occupants that made independence a purpose, people, who were also part of the success of the independence war, became a side of this transformation with different ideologies such as being mandated by America or protecting the religious symbols of oligarchic administration. The Kemalist approach defended the whole independence and purification from the Ottoman legacy (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1997: 2). Therefore, although republican discourse of Kemalizm idealized providing ideological diversity in the new assembly, different ideologies were never tolerated. Instead, civil commotions were suppressed and seen as an opportunity to enact based on the modernization ideology of Kemalizm. According to the discourse of Kemalizm, the English term 'nationalism' was used as patriotism that is grounded on a new Turkishness and this Turkishness involved all of the people who lived in the boundaries of the young republic (Ahmad, 2007: 108, 109).

During the foundation of the republic, the Kemalist approach had avoided the sultanate and the caliphate that were prior administration symbols of the Ottoman period. In this context, an understanding on administration was reformed through the modernist approach instead of the Ottoman system, which was based on religion and traditions (Ahmad, 2007:104). In 1928, the legislation that determined the religion of the state as Islam was removed. In addition to that, Islamic organizations such as Islamic monasteries were closed and secularism was adopted as bringing religion under the control of the government rather than total separation of the government from religion (Ahmad, 2007: 106, 107). The Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin alphabet as an official alphabet of the state. Thus, by the acceptance of the new alphabet, the connection with the Ottoman past was broken ideologically (Ahmad, 2007: 108).

The assent of the new regime and the reforms in the social settlement were not merely enough for the modernization process of the young republic. An economic development and the infrastructure that provided circumstances for it was required; and this was provided by the state policies. In 1923, during the foundation of the Turkish Republic, even a matchbox was not able to be produced (Ahmad, 2007: 112). In 1929, an economic crisis existed as the first worldwide crisis of capitalism. Capitalist systems gave up their liberal trade politics and the most developed countries tried to solve this problem in their own boundaries (Köymen, 2007: 97; Ortaylı cited in Ortaylı and Kucukkaya 2012: 126). In these circumstances, in the middle of the 30's, the first five years of the industrialization process was planned in Turkey and the state established new industrial plants to reconstruct the private sector through providing cheap inputs. Products for consumption such cotton weaving, sugar and flour and industries such iron-steel and machine production were provided concurrently. Rapid industrialization of Turkey as a country without colonies and with a war loan, which was a legacy of the Ottoman period, was provided through employment of villages who immigrated to new settled cities and taxes (Köymen, 2007: 97, 100). Also some institutions that belonged to foreign companies such as railways undertakings were bought by the government and nationalized. Adding to that, technical affairs that were made by non-Muslims in the 20s like shoe making, plumbing were learned by Turkish people as a requirement of modernization and they became capable in many fields (Ahmad, 2007: 112).

Aviation formed another part of the industrialization process of Turkey. The first steps of the origin of civil flying were taken through the foundation of the Turkish Aircraft Community in 1925 to regulate the services in parachute, model plane, glider, and aircraft. After that, TOMTAŞ was founded with the cooperation of the German Junkers Company and Turkish Aircraft Community to support the Turkish Air Forces. The company revised and manufactured planes for the Turkish Air Forces and later closed in 1928 (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 52, 55). This facility has changed hands over the years, at least it was given to the Turkish Air Forces and is still active today ((Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 56). On the other hand, developments in aviation in the 30s were not limited with these institutions. In 1933, the State

Administration of Airline Management (Today's Turkish Airlines) was founded as a state institute under the ministry of defense. This development was realized through very limited resources; 5 planes and 24 employees. In 1935 it became an institution under the ministry of public works, after then, in 1938, it was transferred to the ministry of transportation as 'Department of State Airlines' (Kozlu, 2007: 18,19; Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 59, 60).

After the death of Mustafa Kemal in 1938, Inönu was elected as the 2nd president of the Turkish Republic. The future of the young state was thought of with ambiguity. Inönu was leading the nation which was still carrying the scars of World War I and the war of independence. Therefore, he avoided a battle that could cause damage to the development of prior economics and policies. In that period, high tension in Europe gave the signals of World War II. Despite the strategic positioning with opposed sides of the World War II, his aim was to protect the impartiality of Turkey against the destructive conditions of war. Despite his efforts, the influence of the war damaged the economic improvements that had begun in the 30s. In these circumstances to provide an economic stability, for the first time a strategy was applied due to the religious differentiations of citizens since Mustafa Kemal's period. Working hours, indirect taxes that applied to the staple foods increased. After the defeat of fascism in World War II, he attempted to make new regulations in both politics and economics. As he could not realize them, his attempts caused dissention in his party and prepared the infrastructure of a new opposition party which was the Democrat Party. Thus, a step had been taken to the democratization of the regime. (Ahmad, 2007: 120-123; Ortaylı cited in Ortaylı and Kucukkaya 2012: 115, 121, 124, 128).

However, despite the bad economic conditions as extensions of the direct and indirect effects of the wars, civil aviation in Turkey leaped forward after World War II. Especially, in 1946, by the acquisition of thirty American planes that remained from World War II, 'Department of State Airlines' became the biggest airways in the Middle East. In the same year its name had changed and became 'General Management of State Airlines Administration' (Kozlu, 2007: 19). The number of passengers in 1945 was eighteen thousand and in one year, it picked to thirty seven thousand people. Adding to that, the General Management of State Airlines Administrational flight to Athens and promotional works were enhanced for more passengers in 1947 (Turkish Airlines: 2012). In this context, the young aviation company of the new republic started representing modern Turkey in the international arena.



Figure 4.1. Hulusi, İ. (1940's) '*THY'nin reklamlarıyla tarihe yolculuk*' from the archive of Firuz Altıngöz.

In Figure 4.1, the dominance of the pilot figure is seen at first glance. His uniform represents exchange of the organizational infrastructure of the young republic and its military background. The crescent and the star, which is the national symbol of the Turkish Republic flag is positioned in the middle of the wings as an emblem representing the nation that the flying service belongs to. One of his hands is in his pocket, while he is saluting the emblem of State Airlines with his other hand. This refers to a confidence in himself and the institution that he works for. The yellow high lights behind the pilot and the emblem represents the symbolic enlightenment of the developments during the foundation of the republic. Also, yellow color creates a direct connection between the institution and the pilot. While the dark blue color that is used on the entire body of the pilot is differentiating his existence from the other people in the advertisement, also it adds a meaning that signifies that he belongs to the sky like the flying symbol of State Airlines on the white background.

The plane as an object that is below has a functional value in terms of the service that it is used for. In addition, the form of the plane refers to the technological capabilities of the national aviation industry. The Turkish flag, which is on the tail, signifies the nation; moreover red stripes on the white plane and the red passengers and red State Airlines text on the white background are used as a correlation to give the flying experience the meaning that they belong to the same nation. Although the setting of the scene between the passengers and the plane, which sits parked on the grassy place, refers to the activity is realized on the ground, the usage of the background in white instead of blue consolidates the tiny image of the Turkish flag on the tail. The passengers who are facing the plane stand in a queue to give the meaning that they will get on the plane in which the next scene is expected by one. In addition, the diversity of the genders and the ages in passengers signify the flying experience that is provided by the state is for everyone. Moreover, the passengers stand is refer to the developments that have been realized after the foundation of the Turkish Republic and signify the people who are urbanized during that period. This referent means that the flying experience that is served by the state involves only the urban citizens. This referent is also used in a time table (Figure 4.2) which is published in the same period by the State Airlines.



Figure 4.2. Larsson B., Zekria D. (1946) 'State Airlines Time Table' from archive of Gökhan Sarıgöl and Stuart Kline.

In Figure 4.2, the correlation between the female villager and the urban male citizen directly shows who the user of the flying service is and who is not. On the front page, the woman is saluting the plane with her oxcart in a rural environment. On the back page, the man is walking to the plane by looking at a paper with a suitcase. His wide apart legs connote his rush and the text 'Time is cash. Prefer air travel.' above has a relay function that adds the purpose of the man's travel that is business. The color of the plane and the man directly correlates in terms of signifying the service-user relationship.

Both printed materials promote the national service that is provided by the state of the Republic of Turkey. Planes are used to signify the developments in capabilities of the republic on the usage of the contemporary technology and the economic structure as a national success. Besides, the clothes that passengers wear signify the new elite class that is the modern face of the young republic. However, in Figure 4.1, the quality of the service is dominant in terms of institutionalization by using corporate identity that is seen through the uniform of the pilot and the logo of the State Airlines. In Figure 4.2, two vehicles, two people actually two life styles are juxtaposed. Although there is a lack of a place on the back page of the timetable, the dominant visual of the rural place on the front page construct the strict boundary of these two life styles. While one of the pages is giving the meaning of fast, knowledge-based, modern life style, the other one represents the life that is kept out of the modern through the woman's conventional way of using an old vehicle in traditional clothes without time cognition. Consequently, it will not be wrong to say that the national identity was represented through the developments that came with the new regime in early republic period advertisements of Turkish Airlines. The Latin characters in literary language, the dressing of the people, the quality of labor force, presumable technological infrastructure of the planes and the symbols of the national flag that are used in advertisements, represented the pride of the national transformation in both economic and social structure, also provided a ground to generalizing these developments among the people.

4.2. The American Influence: Popular Culture and Marketing - 50s

The People's Party¹, which Mustafa Kemal founded in 1923, had been governing Turkey for a long time. In spite of the attempts to access to the multiparty system for democratization as an extension of the republican ideology in the period of Mustafa Kemal's leadership, all of them remained inconclusive or obstructed. In 1945, a new land law that was based on sharing the land among the people to break the political power of property owners was legislated (Ahmad, 2007: 122). Köymen (2007: 108) explains the existence of this law as a strategy of the Republican People's Party (CHP) to win the votes of the poor villagers. According to her, by this law, landless and poor villagers could have a piece of land; also, lands that belonged to property owners could be nationalized. In this context, Refik Kolatan who was a bureaucrat, Fuat Köprülü who was a professor and Adnan Menderes who was a property owner were expelled from the CHP due to their dissenting opinions regarding the new law. Also, Celal Bayar who was a businessman and a banker, resigned from the CHP. In

¹ Mustafa Kemal changed its name in as the Republican People's Party 1924 (Ahmad, 2007:106).

1946, they founded Democratic Party (DP) with discourses on democratization of the politics and protection of the rights of private property (Ahmad, 2007:123). On the other hand, Köymen attributed the opposition of the DP to their aspects about communist attitudes of the CHP (2007: 108).

Exclusion of communism occurred after World War II (WWII) in Turkey. During the post-war period, both socialists and capitalists were working to expand their ideologies to less developed countries, especially African countries that had just gained their independence. Socialists claimed that their system provided a rapid development for these countries without the inequalities of capitalism. On the other hand, capitalists asserted that, a development was possible with a 'market economy' without government assistance. The United States of America, which was seen as the leader of the capitalist system, saw the socialist regime as totalitarian, irreverent to religion and against private properties and enterprises. In this context, Turkey had a strategic importance concerning its frontier with the Soviet Union (Köymen, 2007: 106,107, Ahmad, 2007: 128). In addition, although Turkey proposed a treaty of amity to Soviet Union in 1945, this attempt remained inconclusive (Ahmad, 2007: 128). In addition, although Turkey proposed a treaty of amity to Soviet Union in 1945, this attempt remained inconclusive (Ahmad, 2007: 128). In this context, political powers in Turkey decided to side with America (Köymen, 2007: 104). If any country would take side with America, its attitude to the socialists had to be the same with America. Thus, taking military, food and financial support from America could be possible (Köymen, 2007: 106, 107). On the other hand, the defeat of the fascists representatively put the single party regime in Turkey into a bad situation in the international arena. In addition, the development of capitalism in both urban and rural places provided a milieu for raising bourgeoisie and property owners to be against the regime. Moreover, America supported the anti-statists and formation of the free market in general (Ahmad, 2007: 122). In these conditions, the first multiparty elections were realized in 1946 and the CHP won the election (Ahmad, 2007: 125; Köymen, 2007: 108). In 1947, one year after the elections, Turkey took a place in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan that was established to recover European economy by America (Ahmad, 2007: 129). In the same year, the Joint American Military Mission for Aid to Turkey (JAMMAT) was founded and rooted changes had started with the Turkish military system in the socio-economic structure of Turkey (Köymen, 2007: 108).

In 1949, Turkey demanded an economic development model from IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). Due to the report prepared by a group of American experts, the priority of Turkey was going to be agriculture instead of industrialization. In addition, according to them, all industrial institutions, which belonged to the five-year development policies that started in 1930s, had to be closed. Instead of them, Turkey gravitated towards the production of simple tools such as hammers, stoves, pumps, etc. Moreover, transportation policies that constituted as developments on railways had to be changed to highways (Köymen, 2007: 104). Thus, America became the decision maker upon the new constitution of economic policies in Turkey.

In 1950, general elections that were held in Turkey resulted in victory for the DP. Thus, the twenty-seven year reign of CHP ended. After coming to power, the DP provided the conditions for recitation of the azan in Arabic, which had been in Turkish since 1941. Adding to that, they revised the language of the constitution that made it closer to Ottoman Turkish. By these, they thought, they could provide the conscientious necessities of the Turkish people as well as getting closer to the Ottoman past. Furthermore, sending military support to the Korean War provided Turkey with acceptance into NATO, which was founded by the USA, a military power against communism, also reinforced the relations between America and Turkey. The international approach of Turkey against communism affected the internal politics. In the cold war atmosphere, all of the leftist points of view were declared illegal. The members of the leftist parties were imprisoned or relegated (Ahmad, 2007: 132).

The DP put the American economic plan into an action and the modernization process of Turkey had been reformed. New modernization relied on the usage of modern techniques in agriculture. By using agricultural machinery, the growth of agricultural exports and inflow of foreign currency would be provided. In addition to that, new the economic plan enabled the free access of foreign investors to the economy of Turkey. Industrialization was left in the hands of private companies; in addition statism was replaced by a free market economy. By all of these, in the first half of the DP period, an economic boom was realized in Turkey (Köymen, 2007: 105; Ahmad, 2007:132-134).

The DP period also affected the aviation sector in Turkey. Public plane assembly and production factories stopped the production of planes due to new industrialization policies (Saldıraner, 2011: 6). In 1953, State Airlines started the first pilgrimage expeditions that were realized by bus with long exhausting journeys being the case beforehand. In addition, the Yeşilköy Airport building, which was the first one of an international standard, was completed and opened to international air transportation. In 1955, the institutional structure of State Airlines was changed due to the declaration of the government and Turkish Airlines Corporation (THY) was founded within the boundaries of adopted international trade policies by the government (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 68). After the change in corporate structure, in 1956 Turkish Airlines became a member of IATA (International Air Transport Association). Hence, the first step of the collaboration with other international airways had been taken in economic, technical, commercial and administration fields (Turkish Airlines: 2013). In the same period three more airports were launched in Ankara, Trabzon and Konya, thus THY improved the transportation capacity. On the other hand, in 1957, BOAC (British Overseas Airways Corporation) became the first foreign partner with a six and a half percent share of Turkish Airlines. This partnership brought more highly technologically developed planes into the squadron of THY. In this context, the transportation capabilities of THY were doubled and reached three hundred and sixty seven thousand passengers in a year. This progress engendered new strategic plans in the corporation. In this regard, THY featured to increase on-land service locations, training of the employees and communication with international agencies (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 82, 84). Moreover, in 1959, by organizing a competition, the corporation obtained the logo that is still used today. Thus, the brand of Turkish Airlines was born.

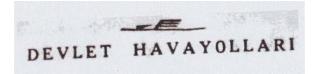


Figure 4.3. State Airlines Logo in 40s.



Figure 4.4. Evolution of the logo in 50s.

During the DP period, national identity that was constituted in the early republic period was reformed and taken to a more religious line with democratic liberalization discourse in the first period of their governance. The economic policies of this period provided the growth of the bourgeoisie class and the birth of an upper middle class. Ortaylı (cited in Ortaylı and Kucukkaya, 2012: 135) mentions this period as a social transformation by idealizing the west through the western lifestyle among people. According to him, appliances that were bought in installments were put in a visible place at homes and exhibited. Furthermore, children of the middle class were going to school and people who did not send their daughters to universities got negative reactions. People who did not know any foreign languages and went abroad were despised. 'Everyone was European and praised Europe'.

In the second part of the DP's governance, which started after the general elections in 1954, the recession began and the growth rate of the economy decreased. With an increase in population and inflation, life standards for officialdom and the proletariat had decreased (Ahmad, 2007: 138). The DP moved the general elections one year before the year that they supposed to be and they were held in 1957. Although, the elections resulted in DP's favor, they lost most of their electorate due to their attitude to the left-wingers and the proletariat. However, their political strategy that was based on religion worked (Ahmad, 2007: 139). In 1958, Turkey was unable to discharge external debts because of the economic policies based on external borrowing and state-sanctioned imports. In addition, devaluation occurred with IMF support, so the Turkish Lira lost its value and the dollar became two and a half times more expensive than before (Köymen, 2007: 104). Furthermore, increasing oppressive governance enabled the existence of insurrections. Consequently, both the dominant atmosphere of infelicity in the country, increasing inflation, and political instability prepared the ground for the first military coup and on 27 May 1960, the military seized control of the country (Ahmad, 2007: 143).



Figure 4.5. Milliyet, 1957.

While looking at the Turkish Airlines advertisements in the 50s, we can see the corporate developments as an extension of the DP's socio economic strategies. In Figure 4.5, these developments are presented in a conventional discourse like the DP's political approach. The advertisement consists of two parts that are interlinked through a semi-border that are made of planes. The textual part on the left side begins with the logo that is the symbol of the new corporate identity of Turkish Airlines. By this logo, the corporation is represented by the nation instead of the state. Moreover, the wind effect on the logo adds the meaning of speed instead of the logo that emphasizes flying itself of the State Airlines. In this context, the national corporate not only provides a travelling opportunity, it also provides a flying experience through new technologic capabilities. The new logo enables a brand and social value in terms of representing the Turkish nation; also, a political value by demonstrating the new structure of the state. This part also includes the information

about saving time by flying within several destinations from Istanbul. In addition, the significance of flying is underlined through the catch phrase 'Time is cash' that was used in the 40s as well. On the right side, a uniformed, female cabin attendant is serving breakfast. While doing that, her smile is seen at first glance. Her smile signifies the pleased face of THY by serving high quality food to their passengers. However, the posture of the cabin attendant and the ambiguity of what she is doing (serving or carrying) are significant in terms of understanding the conventional gender roles in Turkey. In the advertisement, maintaining a household that is the role of women in Turkish conventional family structure integrates the corporate through a uniform. Her drooped shoulders and bent neck includes a mythical meaning that her entity relies on serving. In this context, in Figure 5, national identity is represented through Turkish emphasis in the new logo and the conventional attitude on serving in boundaries of conventional Turkish everyday life.



Figure 4.6. Milliyet, 1959.

In Figure 4.6, the advertisement includes two main purposes that are the determination of the target audience and the representation of technological capabilities that THY reached. The couple that is standing in the middle of the sentence² is seen while they are looking at the map with raised hands that show somewhere on the map. Their standing position and the luggage on the floor shows that they are spending time in front of the map due to the given information through it. This scene represents the present passengers of THY. Their attire and purpose of travelling by plane refers to the rising bourgeoisie class of the 50s. In the content of the text that is above the logo includes a suggestion about not wasting time by other

² How do you travel?

travelling opportunities and evaluating holiday time efficiently. In this context, it will not be wrong to say that the audience of the THY consists of Turkish elites who have both money and time as a product of rising capitalism in 50s.

On the map, there is a symbolic description of the THY flights that represent the reached level of national airlines in terms of distance and network. The image of the plane anchors³ the text that gives the detailed information about the planes that are used for international flights and international destinations of THY. In addition, the ground that is used for both the plane and the couple correlates them in terms of defining flying experience that is provided by Turkish Airlines.

The representation of national identity in advertisements of Turkish Airlines in the 50s was formed due to the socio-economic policies that have changed since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Through the access to the capitalist system and the exclusion of leftist ideology, a national identity that is liberal in economics on the other hand conventional in everyday life, is constructed. In this regard, in figure 4.5, whilst Turkish Airlines offers a conventional way of serving to the Turkish citizens, in Figure 4.6, corporate transformation of THY comes into prominence through the development policies of the government.

³Barthes (1977) explains images are polysemious. Polysemy indicates a floating chain between the signifiers and their signifieds. Thus, the message in the image of advertisement (in my case) can be read differently. In this context, as a communication tool text based linguistic messages are used to conduct the meaning making process between the reader and the image. Barthes categorises these texts with the image as 'anchorage' and 'relay' due to their functions. The text that has an anchorage function directs the reader to the given message. In other words, this function shows the context of the image to the reader. The text that has a relay function includes the second-order meaning of image. This function signifies what is not shown through the image.

4.3 Technological Developments and the Jet Era - 60s and 70s

In 1960, following the military coup, thirty-eight military officers who realized and supported the coup founded the Committee of National Unity (CNU). Members of the committee did not have a plan while they acquired governance. Hence, they constituted a commission with academics to prepare a new democratic constitution. The commission asserted that the terminating of the DP's governance by the junta was legal because of the disrespectful attitudes of the DP to institutions such as the military, media, universities etc. during their governance period. Thus, the governance of the junta was legitimated by the commission. After the legitimization of the coup, the commission demanded a new governmental structure and institutionalization that provided democratization of Turkey from the CNU. Thus, the CNU became a temporary government through a temporary constitution after a month from the coup (Ahmad, 2007: 148, 150).

The new constitution was accomplished in 1961. Unlike the constitution of 1924, this constitution introduced a bicameral system that included the National Assembly and the Senate (upper assembly). In addition, regulations aimed at the protection of human rights transformed the governance to a social state. On 9 July 1961,this constitution was approved in a referendum (Ahmad, 2007: 151; Köymen, 2007:

113).

The constitution of 1961 came with the National Security Council that was founded as a consultative board to help the governance of national security and coordination issues. The members of the council particularly consisted of brass hats, the president, the prime minister and the representatives of the banks that determined the laws. Thus, the military became a part of the new civil order and socio-economic structure of Turkey, which was constructed. In 1961, by the decision of the parliament, the Armed Forces Pension Fund was founded and military integrated to the business and the industry by investing the wage deductions of sergeants and military officers. Hence, the military gained economic advances besides politics (Ahmad, 2007:152; Köymen, 2007: 113). Ahmad (2007: 153) explains this process of the military as the security of capitalism instead of 'the nation' and 'Kemalism'. According to him, the most important duty of the military became protecting the stabilization of the system (Ahmad, 2007: 153).

Following the political liberalization provided by the constitution of 1961, fourteen parties were established. After the general elections in 1961, the CHP established a coalition government with the Justice Party (AP) that was one of the new established parties in that period. The AP shared the same political ideology with the DP (Köymen, 2007: 114; Ahmad, 2007: 157). In 1963, the second five-year progress plan was approved by the new government. Unlike the first progress plan in the 30s, the application of the progress plan would be inspected by the State Planning Organization (DPT), which was founded in 1960 by the CNU (Ahmad, 2007: 153; Köymen, 2007: 112). The DPT was a consultative committee with the prime minister's presidency so it was influenced by the government (Ahmad, 2007: 153). The second five-year progress plan was based on import-substitution industrialization. Due to this plan, previously imported industrial products would not be imported; instead, by importing their parts they would be assembled in Turkey. In

addition, to protect the internal market from the rivalry of imported merchandise, high customs duties were levied. Moreover, the private sector was encouraged through the remission of duties and industrial inputs and the cheap inputs that was provided by State Economic Enterprises (KİT)⁴ (Köymen, 2007: 112). Adding to that, although KİTs were only supporting the private sector, their seven percent growth expanded the economy of Turkey (Ahmad, 2007: 154). In 1963, due to negotiations with Germany, a labor migration started from Turkey to Germany. This circumstance enabled the access of foreign currency to Turkey and the money that was sent to the laborers' families by laborers was used for import and payments of foreign borrowings (Köymen, 2007: 112). "The economy of Turkey became addicted to these laborers' foreign currency in a short time" (Ahmad. 2007: 155).

The constitution of 1961provided the conditions for ideological debates. For the first time, leftists took an active role in Turkish politics. They were criticizing the foreign and conventional policies of the government and they could access the new leftist-Marxist publications easily, even in small towns. On the other hand, nationalists were criticizing the USA's politics and the accordance of the government to them. In this period political tension started rising, the Cyprus Problem occurred in 1963 and violence began between two societies on the island. This incident and the USA's opposition to Turkey's possible intervention on the island increased national emotions and the animosity toward the USA in Turkey. Following this, demonstrations against the USA, which peaked in 1968, had started and political polarization increased. The society was divided in two groups as conventional rightists and nationalist radical leftists. In general elections in both 1965 and 1969,

⁴ Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsü

the AP came into power as a single party and brought new regulations to the laws, which included elections, strikes, collective agreement to keep leftists away from the parliament and active political life. On the other hand, rightists were divided amongst themselves as well. After 1969, new right wing parties on different scales were established within discourses such as neo-fascism, Islamism, etc. (Ahmad, 2007: 159-163; Köymen, 2007: 115, 116).

In the beginning of the 70s, an economic crisis enveloped the entire world. Germany terminated the arrangement of importing employment from Turkey and unemployment increased in Turkey. In the USA, neo classic economics that relied on the removal of the social state and privatization of the state institutes was adopted. This transformation reflected to Turkey as another financial strategy offer from the USA. According to them, Turkey should quit import-substitution industrialization and start protectionism instead of them; priority should be export with free trade. In this context, the AP government, in order to decrease the salary of laborers, enacted a new law on trade unions and protectionism. A crowded group of laborers (150.000) who were against this law protested against the government and a state of siege was decelerated in Istanbul and Izmit in reply to labor organizations (Köymen, 2007: 117).

In 1971, Turkey was in a social disorder. Diversity of the political polarization, clashes and violence provided the circumstances for the military intervention in government. On 12 May 1971, a memorandum, which demanded the resignation of the government and the establishment of a new government with regards to laws that

were determined in the convention, was presented to the government by four generals of the Turkish armed forces. Following the memorandum, the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP) ⁵ and all the youth branches in the Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation (Dev-Genç) were closed to maintain order and safety in the community. On the other hand, neo-fascist groups connected to the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) ⁶ became free to behave like volunteered militants of the government to suppress the leftists (Ahmad, 2007: 165, 166; Köymen, 2007: 116, 119).

After the resignation of the AP government, which was seen as the responsible source of existence of anarchy and riots by the junta, the new junta decided on the construction of governance to be established by supra-parties and civil government within a conservative assembly. Therefore, the junta chose Prof. Dr. Nihat Erim as a prime minister from the CHP who saw the constitution of 1961 as a luxury for Turkey and had worked with both the DP and the AP in a concord before (Ahmad, 2007: 166).

Following this period, Prof. Erim took the initiative: the first act of the governance was to work to suppress the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO)⁷, which was founded the late 60s by university students and armed in the beginning of the 70s. Hence, a state of siege was declared in eleven provinces. All the seminars and the meetings of the professional organizations and labor unions were prohibited.

⁵ Türkiye İşçi Partisi

⁶ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi

⁷ Türkiye Halk Kurtuluş Ordusu

Media and publishers were interfered with by the government in terms of prohibiting some books and newspapers. In addition, hundreds of people including authors, old politicians, and students were arrested and tortured. The state of siege and political oppression continued until the general elections held in 1973 (Ahmad, 2007: 166-168).

The closing of the TIP in 1971 and the election of Ecevit who was against the elitist motto 'For people, despite the people.' of the CHP as the party leader of CHP after İnönü's resignation in 1972 changed the political identity of the CHP as a social democratic party. This transformation brought the victory to the CHP in the elections of 1973 after the junta governance. A coalition government was established with the National Salvation Party (MSP)⁸, which had an Islamic socialist discourse. In 1974, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus due to the military coup that had been executed by the military Junta in Greece, the coalition was dissolved by MSP and the popularity of Ecevit increased. Ecevit decided to resign from the government to create the conditions that would provide a new election but his attempt concluded with a political crisis and the AP established a new right wing coalition with MSP, MHP and the Republican Reliance Party (CGP)⁹ that was called the Nationalist Front (MC)¹⁰ (Ahmad, 2007: 173-176; Ortaylı cited in Ortaylı and Kucukkaya 2012: 165, 166).

⁸ Milli Selamet Partisi

⁹ Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi

¹⁰ Milliyetçi Cephe

Due to the existence of the MHP in the government, political violence and polarization increased between rightists and leftists. Through this social crisis, the AP and the CHP acted together to go for an early election. Thus, elections were held five months earlier than the proper time. After the declaration of early elections, political violence increased and on 1 May 1977, during the celebration of Labor Day, thirty-four people were killed and hundreds of people were injured. The elections that were held on 5 June 1977 as an extension of the political polarization, resulted with an increase in votes for the CHP and the MHP. The CHP, who won the elections could not receive the vote of confidence from the assembly, so, through the leadership of the AP the second Nationalist Front (MC) was established. During the short-term governance of the MC, political violence among people continued to increase. This enabled ideological differences in the AP, and members who were middle-of-the-road, resigned from the party, thus the number of the radicals increased in the AP. In 1978, the CHP established a government with conservatives. This government could not apply the reforms that were idealized by the CHP. Furthermore, public order could not be established, instead in the first fifteen days of governance, thirty people were murdered for political purposes. Following this, neofascist groups attacked Alevis and started to kill them in an organized manner. In addition, they were organizing assassinations of intellectualsincluding journalists, academics and students.. On the other hand, Abdullah Öcalan declared the foundation of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)¹¹. Violence possessed every place in the country. Approximately, twenty people were murdered a day. (Köymen, 2007: 124-126; Ahmad, 2007: 177-179)

¹¹ Kürdistan İşçi Partisi

While domestic disturbance was continuing in Turkey, political and economic changes occurred in the world. The Islamic revolution in Iran and the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union strengthened the position of Turkey as a member of NATO for the west. The US casted a regional role for Turkey and expected a political stabilization for it. However, there was no a political will to realize it. Consequently, due to the political instability, violence, religious and ethnic polarization, the third military coup was staged with the support of the US on 12 September 1980 (Köymen, 2007: 127; Ahmad, 2007: 179, 180; Ortaylı cited in Ortaylı and Kucukkaya, 2012: 168).

In the beginning of the 60s, Turkish Airlines had focused on corporation developments to improve the capabilities of maintenance, sales and on-land services to reach international standards. In this period most of the employees that included pilots, engineers and technicians were sent to the USA for education; also in education institutes of THY, technicians, ground services and sales employees were trained in their professions by supporting them with foreign language courses. On the other hand, the logo that was designed by Mesut Manioğlu as an abstraction of the graylag in 1959 was reevaluated and started to be used in 1961 (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 87, 88).



Figure 4.7. Manioğlu, 1960 from Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 89.

In addition, the number of passengers could not reach the numbers that were expected. In this sense, THY took some developmental decisions, which were: the usage of jet aircraft especially for international flights, placing emphasis on promotion and advertising, and improving the quality of the employees. On the other hand, in 1964, Turkish Airlines, as a national corporation was badly affected the Cyprus Problem and had to cancel most of its flights during this period of tension. Following the Cyprus Problem, due to the demand of labor in Germany, the number of international flights to Europe was increased. Therefore, direct flights to Rome and Munich were added to regular destinations. Moreover, the seating order in planes was rearranged and carrying capacity was increased. Hence, the loss that remained from the Cyprus Problem period was partly compensated (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 89).

In the second half of the 60s, Turkish Airlines showed an increase with the assistance of the government by providing THY tickets instead of travel allowance for public employees' international flights. Furthermore, after the negotiation with Arabian Airlines, carrying capacity of the pilgrimage passengers was increased and in 1966, Turkish Airlines made a profit for the first time in its history. The adding of two jet planes to the formation for the international flights went down as 'modernization' in the history of Turkish Airlines by means of having parallels with other international airlines in transition to the jet era. Consequently, following the international developments in civil aviation, a planning period started for THY (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 90, 91).

In the beginning of the 70s until the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, progress of the THY continued; and in the period of economic crisis in the world, THY accessed the European market by using this crisis for itself. Moreover, the capital of THY increased a hundred percent. In 1973, THY made the highest profit since its foundation as a gift for the 40th year anniversary. In the same year, for the first time, Turkish Airlines organized a wide scale promotional campaign and gave great importance to publicity and advertisements. Consequently, in a short time period, the number of passengers and demands to the air transportation increased (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 117).



Figure 4.8. 40th year anniversary advertisement, from THY archive (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 89).

In 1974, the world's civil aviation was in an economic crisis that included Turkish Airlines too. In addition, the tension that occurred after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus significantly influenced THY; and for the first time THY closed the year with a loss after a long period of growth and progress. The US imposed an embargo on arms sales to Turkey after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. As a result of the embargo, Turkish Plane Industries Co. (TUSAŞ)¹² took action to establish a factory for the production of Turkish planes. Besides, to develop the economy of Cyprus, Cyprus Turkish Airlines Limited was established with fifty percent partnership of THY. In 1977, after the economic crisis, Turkish Airlines began a recovery process. In this context, Turkish Airlines raised the prices of domestic flights to provide a supply and demand equilibrium. In addition, additional flights were added to protect the advantage in the market on labor transportation to Europe. Pilgrimage flights from Turkey began to be organized as a round-trip. Moreover, THY conducted a survey for the first time with its passengers to get feedback on services that was provided and also for information about passengers' profiles. Furthermore, the Ministry of Finance bought the share of BOAC, so THY became a hundred percent national corporation again (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008:122, 123)

In 1978, by using the geopolitical position of Turkey as a strategy, Turkish Airlines decided to open up to the Middle East and Arabic countries that were in economic growth. In this context, administration of the corporate structure was regulated to reach the modern standards of the service. Moreover, THY added more fields that electronic based data processing systems were used in.. Besides, due to the rivalry in

¹² Türk Havacılık ve Uzay Sanayii A.Ş.

international aviation, first class service was started on Middle East flights. On the other hand, Turkish Airlines continued adding flights to these destinations.

Turkish Airlines declared 1978 as a saving year. In this context, advertising strategies were constructed through new regulations in organization and working order. The timetables of domestic flights were published separately in different national newspapers according to the destinations. The international timetable was published in international newspapers that were published in Turkish. This made the laborers, who worked abroad, especially in Germany, choose Turkish Airlines. A special edition of a UK newspaper which was about Turkey was used as a medium for advertising of THY. Return flights that were organized for the pilgrimage season were published in various daily organizations. Moreover, the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey (TTOK)¹³ published an advertisement of THY in the tourist guide and culture magazine that was prepared for international tourists. In addition, due to the great tourism potential of Turkey in late 70s, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion prepared promotional posters in four languages and published them with the logo of Turkish Airlines. These posters were sent to the foreign sales offices of THY (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 134, 141).

¹³Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu



Figure 4.9. 'THY'nin reklamlarıyla tarihe yolculuk' from the archive of Firuz Altıngöz, 1964.

In this advertisement of Turkish Airlines that was published in 1964, developments in national transportation are depicted through the images that belonged to different periods. In the first image, the flight crew stands on the movable steps next to the Turkish Airlines plane. The red and white combinations that are the colors of the Turkish flag on the plane signify a reflection of national belonging to the object. In addition, the visual balance between the airport, plane, movable steps and the crew in terms of color and scale represents the reached level of national transportation through all its components. In this context, the flying crew is not the subject that controls the flight; rather it becomes an object of the national aviation service with other services that are provided by Turkish Airlines. The color correlation between the year and the sky links the flying experience and the year as a symbol of the modernization level, that was reached in 1964. However, in the second image a woman in conventional clothes uses an oxcart to carry people. Despite the ambiguity of time in the second image, the direction of its top left corner that points at the first image represents the transformation from being to becoming. The clothes that people are wearing, the carrying capacity of the oxcart, lack of roads, time and place in the second picture shows that they are not referents of the ambiguous past that they once belonged to, instead they are the referents of transformation. Furthermore, The New Year celebration text written in both Turkish and English signifies the foreign audience which is the representation of being a globally known institute. On the other hand, the usage of the logo in different ways for different mediums in the first image creates confusion about brand identity of Turkish Airlines. This connotes the attempts of the institute on constructing a visual identity.

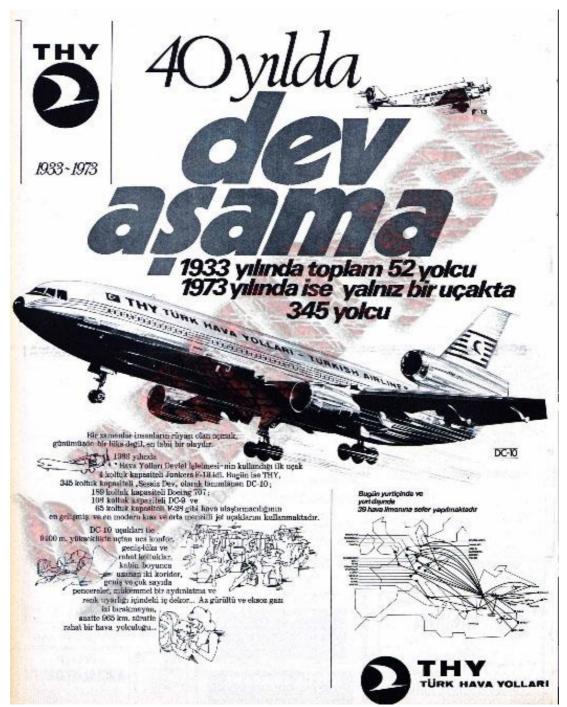


Figure 4.10. Milliyet, 1973.

The Figure 4.10 is an advertisement that was the part of the 40th year anniversary promotional strategies in 1973. This advertisement is divided into three parts. The first part is the THY logo and the time period from foundation to 1973 that are delimited with left and right side borders. This part represents corporation

background and experience held in 40 years in a formal discourse. The second part is the explanatory part about the progress of THY in 40 years. In this part, the text that states 'A giant leap in 40 years'¹⁴ and the giant plane are seen at first glance. The giant plane represents the reached level of national aviation in Turkey in 1973 from its foundation. The small visual of the propeller plane on the top left corner is the referent of the past that belonged to the development policies of the young republic in the 30s. In this context, the difference between two planes signifies the technological improvement that the company reached in 40 years. In addition, the planes as objects are the symbolic signifiers of the speed. They represent the speed of the young republic during its progress in technology and economics. Furthermore, political value emerges in all of the phases in this progress with a text that supported with informative images on the lower left corner of the advertisement. The most crucial point of the text lays in the first sentence. The first sentence remarks the flying experience, which was a dream of humanity once upon a time, became a natural event instead of a luxury in 1973. In this sentence, avoidance from the elitist discourse through naturalizing of flying activity is seen at first glance. However, naturalization is realized in two dimensions. The first one is naturalizing the flying activity by an artificial way for humans. The second one is naturalizing the service, as everyone can be part of it. Thus, thoughts about flying are aimed to be changed after 40 years of experience, and flying activity is attempted to be popularized among people through this advertisement. The rest of the text is detailed information about the planes that were used since Turkish Airlines was the Administration of State Airlines. Here the emphasis on the state in the text shows the continued influence of the state on THY. As a national corporation, Turkish Airlines still constructs its

¹⁴40 yılda dev aşama.

image through national cognition in Kemalist ideology, which is still significant with the military hegemonic governance of the 1970s. In addition, improvements in technological capabilities of the corporation that links to its past in the text refer to an attribution of its progress to Turkey. The new flying experience is offered through the advertisement, with images that belong to the interior of the plane and a text that is written with a discourse that we are used to seeing in sale of real properties. Wide corridors, lots of windows, perfect illumination and color harmony is mentioned with a silent, ecological and fast travelling speed in the text as properties of the new plane that is seen in the centre of the advertisement. These properties, except the travelling part, belong to an idealized dwelling instead of a transportation vehicle. By this discourse, it is possible to say that the new flying experience that is launched by THY is constructed through a cultural discourse that links the plane to an idealized home. Moreover, through images that are located in the text this signification is consolidated. A male passenger who is sleeping comfortably and peacefully, passengers who are sitting comfortably and hosted by a cabin crew, a male passenger who is reading a newspaper peacefully and a motherly interest in the last image, refer to daily actions that are realized at home, which involve a symbolic value of protection, privacy, comfort and hospitality. In other words, each image represents a scene that relates with the traditional Turkish hospitality. On the other hand, the manner and style in which the passengers are dressed, which refers to the reforms in clothing during the foundation of the republic, signifies an elitist approach to the target audience of Turkish Airlines. In this context, it will not be wrong to say the national identity is constructed through a modernist image with a traditional discourse that refers to the hybrid ideologies of the governance in the 1970s.

As a result, both in Figures 4.9 and 4.10, national identity is depicted through the progress since the foundation of the Turkish Republic with respect to the economic wealth, capability of using contemporary technologies and modern image of the people. However, before-after comparison in both figures involves different approaches to this progress. In Figure 4.9, progress is signified through the images that are completely different from each other. Separately, they are not referring to each other. In this context, their togetherness refers to the progress as a detachment from the past. On the other hand, the same comparison in Figure 4.9 is constructed through images of the first and the last planes that belong to THY. Although the use of these images involves a symbolic value of development level in itself, their differences directly refer to the progress from limited circumstances of the past and the contemporary conditions of the present. Eventually, it is possible to say that the representation of national identity is constructed through the modern corporate structure of Turkish Airlines in terms of technological capabilities, service, and corporate identity. Furthermore, images of the people as both an aircrew and passengers are signifiers of an idealized form of a national identity that link to the idealized modernity of Kemalist ideology in terms of standardization of western look and the active role of women in society. Nevertheless, the representations of the female identity in both advertisements are signified through conventional referents that symbolize their national role in society in the 1960s and 1970s.

4.4 Moderate Islamic Discourse and Class Discrimination in Civil Flying - 80s

After the military coup in 1980, the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces established the National Security Council (MGK)¹⁵ under the leadership of General Kenan Evren to construct a new social, economic and governmental order in Turkey. Hence, they started by repealing the parliament and closing the political parties that were seen as the responsible source of disturbance in Turkey before by the junta. Following that, all of the activities of the professional chambers and labor unions were suspended and striking was declared as an illegal activity. Thus, laborers in strikes were forced to go back to their workplaces. Moreover, executives that were seen as suspects because of their political network in local governments were unseated and their positions were given to the military personnel (Ahmad, 2007: 186). Thus, the military had grabbed both the executive and legislative powers of the state.

Four days after the coup, the junta declared its purpose that consisted of an exclusion of society from politics to prevent the conditions that provided possible military interventions. In addition, Evren as the new president of Turkey promised reforms in almost every part of social life. To realize these principles a new cabinet was established under the leadership of the retired general Bülent Uluslu with ministers, which consisted of bureaucrats, professors, retired military officers and few people from the prior cabinet that included Turgut Özal, who was in charge of preparing an economic development plan in 1979. Özal continued this task as a vice-minister of economy in the new cabinet (Ahmad, 2007: 186). On 24 January 1980, Özal

¹⁵ Milli Güvenlik Kurulu

launched his economic plan, which is known as the 'Decisions of 24th January'. This plan was based on an economic recovery program that was presented to the IMF by the military coup of 1980. According to the plan Turkey, would adopt an exportoriented industrialization from import-substitution one (Köymen, 2007:127; Arat, 2010: 178; Ahmad, 2007: 186). This economic strategy relied on a liberal market and liberal trade discourse that involved interest rate liberalization while fixing a real wage. The junta prepared the infrastructure of the new financial strategy, which started to be prepared in the last year of the AP government, through preventing the existence of a dissident political will and suppressing the existing ones. Radical rightists and leftists, social democrats, communists and radical Islamists, actually all of the political opinions against America and the IMF were suspended from politics by the junta (Köymen, 2007: 129; Ahmad, 2007: 187, 196).

In the three-year governance of the military junta, capital oriented financial policies were invoked under the protection of authoritarian politics of the junta. To prevent the possible political demands of the excluded part of the population, politics and public space were restricted as initial steps of the depoliticization of society. In 1981, the Institution of Higher Education (YÖK)¹⁶ was established as a governmental supervising authority over universities. By correlating the national security concept with several social and political issues arbitrarily, this concept was rendered above politics (Köymen, 2007: 131, 132). By this way, the MGK, which was established for this purpose, declared its institutional power above politics. In 1982, the new constitution that included several concessions and authorizations to military members in new governmental structure also involved prohibitions on every day

¹⁶ Yükseköğretim Kurulu

practices. As a result, a Turkish-Islamic synthesis ideology of the junta developed in both politics and education (Köymen, 2007: 137; Ahmad, 2007: 187). In 1983, after the approval of the three political parties that were the Social Democracy Party (SO-DEP)¹⁷, the Great Turkey Party (BTP)¹⁸ and the Motherland Party (ANAP)¹⁹ by the MGK, Özal's Motherland Party (ANAP) was brought to power by the first elections after the military coup (Arat, 2010: 178).

After the elections, Turkey gained access to a new social and political structure that would be called the Özal period afterwards. In this period, economic liberalism took the place of social democratization and a conservative rightist oriented political structure with military protection held power due to the neoliberal economic aims like a USA-type democracy (Köymen, 2007: 137; Ahmad, 2007, 191). The neoliberals tried to facilitate market mechanisms and promote the interests of the business community with the view that what is good for business is also good for the poor. Import substitution policies were abandoned and the economy was increasingly opened to foreign capital and global competition in order to attract capital and promote access to global markets (Ayata, 2010: 199).

Groups ranging from advocates of liberal economy, civil society, popular culture, and feminism to Muslim intellectuals can be defined the features of "postmodern" Turkey in the 1980s as a growing reaction to the official ideology, cultural norms, and mental habits of the old republican elite, as well as of the traditional left. The

¹⁷ Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi

 ¹⁸ Büyük Türkiye Partisi
 ¹⁹ Anavatan Partisi

austerity and paternalism of official modernism were challenged in all expressions of culture, from literature and music to architecture and cinema (Bozdoğan, 1997: 126).

"The cultural expressions, construction boom, and changing urbanscape of the Özal period in Turkey bore ample witness to this ambivalence of the postmodern moment. On one hand, in a potentially democratic impulse, educated elites became increasingly more aware of the multiplicity of taste cultures, and especially of popular culture as the manifestation of the struggle of marginalized people for cultural expression and self–representation" (Bozdoğan, 1997: 122).

In these new social and economic conditions, Turkish Airlines seized an opportunity to access the global economy. In 1981, during Atatürk's 100th birthday celebration, the corporation organized a painting contest to establish a strong bond with the public. The statements about aviation that belonged to Atatürk were hung up, on plaques in planes. These were the first positive attempts to construct a relation between THY and the public. After that, Turkish Airlines realized the importance of having good relations with the public to be an actor of the global aviation market. To do that, transferring the corporate vision and importance to the public became more important than before. In 1983, THY published its 50th year anniversary book in bad economic and documentation conditions to construct a relation between the corporate past and the public. Thus, public opinion and the employees of THY had embraced the corporation (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 153, 154; Kozlu, 2007: 20). Another thing is, it is possible to say that the effort of Turkish Airlines to construct its place in the public through its history linked directly to Turkish national history. By doing this, the corporation consolidated its existence as a part of foundation and progress of the Turkish Republic.

Following the book, in the same year THY published a monthly magazine that was called THY magazine as a cultural source of detailed information about the corporate structure, and also a medium for the passengers to make their comments about THY (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 154).

In 1984, the establishment and administration of new private aviation companies were legalized in Turkey, hence THY met domestic competition for the first time. In 1985, far-east countries became powerful actors in global market and industrialization. Therefore, "If Turkey would conform to this progress and take place in this global contest, Turkish Airlines would be an aviation company in the far east market"²⁰ (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 160). This aim shows the strategic planning of THY as a corporation depended on the national goals of Turkey during accession to the neo-liberal economy. Following 1988, possible privatization of THY was added to the agenda. By the governmental support, the management group of THY was changed and a new era had started through the new corporate structure. The new management group internalized the system that they called 3K (quality, capacity, capital)²¹, which was the symbolic expression of the new goals of Turkish Airlines (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 161; Kozlu, 2007: 54, 119, 129). Quality was considered in three stages; personnel, presentation and information management. 'Putting People First' was the motto that was initialized by THY to improve the quality of its personnel by constructing a candid relation between the management, personnel and the customers (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 161, 162; Kozlu, 2007: 71). The other thing that had to be fixed by the management was the corporate image. In this context, to

²⁰Translated by the aughtor.

²¹Kalite, kapasite, kapital

have an international recognition the size of the English version of the corporate name, which was written on the body of planes, the name was enlarged by shortening the Turkish version one as THY; also red and white colors were chosen that referred to the national flag of Turkey. In addition, decoration of the planes and the uniforms of the crew were changed with the consultancy of designers and color specialists (Kozlu, 2007: 76, 77). Therefore, a western-oriented understanding of institutionalization took place in the infrastructure of THY. Moreover, Turkish Airlines began providing first and business class services due to the new opportunities that were provided in some flights and airports. In 1989, the name of the THY magazine was changed and became Skylife magazine. Following these corporate changes THY consolidated its image through domestic and international promotions. Thus, Turkish Airlines had constructed its image according to the international market conditions (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 166, 167, 171).

The magic of Turkey



Closer than ever

There are few people who have ever seen a cat with different coloured eyes. But unlike this cat from Turkey's eastern provinces, the country's magic is no longer a secret to the world. As the national flagcarrier, Turkish Airlines has been playing a pivotal role in making

Turkey internationally accessible... for tourism, for business, for trade.

Next to offering nationwide domestic service, Turkish Airlines reaches 52 destinations worldwide: a network that covers almost all major cities in the European, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean regions. More recently, direct services to New York, Tokyo, Bangkok and Moscow have been introduced.

Turkish Airlines is growing faster than ever before... all set to reach out and bring the world even closer to the magic of Turkey.



Figure 4.11. 1989, THY advertisement (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 169).

In Figure 4.11, the image of the Van cat is seen at first glance with an anchored text. The text says to the foreign audience, meeting with the magic of Turkey, which is the Van cat, is not far any more. Here, the extraordinary eye color of the Van cat is an indexical sign of the magic of Turkey. Thus, the natural quality of the cat is correlated with Turkey as an essential feature. In other words, the magic itself becomes a natural thing through the image of an animal in Turkey.

The sub text starts with an explanation about the few people who could have a chance to see a different color eyed cat. This statement takes the Van cat out from the context instead the special feature of the cat remains as an extraordinary experience only a few people could have. Following that, this feature is attributed to the arbitrary east region of Turkey as a magic that refers to the occidental understanding to the east. Moreover, the national flag carrier, Turkish Airlines, heralds presenting the magic that kept as a secret of Turkey to the rest of the World for business, tourism and trade. Here, THY has a dual discourse in terms of representing the national identity. In the first part, flag carrier provides representation through a symbolic martial discourse. Similar to the flag carrier in a battlefield, Turkish Airlines represents the whole country in this competitive particular service as a national corporation. On the other hand, it constructs its national existence in a western discourse through factionalizing the east part of Turkey. In addition, it promises a hope through its capabilities and fast progress to provide mediation to access the magic of Turkey for business purposes.

Consequently, the liberal financial policies that were internalized by the state reflect the national corporate identity of Turkish Airlines. This advertisement is a typical example of 1980s cognition of globalization in terms of elitist approaches and alienation to the east. In other words, national identity is represented through a western discourse in an oriental image.



Figure 4.12. 1988, THY advertisement (2010).

In Figure 4.12, at first glance, two similar expressions are seen within a dominancy of a text that anchors to images below it. Both texts begin with 'In Turkish Airlines' and continue with different expressions. Whilst one of them is the 'tulip difference', the other one is 'the name of the rose' as different service opportunities that THY provides. It can be observed that these flowers are used as message carriers. Their natural form that is partially hidden in tickets signifies extra information that is not involved in THY tickets. In this context, it will not be wrong to say that a privilege property of the extra service is being depicted through the natural beauty of flowers. Adding to that, the dominancy of the colors, red and white, in the advertisement signifies the national form of the corporation and its services with regards to the national flag colors of the Turkish Republic. Besides, red color of the flowers, the corporate identity of THY and its tickets consolidates the belonging of these services to Turkish Airlines. The texts below the images have a relay function that give detailed information about the content of services that are depicted through the tulip and rose. While the tulip refers to the first class, the rose refers to the business class service.

The presentation of the tulip and the rose in this advertisement can be interpreted as the signification of a gift, delivered as a daily experience in an international context. However, their symbolic meaning in national context refers to a historical and economical background of Turkey. In this regard, the privileges that are provided through the image of the tulip connote the Ottoman Period that is called the Tulip Era²². According to the text below regarding the tulip image, the tulip is the difference of being first class in Turkish Airlines with the services in several stages of flying experience. In this sense, the tulip as a national historical symbol of Turkey transfers the elitist discourse of class discrimination during the Tulip Era in terms of

²²The Tulip Era defines the period between 1718 and1730 in Ottoman history and takes its name from the tulip gardens that become a symbol of that period. Although in general this period is mentioned as a self-indulgence period of Ottoman elites in those years, quality and the quantity of the expenses in the Tulip Era is still a debate today in terms of histography. However, the consensus is in line with Tulip Era is increasing of the economic gap between the ottoman elites and the people also, luxury consumption of these elites. Adding to that, this period is seen as the first step of facing to the West in Ottoman history with regards to applications of western life style and consumption habits in those

years (Karahasanoğlu, 2010; Faroqhi, 2006; Quataert, 2005).

wealth to the 1980's neoliberal economic conditions Thus, the wealth of the Ottoman elites in the Tulip Era is symbolically transferred to the elites of 1980s who can live the first class privileges of THY's tulip. In the second figure, the text below the rose is an explanation of the services that are provided for business class through 'the rose'. The rose cultivation in Turkey has existed for over100 years. Furthermore, the big amount of this production is exported abroad even today (Gunes, 2005: 1872). On the other hand, the rose has a symbolic importance that refers to the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. In contrast to the tulip, the rose represents a particular belonging to a Muslim community. In other words, whilst the tulip refers to the elitist life style and wealth in general, the rose signifies a collective self that belongs before the Tulip Age (Salzmann, 2000: 98). In Figure 4.12, the class that the rose represents has business purposes to travel. In this sense, its privileges belong to this particular being like Muslims in Ottoman History in terms of targeting a particular group of people. Furthermore, in national context, the rose signifies a combination of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis that was adopted after the coup in 1980 and neoliberal economic policies.

To sum up, both the tulip and the rose include an understanding upon a national elitism that has social privileges in Ottomanist discourse that excluded Turkishness that was drawn in the early republic period. So, 1980's elites have been positioned like a member of Ottoman dynasty.

4.5 Developing Services and Additional Facilities - 90s

On 31 October 1989, Özal became the president of Turkey. In the beginning of his presidency, many social and political commotions occurred concurrently. In the southeast, the Kurdish rebellion increased. In Ankara and Istanbul, many people were murdered for political purposes. Moreover, radical Islamist groups appeared in different mediums (Köymen, 2007: 145; Ahmad, 2007: 193). Following these, the government enacted an anti-terror law that included authorizing the military and police forces comprehensively for the possible intervention of the military (Ahmad, 2007: 194).

The Gulf War began in 1991. Although the battle conditions held the public attention from the domestic political and social problems for a while, the immigration of Kurdish Iraq is to Turkey increased the Kurdish problem in the east and economic conditions got worse. Following the war, general elections were held and the leader of (the old AP) the True Path Party (DYP)²³ Demirel won the elections (Ahmad, 2007: 195). Moreover, a coalition government was established with the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP)²⁴. In 1993, Özal died and Demirel took his place as the president of Turkey. After Demirel, Ciller was elected as the president of the DYP and she became the first female prime minister of Turkey (Köymen, 2007: 151; Ahmad 2007: 199, 200)..

 ²³ Doğru Yol Partisi
 ²⁴ Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti

The 1990s was the period of the dissociation of the socialist systems and the pervasion of neo-liberalism in a global context. Following the elections that were held in 1991, several coalition governments were established by a different combination of parties that were ideologically opposed to each other during this period. Therefore, it is not possible to express a stable dominant political will for that period. On the other hand, all the governments tried to apply IMF-oriented financial policies. In addition, defining the financial systems were independent from politics and the role of the IMF as a financial specialist, were attempts to legalize the IMF in public opinion (Köymen, 2007:151, 152). In addition, being a member of the European Union became more important than before. Therefore, in 1999 an EU commission presented the Copenhagen Criteria as a prerequisite for a candidate membership to Turkey. These criteria include reforms and regulations in human and minority rights, economy. Thus, a secondary factor had been implemented to Turkey's political agenda.

In the 1990s, Turkish Airlines reached a stable progress in terms of modernization of the corporation and profitability. In 1990, THY was taken to the scope of privatization and became a part of the Administration of the State Partnership. The capital of the corporation increased and following this, as a preparation to privatization, the interior and exterior design of the planes were changed. In addition, the uniforms of the both flight and ground crew were renewed. The catering service was increased and menu opportunities with diet choice added to the international flights. Due to the privatization policies that accelerated after the crisis in 1994, THY had the status of the state-owned enterprise under the Republic Of Turkey Prime Ministry Privatization Administration. In 1996 THY's web page was launched as 'n

the 1990s, Turkish Airlines reached a stable progress in terms of modernization of the corporation and profitability. In 1990, THY wincreased its carrying capacity and reached 10.6 million passengers per year (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 211-241; Turkish Airlines, 2012).



Figure 4.13. THY advertisement (Atlas Magazine, 1994).

In Figure 4.14, an old flyer is placed on a sky background. The ground of the flyer and the sky provide a sense of three dimensionality. On the top of the flyer, a drawing that represents a globe in motion can be seen. Below the globe, there is a text, which can also be read as the headline of the flyer. In this text, 'From now on, the world is looking at the sky to see Turkey.²⁵ is written. This text anchors both the image of the plane and the globe in terms of consolidating its message by referring to different mediums and time. This text anchors both the image of the plane and the globe in terms of consolidating its message by referring to different mediums and time. The drawing style of the globe signifies the bygone understanding of the world by its limited movement within the borders of the flyer. On the other hand, the photorealistic image of the plane sharing the same background (the sky) with the flyer that represents a present movement as if the plane is observed through a physical gap of the flyer. Hence, the plane of Turkish Airlines signifies the physical appearance of Turkey in the sky by placing the audience on the ground while looking at the sky. Here, the representation of national identity is constructed as a flying form of Turkey. Moreover, detailed information about the current capabilities of THY and its success is given in the text that is below the headline completing through the slogan ' detailed information about the current capabilities of THY and its success is given in the text that is below the headline completing through the sloganl appearancAirlines represents the governmental aim of having an active role in global market economy that was an extension of 1990's financial policies through this advertisement.

²⁵Translated by the author.



Figure 4.14. THY advertisement (Atlas Magazine, 1993).

In Figure 4.14, an image is positioned in a speech balloon that belongs to Turkish Airlines. This image dominates the whole advertisement that makes the reader focus to the given visual message by THY. In the speech balloon, two female cabin attendants are introducing a book to the girl in a THY plane. 'People who learn how to fly expect a special interest'²⁶ is written in the text below the image. In this scene flying is taught by the cabin attendants to the girl whose clothes look like the 90's Turkish private school uniforms. Teaching activity is consolidated through the book that symbolizes the knowledge of Turkish Airlines and its experience in the aviation sector. In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that, as a national company, Turkish

sector. In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that, as a national company, Turkish Airlines undertakes the teacher role on flying experiencefor Turkey in this advertisement.

Moreover, two female cabin attendants signify the form of service in Turkish Airlines in terms of looking after and taking care. In other words, they represent the motherly way of constructing trust. The little, lonely girl is safe in the arms of Turkish Airlines. In the text that is in smaller scale, the transformation of the first flying experiences to the trust and a smile with THY's warm this mentioned. Also, this transformation is emphasized as a memory that passed down. In this context, THY consolidates its national existence through the traditional family discourse. On the other hand, the lonely little passenger can be read as an embodiment of how easy and safe travelling by plane is.

²⁶Translated by the author.

The slogan under the logo, which is 'We love you'²⁷, includes an American style of communication. Like 'I love New York' or 'I want you', Turkish Airlines has adopted a corporate language that represents the domination of American popular culture in Turkey as an extension of neo liberal economy policies and new forms of consumption habits in the 1990s. In this context, it will not be wrong to say that, this advertisement shows not only the new corporate structure of Turkish Airlines, but also their new way of communication with their customers through implementing the western marketing trends.

²⁷Translated by the author.



Figure 4.15. THY advertisement (Atlas Magazine, 1996).

This advertisement is separated into two parts. On the left hand side there is a traffic sign in a triangular shapethat is used for 'warning' in Turkey. The emblem of Turkish Airlines is positioned in the centre of this shape. In this context, this part of the advertisement symbolically signifies the success of Turkish Airlines in terms of taking a place in the sky like other aviation companies. This place is somewhere in the sky, in other words undefined. Hence, it will not be wrong to say that, through this sign, Turkish Airlines is warning the other aviation companies about its existence in this market as a competitor.

The second part of the advertisement begins with a text 'We are ready for Europe in every field'²⁸. Below the text, we see a Turkish map covered by the European Union flag and the Turkish Airlines' plane rising to the sky. After that, 'Turkey is rising with Turkish Airlines'²⁹ is written as a headline and the headline continues with an explanatory text about the regulations that Turkish Airlines has done within the European Union harmonization process of Turkey. In this part, the EU flag-covered map of Turkey in the sky signifies the symbolic existence of Turkish Airlines that is ready to gain access into the EU. In other words, Turkey's form of being in the sky is ready for the EU and this form is Turkish Airlines. Adding to this, the plane that is rising and the anchor text behind it consolidates this meaning. Turkey is rising with Turkish Airlines.

²⁸Translated by the author.

²⁹Translated by the author.

To sum up, this advertisement stresses the national identity of Turkish Airlines as a national company in terms of harmonizing the governmental goals such as being part of the European Union. The western way of developing is idealized and seen as a success of Turkish Airlines. The crucial point here is, although the western image of THY is seen as a success, THY points out its role in this sector not only as a part of this competitive arena, but also warns it will become one of the rule makers in it. In addition, THY defines its national duty through its slogan mage of THY is see^{30, 31} to consolidate its existence as a modern face of Turkey in the sky by continuing its improvement process as a national company.

4.6. Turkish Airlines as a Global Brand - 2000s

The late 1990s was the period of the rising tension between the military forces and the government concerning the debates on secularism and reaction. Hence, the strategy that was implemented to prevent the left wing after the military coup of 1980 acquired a new dimension in political and social context in this period (Ahmad, 2007: 210-212; Uzgel, 2010: 15). After the regulations that were imposed to the coalition government on 28 February 1997 by the military forces in the MGK, the prime minister Erbakan resigned and an investigation was opened into the Welfare Party (RP) under his leadership. Following these, the Virtue Party (FP)³², which would be closed in 2001 by the Constitutional Court, was established in 1998 by some members from the Welfare Party. Although their Islamist ideology seemed softer than Erbakan, their approach on secularist governance and the head scarf showed a continuum of the RP. These sequential events provided an environment for

³⁰It is written on the bottom of the page in white on a black background.

³¹Translated by the author.

³²Fazilet Partisi

separation in the Islamist wing. Thus, some reformists from the FP established the Justice and Development Party (AKP)³³ under the leadership Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who was the mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality also an old member of RP in 2001 (Ahmad, 2007: 210, 211; Özkazanç, 2012: 95).

The AKP has an important place in Turkey's political, economical and social history. Primarily, the AKP won the elections sequentially in 2002 (one year after its establishment), 2007, 2011 and in all elections it had the highest number of delegates in the Turkish parliament (Özkazanç, 2012: 95; Uzgel, 2010:11). As its consequences many things have changed and are still changing today in Turkey. Since the legislative prerogative belongs to the parliament in Turkey, this gives a big advantage to the AKP. The reigning period of the AKP can be summarized as a transition phase for Turkey. Although, at the beginning of its foundation, its founders claimed they adopted a secularist approach, (Ahmad, 2007: 211) during the time that they remained in power, they adopted a foreign expansionist neo-liberalism policy with an Islamic discourse (Özkazanç, 2012: 95). The EU had an important role in the agenda of AKP government. Especially the AKP government was supported in terms of decreasing the power of the military on the regime, freedom of expression for minorities, privatization and antipoverty in Turkey. In this sense, the AKP government initiated many changes and regulations in the laws devoted to supporting the capital, increasing their sympathy among their electorate and changing the administration mechanisms in Turkey (Ahmad, 2007: 227; Özkazanç, 2012: 97, Uzgel, 2010: 38; Bedirhanoğlu, 2010: 40).

³³Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AK Parti

Undoubtedly, accelerated privatizations of public institutions, also the dominancy of global economic approaches during the AKP period directly affected Turkish Airlines. Therefore, in Turkish Airlines' corporate history, 2003 was defined as an access year to be a global brand (Turkish Airlines, 2012). In 2003 a new administrative board started its assignment with a renewal process in media and press, public relations, protocol and customer relations departments in THY. A new service and communication-oriented period started (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 263). Following this, online check-in application and online customer relations services were launched on www.turkishairlines.com (Turkish Airlines, 2012). In 2005, 59 aircraft were added to THY's fleet. Thus, THY made the largest aircraft purchase in its history to be a competitor in the prosperous aviation sector (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 271). In addition, 3 autonomous companies that would give technical, maintenance and education services were founded under the umbrella of Turkish Airlines (Turkish Airlines, 2012). In 2006, Turkish Airlines gained private corporation status (ÖİB³⁴, ³⁵, 2013). A year later, THY was granted the 'National Quality Award' in the aviation sector. In 2008, Anadolu Jet was founded as a subbrand to provide easier and economic travelling between Anatolia and Ankara. Moreover, THY became a member of Star Alliance that is a global airline alliance, and after a year the 'Feel like a star' promotion campaign started. In 2011, 2012 and 2013 Turkish Airlines was voted as Europe's best airline at Skytrax, UK's traveler website (Turkish Airlines, 2013).

³⁴ T.C. Başbakanlık Özelleştirme İdaresi Başkanlığı

³⁵ Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Privatization Administration

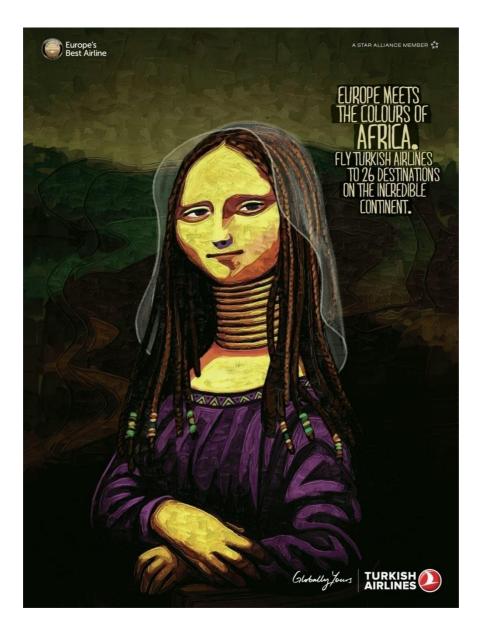


Figure 4.16. THY advertisement (Advertolog, 2012).

In Figure 4.16, 'colors of Africa' is represented through a western cognition of aesthetics. A well-known painting, Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa, signifies a perspective about beauty. In other words, despite being a geographical area, the attractiveness of Africa is represented through a transformed icon of elegant beauty in Europe. The western gaze on Africa is signified through a Mona Lisa in African dress in front of a blurred geographical depiction

Turkish Airlines introduces Africa as an incredible continent by constructing Mona Lisa in an African female stereotype. This stereotype consists of a collection of accessories, jewelry and clothing that belong to different regions of Africa. In this context, African form of beauty is incredible, surprising and different from that of European form that causes a transformation of a classical European beauty, Mona Lisa. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that Africa, as a geographical region is not what makes Africa incredible; instead African people's understanding of beauty differentiates them from European people by means of being incredible (unbelievable, amazing, surprising, shocking).

In this advertisement, national identity is represented in a discourse that dominates the whole world in terms of defining stereotypical differentiations. However, this global discourse includes a western gaze that defines actually what is western and what is not. To sum up, national identity is signified as European under the umbrella of Europe's Best Airline by avoiding from national identity. In other words, Turkish Airlines becomes a global brand that belongs to AKP's Islamic neo liberal Turkey without a nationality.



Figure 4.17. Anadolu Jet advertisement (Anadolu Jet, 2013).

Figure 4.17 is an advertisement that was launched in 2013. There are four people who can be categorized as couples in terms of their iconic representation as dwellers of rural and urban places. Here the first couple signifies the rural area through their clothing and the second one signifies the urban area. As a whole, these groups are regional significations that relate with the cultural diversities in Anatolia. The text on the top anchors their togetherness to the same dream, which is flying. In this advertisement, there is a democratic discourse about providing travelling opportunities to all citizens of Anatolia.

However, in the context of national identity, Turkish Airlines has separated the people in Turkey as Anatolian and non-Anatolian. Non-Anatolian is seen in Figure 4.18.



Figure 4.18. Turkish Airlines Ramadan advertisement in 2012 (Skylife, 2012).

Figure 4.18 is an advertisement that is prepared for international flights. Like the exclusion of Ottoman heritage and its capital Istanbul in advertisements of the early republic period, in this advertisement an opposite attitude is seen as a sublimation of Istanbul that is mentioned as a great place for a Ramadan experience. Here, Istanbul signifies the global face of national identity that relates with being a Muslim. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that Istanbul is differentiated from Anatolia by means of its symbolic understanding that makes it non-Anatolian.

To sum up, especially after the privatization and foundation of THY (during the AKP period), there is an ambiguity of nationality discourse in Turkish Airlines advertisements. Turkish national identity is represented through different forms such as Anatolian, Istanbulite and Muslim in different contexts. In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that, Turkish Airlines includes in its advertisement the complex discourses and discriminative attitudes of the AKP government in terms of representing national identity.

CHAPTER 5.

CONCLUSION

Being Turkish like other national identification processes includes a fluid structure in terms of its connection with the national history and every day practices. In other words, Turkish national identity is a project of national institutionalization that involves a natural diversity of cultural experiences, rituals and differentiations. Moreover, implemented economical policies in both administration systems and every day practices affect the cognition of national identity in terms of representation.

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Turkish identity has been defined due to the ideology of the governmental power until the military coup of 1980. Following the rooted reforms of the young republic, due to the changes in economic and social structure after World War II, cultural values that related to the Muslim religious and Ottoman past took its part in Turkish national identity in the 1950s. After the military coup of 1960, national state policies were internalized with a democratization process. In the 1960s and 1970s, national identity was constructed through contemporary images of its period that refers to the developments since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. After the military coup in 1980, the power shifted from political ideologies to financial aims. In this context, national identity was reformed within the Turkish-Islamic synthesis that was seen as passive and easy to control. In the 1990s, following the political instability and the ideological ambiguity of the government, national identity was constructed due to the neo liberal economic circumstances. In other words, USA-oriented elitist national identity was idealized. In the 2000s, after the victory of the AKP in general elections, Turkey accessed political and economic stability through a democratic discourse in moderate Islamic identity.

Turkish national identity is constructed in a western-oriented perspective in Turkish Airlines printed advertisements. During the foundation of the republic, Turkishness was based on an idea of being civilized like western but being developed independent and indigenous. In this context, every development that belonged to that period were state-oriented. All the reforms were based on an idealized new republic that was self-sufficient and of exclusive Ottoman heritage. Therefore, institutional existence of Turkish Airlines in that period reflects that idealized form of nationality, which was driven by the new look, new language and new social order of Kemalism. The impact of westernization to national representation in 1950s was seen as conventional, moderate social roles in modern images of Kemalism in these years' advertisements. In the 60's and 70's national identity was represented through a western way of being developed in terms of using technology, economic capabilities. On the other hand, the female role in the Turkish society was used to provide a national belonging by means of looking after, safety, hospitality in everyday life. After the military coup of 1980, moderate Islamic discourse was adopted to identify the national identity. This understanding was signified through Ottoman elitism and marginalization of the east that referred to western elitism in Turkish Airlines advertisements. Westernization in the 1990s included a dominancy of neoliberal economy and integration to the EU that influences the representation of national identity in THY advertisements. In these advertisements quality and quantity of flying experience, which was provided by Turkish Airlines, was defined through a national leadership discourse that shows THY was already ready for the EU. In the 2000's, especially after the privatization of THY and foundation of Anadolu Jet, representation of national identity is fragmented. While global representation of national identity was referring to the west, national representation of national identity is embodied in being Anatolian and its cultural diversity. In addition, the dominancy of Islamic discourse increased in the representation of the Turkish national identity.

As a concluding remark, it will not be wrong to say that there is a parallel process between Turkish national identity and the institutionalization of Turkish Airlines as a part of the same modernization project in the shadow of westernization.

For further studies, it will be useful to study Turkish Airlines in the context of other design fields in terms of its institutionalization process. Due to its existence in the aviation sector, every stage of Turkish Airlines' institutionalization requires it to be a pioneer in terms of reorganizing the limited spaces for comfortable flight, using latest technologies for extra facilities, different alternatives and forms of services and the international representation including the garments of the cabin crew.

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