

52. Analysis of discourse conflict through Turkish television series: Sample of Hacı

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Abstract

Rather than seeing the world as it is, individuals prefer to see it as they wish it to be. Beliefs, feelings, thoughts, and assumptions affect the way they view the world. This situation, according to Althusser, occurs under the influence of the ideological order. Ideologies attempt to describe and interpret the world by making claims or assumptions about human nature, historical events, facts, and future possibilities. Hegemony is all about power relations; which group is dominant and which group is subordinate to the other group. It is indispensable to consider this, as power relations are central to human behavior and where it is. It is not difficult to understand that the tension between ideology and hegemony are not abstract macro forces. It is also possible to see examples from the daily life of people. It helps to explain this tension between the openness and closure of television texts and the practices of coding or decoding. In other words, people engage in hegemonic struggles through common sense in their daily lives and force textual ambiguity. The purpose of this essay is to discuss the relationship between the secular and conservative discourses in Turkey and their representation in one work of popular culture. The research begins to be analyzed by establishing a method from Althusser's perspective, as the media is one of the most effective Ideological State Devices in many parts of the world today. By looking at various branches of the media and the practices used, it is almost possible to understand which discourse is dominant in Turkey and how it is done to prevent the other discourse. In this context, in terms of flexible limitations, the 'Hacı' series, which is one of the examples that explains the difference between RSA and ISA very well for the general and society, was chosen. The limited number of TV series that glorify Islam, such as Hadji, shows that the ISAs of the conservative discourse are not strong enough to outweigh the secular discourse. This is a sign that the dominant discourse in Turkey is almost completely successful in naturally eliminating dissidents. In this context, the study constituted an important research in terms of contributing to the literature on how the dominant discourse is constructed through the media.

Keywords: Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse Conflict, Turkish Media, Althusserian Idea

Söylem çatışmasının Türk dizileri üzerinden analizi: Hacı Örneği

Öz

Bireyler dünyayı olduğu gibi görmek yerine, olmasını istedikleri gibi görmeyi tercih ederler. İnançla, duygular, düşünceler ve varsayımlar dünyaya bakışı etkilemektedir. Althusser'e göre bu durum ideolojik düzenin etkisi altında gerçekleşmektedir. İdeolojiler, insan doğası, tarihsel olaylar, gerçekler ve gelecekteki olasılıklar ile ilgili varsayımlarda bulunarak dünyayı tanımlamaya ve yorumlamaya çalışır. Hegemonya ise tamamen güç ilişkileri yani hangi grup baskın, hangi grup diğer gruba bağlı

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ile ilgilidir. Güç ilişkileri insan davranışının merkezinde yer aldığından dolayı bu kavramı dikkate almak kaçınılmaz olmaktadır. İdeoloji ile hegemonya arasındaki gerilimin soyut makro güçler olmadığını anlamak zor değildir. İnsanların günlük yaşamlarında da örnekler görmek mümkün. Televizyon metinlerinin açıklığı ve kapalılığı ile kodlama veya kod çözme pratikleri arasındaki bu gerilimi açıklamaya yardımcı olmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, insanlar günlük yaşamlarında sağduyu üzerinden hegomonik mücadeleler vermektedir ve bu metinsel bağlamda belirsizliği zorlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'deki laik ve muhafazakar söylemler arasındaki ilişkiyi ve bu söylemlerin popüler kültür ürünlerindeki temsillerini tartışmaktır. Başka bir deyişle çalışma, toplumsal oluşumun devamlılığı için gerekli olan yeniden üretim olgusunun Althusser tarafından modern dönem koşullarına göre yorumlamasını amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, bugün medyanın dünyanın bir çok yerindeki en etkili İdeolojik Devlet Aygıt'larından biri olması nedeniyle Althusser'in bakış açısı üzerinden bir yöntem kurularak çözümlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Kullanılan bu yöntemle medyanın çeşitli dallarına bakarak Türkiye'de hangi söylemin hakim olduğunu, diğer söylemleri nasıl bastırmaya çalıştığını anlamak neredeyse mümkündür. Bu bağlamda araştırmanın sınırlılıkları açısından, RSA ve ISA arasındaki ilişkiyi ve toplum için önemini çok iyi anlatan örneklerden biri olan 'Hacı' dizisi seçilmiştir. Hacı gibi İslam'ı yücelten dizilerin sınırlı sayıda olması, muhafazakar söylemin ISA'larının seküler söyleme ağır basmaya yetecek kadar güçlü olmadığını göstermektedir. Bu durum, Türkiye'de egemen söylemin muhalif ikincil söylemi bastırmada neredeyse tamamen başarılı olduğunun da bir işaretidir. Bu bağlamda çalışma egemen söylemin medya üzerinden nasıl inşa edildiği üzerine literatüre katkı sağlaması açısından önemli bir araştırma olma niteliğini taşımaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İdeoloji, Hegemonya, Söylem Çatışması, Türk Medyası, Althusser Fikri

Introduction

The 19th century contributed to the emergence and spread of ideology with new social relations. In this sense, it has a feature that guides the governed in a period when the masses who do not read ideology and the intellectuals who put forward ideas find themselves. It appears as a concept that is used to interpret the complex relationships in this period (Mardin, 1995:131). Ersoydan (2023) underlines that needs of societies for order have remained alive from past to present. The reason for this is the necessity of coexistence due to the dominant determinants such as meeting individual needs, security and fighting against nature. Instead of dealing with the problems brought by chaos, adapting to the "system" created by the order makes order and socialization rational. While trying these ways, ideologies contain human weakness, death, powerlessness and pain. In doing so, it informs the world how it should be seen and reveals the way of life. Ideologies that seek to justify themselves help dominant communities (Lefevbre, 1964:95). This situation, according to Althusser, occurs under the influence of the ideological order. Ideologies attempt to describe and interpret the world by making claims or assumptions about human nature, historical events, facts, and future possibilities. On the other hand, in today's world, the issue of whether the media affects life is no longer a matter of discussion. The common opinion is that it affects. Some who came to this conclusion earlier have taken action in the past century and tried to find ways to minimize the impact. Also, it is important to mention that hegemony is all about power relations; which group is dominant and which group is subordinate to the other group. It is indispensable to consider this, as power relations are central to human behavior and where it is. While Gramsci usually plays with words, the hegemony aspect has different connotations in certain areas. The concepts of ideology and hegemony are related to the regulation of knowledge in society, and this is most often regulated through the media. "Assumptions take on new meaning when looked at from different perspectives at different

times” says O’connor and Wyatt (2004) when they are discussing information, messages, and structure of an image. Based on these two concepts, examining the confrontational discourse in the Turkish media through the Hacı series offers a different perspective in terms of understanding the effect of the ideological apparatus of the state on society. In order to explain the ideological function of the media with Althusser's theses, firstly, the relationship of these theses with consumer social integrity, economic, political and ideological frame has been evaluated. In this context, the study enables Althusser to interpret the phenomenon of reproduction according to the conditions of the modern period. This perspective is very important for the continuity of social formation. It differs from the modern period when the capitalist system continues. Today's postmodern capitalist system is built on consumption. For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate the social integrity, economic, political and ideological frame which express the identity of individuals in the postmodern period, in line with Althusser's theses on ideology. The 'Hacı' series, which is selected from among the TV series, which is an important element of television culture, will also be evaluated through its connection with the aforementioned facts and ideology. The reason for focusing on this link is due to the functions of the discourse of conflict in the media as an ideological device.

In the study, some limitations have been introduced in order to prevent deviation from the subject. The function of the media as an ideological device and Althusser's thesis on the functioning of ideology are exemplified by the concepts of popular culture, consumer society and postmodern identity. However, the content of these concepts has not been mentioned much, it has been evaluated only in line with Althusser's theses. In addition, while focusing on the ideological function of photography, the "communication" device in the context of Althusser's "Ideological Devices of the State" and the media that this device contains are emphasized. The reason for making such a limitation is that the number of ISAs is high and the media among these ISAs is mostly wanted to be evaluated on the basis of "conflict" and "identity construction".

Literature review

Researchers have various definitions of ideology. According to Freedon (2011) ideology is a unitary system that hides the facts (Freedon, 2011:17). According to Metin Kazancı (2006), “it informs how we see the world and provides interpretation of lifestyle. That is, it allows practice up to a certain point. Ideology helps the dominant formation that wants to justify and demonstrate itself. It is a world view or represents a world view” (Kazancı, 2006:57). In this context, the problematic of researchers trying to clarify the concept of ideology is the problem of reality. Ideologies attempt to describe and interpret the world by making claims or assumptions about human nature, historical events, facts, and future possibilities. Ideologies that envision the world not as it is, but as it should be and try to guide societies in line with this dream, ensure that "acceptable ways of achieving social, economic and political ideals" are determined. Different ideologies represent socially shared but competing philosophies. For Althusser, the state is a kind of government formation that emerged with capitalism. A state—you can replace the word "nation" here to help conceptualize the "state"—is determined by the capitalist mode of production and is created to protect its interests. The area where the state is most clearly seen is the device that exerts pressure. Althusser puts this thesis based on Marx's understanding of the state. Marx defines the state as an instrument of oppression and this apparatus is under the auspices of the capitalist class. The state is not just police, courts and prisons. It also needs the army for the continuation of the administration. The political apparatus consists of large groups of administrators, especially the head of state. Whether you are a Marxist or not, it is historically true that the idea of nations as separate units is coterminous with capitalism. It is also possible for democracy as an ideology and/or a form of

government to coexist with capitalism, since democracy gives the "illusion" that all people are equal and have equal power, and thus masks relations of economic exploitation. Ideology is a concept with which many words can be said and on which many subjects can be connected. Since Althusser's theory of ideology can still find its place today, its importance cannot be overlooked. According to Althusser, ideology is the practice of constructing self and making them to act within social structures in various ways. Rather than a lens that distorts ideology, the constitutive element of reality is a specific reality (Althusser 2003: 76). Therefore, hegemony is all about power relations; which group is dominant and which group is subordinate to the other group. It is indispensable to consider this, as power relations are central to human behavior and where it is. While Gramsci usually plays with words, the hegemony aspect has different connotations in certain areas. In traditional Marxism, it refers to the authority of one class over the others and superiority in international relations. As a consequence of Gramsci's contributions, the concept also evokes harmony and includes intellectual guidance (Sassoon, 2002: 45). Before moving onto the discussion that how one branch of ISA, which is media, in the example of TV series "Hacı" operates in order to serve the RSA in Turkey, it will be started off with focusing on the relationship between RSA and ISA and how they operate in any society. Media, as a cultural element, has had a great impact on the world since its invention, with the combination of verbal and visual fields. However, there is an ideological influence structure that is hidden and sheltered in this effect. Art, which is essentially a social expression of opposition to power, is oppositional.

RSA and ISA, according to Althusser, are two important components of a state and its dominant or ruling class. While RSA, which is basically composed of the police, the army, the administration and the laws, acts on the principle of coercion or repression, ISA, which includes the religious, schools, family, political parties, media and arts, is supposed to be based on consent or "ideology" in Althusserian terms. These are two mechanisms to maintain the power of a certain group. RSA in a country establishes the framework within which ISAs function. Louis Althusser in his text clearly argues: "To my knowledge, no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses" (1491). He further argues that the ISAs only function well in a society where people do not know about them. ISAs have a seemingly free nature compared to RSA since it does not force people to watch certain TV programs or to vote for a particular political party. The ideological messages of ISAs that are formed to support the dominant group in society are implicit. Thus, people do not tend to resist against these implicit ideas which are conveyed through Ideological Apparatuses at least until they become aware of them.

Individuals who want to relieve their tiredness and get away from real life for a while put themselves in the place of the individuals they see on television. This relationship of individuals with people on television is based on a para-social interaction. In this experience, the audience sees them as part of their family (Mutlu, 2008: 48-49). This interaction can sometimes lead to different situations. As a communication term, TV series is a series of successive programs based on a certain story in the mass media, played by the same artists in each episode. The effects of the development of the TV series industry in Turkey can be easily seen both in daily life and in social media, which is an indispensable part of today's world. One of the most important effects of the series is that it can cause changes in the thoughts and behaviors of the person watching the series. Although these changes are mostly temporary, they can become permanent in rare cases.

Most people spend most of their free time in front of the television. These people receive most of the information about the world from here and act according to this information. Television creates common topics for individuals to talk about and enables them to take part in local and national affairs.

It also entertains and informs them. In this respect, while television plays a socializing role on individuals, it also turns them into masses that are open to manipulation. By seizing individuals' own time, they control and colonize part of their lives. Television is an important management tool that acts in tandem with culture and gives popularity to things related to culture. The clothes, accessories, books and various items of the TV series characters, new lifestyles shown in TV series and news, etc. Culture is popularized and established in many ways. In addition, cultural characters are also popularized in these ways. The reason why television is powerful is undoubtedly its ability to convey personality (Esslin, 2001:13-41). Everything produced on television is prepared and presented for people's pleasure. Because, according to Postman, entertainment is the upper ideology of all kinds of discourse on television. "Entertainment is the meta-ideology of all discourse on television. It doesn't matter what is shown or what point of view is reflected; the overriding assumption is that everything is presented with our entertainment and pleasure in mind (Postman, 2010:100).

Domestic television series is one of the content that comes first in terms of both television productions and the programs preferred by the audience. With the increase in the number of private televisions and the spread of commercial broadcasting, especially as of the beginning of the 2000s, television channels have chosen to invest in domestic productions, which have emerged as the most suitable and efficient genre in order to reach large target audiences. Popular culture means "highly admired, widely consumed", but also means cultural products produced for the market. The concept of popular TV series not only refers to popular TV series, but also refers to TV series produced for the market that fits the general taste. It should not be forgotten that one of the ideological devices of the state is television and that the media is a device that has functions that legitimize the lifestyles offered by the government. Therefore, television programs have a motivating effect on the audience. The picture takes precedence on the television. Discourse is largely reflected by visual imagery. Television transmits speech to us with images, not words (Postman, 2010:16). However, when art is transformed into mass culture, it comes under the control of the dominant discourse and becomes an element that defends its ideology. Ideology, which Marx calls "reverse false consciousness", is defined as "the plaster that holds society together" by Gramsci. It is a belief system that feeds from various sources that affect people's thoughts and behaviors (Mardin, 1969:16). From these two definitions it can be said that he wants to share the truth defended by the ideology with the masses. Ideology helps the dominant formation that wants to justify itself. Althusser took the concept of reproduction from Marx. According to Marx, production is not possible unless the material conditions of production are met. However, unless the reproduction of the relations of production is ensured, it is not sufficient to provide only the material conditions of production. Because the labor force, which is among the material conditions of production, must be sufficient to dominate the complex production process. In other words, the reproduction of relations of production is not only the reproduction of the qualities of labor power, but also the reproduction of compliance with the rule of the existing system, submission to the dominant ideology. In other words, what is reproduced is ideology, and with the reproduction of ideology, the existence of social formation is maintained. Today, the reproduction of relations of production is carried out through schools and other ideological devices. (Althusser, 2005: 112). The devices used to spread ideology can be state or non-state. The state has both repressive and ideological devices. But there is no clear boundary between them. Ideological effort is located both in the device used and in its action and process, and it goes together with the practice of life. These two types of tools of the state ensure the reproduction of production relations by using its ideological power. The efforts of these two sources sometimes overlap. According to Althusser, the economic structure or foundation does not work alone. As we will see shortly, it is related and even intertwined with the functioning of different levels of social formation (Althusser, 1971: 39).

Methodology

In social science, the concept of "conflict" as be interpreted with different or similar meanings. Some political scientists (2007) consider the conflict is "separation to claim and seize values, power, status and resources, tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic or political etc." This structure defines the loaded components as "the struggle with the past through incompatible purpose." The meaning of the concept of conflict can be understood depending on the type of social and political structure in which it takes place. Open societies can tolerate and exploit conflict in a way that closed and authoritarian societies cannot. In a pluralistic society, any individual may be a party to one in one argument and an adversary in another. Therefore, a pluralistic discussion serves to hold society together. Because conflict can typically be resolved through generally accepted and sanctioned social institutions. It can even be a source of new ideas and motivation for reform (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2007, 79-80). In the Turkey, culture, society and politics have been the scene of intense conflicts, and in this context, film and media culture could not escape from being the battleground of this competition. As a result, he could not stay away from political motives. On the other hand, he struggled to be apolitical. Based on the idea that television is the screen of ideological discourses, it is seen that some Turkish series express liberal, conservative or radical ideologies through representations and discourses. Series in television are social indicators and they dive into the events, fears, dreams and hopes of a period and express the social experiences and realities of that period. Based on this idea, it is emphasized that television series reconstruct the social realities of that period by directly depicting the events and phenomena of a certain period. Television, which is in almost every home in this age, is an area where cultural elements are repeated quite frequently. In this way, people create an image of the world. The ability to produce ideas within the field of thinking is determined by people and organizations trying to gain benefit, and the masses are constantly directed. This orientation has an important place in determining the image television. It does this constantly with TV series, commercials and various programs. Determining the image is also valid for shaping cultural values. This shaping takes place within a discursive reproduction through TV series. The impact of institutions such as media, family and religion, which Althusser calls the ideological apparatus of the state, on culture is discussed within the theoretical framework. Althusser mentions that there is a continuous reproduction of the dominant ideology within the framework of the ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser, 1971)

Media today, in this respect, is one of the most efficient ISAs in many parts of the world. It is almost possible to infer which discourse is dominant in Turkey and how it tries to suppress the other discourses just by looking at various branches of media. It is also possible to know much about how the resistant discourse or discourses react against the hegemonic discourse. The TV series "Hacı" is one of those recent examples which very well describe the relation between RSA and ISA, and their significance for society. Before moving onto the examination of the series, it is important to describe the general vision of the TV channel which shows this series. In addition, it can be clearly said that communication studies, which find a place for themselves as a discipline in social sciences and cultural studies, is both the producer and the signifier of the ontological and epistemological distinction between cultures as one of the most important ideological devices with its implicit references.

In order to explain the ideological function of the media with Althusser's theses, firstly, the relationship of these theses with consumer social integrity, economic, political and ideological frame has been evaluated. In this context, the study aims at examining Althusser's interpretation of the phenomenon of reproduction, which is necessary for the continuity of social formation, according to the conditions of the modern period. Although the functioning of the capitalist system today differs from the modern

period, this method is primarily consumption in today's postmodern period. For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate the social integrity, economic, political and ideological frame which express the identity of individuals in the postmodern period, in line with Althusser's theses on ideology. The 'Hacı' series, which is selected from among the TV series, which is an important element of television culture, will also be evaluated through its connection with the aforementioned facts and ideology. The reason for focusing on this link is due to the functions of the discourse of conflict in the media as an ideological device.

Şahin Gök and Ersin Pertan directed the 2006 TV series Hacı. The producers of the series are Bülent Bilgiç and Şerif Gören. The leading roles of "Hacı" are shared by names such as Tuncel Kurtiz, Fikret Kuşkan, Aytaç Arman, Özgül Kavruk, Alp Kököz, Dolunay Soysert. Adapted from Cüneyt Ülsever's best-selling novel, the series tells the story of intersecting stories in Turkey's labyrinth. All episodes of the series, which consists of 15 episodes in total, have been examined within the scope of the research.

In the study, some limitations have been introduced in order to prevent deviation from the subject. The function of the media as an ideological device and Althusser's thesis on the functioning of ideology are exemplified by the concepts of popular culture, consumer society and postmodern identity. However, the content of these concepts has not been mentioned much, it has been evaluated only in line with Althusser's theses. In addition, while focusing on the ideological function of photography, the "communication" device in the context of Althusser's "Ideological Devices of the State" and the media that this device contains are emphasized. The reason for making such a limitation is that the number of ISAs is high and the media among these ISAs is mostly wanted to be evaluated on the basis of "conflict" and "identity construction".

Hacı might be regarded as a controversial popular work of art since it promotes the conservative discourse to some extent, and tends to resolve the conflicts between the secular and con-servative discourse. The series is shown in one of the most leftist and secular TV channels of Turkey. Although the audience, day and night, watch news and movies against the conserva-tive discourse in this channel, it is almost shocking for the audience to see such a series in the same channel. Another TV channel which is equally famous for its secularist policy refused to show the series declaring that it would mean promoting Islam. According to this channel, it is treacherous to show such a serial on TV. From this perspective, it is not difficult to understand that the tension between ideology and hegemony are not abstract macro forces. It is also possible to see examples from the daily life of people. It helps to explain this tension between the openness and closure of television texts and the practices of coding or decoding. In other words, people engage in hegemonic struggles through common sense in their daily lives and force textual ambiguity (Lewis, 1991:55).

The presence of Gramscian and Althusserian references are in complete consistence with one another. Gramsci's notion of civil society conforms to Althusser's concept of the ideological state apparatus. In this study, starting from Althusser's theory, the superstructure and infrastructure elements in the Hacı series will be emphasized. The effective position of the state in social integrity and against structural elements will be tried to be explained through these concepts. In this context, the media's reproduction and presentation of discourses as a tool of domination by the ruling class will be discussed. It will be focused on how such a tool works in integrity and how a discourse is built at both ends of the chain that it defines as infrastructure-superstructure. The Hacı, which will be discussed in terms of Althusser's reconsideration of the social unity previously formulated by Marx and Friedrich Engels, is important in this sense. In this study, which will be looked at from three levels as social integrity, economic, political

and ideological, the structures are related to each other and will form a social whole depending on this relation.

Analysis

Hacı is based on the story of a rich merchant family from the East of Turkey whose members represent various groups in society, and their relationship to outside world, by which I mean their relationship with the state, and the secular and radical religious power groups. Hacı is a word for Muslim pilgrims. The protagonist of the series whose name is Hayrullah Gesili is called Hacı after he visited the sacred place, Mecca. He is a successful businessman, and he is married with three children. He also has a brother who is an opposite figure for Hacı. Unlike Hacı, his brother, Faruk, drinks alcohol and lives with a woman out of marriage. Although Hacı is described as a trustworthy businessman, Faruk is portrayed as a trickster. He makes illegal business deals with foreign businessmen. Hacı's wife, Zarife is not a significant figure in the series. She is given the traditional caring mother role. Hacı's daughter is studying Philosophy at Middle East Technical University, and she wears a scarf. Hacı's older son and the daughter-in-law are running the company of the family. They get their MBA in an American university. They represent the educated modern Turkish people. Unlike Hacı's daughter, Ayşe, his daughter-in-law, Şeyda, does not wear a scarf. The members who have been described so far respect their life styles and they do not interfere with each other. The series suggests that the secularists and the conservative people do not necessarily clash once they understand the nature of difference among human beings.

The younger son of Hacı, however, is quite problematic for the family. He has an affiliation with a radical religious group called "Divine Justice Association". He is a real extremist since his fellow militants and he organize demonstrations against the secularists after Cuma prayers and plan bomb attacks. He has such fundamentalist ideas that he insults his brother's wife by calling her "Satan" since she does not wear a scarf. Another important figure in the series is the colonel Zafer, who represents the republican ideas and the secular regime in Turkey. He is described as the protector of the state. Although Colonel Zafer represents the holders of RSA in Turkey today, he is almost described as another extremist. In one scene in the series, the colonel insults Hacı's daughter just because of her scarf. He also does not want his 7 year old son to attend the same class with the grand daughter of Hacı. Toward the 11th chapter, the series make the militant Ahmet and the colonel repent.

This series might be seen as a revolution in the history of media in Turkey. From 90s on, religious people are described in the example of an old "imam" figure in a village. This imam is generally contrasted with a teacher at the primary school of that village. While the young teacher who is the symbol of modernity attempts to save people from ignorance and lead them to knowledge, the old imam with a big moustache and an ugly face leads people to superstitions. It is no doubt the villagers will stop following the teachings of the imam at the end of the movie, and accept the teacher as their illuminator. In "Hacı", however, the extremist younger son of Hacı, Ahmet, is a young guy. He is relatively handsome, healthy and strong. Despite his small moustache, he wears modern clothes. The previous movies suggest that religion is on the verge of dying in this society because modernity will outweigh it soon. For this reason, it is significant for those movies to describe religious people in the example of an old imam. This almost unchanging theme of Turkish movies clearly maintains that religion and modernity can never come together. Thus, one must beat the other one in this battle. And it is religion that is expected to be discarded from the social lives of people. In "Hacı", Hacı himself as a religious person favors education and donates money for building schools as well as mosques. Although he is religious, the life style of the family is quite modern.

Another issue about the Turkish movies that are shot after 1990s is the portrayal of Turkish women. The only women who wear scarf in these movies are those who have recently come from a village. They are described as ignorant women. Once they find a chance to live in a city, the first thing they do is to stop wearing scarf, and then learning how to eat, dress, and speak in a modern way. The Turkish women in this kind of movies are supposed to change their traditional appearance without having any idea about the nature of modernity in fact. The dominant discourse, in this sense, expects women to start their revolution by changing their physical appearance. The series “*Hacı*”, on the other hand, suggest that religion is not a handicap in front of modernity. Religious people may equally become modern like the secularists. In this respect, this significant change in the description of conservative people helps us to understand the social transformation of Turkish society.

Hacı’s daughter’s role in the series is very significant since she represents the educated young female population who wears scarf. As Barthes suggests, myths are informing us of what our position in life is:

Starting from the premise that ‘myth is a type of speech’, Barthes set out in *Mythologies* to examine the normally hidden set of rules, codes and conventions through which meanings particular to specific social groups (i.e. those in power) are rendered universal and ‘given’ for the whole of society (Hebdige, 1993:361).

Dick Hebdige interpreting Barthes’ idea of myths, here talks about those symbols which are created by dominant groups in society, and he argues that the hegemonic group holds symbols universal for the whole society. Scarf is one of the most important symbols in Turkish society. Thus, *Ayşe* represents the conservative university student girls. Women who wear scarf are usually thought to be ignorant, and some other women or men who claim to be modern humiliate them in various ways. Religious women basically start to study at universities from 90s on at large numbers. Approximately before 90s, scarf is not perceived as a political symbol. Once the number of educated women who wear scarf tends to increase, media and politicians start to mention that scarf is the symbol that attacks the values of the Republic. Hence, it should be discarded from the public sphere. Since scarf symbolizes the conservative or religious values, it is seen as one of the most manifest threats against modernity and the Republic especially if it is used by educated women. For this reason, the protectors of the Republic do not let the educated women who wear scarf enter into the institutions of the Republic. What is more, if a woman who does not get formal education wears scarf, it is not regarded as a threat at all. Such women are called innocent Anatolian people.

As Barthes (1975) points out, a symbol or a myth is mostly created by the hegemonic group in society, and the power endeavors to make everybody believe into the constructed meaning of this myth. Since it would be hard to make people believe into such a myth through politics, media is used as an ideological tool to disseminate the ideology of the dominant group. Especially, TV is an excellent tool to represent myths in society. Taking its both controversial and congruous features with popular culture, *Hacı* is quite an important series. While a lot of series, movies and news in most of the Turkish TV channels are against the conservative values, particularly scarf, this series can be considered a challenge to the current hegemonic discourse. The series, contrary to the general idea represented by media in Turkey, maintains that an educated woman who wears scarf can be brilliant, modern, open-minded, and respectful to the Republic and its values at the same time. The existence of such a series on TV screens proves that the non-dominant discourse has begun to raise its voice although it is not so loud yet.

Another important issue about this series is that the reaction of the popular audience to the series is worth noticing. It is might examined the reactions into two groups. The reaction of many secular audiences is that the series is promoting Islam, and the series, in this sense, is a threat to the secular Republic. As for the second group which is basically composed of conservative people, the meaning of the series is quite the opposite. Because even the mediocre Islam is perceived as danger and something to be prevented in Turkey by the dominant secular discourse so far, any form of Islam has been described as extreme. This series is an attempt to neutralize the definition of Islam by cleansing it from its negative connotations. Since the sincere Muslims find the chance to see the positive representation of themselves and their dearest religion in “Hacı”, it gives them a sense of self-approval and relaxation in the midst of the clash they face in their daily lives due to their religious identity. Thus, “Hacı” appeals the popular audience with its original and defying way of portraying things.

If politicians happen to make a speech that explicitly promotes Islam, they will immediately receive harsh criticism from the part of public, media and some of their fellow politicians. For this reason, the function of this series goes parallel with the discourse of the existing government. It may be inferred that the only reason why a secular leftist TV channel shows a series can be the influence of the current ISAs which is usually is the automatic tool of the hegemonic group in society. Hence, one might claim that ISA serves RSA by disseminating its message implicitly or in the form of popular art through media. Here, it is must be kept in mind that although the current government is famous for its conservative discourse in many issues, the hegemonic discourse in Turkish society is not that of theirs. The limited number of such series as “Hacı” that somehow praises Islam proves the conservative discourse, or the ISAs of the conservative discourse is still not powerful enough to outweigh the secular discourse. This situation indicates that the dominant discourse is almost entirely successful at repressing its opponent subordinate discourse in Turkey. Yet “Hacı” is still a significant series that seemingly challenges the current hegemonic system.

Conclusion

Althusser stated that a certain social formation consists of three basic structures as “Economic Structure, Political Practice and Ideological Level” and in the last stage, the determining factor of the social formation is the ideological level. In other words, the elements of economic structure and political practice are built on the ideological level. For the continuity of social formation, the ideological level both forms the basis and serves as a cement between the structures. Ideology helps the dominant formation that wants to justify itself. Rituals (rites, traditions, means of communication, etc.), which are not the ideologies themselves but their carriers, are continuous. Ideology is loaded with such rituals, and as long as these customs survive, ideologies survive. The most important ritual of today, in which ideology is hidden, is undoubtedly communication devices. The dominant discourse, which has a place in every element of communication, has also shown itself in the field of television and has captured the masses through representations. In addition to that, mass communication is important in terms of carrying out such political struggles today. Because movies are an important cultural language that can direct the psychological, economic or political stances that lead to the construction of social reality.

According to Althusser, all the devices in which production is made, whether state-sponsored or private, are all Ideological Devices of the State. One of the most important, perhaps the most important, of these ideological devices is the media. Therefore, the media, which is one of the tools that serve for the hegemony of the bourgeoisie to take root and for these roots to completely envelop the social structure, ensures the realization of ideological reproduction and conveys this ideology to the individuals of the

society, enabling them to adopt these ideas. The media is in a decisive position in many issues, especially in political tendencies and preferences.

As mentioned above, the dominant discourse language makes itself felt through representations, and when that ritual disappears, the dominating discourse of the ideology vanishes into history. Starting from this idea, it is clearly said that it is intentionally used the word “seemingly” above because although the series, for the most part, can be seen as an attempt to promote Islam, it still prescribes for the popular audience the form of Islam that adheres to the rules of modernity most. It suggests that anything that goes beyond this definition will not be allowed.

Within the scope of the study, the Hacı series, which was adapted from the novel and shot as a television series, was examined in the context of Althusser's theory of Ideology and the Ideological Devices of the State. The series gives the impression that all kind of religious communities should be banned. And in order to give the sense that religious communities pose a threat for the regime of the hegemonic discourse, religious communities are described in the example of “Divine Justice Association” in the series, which is funded by some foreign countries. By exemplifying all religious groups as murderers and militants, the series gives the message to the audience that religious communities are bad and dangerous. In this respect, we might argue that “Hacı” prescribes such form of Islam that best serves the current hegemonic discourse, or that least harms it.

Another important finding of the research is that the reaction of the popular audience to the series is worth noticing. The audience reactions might be divided into two groups. The reaction of many secular audiences is that the series is promoting Islam, and the series, in this sense, is a threat to the secular Republic. As for the second group which is basically composed of conservative people, the meaning of the series is quite the opposite. Because even the mediocre Islam is perceived as danger and something to be prevented in Turkey by the dominant secular discourse so far, any form of Islam has been described as extreme. Based on the findings of the research, topics such as political views towards secular and conservative groups are masked by ideological discourses in the contents of the series.

To sum up, it is possible to say that Turkish media has become a global media, but in recent years, the reflection of the culture of Turkish society on the media, especially in television series and advertisements, has emerged with homogeneous program structures in which the dominant global culture is presented together with the local culture. The idea that this approach has also found a place in the television makes itself felt with the films made in the last period. As a series which is controversial for the most part, Hacı appeals mostly the conservative people in Turkey since these people find a chance to see their positive representation on TV screen. Although it has some challenging themes to dominant discourse, it still fits into the idea of Althusser that the popular is determined by the hegemonic group in society. This version of Islam is the one that is most tolerated by modernity. In this case, it is again the hegemonic discourse which determines the limits of the less dominant discourse.

As a result, human thought structure is shaped according to the society in which he lives. Therefore, those who want to keep the society under control also shape the mentality of that society. One of the most effective means of shaping the mentality of the society is the media. For this reason, media-power and ideology are intertwined. Any power that cannot represent itself in the ideological field cannot guarantee its existence. Therefore, the media is one of the most effective tools that the government can use to convey its ideology to individuals and society. As an ideological device, the media reproduces the ideology of power; until it's deeply etched into individuals' heads. In light of the results obtained, the

study may offer some suggestions as a guide for future studies. This study, which deals with the creation of ideology from the framework of discourse in the cultural context, tried to express through a Turkish TV series how society can be subjected to exploitation through TV series in social and class frameworks. Individuals within the mass and the social or class groups they belong to can be effective in making many decisions in daily life. In this context, it has been concluded that the visual and textual ideologies that make up the series examined create a content that will mentally determine people's living standards, and that the desire to be created for the discourse it tries to create in its target audience is built on values. At this point, we can say that the product is processed in a way that creates a syringe effect on the social structure by uniting under cultural and ideological discourses of exploitation.

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Çatışma beyanı

Makalenin herhangi bir aşamasında maddi veya manevi çıkar sağlanmamıştır.

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Yayın etiği beyanı

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