CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IN TURKEY:
A STUDY OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

GÜLDEN SAYILAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

JUNE 2013

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner-Özkan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members (first name belongs to the chairperson of the jury and the second name belongs to supervisor)

Asst. Prof. Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu (METU, Psychology)   _____

Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner-Özkan   (METU, Psychology)   _____

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gül Altınay   _____
(Sabancı University, Fac. of Arts and Soc. Sci.)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Gülden Sayılan

Signature:

ABSTRACT

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION IN TURKEY:
A STUDY OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Sayılan, Gülden

M.Sc., Department of Psychology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner-Özkan

June 2013, 238 pages

This study has been conducted with the purpose of revealing the prevailing social representations related to conscientious objection and conscientious objectors in Turkey. In order to fulfill this aim, a media study and an interview study have been conducted. In the media study, the reports and opinion columns of five national newspapers representing various political ideologies were qualitatively analyzed over a period of three months. Results have shown that there exist prevailing representations of conscientious objection and objectors in the newspapers and that these representations are related to representations of military service, war, the homeland, and religion. Moreover, it can be seen that there are some differences in the way and the extent by which newspapers handle the issue in accordance with their political stances. For the second study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 51 adults and the contents of these interviews were qualitatively analyzed. In this study there is a parallel drawn between the social representations of conscientious objection gained through interviews and the corresponding media representations of the issue. Furthermore, the social representations of conscientious objection as acquired through the interviews as well as those discovered via a content analysis of the media, were found to both relate to the ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity.

Keywords: Social Representations, Conscientious Objection, Media

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE VİCDANİ RET:
BİR SOSYAL TEMSİL ÇALIŞMASI

Sayılan, Gülden

Yüksek Lisans, Psikoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner Özkan

Haziran 2013, 238 sayfa

Çalışmanın temel amacı Türkiye'de vicdani ret olgusuna ve vicdani retçilere yönelik baskın temsillerin ortaya çıkarılmasıdır. Bu amaca yönelik olarak bir medya çalışması ve bir mülakat çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Medya çalışması kapsamında farklı politik duruşları temsil eden beş ulusal gazete üç aylık bir süre zarfında nitel analiz yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Araştırma sonuçları gazetelerde vicdani ret ve vicdani retçiler ile ilgili baskın temsillerin var olduğunu ve bu temsillerin askerlik hizmeti, savaş, vatan ve din olgularının temsilleri ile ilişki içerisinde olduğunu göstermiştir. Bunların yanı sıra, gazetelerin konuyu ele alış biçimlerinde ve derecelerinde incelenen gazetelerin politik duruşlarıyla bağlantılı bir farklılık gözlemlenmiştir. İkinci çalışma kapsamında 51 yetişkin ile yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiş ve mülakatların içeriği nitel analiz yöntemiyle incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada vicdani reddin medya temsilleri ile konu hakkında görüşmeler aracılığı ile elde edilen sosyal temsiller arasında bir paralellik olduğu görülmüştür. Dahası, vicdani reddin gerek mülakatlar gerekse de medya materyallerinin nitel analizi yoluyla elde edilen sosyal temsillerinin militarizm, milliyetçilik, vatanseverlik ve erkeklik ideolojileri ile bağlantılı olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Temsiller, Vicdani Ret, Medya

To Pia, My better half..

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CE   Council of Europe

EC   European Commission

ECHR   European Court of Human Rights

EU   European Union

UN   United Nations

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

TAF   Turkish Armed Forces

USA   United States of America

CHAPTER I

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE

Common sense and social knowledge are two of the concepts which have inspired thinkers throughout the ages in their struggle to understand human relations. Social psychologists however, - with exception to Heider - have taken the most interest in this issue, through the works of Tajfel and Moscovici; two prominent researchers of European Social Psychology. In time, with changes in the paradigms of the social sciences, social knowledge has begun to maintain a prominent area of research alongside the cultural approach. The studies conducted on social knowledge concern themselves with the content of knowledge as well as the processes helping us knowing what we know.

The Social Representations Theory is a theory of social psychology focusing on social knowledge and approaching the social phenomena by giving consideration to a society's particular historical, cultural, and macro-social conditions. Social representations can be defined as various concepts and phenomena that are manipulated to fit within the frame of common sense and be identified in daily chatter. In this sense, they have a strong influence on people's experiences and interpretations of life.

Conscientious objection could be defined as individuals' objection to act against their conscience, although the act is compatible with collective interests of one's social group. The term is generally used when referring to one's objection to perform military service. This topic is seen as crucial if one tries to understand Turkish society, as it challenges military service –

which is seen as a the prominent way of serving one's country as well as being an essential civil obligation for male citizens.

The current study examines conscientious objection using the perspective and methodology of social representations Theory and it includes a thematic analysis of newspaper reports and columns that retrieved from five national newspapers for a period of three months and an interview study in which semi-structured interviews have been conducted with 51 adults in the matter of conscientious objection.

Furthermore, as the literature on conscientious objection highlights the link between the act of conscientious objection and the ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and hegemonic masculinity, the study includes a discussion on these concepts too.

1.1 Social Representations Theory

Social Representations Theory is a social psychology theory developed by Serge Moscovici on the grounds of his well-known piece *"La Psychanalyse, Son Image et Son Public"* (1961). The study, in which he used the term *social representations* for the first time and examined how psychoanalysis is represented in France, has been a groundbreaking study in the history of social psychology and opened up a new field of research. Since then, there have been a number of studies focusing on social representations and investigating public understanding of various social phenomena including scientific and technological developments, political and economic issues, health and illness, environmental problems, identity construction and human rights (Markova, 2004; Howarth, 2006; Jodelet, 2008).

Social Representations Theory presents a social psychological framework to the study of psychosocial phenomena in modern societies; moreover, it argues that social psychological phenomena can only be fully grasped as being embedded in historical, cultural and macro-social conditions (Wagner et al., 1999). In this way, it differs from and tries to make up the deficiencies of American theories and approaches of social psychology which depend on methodological individualism and epistemologically separate the subject from the object (Moscovici, 1984; Farr, 1993). Moscovici argues that the American understanding of social psychology overemphasizes cognitive structures and information processing; however, according to him, it is the duty of social psychology to examine the functions of individuals within social structures. From this perspective, social psychology should aim at presenting how social representations emerge, how they are embedded in social knowledge and how they transform into social realities; which is only possible with a study on social representations themselves (Moscovici, 1984).

Social Representations Theory provides an integrated and structured framework and a new viewpoint for social psychological research (Potter &Wetherell, 1987). Similarly, it "humanizes" social psychology as it encourages research on the characteristics and contents of thinking with an anthropological approach (Paker, 2005). According to Billig (1988), the theory of social representations is revolutionary in aiming to restructure social psychology around the concept of social representation. This - if successful– is supposed to affect not only pure but also applied psychology, shifting the whole discipline from laboratory studies in which variables are isolated into abstract notions, to the field where social beliefs maybe studied in their own context.

1.2 Definition of the Social Representation

The concept of social representations has been intentionally undefined by Moscovici, who states that a definition of social representations based on any experimental procedure or operational definition would simplify and distort social reality (Billig, 1991); rather it has been explained in its theoretical framework, giving flexibility to researchers. Thus, it is possible to see different definitions of social representation which emphasize its various characteristics. Several of the most commonly cited definitions are as follows:

> system(s) of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history (Moscovici, 1976; p. xiii;).

> a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications. They are the equivalent, in our society, of the myths and belief systems in traditional societies; they might even be said to be contemporary version of common sense (Moscovici, 1981; p. 181).

> Social representations […] concern the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that give coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviors and to objectify them as part of our social setting. While representations are often to be located in the minds of men and women, they can just as often be found "in the world", and as such examined separately (Moscovici 1988; p. 214).

1.3 The Roots of Social Representations

Moscovici states that the concept of social representations has its roots in Durkheim's collective representations. Although the two concepts have some features in common, there are some glaring differences.

Durkheim first raised the concept of collective representations in his work "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life" (1976). According to him, collective representations are symbols with commonly shared intellectual or emotional meaning such as science, religion and myths, which could be found in social groups (Durkheim, 1976). Collective representations express collective ideas and concepts so that the solidarity, unity, and cohesion of the group are provided and so that the group becomes aware of itself and objectify its rules of social interaction (Wagner & Hayes, 2005).They have a historical character in the sense that they demonstrate the shared experiences of a social group over a certain time period. Furthermore, collective representations include the basic concepts a group of individuals use in relating themselves to the world (Zeitlin, 2001).

Collective representations are different from what Durkheim calls individual representations, which owe their existence to a particular individual (Cirhinlioğlu, Aktaş, &Öner Özkan, 2006); they cannot be reduced to an individual level. Collective representations handle large-scale mental forms such as religion, science and myths (Paker, 1999) which should be the research area of sociology and anthropology whilst, according to Durkheim, individual representations should be studied by psychologists (Öner, 2002).

As suggested before, collective representations can be seen as the antecedent of social representations (Moscovici, 1984; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). However, in his adaptation of representations, Moscovici preferred to

use the term *social* rather than *collective*, as he wanted to emphasize that they are shared by or represented in society or social groups, and tend to change over time and situations.

Moscovici argues that Durkheim's collective representations are of a dichotomous character as he tends to separate individual from collective, stable from the unstable and sociology from psychology (Moscovici, 1988). According to him, this duality leads to disintegration in social reality as it is impossible to comprehend social facts by looking at some segments of a picture. Instead, he argues, there should be a dynamic interaction between segments so that one can begin to analyze social reality.

Social representations differ from Durkheimian concept of collective representations in four ways. First of all, Durkheim's collective representations have a stable character − even they are treated as stabilizers − while in Moscovici's sense, social representations are of a fluid nature and have the ability to flow, change, circulate and disappear. (Hewstone, 1990; Moscovici, 1984). In other words, in collective representations, Durkheim tries to identify the forces which bond a society together. Moscovici's social representations are; on the other hand, dedicated to understanding change in a society, i.e. how novelty becomes a part of the social life.

In the sociological view of Durkheim, secondly, representations are seen as explanatory devices by themselves, and it is not possible to reduce them into particles − as is the case in the traditional view of atoms which were known to exist, yet whose structure remained unknown. Social psychology; on the other hand, deals with the structure and dynamics of representations.

A third point is that, Durkheim's collective representations deal with an entire range of ideas, emotions and beliefs occurring in a community, which

makes representations difficult to analyze as the target is too heterogeneous to be analyzed with a few characteristics. In Moscovici's social representations; however, they are treated as specific phenomena in relation to a specific way of understanding and communicating.

In short, it could be argued that the motivation differentiating Moscovici's social representations from that of Durkheim is the desire to explain the representations of the current world we live in, which is restructured on an almost daily basis via the fluctuations in sciences, religions, and ideologies (Moscovici, 1984).

1.4 Science and Social Representations

Social representations are specific ways of understanding the novel phenomena in a given context. However, in order to fully grasp the place social representations occupy, we need to give closer attention to the discussion related to the distinction between structured knowledge and common sense, or the distinction between consensual and reified universes.

In the consensual universe, society acts and reacts like a human being; humans are the measure of everything. In reified universe; on the other hand, society involves solid entities and criteria without any individuality or identity. Here, everything is a measure to human beings.

The consensual universe is like a group in which all individuals are equal parts; every member of the group is of equal distance to both the center of the group and to one another. Conversation is of critical importance. Consensus is of critical importance and conversation lies in the center of the universe. Human beings are able to raise their voices and speak in the name of the group.

The reified system is rather more like a system of various roles, preset rules and groups members of which are unequal. Participation is based on acquired competency and functioning for the sake of the group. All the rules of interaction are established. These relations could be likened to a computer in terms of their preset and rational nature.

Reified universe helps us to understand science; the purpose of it is to determine rules of various forces, objects and events, which exist independent of our desires or awareness. Representations; however, belong to the consensual universe. They aim at restoring and shaping collective awareness so that they can explain objects and events and make them prevalent among the public.

Science helps us to reach facts related to the world in order that we may understand the world. However, it achieves this goal through unfamiliarizing the familiar; i.e. it expresses the objects, events or facts related to our world in a way that individuals out of the scientific area could have difficulties in processing and expressing. Even the concepts related to everyday life can turn into complex formulas when they become the object of science (Moscovici, 1984). In this sense, this tendency of science to transform the familiar into the unfamiliar could be seen as the opposite of what representations aim to do. However, we should not miss the point that science and social representations are complementary as scientific information might sometimes constitute the object of social representations (Öner, 2002). Moreover, scientific knowledge is influenced by social representations, as well. Augoustinos and Walker emphasize the importance of social representations for science, stating that social representations help science to construct reality and to give meaning to its activities (Augoustinos & Walker, 2005). Therefore, scientists make use of social

representations while they engage in scientific work. This leads us to conclude that there is a bidirectional relationship between science and representations; i.e. the reified universe of scientific knowledge transforms into consensual universe of common sense, while common sense continues to constitute the object of science.

According to Moscovici, it is possible to see social representations as explanations of how the public understand scientific information and include it as a part of culture, language and daily practice (Moscovici, 1984). As in the case of Moscovici's psychoanalysis study, the public takes scientific information and transforms it into common sense knowledge by objectifying and familiarizing it through social relationships and communication.

1.5 Formation of Social Representations

Social representations, according to Moscovici, are rooted in shared knowledge and understanding of common reality. Interactions taking place between two individuals or two groups provides us a set of explanations, propositions, and conceptions via which we could name and classify aspects of the social reality (Moscovici, 1981). They arise in daily conversations and help us to develop a framework of references so that we can interpret the reality and regulate our relations to the world around us (Moscovici, 1984). In this perspective, it is possible to see social representations as a modern form of common sense or even an equivalent of beliefs and myths of traditional societies. They owe their existence to daily conversations and especially mass media communication but once they originate they begin their own life in which they circulate, unify, attract and repel one another, give birth to new representations and finally die when their time is up (Moscovici, 1984).

Moscovici argues that in order a possible and regular communication to occur between individuals or groups, a common ground should be so that the interacting parties can be sure they are discussing the same issue. This is only possible by social representations as they function as the social fabric binding us one another (Galam & Moscovici, 1994).

The leading premise of Social Representations Theory is that social representations function as tools making the unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar. In consensual universes individuals try to reach consensus and stability so that they could give meaning to the world they live in. Familiarity is crucial for relationships in this universe; recurring situations, gestures and objects suggest familiarity and continuity and thus bestow a perception of security upon members of the community could feel themselves secure. Information needs not to be realistic or scientific in order to be prevailing; it simply must be available and familiar (Moscovici, 1984).

Social representations give meaning, weight and structure to phenomena relevant to everyday affairs. Meaning and structure give us the feeling of certainty, thus have a positive affect (Fiske, 1982). The unfamiliar stays outside without definition or explanation and is perceived as a threat so it should be integrated into a social representational system and our personal world (Moscovici, 1984; Wagner & Hayes, 2005).

Moscovici suggests that three basic conditions should be satisfied in a context so that social representations can be formed. First of all, an ambiguously defined social object should emerge or enter into the realm of meaning of a particular society. Secondly, this new social object should somehow be relevant to people of that particular context so that they need to

infer about it. Lastly, this social object should have different aspects that are salient to different groups (Moscovici, 1984).

As can be inferred from Moscovici's premises, social representations are formed in societies where either shared or divergent viewpoints related to societal issues take place (Wagner, 1995). An atmosphere in which individuals interact with one another could be seen as a prerequisite for the formation of social representations, as representations are shared in nature. Individuals produce social representations in order to exchange social knowledge related to any topic relevant to their society – even with individuals holding different references related to that representation (Augoustinos& Walker, 1995).

Here, we can conclude that social representations constitute an environment for individuals or groups. But what is the exact motivation behind the formation of social representations? According to Moscovici, all representations are formed with the purpose of making the unfamiliar - or unfamiliarity itself - familiar (Moscovici, 1984).

Moscovici suggests two mechanisms in this process, namely, anchoring and objectification. The first mechanism, anchoring, involves anchoring unfamiliar and strange ideas to existing categories and images of a more familiar context. In this transfer, we use the existing connections with concepts and perceptions; as in the case of participants in Moscovici study, who compared psychoanalysis – a new and intricate concept – to confession, so that it becomes more familiar and meaningful in their universe. This transfer makes psychoanalysis lose some of its meaning as it shifts from one context to another, a loss which was compensated when psychoanalysis became a prevalent issue in the society.

According to Moscovici, two sub-mechanisms operate during the process of anchoring; naming and classifying. In naming, individuals, things, or facts are bestowed a name so that they take place within the cultural identity (Paker, 1999). When we name a person or a thing, he/she/it is described and ascribed certain characteristics; he/she/it becomes a particular being independent of others with the help of those characteristics; and he/she/it becomes an object of a convention between the ones having the same convention (Moscovici, 1984). In classification; on the other hand, we place the new object or person into an existing set of rules or behaviors, i.e. categories, so that it becomes familiar and predictable for us (Moscovici, 1984). An unclassified being lacking a name cannot be associated with other objects, images and ideas; therefore in cannot become an image via which communication could be made (Paker, 2005).

Anchoring is a form of naming and classifying so that things are transformed from being unfamiliar and threatening to familiar and non-threatening; and so that it is possible for us to imagine and represent it. Doise (1992) suggests that anchoring process occurs in three ways which are psychological, sociological, and psychosocial anchoring. In *psychological anchoring*, representations are united with general beliefs and individuals adhere to them in varying degrees in accordance with their tendency to adhere to beliefs in question. *Sociological anchoring*, secondly, is a group-based process in which representations are imposed during social encounters in accordance with social positions of the groups involved. Thirdly, in *psychosocial anchoring*, representations are acquired during intergroup relations which are regulated by social identity dynamics; i.e. representations vary according to group characteristics as well as "positional and categorical divisions specific to a given social field" (Doise, 1992, p.189-195).

Objectification, the second mechanism, is turning the abstract and unfamiliar into something almost concrete and familiar; i.e. transferring it from the mental to physical world. Through this process, we discover the iconic quality of an abstract idea or being and reproduce it as an image. Moscovici gives the example of God to clarify objectification process (Moscovici, 1984). God is an abstract being upon which can only be perceived in an intellectual, remote world. When we compare God to a father, it appears before our eyes visible and accessible so that we can respond to it more easily. In this sense, it can be argued that social representations are able to create their object materially. A specific objectification device which attracts the majority of a target population and which is appropriate for the new idea or concept is found and applied. This process of objectification involves simplification and decontextualization of the new object or being (Moscovici, 1984). Wagner, Elejabarrieta, and Lahnsteiner (1995) suggest that objectification process occurs through images and metaphors which have a target domain, a source domain, and a relation binding them. Moreover, they assert that the relationship between source and target domain of a metaphor can be used as an objectification device, which would help us to understand how social representations are acquired collectively and individually.

When the images to use as objects of objectification are not available; on the other hand, a set of images which could be connected to social reality are applied. Moscovici calls these set of images *the figurative nucleus.* Figurative nucleus provides clichés and formulas appropriate to cultural matrix such as opinion patterns and schemas making sense of the world (Moscovici, 1984).

After an image is set up, what is perceived replaces what is comprehended and the image becomes fully internalized. The gap between the

representation and what is represented is filled and the characteristics of the image become the characteristics of the being represented; i.e. the image becomes an autonomous copy of the reality or being it represents (Moscovici, 1984).

According to Moscovici (1984), these processes of anchoring and objectification have vital importance as they make it possible to communicate and build common grounds of meaning; maintain the continuity of the culture; give persistence to human thought and memory.

1.6 The Characteristics of Social Representations

The power of social representations can be inferred from their success in controlling both reality and continuity. Moreover, the more we forget the root of social representations and ignore their conventional nature, the more fossilized and reified they become so the more power they would have on us (Moscovici, 1984).

Wagner and Hayes summarize the characteristics of social representations in their definition which is "(a) structured, (b) cognitive, affective, evaluative and operative, (c) metaphoric or iconic portrayal of (d) relevant phenomena. These can be events, stimuli, or facts (e) of which individuals are potentially aware and (f) which are shared by other members of the social group. This communality between people represents (g) a fundamental element of the social identity of the individual." (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 120).

Moreover, social representations may possess "hegemonic, emancipated, and polemical nature and they would become a part of the world with the characteristics they have" (Moscovici, 1988, p. 221). Hegemonic representations can affect all symbolic and affective practices in an implicit

way. Moreover, they have the characteristics of homogeneity, stability, and compulsion. In this sense, they recall Durkheim's collective representations. Emancipated representations are rooted in the dissemination of ideas and information among groups for which those ideas and pieces of information are significant. These representations emerge after a transformation process in which all the groups create their own version and exchange this version with others. Lastly, polemical representations result from social conflicts and disagreements between groups and they are low in generalizability to the society as a whole. As they are developed through antagonist relations, they negate one another.

1.7 Functions of Social Representations

As mentioned before, the primary aim of all social representations is familiarizing the unfamiliar. Moreover they intervene in our cognitive processes as autonomous concepts. In this way, it can be argued that social representations function like environment for our cognitive acts (Moscovici, 1984). Representations have two main functions in the construction of social reality. The first function is providing conventions with objects, persons or encountered events. With the help of these conventions, we can see the bond between objects or things and we can have the ability of understanding, interpreting and disseminating knowledge of various acts and events.

Secondly, representations are prescriptive in the sense that they provide us with formulas related to the social world. They exist in the environment before individuals begin to think on them. They even decide what would be thought and their power is reflected in their success at controlling the reality and in their continuity.

Apart from these, social representations are performative in the sense that they are shared via language and symbols and they describe particular situations. Moreover, they are constructive as they perform in selection of individuals and objects, in their association with one another and in their inclusion to the process of communication and as they make it possible for shared notions and images to be represented by protecting them (Moscovici, 1984).

1.8 Extensions of Social Representations Theory

After the Theory of Social Representations has been developed by Moscovici, two major extensions have been made by three different scholars.

1.8.1 Structural Approach

The first major contribution has been made by Abric and his colleagues in the Aix-en-Provence group. The group has a structural approach centered on the central core hypothesis, which was formulated by Abric in the following way: "The organization of a social representation presents a specific characteristic: it is organized around a central core constituted of one or several elements that give the representation its meaning" (Abric, 1976, cited in Abric, 2001).

The central core is the element of a representation signifying it and determining its structure (Abric, 1993; Abric, 1996). It is affected by the characteristics of the object represented, characteristics of the relations the group has with that particular object and characteristics of the ideological environment of the group at that moment. The central core has two main functions. Firstly, it is the element giving meaning to a representation; i.e. it helps other elements to acquire meaning and transform themselves (Abric,

1993; Molinari & Emiliani, 1996). Secondly, the central core combines the elements of the representations; in this sense it is the stabilizing element of a representation. These functions make the central core resistant to change in a way that a change in the central core is equated with transformation of the representation (Abric, 1993; Abric, 2001).

Peripheral elements determine the context of a representation and they are organized around the central core. They are easy to transform and change as they are the more tangible and flexible than nucleus (Guimelli, 1993). It is through these peripheral elements that a representation adapts itself to changes in the context and expresses the heterogeneity of contents and actions (Molinari & Emiliani, 1996; Abric, 2001).

The Structural Approach argues that although central core and the peripheral elements function as a unity complementing one another, they are organized by and function through a double system including the central and peripheral systems.

The central system includes the central core and regulates its functions; i.e. it represents the basis of a representation. It is collectively shared by group members and gives the social group its unity and homogeneity. This system is affected by the historical, sociological and ideological conditions of the particular context and thus it is essential in the formation of norms and collective memory of the group. Moreover, this system endures changes in the immediate social context, giving continuity and consistency to the representation (Abric, 1993).

In contrast with the stable and normative nature of the central system, the peripheral system represents the functionality of the representations. As characterized by the peripheral elements it composes, this system is more about the transformation and evolution of the representation as it is sensitive

to characteristics of the context. Moreover, this system helps the central system to adapt itself to concrete situation the social group experiences in a particular moment. The characteristics of central and peripheral systems are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of the central and the peripheral system of a representation (Abric, 1993, p. 76)

Central System	Peripheral System
• Linked to collective memory and the history of the group • Defines the homogeneity of the group • Stable, coherent, and rigid • Not sensitive to immediate context • Generates the signification of the representations • Determines the organization of the representation	• Permits the integration of the individual elements • Supports the heterogeneity of the group • Flexible and leads to contradictions • Sensitive to immediate context • Allows adaptation to concrete reality and content differentiation • Protects the central system

Moliner (2001) identifies three phases in the history of a social representation. In the first phase of *emergence,* stable and consensual knowledge related to the object appears. Although the opinions related to the object are variable, they are still structured weakly. In the phase of *stability*, the link between the consensual elements becomes strong, resulting in a stable social representation. In the final phase of *transformation,* new, sometimes challenging elements are faced and they begin coexisting with the old consensual elements.

As stated above, being socially constructed elements, representations are likely to be affected by major changes in social or political order as well as major improvements in science (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Such changes affect representations directly or indirectly and they may lead to transformation of representation too. Thus, the conditions necessitating transformation should be carefully examined if one tries to understand the process of transformation.

Guimelli (1993) suggests that the characteristics of an event leading to transformation process are as follows: Firstly, the event should have some significance for the group. This significance does not imply an objective importance as an important event for a social group might be trivial for another one; rather they are the events having important and comprehensive impacts on a group. Secondly, the event should modify external circumstances such as social, physical, or economic conditions and make them threatening for the group so that the existing practices cannot cope with the threat and become inapplicable. Thirdly, the event should be perceived as "irreversible" by the group members. An event having these characteristics would bring out new practices so that the group would adapt to new circumstances which, eventually, would lead to transformation of the representation.

Abric (1993) proposes that there are three major types of transformations. The first type, *resisting transformation*, is the transformation occurring when the peripheral system of the representation could still manage to deal with the changes and protect the central core from challenging information and practices.

When the novel situation does not challenge the core of the representation, *progressive transformation* occurs. In this case, the new entries adapt to the

central core and they create a new core in an integrated manner, leading to formation of a new representation. *Brutal transformation*; however, occurs when the new practices are so challenging that the central core cannot cope with them, which leads to collapse of the old structure and formation of a new and independent representation (Abric, 1993).

As can be seen, transformation of the representation is based on the transformation of the central core, the most stable element of the representation protecting its structure and resisting changes (Guimelli, 1993; Abric, 1996).

1.8.2   Methodological Approach

A second extension of Social Representations Theory is the systematic methodological approach developed by Doise, Clémence and Lorenzi-Cioldi in *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Representations* (1993). In this approach, social representations are defined as principles organizing symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. This definition is based upon three assumptions. Firstly, it is assumed that various members of the population upon which the study is conducted have common views related to a social issue which provides common frames of reference so that social representations could be generated. Secondly, as all the individuals sharing the common references might not hold the same position, it is assumed that differences in individual positioning are organized and it is the duty of researchers studying social representations to search and examine the organizing principles in a representational field. Thirdly, these systematic variations are assumed to be anchored in other collective symbolic realities or in various social psychological experiences individuals share in different extents and anchoring of social representations in shared group memberships could be examined via research on individual

positioning in representational fields (Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993).

The methodological approach suggests that research on social representations should be conducted in three phases. In the first phase, a map is created using the shared references developed during the process of objectification, one of the most common techniques of which is making free associations between words and objects. The second phase is the place of examining principles that organize inter-individual or intergroup variations on the map. Finally, in the third phase, characteristics of individuals and groups are examined so that the variation resulting from positions and principles of memberships individuals have in various groups can be explored (Doise, Clémence, &Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993).

Evidently, social positioning has a critical importance to this approach – in fact, Clémence (2001) argues that social positioning is the key to understanding how the shared frames of reference are varied among groups of individuals with different positions in the debate.

1.8.3 Research on Social Representations

Along with these methodological extensions, research on social representations has improved via varying methods representing different interpretations of the theory. Social representation, as a concept, tends to overcome the duality between the individual and the social, or rather, between the subjective and the objective. Therefore, both well-established quantitative techniques of research and data analysis such as correlational methods of factor analysis and cluster analyses or multivariate modeling (Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993) and qualitative methods aiming to identify the complexity and diversity of social representations in various contexts are used in social representations research. Survey, interview,

experiment, content analysis of media products, analysis of word associations, focus group, and ethnography are the techniques widely employed in studies. Moreover, it is a widespread tendency to employ more than one technique of data gathering, as no single technique is enough to explain the complex and diverse nature of social representations related to a phenomenon. Farr (1993) acknowledges this diversity in stating that "there is no royal road to the study of a social representation" (p. 3).

Social Representations Theory has branched out via various studies that are based on the perspective of the theory and conducted on a variety of topics. Below, several examples of studies that have been conducted with the perspective and methodology of Social Representations Theory are presented.

An example of the classical studies conducted with the perspective and methodology of Social Representations Theory is Herzlich's (1973) study on health an illness. In this study, based on the analysis of interview material, how the concepts of health and illness are constructed by public in relation to developments in the medical science and western culture and how differently individuals interpret their own relationships with their environment and the society within the context of health and illness. Herzlich found in this study that interviewees defined the concept of illness as a result of the life style or in relation to the behaviors of the individuals whilst positive health was seen to be inherent in the individual. Urban living, for example, is represented to aid development of illness by creating stress, fatigues or nervousness. Moreover, the restlessness of modern life was linked to mental illness while heart disease as related to "many worries which make people live in a certain state of anxiety" (Herzlich, 1973; p. 22).

Jodelet (1991), in another exemplary study of social representations, once examined the social representations of madness in a French village where for the last century, mentally ill individuals were hosted by the villagers in their houses, rather than being hospitalized. In this study, she conducted in-depth interviews with villagers as well as participant observations and a historical analysis of the village, and found out that the project in which the government aimed to integrate the mentally ill with society would not succeed as the representations of lay people about madness were far from the ideals and purposes of the government; i.e. mentally ill individuals were not seen as members of the family in which they are hosted, rather the villagers tended to establish and preserve a psychological and social distance with their mentally ill lodgers through the routines of daily public and private life.

In another study, Jovchelovitch (1995) examined how the public space is symbolically constructed in Brazil via the interviews, focus groups, and media analysis she conducted. Results of all three studies produced a common field of representation which was marked by fear, threats, and individualism in the streets along with corruption, self-interest and individualism in politics and which could be explained by a central representation "The Brazilian character". For her, this character underlies the vague relationship between self and other, as it is the core representation related to public life in Brazil. This study manifested an essential point in social representations research: Social representations cannot be separated from the historical features in the examined society and the processes that are active in a community's struggle for identity.

Duveen's (1993) research on social representations of gender pictures how sexual identities and sexual relations are reconstructed via representations of gender. Children in their first year of schooling; i.e. the participants of the

study, were found to develop diverse identities while a bipolar opposition between masculine and feminine constituted the figurative nucleus of their representations of gender. This shows that children are active agents in the construction of representations related to gender. Moreover, the results imply the necessity of a mediating structure between "interpsychological" and "intrapsychological" functioning of children as the bipolar opposition serves to maintain and defend the dichotomous gender perception in society.

In Howarth's (2002) study "'So, you're from Brixton?': the struggle for recognition and esteem in a multicultural community" is another examples for research on Social Representations Theory. In this study she examined the struggle for recognition and esteem on young people living in the South London and concluded that social relationships and institutional cultures either empower or disempower young people in their struggle for identity construction and esteem. This study revealed that young people construct their identities through and against the representations of themselves that are held by other individuals in social contexts. Moreover, the different strategies that are adopted by adolescents in their struggle to construct positive identity give hints of the prevalence of racist representations in the neighborhood from which they try to develop social and psychological sources to protect themselves.

In another study Sarrica and Contarello (2004) have analyzed the social representations of peace, war, and conflict that are shared by peace activists and non-activists and found out that non-activists view war as a tragic event that risk human life, that excites feelings of insufficiency and hopelessness and that there is nothing to do against while activists approached the notion more concretely and accurately. For peace, activists had an accurate representation while non-activists remained vague while for conflict activists pictured a normalized table. Overall, it has been in the study that

activists have more determined representations against which they struggle and sharing these representations constitutes an essential part of their social identities.

These examples are several of a great wealth of studies conducted with the perspective and methodology of Social Representations Theory. As can be inferred, social representations could be examined in relation to almost everything as social representations are related to everything in the sphere of perception. Moreover, they provide the opportunity to grasp different dimensions of that thing as representations involve beliefs, values, attitudes and communications related to that thing. In short, both some scientific concepts that are inherent to social representations and the things about which social representations are formed could be studies under the roof of social representations.

The current study, which is conducted in the light of the previous studies in the literature of Social Representations Theory, aims to put another brick in the wall the foundation of which has been laid by Moscovici, by examining social representations of conscientious objection, an issue with key importance to the socio-political sphere in Turkey.

1.9 The Phenomenon of Conscientious Objection

Although the definition of conscientious objection can vary as many as the number of conscientious objectors (Speck, 2006), the phenomenon of conscientious objection –in the most general terms –could be defined as acts "applying to situations in which an individual decides to follow the dictates of his conscience instead of the collective interest of society" (Major, 1992, p.350). Thus, it can be argued from a philosophical perspective that conscientious objectors take a moral stand to preserve their selfhood, moral integrity, and subjective value against the collective values of the society

(Toker-Kılınç, 2009) Since the First World War; on the other hand, it has been associated with individuals refusing to perform compulsory military service (Moskos & Chambers, 1993) which might be seen as "the most dramatic, and perhaps the most complex, form of conscientious objection (Major, 2002; p. 350). We can define conscientious objection as one's objection to military service on the ground of religious, political, or ethical factors (Sevinç, 2006) and conscientious objectors as individuals refusing "either to bear arms or to serve in the military or continue to serve in the military because of religious or moral beliefs that are opposed to killing…" (Moskos & Chambers, 1993; p. 5).

Although the religious, political, and ethical factors leading people to declare their objection are various, major reasons of refusal can be listed as follows: First of all, the individual may refuse to be included in the chain of command; i.e. he/she may be unwilling to obey or rule over individuals. Secondly, he/she may oppose the use of violence; i.e. he/she may defy an order to kill or hurt someone, or defy the compulsion to learn how to hurt or kill someone. Thirdly, he/she may be a war resister; i.e. he/she might resist wars and avoid serving in militaries which could be seen as the executive of wars. Alternatively, he/she might resist the use of violence because of religious beliefs and identities or, lastly, he/she might be willing to live in a world without borders or states (Savaş Karşıtları, 2003). Although they might have different motivations, these individuals meet on a common ground, which is being against the militarism and state control over the individual (Moskos & Chambers, 1993).

According to Moskos and Chambers, it is possible to classify conscientious objectors in accordance with their motivations, the scope of their beliefs and their willingness to cooperate with the state. When we use their motivation as a classifying factor we can divide objectors into two groups as *religious*

and *secular* conscientious objectors. *Religious conscientious objectors* base their objections on their membership to a particular religious group or belief in a particular religious principle while *secular* ones base their objections on their individual philosophies or political convictions.

When we classify conscientious objectors according to the scope of their beliefs, we can see them as *universalistic*, as in the case of objectors opposing all kinds of war, *selective*; i.e. opposing a particular war or conflict as in the case of Israeli soldiers refusing to serve in the occupied territories, or *discretionary*; i.e. refusing to use particular weapons such as weapons of mass destruction. Lastly, when we use willingness to cooperate with the state as the classifying factor, we can divide objectors into three groups as *noncombatant*; i.e. willing to conduct military service without being armed, *alternativist*; i.e. willing to do alternative civil service instead of serving in the military as in the case of objectors in many European countries, and *absolutists*; i.e. rejecting to cooperate with authorities on the issue of military service at all (Moskos & Chambers, 1993). Taking this perspective, it is possible to classify conscientious objectors in Turkey as absolutists as there is no possible alternative service for conscientious objectors in contemporary Turkey.

1.10 History of Conscientious Objection

Although the roots date back to Ancient Rome (Moskos & Chambers, 1993), collective objection to military service is known to have begun in the 18th century among the Quakers, a branch of Protestantism. The group objected to military service, arguing that it was against their religious beliefs and moral principles. They were exempted from compulsory military service when a national army was established in Britain for the first time. Almost a century later, during the 19th century, military service gained a legal basis in the Netherlands and Napoleon granted exemption to Protestant

Anabaptists in France. This trend was followed by Protestant countries of Northern Europe. Taking developments one step further, these states later incorporated the right to object into their legislation (Norway, 1900; Denmark, 1917; Sweden, 1920; Netherlands, 1922; and Finland, 1931). When the First World War began, forced conscription came back into operation with the justification of war and lead to objection of various parties. Thousands of individuals refused to go to war, at risk of trial and imprisonment. Following these developments, in 1921, the War Resisters' International (WRI) was founded in the Netherlands, with the declaration that war is a crime against humanity and they would not only refuse to be involved in it, but also try to abolish it permanently (Peace Pledge Union, 2013). In time, WRI has become an international roof under which various local antiwar and conscientious objection movements come together.

Objection to war and forced conscription increasingly continued following the First World War. According to Peace Pledge Union (2006), the number of conscientious objectors in Britain was 16,000 during the First World War, increasing to 60,000 during the Second World War (cited in Üsterci & Çınar, 2009) and reaching the top level during the final epoch of the Cold War. Moskos and Chambers (1993) states that twenty five per cent of draftable men in northern Europe declared some form of conscientious objection in the early 1990s.

In USA, concurrently, there were about 43,000 objectors during the Second World War (Eller, 1991). After the Vietnam War erupted, with the contributions of antiwar campaigns organized in university campuses, the number of objectors rose five-fold and reached approximately 200,000 (Central Committee for Conscientious Objection, 2013). All these developments lead to a global transformation in the structure of the army, in which a military service comprising of a countries young, male population

gave way to a professional army composed of paid soldiers and specialists (Belge, 2011).

From a historical perspective, it could be suggested that the conscientious objection movement has transformed from religious ground to a more secular one during its journey from pre-modern to industrial and post-industrial Western societies (M0skos& Chambers, 1993).

Following the 1960s, conscientious objection began to be recognized as a right. Today, this right is secured within the frame of freedom of thought, conscience and religion enshrined in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 10 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and Article 9 of the European Convention of Human Rights. Most states recognize conscientious objection as a right due to their commitments to international treaties, however it is seldom realized. According to Brett, this right is acknowledged in around a third of 192 UN member states (Brett, 2006).

The situation is more positive for conscientious objectors in Europe. All member states of the European Union recognizes conscientious objection as a right and out of 47 members of Council of Europe, Turkey is the only one which consistently refuses to recognize conscientious objection as a right or allow some form of alternative service (Stolwijk, 2005; ECHR, 2011a).

In fact, Article 72 of the 1982 Constitution of Turkish Republic allows conscientious objection, stating that the manner in which national service should be performed "either in the Armed Forces or in public service shall be regulated by law". However, this article contradicts with the Military Service Act (No: 1111) and Article 1076 of Military Penal Code which state

that military service is obligatory and it cannot be evaded under the cover of religious or moral reasons.

Turkish society has encountered with the notion of conscientious objection at the beginning of 1990's when Tayfun Gönül and Vedat Zencir declared that they would not perform military service on the grounds of conscience and political conviction. When another objector, Osman Murat Ülke, who was imprisoned on the accusation of alienating public from military service, took the case to European Court of Human Rights in 2006 (ECHR, 2006),the Court ruled against Turkey, bringing the issue to the fore of public debate. Since then, the movement of conscientious objection continues to grow with new individuals declaring their objection to military service each year. By 2012, the number of conscientious objectors has been reported to be around 20 in Turkey (Savaş Karşıtları, 2013).

In the years up to 1993, conscientious objectors were tried by State Security Courts on the charge of turning people against the military – one of the major legal accusations that hound objectors in Turkey. From then on, trials were transferred to military courts. From1997 – 2000, 15 conscientious objectors were released by these courts with the ruling that conscientious objection would not be considered in the scope of turning people against public, as it is a right recognized by the international treaties Turkey has signed. Today, objectors are tried by military courts on the accusation of persistent insubordination if they declare their objection during military service; otherwise, they are tried within the scope of Article 318 of Turkish Penal Code which regulates acts turning people against the military.

Conscientious objection lies at the core of the relationship between the individuals and the state, as it challenges the held notion of serving one's country through military service as a service and essential civil obligation

(Moskos & Chambers, 1993). This issue is in need of careful investigation if one tries to understand the structure of a society. Moreover, if conscientious objection is to be examined in the context of Turkey, a discussion on how conscientious objection is perceived in the public sphere should be considered, as it stands in the junction point of state, law, society and its individual members. Discussing the issue of conscientious objection from a legal perspective would not be sufficient in understanding how this issue is perceived and discussed in society at large. In this regard, this study emphasizes how conscientious objection and objectors are represented in the public and the press – as well as how the representations of military service, war, homeland, and religion are interrelated with these representations.

In the following section of the study, ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism and masculinity will be examined and their relationship with conscientious objection will be discussed as these ideologies are seen as key concepts in order to fully grasp the representations of conscientious objection.

1.11 Militarism

Conscription and the army of citizens are modern historical phenomena which emerged in France, following the French Revolution and spread through Europe in the early 19th century (Belge, 2011). Before that, war was an event occurring between armies and having an impact limited to its attendants. However, when all citizens gained the right to carry weapons and – with the effects of a patriotic atmosphere subsequent to the French Revolution – to defend the country one lives in, the phenomena of people's army and total war began to emerge (Aydın, 2009). By the time the First World War had erupted, almost all male citizens in Europe had transformed into soldiers and military officers. Those commanding in war had turned into national leaders. This atmosphere set the scene for militarism to be the

dominant ideology, especially in countries devoid of social forces to prevent this (Belge, 2011).

The rise of patriotism and nationalism in the era following the French Revolution affected the Ottoman Empire, as well. Being a multiethnic and multi faith structure, the Ottoman Empire tried to keep up with the changes and developments occurring in the Europe without losing its power. For this reason, the Empire tried to adopt the predominant military strategies and developments of Europe – one of which was the practice of conscription (Aydın, 2009; Cora, 2013).

By the beginning of 1900s, the Ottoman Empire was governed by a military bureaucracy for whom emancipation could only be possible through the militarization of society. This worldview was prevalent in the government and the army during the period prior to the First World War. For example, Mustafa Kemal, who was an officer in the Ottoman Army at that time, wrote the followings to his friend Mehmet Nuri Conker:

> Members that formed the armies of this last century, unlike those before, did not mostly consist of soldiers who enlisted for military service of their own free will, but rather were citizens of a nation who were, and should be, required to serve military duty. In armies formed in this way superiors are beyond the considerations of reducing excessive initiative to a moderate level and keeping it under discipline and control. For the severe discipline that has been exercised for long years during peace time in today's armies already stifles the aptitude for agitation in most. For this reason today's superiors, in order to stimulate initiative in subordinates, must awaken them and encourage and stimulate them especially during combat (Atatürk, 1962; cited in Aydın, 2009).

In the period following the First World War, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed and Turkish Republic was established, these ideals were shared by

the founders of the state. The army was perceived to be the "most notable indicator of the unity of the nation and the presence of the state" (İnan, 1930; cited in Aydın, 2009; Öztan, 2013) and it was a duty for all male citizens to join the army and learn military practices. Hence, the army became a central force of the country. In this process, the history of Turkish nationality was reformulated as a nationalist history via the formation of Turkish History Thesis which has an emphasis on the militaristic characteristics of Turkish nation and has a great part in the creation of the myth of the "military-nation". By means of the military-nation myth, military service has become a component of culture rather than the army or state; i.e. a military task has gained a social and cultural character (Altınay, 2004; Altınay & Bora, 2002). Since then, militarism has become a prevalent ideology in the context of Turkey transforming itself in accordance with the political and social developments but never losing its power and effects on society. For example, by the 1980's, forced military service was a the vehicle for infusing militarism into male citizens– especially the countrymen – of Turkey (Altınay & Bora, 2002) while today it continues its existence in school textbooks as an active ideology (Altınay, 2003; 2009).

We can define militarism as a set of ideas and practices glorifying military-related norms and practices (Chenoy, 1998) and making them have a part in the organization of the social life (Altınay, 2005). Moreover, these ideas and practices lead to "the blurring and erasure of distinctions between war and peace, military and civilian" (Sjoberg & Via, 2010; p. 7). Militarization; on the other hand is a social process "by which a person or a thing gradually becomes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas" (Enloe, 2000; p. 3) which would become successful when the fact that military controls the spheres of politics, economy, and personal and social life is perceived to be normal (Altınay, 2004).

As can be inferred from the discussion above, military service, militarism and militarization are key concepts for us to comprehend the processes Turkey has gone through since the beginning of 20th century. However, these concepts do not have the necessary emphasis in the field of social sciences. For Altınay, it could stem from normalization of the militarist concepts and practices with the contributions of nationalism and normative masculinity (Altınay, 2007).

1.12 Two Forms of Group Attachment: Nationalism and Patriotism

Attachment to a group or tendency to join with others is among the basic characteristics of human beings and the nature of attachment to various groups ranging from the smallest social groups to the widest ones, such as societies or humankind has always been the interest of social scientists. Humans need others for the formation of their self-concept, identity and psychological wellbeing (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Moreover, at the level of society, or nation, groups fulfill economic, sociocultural and political needs of its members besides giving them the feelings of safety, belongingness and significance. Different forms of group attachment; in this sense, are based on the reciprocal relationship between the group and its members. Members need the group to define themselves, whilst the group needs its individual members to survive.

Patriotism could be defined as the "attachment by group members to their group and the land in which it resides" (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997; p. 2) in which the group might refer to a nation as well as any ethnographic group within a particular territory. It is; however, not only an emotional attachment but "first and foremost of a series of beliefs, related to concern, commitment, devotion, love, loyalty, care, identification, and sacrifice for the nation and state" (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997; p.18). Therefore, we can see

patriotism as an ideology underlying group attachment and creating national solidarity. Nationalism; on the other hand, could be seen as the ideology in which one sees his/her nation in the center and believes that one's nation is dominant over others (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1987). Although they are similar to one another on the point of attachment to one's country, patriotism is a much older and more general concept as it defines one's attachment to a group which could be a tribe, community, or a nation – whilst a nation-state could be seen as fundamental for nationalism (Kelman, 1997; Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997). Moreover, while patriotism is associated with the feelings of pride and love for one's country besides the in-group identification, nationalism is related to feelings of dominance and national superiority as well as out-group derogation (Li & Brewer, 2004).

In the field of the social psychology, research on patriotism dates back to Adorno and his colleagues' groundbreaking study, the Authoritarian Personality. They defined patriotism as "blind attachment to certain cultural values, uncritical conformity with prevailing group ways and rejection of other nations as other groups" that could be in the form of "pseudo" patriotism which involves blind attachment and uncritical conformity to national values or "genuine" patriotism which involves love of one's country and attachment to national values with a critical understanding (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; p. 107).

The distinction between types of patriotism continues with *blind* and *constructive* patriotism, as suggested by Staub. Blind patriotism could be defined as an intense and inflexible attachment to one's group or nation and uncritical support to its politics and actions without a moral consideration of their consequences. Constructive patriotism; on the other hand, could be seen as a more critical form of loyalty to one's country in which the member objects to politics and actions if they think that they are contrary to

principles, values and interests of the group (Staub, 1997). These orientations come together in patriotism; i.e. they both imply a sense of attachment to and identification with one's country, but they differ in the levels of cognition and behavior. Constructive patriotism is found to be related to political involvement, effective understanding of political content, openness to information and political activism, while blind patriotism has no relation to these variables. Contrarily, blind patriotism is positively associated with nationalism and perceptions of threat towards national unity and culture whereas constructive patriotism is independent of such constructs (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999).

According to Bar-Tal, patriotism could be seen as a disposition which varies from one individual to another and which is manifested through identification with the nation state, internalization of patriotic values and perception of the needs of the state and nation (Bar-Tal, 1997). Moreover, although patriotism serves the functions of utility, cohesiveness and mobilization; it might be monopolized by some groups resulting in blind attachment to the group.

Although nationalism and patriotism seem to be different concepts, some criticize the differentiation between these concepts as well and their distinction as that of between 'good' and 'bad' nationalism. Selek (2004), for example, argues that the distinction between good and bad nationalism is an artificial one, as the nationalist discourses that come to light in different types are, actually, different reflections of the same phenomenon. From a historical perspective, similarly, Kohn (1965) states that nationalism could not be distinguished from patriotism properly as nationalism is an ideology which came into existence via the transformation of patriotism and the concentration of patriotic feelings over the sense of nationhood.

A brief look at the last two centuries shows us a rapid and dramatic increase of the ideology of nationalism. Although most of the current nation states were established in the last 150 years, the current world is seen as a system of nations in the name of which wars are waged and people are killed.

Although the history of attachment to one's group dates back to Ancient Hebrews and Greeks, nationalism is thought to be originated in Western Europe in 18th century; spread over Europe in 19th century and became a world-wide movement in 20th century (Kohn, 1965). The period following French Revolution was marked by the collapse of the Empires in Europe eruption of the nation-states as well as a rise in the nationalist sentiments in the citizens.

Anderson (1995) argues that nationalism should be associated with main cultural systems such as kinship and religion rather than ideologies such as fascism or liberalism; moreover, he relates the rise of the nation state with religious communities, collapse of the empires, capitalism and development of publishing industry, formation of official state languages and transformation in the concept of time. For him, nationalism provides a model that has been used and enhanced by firstly the European civil commotions, then by imperialist powers and lastly by anti-imperialist movements of the third world after emerging in the Americas for the first time.

When we look at the processes the ideologies of nationalism and patriotism went through in Turkey, we should, again, begin the discussion from the early 20th century when the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of collapse. This period could be seen as the point when Turkish nationalism emerged as a political movement among the military bureaucracy governing the country (Altınay & Bora, 2002). Following the establishment of the Turkish

Republic the nationalist discourse of the military strengthened, and nationalism became the official ideology of the state (Altınay & Bora, 2002).

According to Altınay, the myth of military nation is the factor underlying the nationalist ideology in Turkey (Altınay, 2004). This myth, disseminated through the Turkish History Thesis and history textbooks which could be seen as the early implication of Turkish History Thesis, states that the idiosycracy of Turks as a nation is their military ability and tendency to unify themselves with the army. This feature could be summarized in the widely known Turkish slogan "Every Turk is born a soldier" (Altınay & Bora, 2002).

Bora, in his analysis of Turkish nationalism from 1920s to 2000s, states that nationalism in Turkey could be analyzed in five strands which are official nationalism (Atatürk nationalism), Kemalist nationalism (ulusçuluk), liberal neo-nationalism, radical nationalism and Islamic nationalism. Moreover, these types of nationalisms have a competition among themselves each of which claiming that itself is the true kind of nationalism. Although it has beenprevalent since the establishment of the state, nationalism in Turkey has gained strength since the end of the Gulf War, and discourses of nationalism have gained a symbolic worth beyond political affiliations.

Whether they are perceived to be distinct phenomena or reflections of the same phenomenon, it is important to examine the depth and scope of patriotism and nationalism as formsof group attachment and prevalent ideologies occupying important positions in contemporary Turkey, if one intends to analyse and comprehend social knowledge in the country.

1.13 Gender Roles & Hegamonic Masculinity

Gender is another concept that we should consider in order to examine the representations of conscientious objection especially in a country where military service is an obligation for all male citizens of the country for the sake of the homeland.

Forced military service,as mentioned before, has been seen as the tool of homeland defense since the beginning of the 20th century. However, its function is not limited to homeland defense. Altınay states that military service is a tool to determine the relationship male and female citizens have with the state and differentiate women from men as they are not soldiers (Altınay, 2005). Via this differentiation, masculinity becomes directly and strongly connected to state and military making male citizens the first class citizens (Altınay, 2000). Here, it should be highlighted that the privileged status of men is based on fulfillment of military duty. Therefore, not only women but also men who do not or cannot perform military service – such as disabled men, gay men or conscientious objectors, are degraded to a secondary status (Altınay, 2006).

Patriarchy, which has emerged through the historical process and has been strengthened through power relations, to date could be seen as the transformation of the power and violence culture which was produced by the historical conflict between men and women to a social, political, intellectual, and cultural hegemony by intertwining with other forms of power. This system continuously reproduces gender roles and discourse subordinating women to men (Selek, 2004).

Similarly, Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to

guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women"
(Connell, 1995, p.77). The hegemonic ideal might vary across cultures as it
depends on culture-specific factors of power. For example, the hegemonic
ideal of Western culture happens to be an independent, risk-taking,
aggressive, heterosexual and rational man (Connell, 1995). Similarly, based
on the narratives she obtained through her interviews, Selek (2008) defines
the hegemonic ideal of Turkish culture as a though, successful, honest,
serious, fit, handsome and paternalistic man who loves and protects the ones
depending on him but also tends to use violence when necessary.

Women are essential to hegemonic masculinity in the sense that they are
both the primary objects upon which the dominance of men are settled and
potential sexual objects for men as they sexually validate their manhood.
However, hegemonic masculinity is not only about the subordination of
women by men; it involves subordination of some men against the dominant
ones, as well. Gay men, whose sexuality is denied by the heterosexual
majority, or unemployed men who cannot feed their families, which is seen
as an essential requirement of manhood, could be examples for this
subordination. This distinction, which Demetriou (2001) has brought into
Connell's (1995) theory, exemplifies external hegemony; i.e. hegemony of
men over the women, who are seen as the other sex, and internal hegemony;
i.e. subordination of men against other men. In this view, there is a ranking
between manhood and womanhood as well as different forms of manhood.
Therefore, it is possible to define hegemonic masculinity as "idealized
image of masculinity in relation to which images of femininity and other
masculinities are marginalized and subordinated" (Barrett, 2001, p. 79).

As can be inferred, not all men have the characteristics of the hegemonic
ideal. However, it stands in the lives of men as a touchstone which they are
ceaselessly encouraged to achieve and upon which they assess their

masculinity. In reality, it can be argued that there are certain phases for young men to go through in their journey to hegemonic masculinity. In Turkey, these phases are circumcision, military service, employment and marriage (Selek, 2008). Every phase is believed to contribute in some way so that they prove themselves as "real men" to themselves and the society. Military service, for example, is a field shaping their process of socialization and positioning them in society. Moreover, it is an important tool in determining the limits of hegemonic masculinity and monitoring those limits.

According to Sylvia Walby (1996) gender, ethnicity, nation, and race are interrelated concepts which cannot be analyzed without the other. In other words, an analysis of a national project could not be conducted without an analysis of gender, as national projects are gender projects, as well. Moreover, as militarism has a key role in the relation between gender and the nationalism, it should be added into the equation. Nagel (1998) states that both armies and states have been governed by men throughout the history that's why the ideology of hegemonic masculinity goes hand in hand with the ideologies of nationalism and militarism. Hence, from this perspective it would not be wrong to argue that gender differentiation in which masculinity is favored is defined and directed by the state, as Enloe (2000) previously suggested.

1.14 The Current Study
As suggested before, conscientious objection occupies a space in the core of the relationship individuals have with the state as it challenges one of the basic civil obligations; i.e. serving in the military for the sake of homeland defense. If we broaden the scope of the argument in the light of the literature, we can argue that conscientious objection, being an antiwar movement, questions the economic, cultural, social and political structure.

Therefore, it should come to terms with militarism, nationalism, and hegemonic masculinity.

The current study has been conducted with the aim of examining the contents and structures of social representations of conscientious objection in the context of Turkey. In order to fulfill this aim, two qualitative studies have been conducted. The first study involved content analysis of five newspapers in terms of news and columns heading conscientious objection with the hypothesis that media representations of conscientious objection is related to representations of military service, war, homeland, and religion as well as the expectation that there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance with their political standing. The second study was composed of semi structured interviews about conscientious objection investigating whether social representations of conscientious objection in Turkey would be parallel with newspaper representations of the concept and how social representations of conscientious objection are related with the ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity.

In correspondence, the research questions and hypotheses of the study are as follows:

Research Question 1: What are the contents and structures of the social representations of conscientious objection in Turkey produced by the newspapers?

Research on social representations largely benefit from investigation of media content in their trial to grasp the social representations. Moscovici's seminal study on social representations of psychoanalysis in France (1961) could be seen as an exemplifier of the role media analysis plays in the study

of social representations. For him, mass media is one of the primary sources of social representations (Moscovici, 1984). Especially in familiarization and reification of the novel phenomenon media has a key role as it disseminates the new information or object with a great number of individuals simultaneously. Moreover, Beardsworth (1980) suggests that mass media has a vital role in the contemporary society as it binds the individuals to large scale social processes which surround him/her and have great impacts on him/her but he/she cannot fully grasp. Hence we can see the media as the way individual get themselves updated with the changes in the contemporary society.

In this process, media, especially mass media, has the capacity to direct the public discourse on a social issue as individuals and groups are directly influenced by the frame by which the tools of media handle an issue (Gardikiotis, Martin, &Hewstone, 2004). According to Moscovici, media has three main approaches to handle the novel phenomenon and spread it to public which are *diffusion*; i.e. conveying the information in a neutral way, *propagation*; i.e. conveying the information in a selective manner to well-structured target group, and *propaganda*; i.e. conveying the information in a way that it expresses target group's identity and aims to manipulate them (Wagner & Hayes, 2005).

Hypothesis 1: It is hypothesized that media representations of conscientious objection in Turkey is related to representations of military service, war, homeland, and religion.

Hypothesis 2: It is hypothesized that there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance with their political stance.

Research Question 2: Are social representations of conscientious objection produced by individuals parallel with newspaper representations of conscientious objection?

For Moscovici, analysis of daily talks is crucial for the study on social representations as it is a common way in which the individual could learn and relearn about new persons, events, objects and topics (Moscovici, 1984). Moreover, acquisition of new information and communication help individuals feel that they are valuable and essential for the social system they live in (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Generally, social representations which are firstly disseminated through media devices proliferate and transform within the course of daily talks. Hence it can be argued that there is a bound between the social representations of a concept and media representations of it.

Hypothesis 3: It is hypothesized that media representations of conscientious objection are parallel with social representations of the concept acquired through interviews.

Research Question 3: Are social representations of conscientious objection related to ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity?

As mentioned before, conscientious objection is a concept which lies at the junction between the individual and the state. Therefore, it can be argued that it makes one question the relationship individuals have with the state and society they live in. Moreover, the literature on conscientious objection signals a relationship between this concept and prevalent ideologies in the society such as militarism, nationalism, patriotism and masculinity.

Hypothesis 4: It is hypothesized that social representations of conscientious objection are related to ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity.

CHAPTER II
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER MATERIAL

2.1 Introduction

As aforementioned, the mass media is seen as one of the primary sources of social representations. Thus, an in-depth analysis of media products is seen as a good indicator in identifying the social representations of a given social phenomenon. In this particular study, media analysis has been employed in order to identify the social representations of conscientious objection in Turkey, as well as testing the hypotheses that media representations of conscientious objection in Turkey cannot be studied without reference to representations of military service, war, the homeland, and religion. Further to this hypothesis, the study aimed to ascertain to what degree there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance with their various political stances.

2.2 Method

In order to investigate media representations related to conscientious objection, five national newspapers were examined. The papers (namely *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Taraf*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Zaman)* were chosen due to their broadcasting policies and high circulation. Below are presented the profiles of these papers compiled based on their circulation in the period of media analysis (Medyatava, 2011) and studies on press-party parallelism in Turkey (see for example Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2007; Çarkoğlu & Yavuz, 2011; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Somer, 2010; and Özdurdu, 2011 for further examination on press-party parallelism in Turkey).

Cumhuriyet, one of the oldest newspapers in contemporary Turkey, is owned by the Cumhuriyet Foundation which has a social democratic stance, and intends to propagate the ideology and values of Atatürk. It has a relatively small yet deep-seated audience who tends to support the major opposition Republican People's Party of Turkey.

Hürriyet, owned by one of the largest media groups in Turkey, is one of the papers with the highest circulation and represents the main stream media in Turkey.

Taraf is a liberal newspaper with leftist tendencies. It has had a relatively short broadcast life when compared to other newspapers examined in the study, yet has a sufficient circulation to be considered among them.

Yeni Çağ is a nationalist-conservative newspaper broadcasting with the slogans "Turkey for the Turks". This paper, again, has a stable audience who tend to vote for Nationalist Movement Party; one of the main, two opposition parties in Turkey.

Lastly, *Zaman* has the highest rate of circulation among the daily newspapers broadcasting country-wide. This paper is of a rightist-Islamist ideology and is known for its closeness to ruling Justice and Development Party of Turkey.

As can be seen in Table 2, 113 Newspaper reports and 62 columns that are published from November 2011 to January 2012 were included in the analysis. The duration is chosen as it contains some important political and legal events. For example, in September 2011, Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe recommended Turkey declare some of the concrete steps it would take by December 2011, concerning the right to conscientious

objection. Moreover, the European Court of Human Rights found Turkey guilty of violating Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights regarding the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Another issue of the period was the press statement of Sadullah Ergin, Minister of Justice, in which he stated that the government was conducting some studies into regulations for conscientious objection, which had generated a discussion among the representatives of various political groups in Turkey on the issue of conscientious objection and attracted the attention of the public.

Table 2. Overview of the Newspaper Reports and Columns included in Media Analysis

#	Name of the Newspaper	# Reports	# Columns
1	Cumhuriyet	24	13
2	Hürriyet	30	10
3	Taraf	26	26
4	Yeniçağ	6	9
5	Zaman	27	4
	Total	**113**	**62**

2.3 Results

An examination of media material was conducted via thematic content analysis within the framework of Social Representations Theory. The documents to be examined were determined by searching the archives of the aforementioned newspapers, using the frame 'conscientious objection'. Having sifted through these initial search results, the documents relevant to the topic of interest have been included in the study. The analysis of the documents was performed through MAXQDA – a computer based program designed for data, text and multimedia analysis.

Media representation of conscientious objection in Turkey are grouped under 3 headings; "Media Representations of Conscientious Objection", "Media Representations of Conscientious Objectors", and "Media Representations of Other Related Concepts". The latter section alludes to military service, homeland, war, and Islam.

2.3.1 Media Representations of Conscientious Objection

In thematic content analysis of conscientious objection, a map has been created with 16 thematic blocks revealing newspaper representations of conscientious objection. The map includes not only the thematic blocks but also the themes which are grouped in those blocks. As can be seen in Figure 1 below, the themes included in the map are "The Sources of Debate", "Alternative Service", "Punishment", "Technical Regulation", "Attention Required", "Deserting", "Desecration of the Martyrs", "National Unity and Solidarity", "Treason", "Agenda of the Country", "Does not Fit Turkey", "Turkey is not ready.", "Regulation on Conscientious Objection" and "Human Right". Table 3 involves a comparison of the newspapers along with the themes.

The "Sources of Debate" theme marks representations about the possible sources of conscientious objection debate in Turkey (n=51). Foreign Powers (n=44); i.e. European Union (n=27), United States (n=4) and European Court of Human Rights / Council of Europe (n=9); Separatists trying to damage national unity and solidarity (n=6); and Gülen Movement (n=2) are represented to be the ones bringing up the issue to the agenda of Turkey. When the newspapers are compared in terms of this theme, it could be seen that the newspaper Yeni Çağ is the primary one discussing the sources of conscientious objection debate with 26 references to this theme. The other newspapers, on the other hand, are more or less equal on giving place to references of this theme
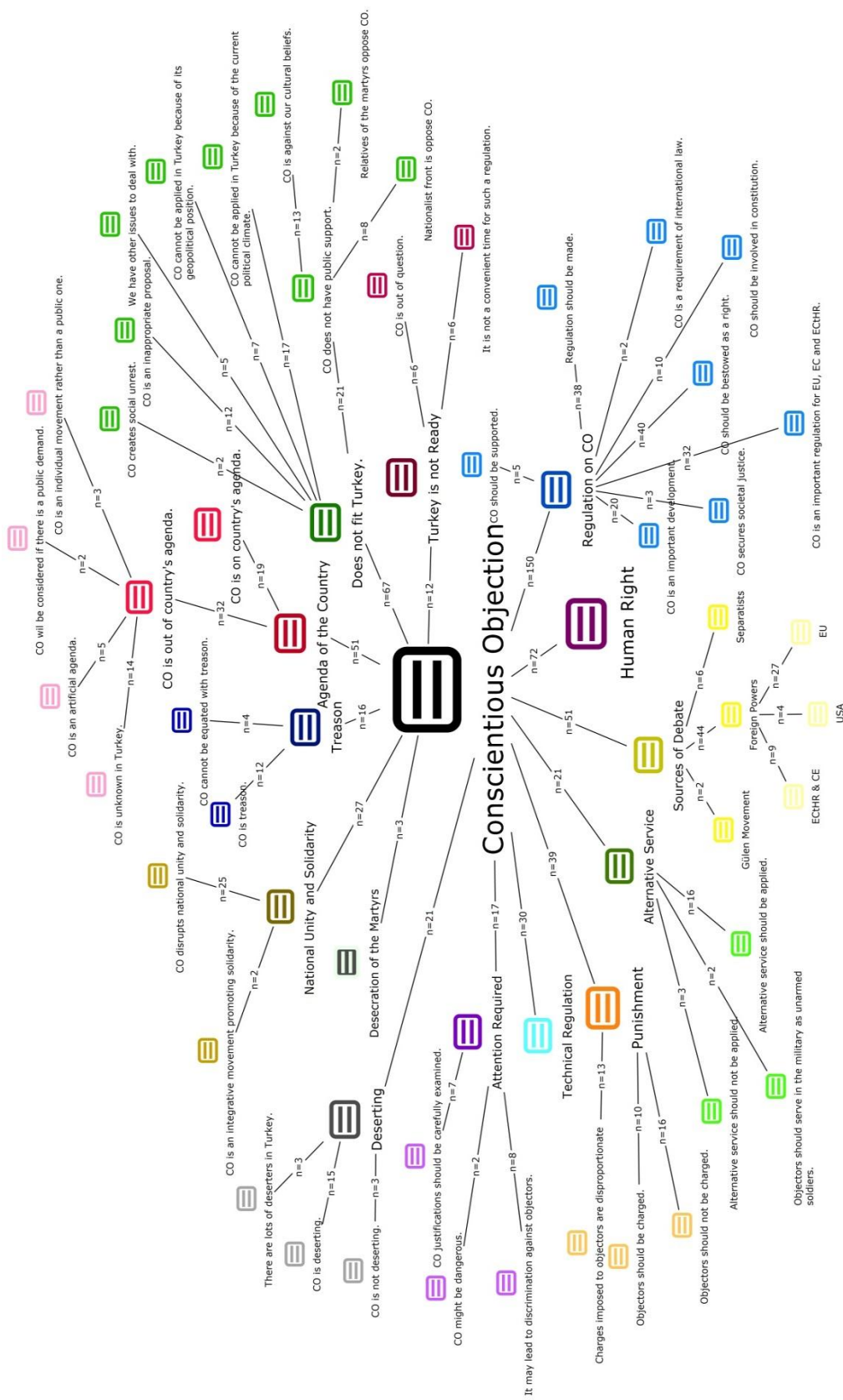
Figure 1. Media Representations of Conscientious Objection

Newspaper representations of alternative service; i.e. an option of public service for those who refuse to do military service, in which the individual serves to the state as a civil individual rather than being an armed soldier, is marked in the unit named "Alternative Civil Service". The three themes involved in this unit are that alternative service should be applied in Turkey (n=16), that it should not be applied (n=3) and that objectors should serve in the military as unarmed soldiers rather than a civil individuals engaging in public service (n=2). Although the newspaper references of alternative service are limited, it can be seen from the comparison of the newspapers in Table 3 that these references are mainly from Taraf, Zaman, and Yeni Çağ.

The Punishment unit marks representations on objectors being charged for refusing to do military service. Newspaper representations on this topic could be examined in three units with three different viewpoints, which are that objectors should not be charged for refusing to do military service (n=16), that the charges imposed on conscientious objectors are disproportionate; i.e. it is possible to charge objectors with insubordination over and over throughout their lives, (n=13), and that objectors should be charged for opposing military service (n=10). The thematic unit of punishment is largely represented in Taraf and Zaman, while the other ones are almost silent on this issue.

The thematic unit of technical regulation involves the argument that conscientious objection in a technical regulation in the initiative of the governments and it is possible to find different instances of regulations throughout the world (n=30). Zaman is the newspaper having the maximum reference at this theme (n=11), which is followed by Hürriyet (n=8) and Yeni Çağ is the newspaper having the fewest references to the theme of technical regulation.

Table 3. A Comparison of Newspapers in Terms of References of Representations on Conscientious Objection

Themes	Newspapers				
	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Taraf	Yeni Çağ	Zaman
Sources of Debate	6	7	6	26	6
Alternative Service	1	1	8	6	5
Punishment	2	1	15	3	18
Technical Regulation	5	8	5	1	11
Attention Required	1	2	4	5	5
Needs to be Opposed	0	1	0	0	1
Deserting	5	4	4	7	1
Militarists Oppose CO	0	2	0	0	0
Desecration of the Martyrs	1	0	0	1	1
National Unity and Solidarity	3	6	0	13	5
Treason	4	3	4	3	2
Agenda of the Country	8	5	14	9	15
Turkey is not Ready	4	6	0	2	0
CO does not fit Turkey.	12	11	8	28	8
Regulation on CO	9	30	57	7	47
Human Right	10	18	25	2	17

The themes involved in the ''Attention Required'' theme are that conscientious objection issue requires a careful examination as it may lead to discrimination against conscientious objectors (n=8); as the system could be exploited by ''fake objectors'' (n=7) and that accepting conscientious objection, may spell dire consequences for the country, such as the collapse of the military system, or division of the country (n=2). These themes

mainly come from the newspapers Yeni Çağ (n=5), Zaman (n=5), and Taraf (n=4).

The thematic unit 'Deserting' marks representations on abandonment of military service without leave or draft resistance. The themes involved in this unit are that conscientious objectors should be seen as deserters (n=15); conscientious objection should not be equated with deserting (n=3); and that there are lots of deserters in Turkey (n=3). References of this thematic unit could be seen in all the newspapers examined. Four of the newspapers have references in close numbers while Zaman is below them with only one reference to the theme of deserting.

The theme, "Desecration of the Martyrs" expresses the argument that the conscientious objection movement desecrates the homeland and besmirches the name of those who have been martyred in the name of the homeland (n=3). This theme has been referenced in Cumhuriyet, Yeni Çağ, and Zaman, while Hürriyet and Taraf have given it no attention.

The "National Unity and Solidarity" unit marks representations of conscientious objection in relation to national unity and solidarity. In this unit, two conflicting themes are involved which argue that conscientious objection disrupts national unity and solidarity (n=25) on one side, and on the other, that conscientious objection, rather than disrupting national unity promotes solidarity amongst citizens (n=2). This thematic unit has the most references in the newspaper Yeni Çağ (n=13), followed by Hürriyet (n=6) and Zaman (n=5). Cumhuriyet has only 3 references to this theme, while Taraf is silent on the issue.

In the thematic unit of "Treason", which comes in line with the "National Unity and Solidarity" unit, the discussion on treason is represented. In this

unit, there are two themes opposing one another, which are "Conscientious objectors are traitors (n=12)" and "Conscientious objection cannot be equated with treason (n=4)". This discussion has references in all newspapers examined in a more or less equal distribution.

"Agenda of the Country" is the thematic unit marking representations on whether conscientious objection is on the agenda of the country, or not (n=51). One of the two themes in this unit involves the claim that conscientious objection is on country's agenda (n=19). The other theme, namely "Conscientious objection is out of country's agenda." (n=32) involves four sub-themes which are "Conscientious objection is unknown to Turkey", "Conscientious objection is an artificial agenda.", "Conscientious objection will be considered if there is a public demand.", and "Conscientious objection is an individual movement rather than a public one.", all of which are united in the argument that conscientious objection is not a public issue in Turkey. The references of "Agenda of the Country" theme mainly come from the newspapers Zaman (n=15) and Taraf (n=14), which are followed by Yeni Çağ (n=9) and Cumhuriyet (n=8). Hürriyet has the lowest rate of reference in this theme, with only 5 references.

The thematic unit "Does not fit Turkey." marks representations opposing conscientious objection and a possible regulation on it (n=67). The themes "Conscientious objection does not have public support" in terms of its being against cultural principles (n=13), as the nationalist movement opposes conscientious objection (n=8), and as relatives of the martyrs would oppose conscientious objection (n=2) –; "Conscientious objection cannot be applied in Turkey because of the current political climate in the country." (n=17); "Conscientious objection is an inappropriate proposal." (n=12); "Conscientious objection cannot be applied in Turkey because of its geopolitical position." (n=7); "We have other issues to deal with." (n=5);

and "Conscientious objection creates social unrest." (n=2) are involved in this thematic unit. The references of this unit could be found in all the newspapers examined, although Yeni Çağ has dominance in ratio.

Another theme opposing a possible regulation of conscientious objection is "Turkey is not ready for conscientious objection". This involves two themes which claim that it is not a convenient time for a regulation on conscientious objection (n=6) and that conscientious objection is out of question in the current political conditions of Turkey (n=6). References to these themes come from the newspapers Hürriyet (n=4) and Cumhuriyet (n=4); also Yeni Çağ has 2 references of the topic.

The thematic unit, "Regulation on Conscientious Objection" represents different viewpoints related to a possible regulation on conscientious objection (n=150). The themes of this unit are that conscientious objection should be bestowed as a right (n=40), that a regulation on conscientious objection should be put into practice (n=38), that a regulation on conscientious objection is important for Turkey's relations with the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the European Court of Human Rights (n=32), that conscientious objection is an important development for Turkey (n=20), that conscientious objection should be involved in constitution as a basic right (n=10), that conscientious objection movement should be supported (n=5), that a regulation on conscientious objection secures justice among different fragments of the society (n=3), and that a regulation on conscientious objection is a requirement of international law (n=2). When references of this thematic unit are compared among newspapers, it could be seen that Taraf (n=57), Zaman (n=47) and Hürriyet (n=30) are the dominant sources of reference while Cumhuriyet (n=9) and Yeni Çağ (n=7) contain relatively few references.

The last thematic unit of conscientious objection marks a prevalent representation that conscientious objection is a human right (n=72). This theme is represented dominantly in Taraf (n=25), followed by Hürriyet (n=18) and Zaman (n=17). Cumhuriyet has 10 references of this theme while Yeni Çağ remains almost entirely silent on it.

2.3.2 Media Representations of Conscientious Objectors

Newspaper representations of conscientious objectors could be examined in four thematic units which are "Justifications of Conscientious Objectors", "Difficulties of Being an Objector", "Stereotypes about Objectors" and "Number of Objectors". An overview of newspaper representations of conscientious objectors is presented in Figure 2 below.

To start with, "Justifications of Conscientious Objection" theme, it could be seen in Figure 2 that media representations of justifications asserted by objectors could be examined in two subgroups which are justifications based on individual factors (n=45) and ideological justifications (n=27). The subgroup of "Justifications Based on Individual Factors" shows us that the factors of religion and belief (n=16), personal ideology (n=7), ethnicity (n=7), conscience (n=6), the process of military service (n=5), sexual orientation (n=2), and morality (n=2) are represented in the examined newspapers to be the individual factors having a role in one's objection. "Ideological Justifications" subgroup, on the other hand, includes worldviews and ideologies asserted by objectors. Pacifism (n=11), "Antimilitarism", support towards the "Kurdish Movement", "Anarchism", and "Being Opposed to the Current Political Order" are represented as the ideologies and worldviews most objectors have identified themselves with. As can be seen in Table 4, references of this thematic unit take place Taraf (n=24), Yeni Çağ (n=18), and Hürriyet (n=17); while Zaman (n=9) and Cumhuriyet (n=4) have relatively less references on this theme.

The thematic unit named "Difficulties of Being an Objector" marks newspaper representations on troubles and difficulties objectors face throughout their lives (n=55). The themes involved in this unit are civil death; i.e. abuse of one's civil rights (n=22), being exposed to ill treatment and torture (n=14), being exposed to stigmatization and discrimination (n=8), being treated as deserters (n=5), being charged with turning people against military (n=5), and being charged with insubordination (n=2). The main sources of reference seems to be the newspapers Taraf (n=25) and Zaman (n=20) in this theme. Hürriyet (n=8) and Cumhuriyet (n=3) includes relatively few references of the topic whilst Yeni Çağ, in keeping with many such trends, remains silent on the issue.

"The stereotypes about objectors" constitutes another thematic unit related to conscientious objectors which involves both positive (n=11) and negative (n=34) stereotypes of conscientious. The negative stereotypes represented in the newspapers are "Enemy of the State and Society" (n=12), "Free-rider" (n=10), "Deprived of National Sentiment" (n=5), "Traitor" (n=4), "Coward" (n=2), and "Individualist" (n=1). "Pacifist" (n=6), "Downtrodden" (n=2), "Courageous" (n=2), and "Aware of Turkish Realities" (n=1) are; on the other hand, the positive stereotypes of objectors that are expressed in the written media. As for the comparison, the newspaper Yeni Çağ seems to be the dominant source of these stereotypes, while others give place to few stereotypes of conscientious objectors.
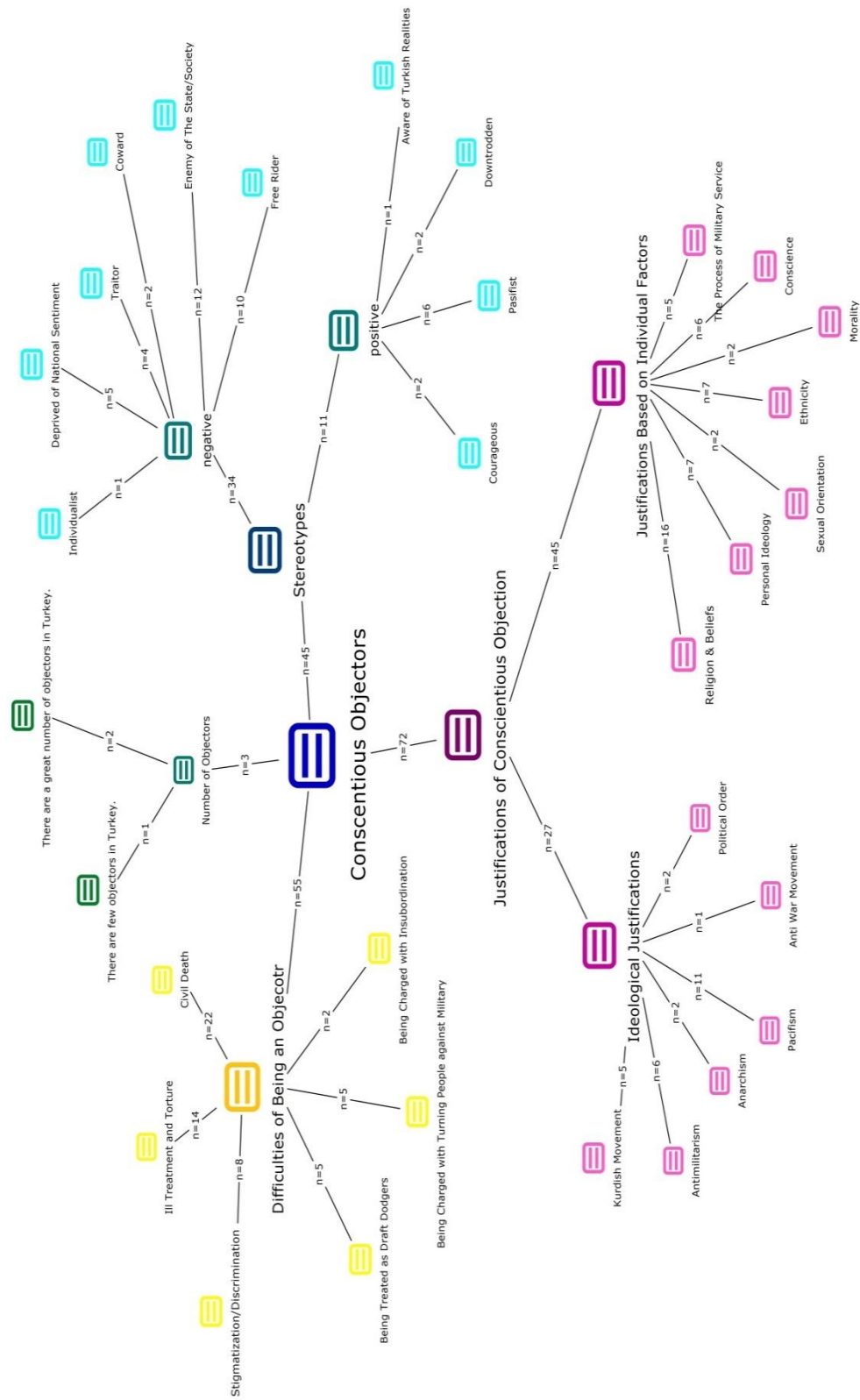
Figure 2. Media Representations of Conscientious Objectors

Table 4. A Comparison of Newspapers in Terms of Representations on Conscientious Objectors

Themes	Newspapers				
	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Taraf	Yeni Çağ	Zaman
Justifications of Objectors	4	17	24	18	9
Difficulties of Being an Objector	3	8	25	0	20
Stereotypes about Objectors	4	1	6	31	3
Number of Objectors	0	1	1	1	0

The last thematic unit related to objectors involves the number of objectors in Turkey (n=3). In this unit, there are themes suggesting that objectors are either in limited number (n=1), or in great numbers (n=2).

2.3.3 Media Representations of Related Concepts

Newspaper representations of military service, war, the homeland and religion that are gained through the content analysis of newspapers are presented below.

2.3.3.1 Media Representations of Military Service

As depicted in Figure 3, newspaper representations of military service could be examined in 10 thematic units which are "Phenomenon of Military Service", "An Important Duty", "A harsh Process", "Manhood", "Death and Killing", "Objection", "Forced Military Service", "Paid Military Service", "Professional Army", and "Turkish Armed Forces".

The thematic unit named "Phenomenon of Military Nation", marks newspaper representations on the conception of the Turkish nation as that of a 'military nation' (n=34). The unit involves the themes arguing that every Turk is born a soldier (n=13), that every Turk is *not* born a soldier (n=3),

that military myths are starting to be abandoned (n=11) and that conscientious objection damages the conception of the 'military nation' (n=3). References to these themes mainly come from Taraf (n=16), Yeni Çağ (n=9), and Hürriyet (n=7) while Cumhuriyet and Zaman give place to only one reference related to the issue. Table 5 depicts frequencies of references of the thematic units under the heading of military service.

Table 5. A Comparison of Newspapers in Terms of Representations on Military Service

Themes	Newspapers				
	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Taraf	Yeni Çağ	Zaman
Phenomenon of Military Nation	1	7	16	9	1
An Important Duty	4	1	2	6	2
A Harsh Process	0	0	12	2	2
Manhood	0	5	5	3	3
Forced Military Service	4	7	14	6	26
Paid Military Service	6	7	5	8	16
Professional Army	4	1	12	21	5
Turkish Armed Forces	17	12	21	43	11

The thematic unit "An Important Duty" (n=16) involves themes arguing that military service should not be opposed (n=6), that militarism is a prevalent ideology in Turkey (n=4), that military service is a civic responsibility (n=4), and that military service is the keystone of nationalism (n=2). Yeni Çağ (n=2) and Cumhuriyet (n=4) seem to be the primary sources of reference on the "An Important Duty" unit. While they are followed by Zaman (n=2) and Taraf (n=2), the newspaper Hürriyet has the least references of the issue.

Military Service

Forced MS n=57

- It should be abolished. n=31
- It should be discussed. n=14
- It is beyond discussion. n=3
- It should not be discussed. n=3
- It is a product of Kemalist ideology. n=4

Paid MS n=35

- It's a policy of the goverment. n=8
- CO and PMS are related issues. n=8
- It should not be abolished. n=8
- CO and PMS are unrelated issues. n=11
- It leads to social injustice. n=10

Professional Army n=43

- It solves the problems of MS. n=15
- Professional army and CO complement one another n=5
- It does not fit us. n=13

Objection n=7

- Objection should not be allowed n=2
- Objection should be allowed. n=5

Manhood n=16

- MS is a lifelong burden before men. n=9
- Gay men should not be forced to do MS. n=2
- MS should not be a symbol of manhood. n=1
- Manhood Justification n=1
  - Marriage
  - Employment n=5
- Gallant Soldiers n=2
  - MS is not heroic. n=2
  - MS is heroic.

A Harsh Process n=16

- Soldiers face various difficulties. n=15
- Not only the soldiers but also their immediate surroundings are affected. n=1
- Death & Killing n= 6
  - Violation of human rights n=1
  - Traumatic impacts n=8

An Important Duty n=34

- MS is a civic responsibility. n=4
- MS is the keystone of nationalism. n=2
- Militarism is a prevalent ideology. n=4
- MS should not be opposed. n=6

Phenomenon of Military Nation

- CO damages the military nation conception. n=3
- Every Turk is born a soldier. n=13
- Not every Turk is born a soldier. n=7
- Military myths are started to be abondoned. n=11

Turkish Armed Forces n=109

- CO & TAF n=57
  - CO does not derail military system. n=7
  - CO does not oppose forced MS. n=9
  - CO does not damage the system of MS. n=16
  - CO alienates public from military service. n=10
  - CO wears out TAF n=11
  - CO damages the system of MS. n=37
  - CO derails the military system. n=12
  - CO abuses the notion of soldiery. n=4
- The needs of army should be prioritized. n=4
- TAF is a problematic structure. n=14
- The backbone of the society. n=14
- TAF is the backbone of the society. n=15
- There is a shift in perception of war. n=4
- There is an effort to undermine TAF.

Figure 3. Media Representations of Military Service

"A Harsh Process" unit marks representations of military service as a harsh process which has negative impacts on individuals (n=16). One of the two themes grouped in this unit suggests that soldiers face various difficulties throughout their military service (n=15); i.e. killing an individual or dying (n = 6), traumatic experiences with negative psychological impacts (n=8) and witnessing/suffering/inflicting a violation of human rights (n=1). The other theme expresses these traumatic events take their toll not only on the soldier, but also their loved ones, i.e. family, friends, relatives, etc. (n=1). These themes have references in Taraf (n=12) Yeni Çağ (n=2) and Zaman (n=2) while other newspapers are silent on how military service could affect individuals' lives.

The thematic unit of manhood reveals the representations of military service in relation to manhood (n=16). The most frequently represented theme of this unit expresses that military service is a lifelong burden before men in the dimensions of marriage (n=5), employment (n=1), and manhood justification (n=1). Another theme of this unit, "Gallant Soldiers", points out a discussion on the image of soldiers in the society; i.e. whether military service is a heroic deed (n=2), or not (n=2). Other themes involved in this thematic unit are "Gay men should not be forced to military service" (n=2) and "Military service is not a symbol of manhood" (n=1). This unit has references in Hürriyet (n=5), Taraf (n=5), Yeni Çağ (n=3) and Zaman (n=3) while Cumhuriyet remains silent on it.

In the unit "Forced Military Service" newspaper representations of forced military service are marked (n=57). This thematic unit involves the themes arguing that forced military service should continue to be compulsory for adult males (n=33), that forced military service should be abolished (n=14), that forced military service is a product of the Kemalist ideology (n=4), that forced military service is an issue to be discussed (n=3), and that it is

beyond discussion (n=3). References of these themes appear mostly in Zaman (n=26) and Taraf (n=14) while other newspapers give relatively less place for this issue.

Paid military service; i.e. an option that the government offers occasionally to male citizens over 30 years old in which they could perform military service for a short time or do not ever have to join the army, is an issue that becomes popular in Turkey at certain intervals, frequently moving in and out of public discourse. As the time period in which the newspaper analysis has been conducted coincides with one of those times, paid military service has found a place in discussions of conscientious objection and military service. The thematic unit of paid military service (n=35) involves themes arguing that paid military service leads to social injustice as only one segment of the society could benefit from this option (n=11), that paid military service is a policy benefiting the interest of the government (n=8), that paid military service is an issue related to conscientious objection (n=8) and that conscientious objection and paid military service are unrelated issues which coincidentally gain currency in the same period of time (n=8). The newspaper that predominantly give place to references of these themes is Zaman (n=14) and it is followed by Yeni Çağ (n=7), Hürriyet (n=6), Cumhuriyet (n=5) and Taraf (n=3) in a descending order.

Professional army, another public issue of military, constitutes a thematic unit of newspaper representations. The themes grouped in this unit are that it is an effective solution of problems military service currently have (n=15), that professional army does not fit Turkey (n=13), and that professional army softens up Turkish Armed Forces which makes the country open to external threats. The last theme of this unit represents the relation between professional army and conscientious objection and suggests that professional army and conscientious objection are issues complementing

one another (n=5). The sources of reference seem to be Yeni Çağ (n=21) and Taraf (n=12) in this thematic unit while the other newspapers fall behind.

The last thematic unit to be mentioned on the topic of military service is 'Turkish Armed Forces', which marks the newspaper representations related to the Turkish Armed Forces themselves. The first theme of this unit, "Turkish Armed Forces and Conscientious Objection", represents Turkish Armed forces in relation to conscientious objection (n=57). This theme involves the arguments that conscientious objection damages the system of military service in that 1) it derails the military system (n=12), 2) it wears out TAF (n=11), 3) it abuses the notion of soldiery (n=4) and 4) it alienates the public from military service (n=10); that conscientious objection does not damage the system of military service; i.e. it does not oppose forced military service (n=9) and it does not derail the military service (n=7) and that the needs of Turkish Armed Forces should be prioritized when a possible regulation on conscientious objection is actualized (n=4). All of the newspapers made references to these themes with varying rates. Yeni Çağ seems to be the preeminent source of reference with 43 reference of this thematic unit while Taraf is ranked as second (n=21), Cumhuriyet as the third (n=17) and the newspapers of Hürriyet (n=12) and Zaman (n=11) are ranked as the last.

2.3.3.2 Media Representations of Homeland

As can be seen in Figure 5, newspaper representations of homeland could be examined in two thematic units which are "Patriotic Themes" and "Unpatriotic Themes". The themes grouped under the title of "Patriotic Themes" appear to be "National Service", which involves the arguments that there is no single symbol of patriotism (n=6) and military service is not the symbol of patriotism (n=4), ""Citizenship requires certain

responsibilities (n=7), "Homeland Defense", which involves the arguments that homeland defense is a sacred duty (n=5) and that every single Turk should take part in homeland defense (n=2), and "Homeland is the bond holding us together (n=2)". As can be seen in Table 6 below, all the newspapers give place to references of these themes with rates close to one another.

Table 6. A Comparison of Newspapers in Terms of Representations on Homeland

Themes	Newspapers				
	Cumhuriyet	**Hürriyet**	**Taraf**	**Yeni Çağ**	**Zaman**
Patriotic Themes	6	4	6	6	5
Unpatriotic Themes	0	1	1	2	1
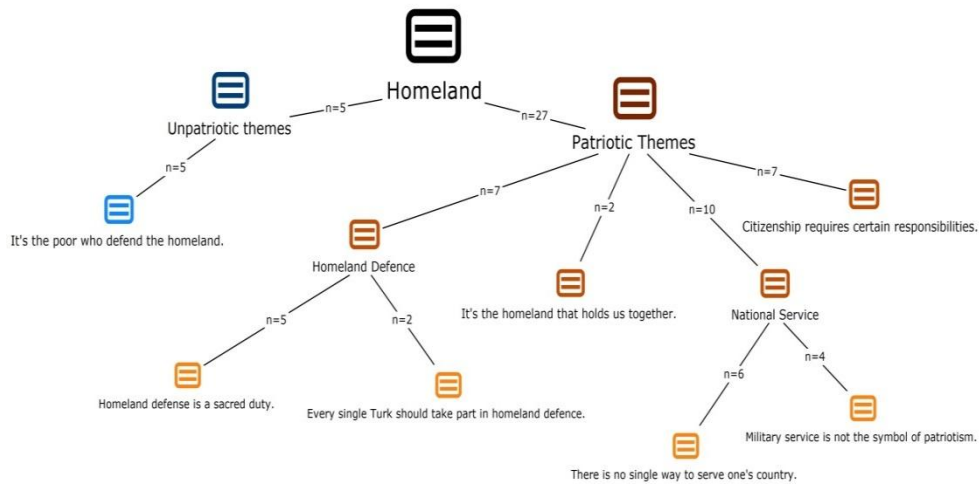
Figure 4. Newspaper Representations of Homeland

The thematic unit named "Unpatriotic Themes", on the other hand, involves the theme expressing that it has always been the poor who defend the

65

homeland (n=5). This theme is referenced in four of the five newspapers while Cumhuriyet is the only one lacking a reference on it.

2.3.3.3 Newspaper Representations of War

Newspaper representations of war could be examined in three thematic units which are that war is not an effective way to solve world problems (n=5), that it is about nothing but killing and dying (n=3), and that the Turkish civil war is merely plot carried out by sovereigns in the society while there is no conflict between Turkish and Kurdish people (n=1). The only source of reference of these themes is Taraf (n=9) while all of other newspapers remain silent to this issue. The themes are depicted in Figure 5 below.
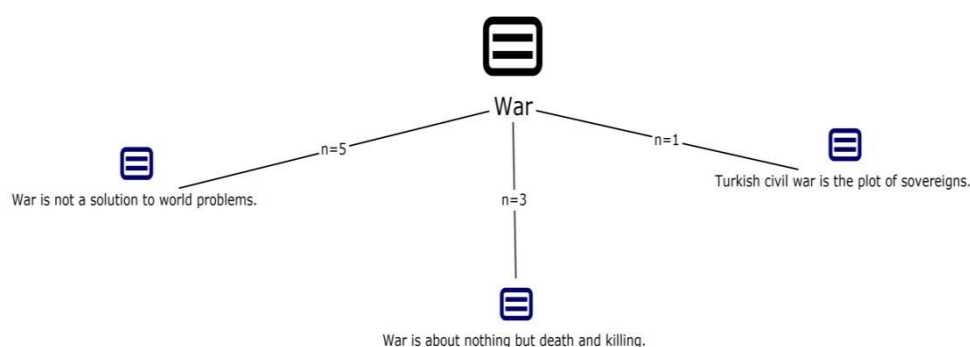
Figure 5. Newspaper Representations of War

2.3.3.4 Newspaper Representations of Islam

Islam is the last issue represented to be related to conscientious objection. Newspaper representations of Islam could be examined in two thematic units; i.e. in relation to conscientious objection and in relation to military service (see Figure 6 for an overview of the themes.) The unit of conscientious objection (n=7) involves two themes which argues that conscientious objection matches the values of Islam (n=6) or that it

contradicts with the values of Islam (n=1). These themes are referenced only in Taraf (n=6) and in Yeni Çağ (n=1).
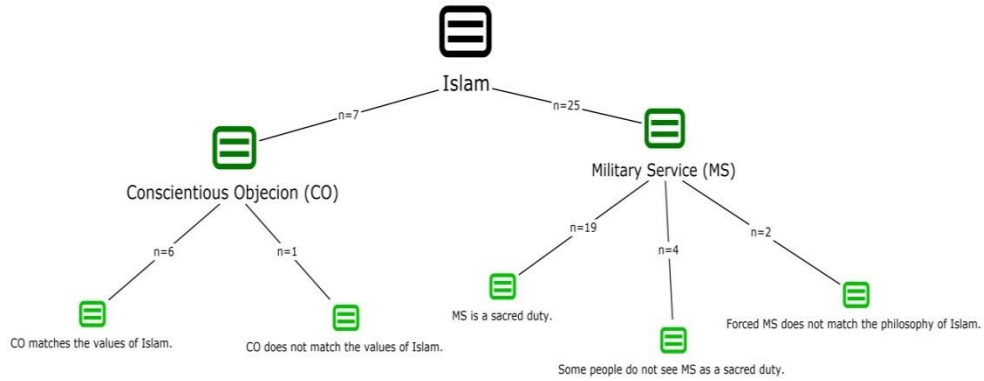
Figure 6. Newspaper Representations of Islam

In the unit of military service, the themes expressed are that military service is a sacred duty (n=19), that some people do not see military service is a sacred duty (n=4), and that forced military service contradicts with the values of Islam (n=2). All the newspapers give place to references of this thematic unit, although they are limited. Hürriyet has 9 references of the issue, while Yeni Çağ has 8, Taraf has 4, and Zaman and Cumhuriyet have 2 references expressing themes related to military service.

If an overall comparison of newspapers in terms of representing conscientious objection and other related issues is made, it can be said that Taraf, Yeni Çağ and Zaman are active sources of reference, in while Hürriyet is partially active and Cumhuriyet is relatively silent in representing the mentioned issues (see Table 7 for an overview). The newspaper Taraf, the primary source of reference, has been seen to be the one approaching the issue of conscientious objection with the widest perspective. This trend could be seen in Zaman, as well, while Yeni Çağ

tends to give a negative representation of conscientious objection. Hürriyet, representative of the mainstream media in Turkey, has a relatively shallow representation of the issue whereas Cumhuriyet, the statist-secularist opinion newspaper, is the poorest source of reference.

Table 7. An Overall Comparison of Newspapers included in the Media Study

Headings	Newspapers				
	Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Taraf	Yeni Çağ	Zaman
Conscientious Objection	71	102	150	113	141
Conscientious Objectors	11	27	56	50	32
Military Service	36	40	87	98	66
Homeland	6	6	9	7	12
War	0	0	9	0	0
Islam	2	9	10	9	2
Total	126	184	321	277	253

2.4 Discussion

In this section, social representations of conscientious objection and related constructs that are gained through media analysis will be discussed within the frame of the Social Representations Theory. As mentioned, the media representations of conscientious objection in Turkey can be examined under three main headings which are "Media Representations of Conscientious Objection", "Media Representations of Conscientious Objectors", and "Media Representations of Related Concepts".

2.4.1 Media Representations of Conscientious Objection

Analysis of reports and columns has indicated that there are four representations of conscientious objection in Turkey, namely "Conscientious Objection is a human right.", "Conscientious objection is a must for Turkey." "Conscientious objection is surreal for Turkey.", and "Conscientious objection issue needs more discussion." In any case, we see that there are some remarkable differences in the extent way that various newspapers handle the issue. Conscientious objection has been examined deeply by leftist liberal Taraf and center-right pro-government newspaper Zaman. Hürriyet, which represents the mainstream media, and Yeni Çağ, which represents the nationalist-conservative segment of the society, followed these two while statist-secularist Cumhuriyet, has relatively been indifferent to the issue.

2.4.1.1 Conscientious Objection as a Human Right

A prevalent representation related to conscientious objection is that conscientious objection should be considered a human right. This representation has been emphasized both by itself and in relation to the discussion of instituting "a regulation on conscientious objection". Quote 1 and 2 could be viewed as examples for the representation "Conscientious objection is a human right."

Quote 1

Vicdani ret bir insan hakkı (Taraf, 04.12.2011)

Eskişehir'de Sivil Yerel Oluşum (ESYO) tarafından düzenlenen, "Bedelli Askerlik ve Vicdani Ret" başlıklı toplantıda konuşan TBMM Milli Eğitim, Kültür, Gençlik ve Spor Komisyonu Başkanı Nabi Avcı, vicdani ret konusunun kamuoyunda tam olarak anlaşılamadığını, bazı insanların vicdani ret kavramını "askerlikten kaçma"	*In the speech he delivered during a meeting organized by Civil Local Organization of Eskişehir (ESYO, Nabi Avcı, President of National Education, Culture, Youth and Sports Commission of Turkish Parliament, said that conscientious objection wasn't accurately understood by the Turkish people and it was perceived as a means*

meselesi olarak gördüğünü söyledi. "Vicdani reddin, genel bir insan hakkı, düşünce, din ve vicdan hürriyetinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğu anlatılmalıdır" diyen Avcı, bu konuda ciddi bir bilgilendirme zafiyeti bulunduğunu ve bu olgunun keyfe keder bir tercih meselesi gibi anlaşıldığını, hatta daha ileriye gidilerek askerlikten kaçmanın bir mazereti gibi görüldüğünü belirtti.	*of "desertion". Underlying that conscientious objection is a human right which cannot be separated from freedom of expression and faith, Avcı added that there is lack of knowledge on this subject which renders people to evaluate conscientious objection as an arbitrary choice and a means of desertion.*

In Quote 1, which quotes from the incumbent Minister of National Education, it has been stated that conscientious objection should be considered as a part of the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. Quote 2; on the other hand, examines the issue of conscientious objection in relation to European Court of Human Rights. As mentioned previously, conscientious objection has become a public issue via the charges objectors pressed against Turkey at ECHR; therefore ECHR is an inseparable part of newspaper reports and columns related to conscientious objection. For example, during the period of this media analysis, another hearing which concerns Yusuf Erçep's refusal to perform military service has been conducted, and Turkey has been found guilty on the recognition that it is in violation of Article 9 (i.e. right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion) and Article 6 (right to fair trial) to deny one's objection to perform military service and charge him in the military court (ECHR, 2011b) (See Quote 2 below for a newspaper report on Erçep v. Turkey case). Moreover, the period of media analysis has coincided with end of the time European Commission (EC) gave Turkey to perform the decision of ECHR and make a regulation on conscientious objection. These led to a high representation of not only ECHR but also EC and European Union (EU) in media products handling conscientious objection.

Quote 2

Türkiye Vicdani Ret'e Zorunlu (Hürriyet Planet, 14.12.2011)	
AİHM, Yehova şahidi olduğu için askere gitmeyen vicdani retçi Yunus Erçep'i haklı buldu ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesi'nin 'din ve vicdan özgürlüğü' başlıklı 9'uncu maddesi ile 'adil yargılama' başlıklı 6'ıncı maddesini ihlal ettiğine hükmetti. Bu durum, artık Türkiye'nin mutlaka vicdani ret konusunda adım atmasını gerektiriyor" dedi.	*European Court of Human Rights recognized the case of Yunus Erçep, who declared his conscientious objection due to his being Jehovah's witness and decreed that Turkey violated the 9th Article on freedom of "faith and conscience" and 6th Article on "legal jurisdiction" of European Convention of Human Rights. They concluded that Turkey has to take some steps towards conscientious objection.*

2.4.1.2 Conscientious Objection as a Must for Turkey

Another representation supporting conscientious objection is that a regulation on conscientious objection is a must for Turkey. This representation involves the themes that a regulation on conscientious objection should be made; that it is an important development; that it would make Turkey a more civilized country; that it would enhance the relations Turkey has with EU, EC, and ECHR; that it is a requirement of international law and that it would secure societal justice in Turkey. Thus, it can be inferred that proponents of this view shared the basic argument that the primary need of Turkey is democratization and that recognizing conscientious objection is seen as an important step of turning Turkey to a democratic and civilized country that respects human rights and requirements of international laws. For example, in Quote 3, the columnist views the regulation on conscientious objection as a liberating move that would put an end to the infinite suffering conscientious objectors go through and make the country a more secure place. In Quote 4, parallel, it has been emphasized that a regulation on conscientious objection is a requirement of international law.

Quote 3

Vicdani Ret, Solo Test ve Deniz Yıldızı Patrick (Ayça Şen, Taraf, 16.11.2011)

...Fakat dikkat ettiniz mi, bakanların ağzına 'Vicdani ret' gibi kelimeler ne kadar yakışıyor. "Adalet, hak, vicdan" gibi kelimeler normal insanlardan çok daha fazla, onlara yakışıyor.	*..I don't know if you have paid attention but such words as "conscientious objection" suits to ministers more than to ordinary people.*
Sanki mutlu sona ermiş, haksızlıklara karşı savaşmış bir kimsenin hikâyesini okumak gibi içini de şevkle dolduruyor. Şimdiye kadar savaşını verenlerin nefeslerini boş yere tüketmedikleri, işkencelerini boş yere çekmedikleri, mutlu sona varan bir filmin jenerik müziğinde gözlerinin yaşarması gibi.	*It lifts my sprit like when I read a story about a man who fights against injustices and has the happy ending. It feels like crying in a last scene of a happy-ending movie when you see all these fight, struggle, pain and tortures were not for nothing.*
...	*...*
*İşte bu yüzden **vicdani ret** gibi sözler adalet bakanlarının ağzına daha çok yakışıyor. Kelimelerin hakkını bizlere verecek olan onlar çünkü. Savaşını verirken içinde öfke oluyor ister istemez. Dolayısıyla Adalet Bakanı'ndan, Milli Savunma Bakanlığı'ndan duyunca seneleri susturulmuşluklar ve zinhar yasaklarla dolu bu topraklarda gerçeküstü bir etki yaratabiliyor. Yaşadığın toprakların sanki güvenli bir yer olduğunu bile düşünmeye başlıyorsun...*	*That is why such words as **conscientious objection** suit more to ministers of justice than ordinary people; because these are the ones who are able to make these words come true. When you fight, you fill with anger. Therefore, these words which come through the mouth of Minister of Justice and Minister and Minister of Defence can have a surreal impact on this land which has spent years in absolute silence and muet to restrictions. You think, for a moment, that the land you live is a safe place...*
Vicdani retle birlikte başlayacak muhteşem özgürlük akımında (elbette yerine derhal bir başka tabu monte edilmezse) Türkiye nasıl bir ülke olacak, salyamız akarak merakla bakıyor, bekliyoruz...	*We can't help wondering what kind of a country Turkey will transform through this freedom current initiated with conscientious objection (unless it is replaced by another taboo, of course)...*

2.3.1.3 Conscientious Objection as Surreal for Turkey

The themes opposing conscientious objection in Turkey have a shared emphasis on the geopolitical situation of Turkey and the Turks' needs as a nation; in essence, they emphasize the idea that conscientious objection is merely a dream for Turkey, going against all practicalities.

Quote 4

Yasa çıkmak zorunda (Zeynep Oral, Cumhuriyet, 28.11.2011)

Vicdani ret, politik görüşleri ve inançları gereği zorunlu askerliği reddetmedir. Çağdaş ve evrensel insan haklarına saygılı her ülkede vicdani ret, yasalarla düzenlenmiştir. O yasa, alternatif sivil hizmet, kamu hizmeti getirir ki ülkemizin buna ihtiyacı, bence asker sayısından çok daha fazladır!	*Conscientious objection is refusing to perform military service on the grounds of freedom of thought, conscience, and/or religion. Conscientious objection is regulated by law in contemporary countries which respects universal human rights. In this law, military service is replaced by alternative civil duty and public service which I think Turkey needs more.*

The most prevailing argument that opposes conscientious objection is that conscientious objection would not fit Turkey, as the public does not support conscientious objection, as "the current political climate" does not allow for it, as geopolitical conditions of Turkey would make it impossible, as 'we have other issues to deal with', as it would create social unrest, or as it is simply inappropriate. For example, in Quote 5 below, the columnist equates conscientious objection to treason.

Quote 5

Zengine Bedelli PKK'lıya Vicdani Ret Çıkacak… Nöbeti Gariban Çocuğu Tutacak! (Yeni Çağ, 17.11.2011)

Türkiye'ye ihanettir *CHP Bolu Milletvekili Tanju Özcan, "Vicdani ret düzenlemesi talep etmek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne ihanet etmektir" dedi. TBMM'de düzenlediği basın toplantısında, vicdani reddin, 'askerlik yapmayı ret etmek', halkın deyimiyle 'askerlikten kaçmak' anlamına geldiğini savunan Özcan, "Vicdani ret düzenlemesi de askerlikten kaçmak isteyenlere yasal güvence sağlama düzenlemesidir" dedi. Vicdani ret projesini Türk milleti ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne*	*This is Betrayal to Turkey* *Tanju Özcan, Deputy of Bolu district from the main opposition party CHP, said "demanding conscientious objection as a right is a betrayal to the Turkish Republic. Supporting the idea that conscientious objection means "refusing to perform military service" and "desertion" as conceived by the public, Özcan said that proposing conscientious objection is a way to legalize desertion. Özcan stated that*

ihanet projesi olarak değerlendirdiğini söyleyen Özcan, "Önce PKK istiyor, AB destekliyor, hükümet de emir telakki edip, hayata geçiriyor" dedi. Düzenlemenin çıkması halinde bundan zengin aile çocukları ve bölücü terör örgütü sempatizanlarının yararlanacağını savunan Özcan, "Vicdani ret düzenlemesi talep etmek, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne ihanet etmektir" dedi.	*Conscientious objection is a betrayal project to Turkish people and Turkish Republic and added as follows: "PKK demands it in the first place, the EU supports it and the government obeys by their orders and puts this project into action." If this proposal comes into effect, children of rich families and followers of separatist terror organization will benefit from it. Demanding conscientious objection to be a right is a betrayal to the Turkish Republic."*

A second opposing theme is that conscientious objection is out of Turkey's agenda in both political and public levels. Although the results presented here, of media analysis, have shown that the conscientious objection issue is very much under public scrutiny, this idea, which has been produced mainly by political actors, is still prevalent.

Another theme in this group is that conscientious objection is inadmissible for Turkey. This theme involves the arguments that conscientious objection would disrupt national unity and solidarity, that it could be equated with treason, that it is nothing but deserting and that it is disrespectful to the martyrs. In Quote 6 below, for instance, it is stated that conscientious objection is equated with treason

Quote 6

"Memlekette vicdan mı kaldı, reddi olsun" (Işıl Özgentürk, Cumhuriyet, 28.11.2011)

...Bakalım bizde durum ne, en iyi haberi taksicilerden alacağımı bildiğim için, kendime birkaç iş icat edip, taksilere binmeye başlıyorum, bir iki	*...I take a taxi to test the pulse of people about conscientious objection as I think it is the ideal place to do so. Our conversation turns to military service by*

söz askerliğe, özellikle de bedelliye geliveriyor. Epeyce bir yol gideceğim ilk taksici, orta yaşlarda bir adam, söze "Bizim canımız yok muydu?" diye başlıyor, Çiller döneminde 18 ay askerlik yapmış, "Kuzey Irak'a bile gittim" diyor, ardından ekliyor: "Ne işe yaradı ki?.." Sonra çok kararlı bir sesle "Oğlumu asla askere yollamam" diyor, "kendi yaşadıklarımdan sonra ona kıyamam." Hemen söze girip, "Oğlunuz vicdani ret yapsın" diyorum. Bir an durup düşünüyor, "O dediğin nedir" diye soruyor, en basit biçimde anlatmaya çalışıyorum, "İnanç ve düşüncelerinden ötürü asker olmayı reddetmek" diyorum. Yani "vatan hainliği gibi bir şey mi?" "Vicdani olarak savaşmayı reddetmek, eline silah almamak" diyorum. "Bize gelmez" diyor, "ben aileme vatan haini diye damga vurdurmam."...

payment in a few minutes. The taxi driver says first: "Didn't we deserve such an opportunity when we were young?" He performed 18 month-long military service when Çiller was the prime minister. Then he added: "I was even deployed to Northern Iraq. And all these turned out to be worthless. I'll never let my son to do military service after all I went through." And I suggest him that his son be a conscientious objector." He thinks for a moment and then asks what it is. I try to explain it in the simplest way and say it is to refuse to perform military service on the grounds of freedom of thought, conscience, and/or religion. And he asks if it is like treason. I say it is to refuse to fight by one's conscience and to hold a gun. He says: "It is not our cup of tea. I cannot let my family be called as traitor."...

These themes come together and form the representation that conscientious objection is surreal for Turkey. Most of the media products producing and sharing this representation reflect nationalist ideology in the sense that they view the country as a nation and take the needs of the nation to the forefront. Secondly, they have a militaristic viewpoint as they tend to discuss the issue on the basis of military needs; i.e. they degrade one's citizenship to performing military service and view the ones opposing military service as traitors. Further, they tend to dignify military service and the martyrs defining them as individuals who did not abstain from dying in the name of the homeland. Quote 7, for example, reflects both nationalistic and militaristic viewpoints on conscientious objection, as it not only glorifies the army and views any movement criticizing its place in society as enemies, but also it puts a special emphasis on the existence of the nation state.

Quote 7

"Vicdani Ret ve Deli Halit Paşa'nın 'Namussuz'u" (Cazim Gürbüz, Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)

... Kaan Turhan, "Sivil Casus" adlı değerli eserinde şu bilgileri veriyor *"Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'nin, Türk Ulusu'nun gözündeki yüksek değerini ve ulusla bütünleşmiş yapısını ortadan kaldırmaya, yeni liberal akım etkisi doğrultusunda ulus devletleri yıpratarak, küresel finans kapitalin faşist uygulamalarını Türk ulusuna dayatmak yoluyla Türklüğün, Türk ulusunun bu erdemlerini yaşatmakla yükümlü Kemal'in Ordusu'nun tasfiye edilmesinin bir başka adıdır: Vicdani Ret...*	*..Kaan Turhan provides us with the following information in his valuable work named "Civil Spy":* *"Conscientious Objection is a way to abolish the integrated structure of Turkish Armed Forces with its people, to harm the nation states with the help of liberal trends, to undermine the virtues of Turkishness and Turkish people by means of fascist implementations of global capitalism."*

2.3.1.4 Conscientious Objection as an Issue to be Discussed Thoroughly

The Fourth representation of conscientious objection was that it requires thorough discussion. This representation has been marked by discussions on issues such as punishment of conscientious objectors, and alternative service that can be applied to objectors besides themes that conscientious objection needs to be examined carefully and that it is a technical regulation requiring special attention of officials.

The discussion on punishment for conscientious objection; first of all, proceeds in the context of law. One party of the discussion argues that it is against human rights to charge individuals on the basis of their objection to military service while a second party emphasizes that punishment of objectors is lawful as it is done within the scope of Turkish law. A third line of thought, on the other hand, argues that what is wrong about objectors'

being charged is the repetitive punishment they are exposed to and that the problem would be solved when a regulation on punishment could be made. Quote 8 could be seen as an example representing the third party.

Quote 8

"Bakan Yılmaz: Zorunlu askerlik devam edecek." (Zaman Politika, 17.11.2011)

… "Vicdani ret düzenlemesi sonrasında zorunlu askerlik kaldırılıyor mu?" sorusu üzerine de Yılmaz, şunları kaydetti: *"Dün Adalet Bakanımız açıkladı. Türkiye'de bazı kimseler 'biz askerlik yapmayacağız' demiş. Yasalarımıza göre askerlik yapmayanın hapis cezası var, hapis cezasını çekmiş tekrar çıkmış, 'tekrar yapmayacağım' diyor. Bunun üzerine tekrar ceza vermişiz. Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi aynı suçtan dolayı birden fazla ceza verilmesini sözleşmenin ihlali olarak görmüş. Dolayısıyla zorunlu askerlik kaldırılacak diye bir durum yok. Zorunlu askerlik devam edecek. Zorunlu askerlik sadece bizde değil Avrupa'nın birçok ülkesinde var. Bunu hukuk aykırı bulmamıştır. Dolayısıyla zorunlu askerlik devam edecek. Peki yapılan çalışma nedir? Onu dün Adalet Bakanımız açıkladı, bir suçtan dolayı ömür boyu adeta müebbete varan gibi yine hapis, bunun kaldırılması yolunda cezanın teke indirilmesi yolunda düzenleme var. İnşallah bizim arkadaşlarla Adalet Bakanlığındaki arkadaşlar bir araya gelerek çalışma yapacak, durum bundan ibaret."....*	*..In response to the question whether the compulsory military service will be annulled upon the conscientious objection regulation, Minister Yılmaz stated as follows: "Yesterday, the Minister of Justice announced, some people have said that they will not perform their military service. According to the laws, people refusing to perform military service shall be sentenced. They stayed in jail and refused upon getting out of prison then we punished once again. European Court of Justice decided that punishing a person more than once on the same crime is legal infringement. Therefore, it is not the case to annul the military service, it shall continue. A number of European countries perform compulsory military service and it is not against the law. Then what we are working on? We are working on punishing a person once on a single crime and abolish the system to punish a person more than once and life sentence as the Minister of Justice announced. We are just working on this, nothing more…*

Another discussion topic related to conscientious objection is alternative service. This discussion also has three parties which argue that alternative service should be applied in Turkey; i.e. objectors should perform their

duties doing services for the public weal apart from military, or that alternative service is not a suitable strategy for Turkey or that objectors should perform their military duty in Turkish Armed Forces unarmedly. A common theme in the party defending the implication of alternative service in Turkey is that conscientious objection is equal to military service as there is no single way of serving one's country, which is exemplified in Quote 9.

Quote 9

Vicdani ret bir insan hakkı (Taraf, 04.12.2011)	
... *Yurdunu sevmenin tek yolu yok* *Bu kavramın diğer ülkelerin tarihi gelişimine bakıldığında, sadece bir bahane için üretilmiş argüman olmadığının, felsefi bir arka plana sahip, din ve vicdan birliğinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğunun görüldüğünü dile getiren Avcı, şöyle devam etti: "Sezai Karakoç'un çok güzel bir sözü var; 'Yurdunu sevenlerin gözünü kimse bağlamaz'. Yani yurdunu sevmenin bir tane yolu yok. İnsanlar çok farklı biçimde yurtlarına hizmet edebilir. 'Ben yurdumu seviyorum ama böyle değil de şöyle hizmet etmek istiyorum' diyenlere de bunun önünün açık olması lazım. Ne olabilir? Kamu hizmeti olabilir. Aynı zamanda askerliği şerefli ve ulvi bir görev olarak kabul eden insanların samimiliği için de bu mesele önemli. Yani bir adam askere gidiyorsa, bu adam mecbur olduğu için değil, gerçekten vatanın sevmenin yolunun bu olduğunu, vatanına böyle hizmet etmenin kendisi için en onurlu yol olduğunu göstermek istiyordur."*	*...* *There is not a single way to love one's country* *Stating that conscientious objection is not a futile argument created as an excuse, that it has a philosophy and an indispensable part of freedom of religion and conscious, Avcı added as follows: "Sezai Karakoç has a saying; 'No one can cast shadow on the eyes of those who love their country.'. In other words, there is not a single way to love one's country. People can serve their country in different ways. People cannot be force to serve their country in a single way and other options should be available. In which forms can it be possible? Let's say public service. This also matters for those who consider military service as an honorable and sacred duty; because if one man chooses to perform military service with his free will, it means he does so not out of duty but because he considers it as the most noble way to serve his country."*

Quote 10

İnsan hakkı olarak "vicdani ret" (Zaman Gündem, 16.11.2011)

... Türkiye'de Anayasanın 72. maddesinde düzenlenen "vatan hizmeti" başlıklı maddede askerlik sözünün geçmediğine işaret eden Doç. Dr. Nal, "Nelerin vatan hizmeti olacağı kanuna bırakılmış. Anayasada askerlik hizmetinden bahsedilmiyor, vatan hizmetinden söz ediliyor. Askerlik yükümlülüğü bir anayasal ödev değil, amir hüküm değil. Vatan hizmetinin de ne olacağı kanun koyucuya bırakılmış. Tamamen vatan hizmetinden muaf tutulma yok, yasa koyucu bir alternatif hizmet getirdiğinde de anayasal hüküm yerine getirilmiş olur. Açıkça söylemek lazım, vicdani retçilere alternatif hizmet tanınması anayasaya aykırı düşmez" diye konuştu...

...Pointing out that there military service is not mentioned on the clause titled "national service" of the 72nd Article of Turkish Constitution, Dr. Nal adds as follows: "It is up to law to decide on services which can be considered as national service. Military service is not mentioned in the Constitution, it just mentions about national service. And it is up to policy makers to decide. There is no such thing as to be totally exempt from performing national service; yet if the policy maker creates an alternative service, then the article of the constitution shall be met. Therefore, it is not against the law, to tell the truth...

Another theme marking the representation "Conscientious objection is an issue that needs to be discussed thoroughly" is that it requires attention. This theme has been generated by two groups of arguments. One argument is about justifications of objectors and the proponents of this argument have mentioned that justifications of conscientious objectors should be carefully examined so that this regulation would not be abused. The arguments of the first group could be illustrated with Quote11 in which the columnist argues that conscientious objection is an issue prone to be abused as it would not be possible to objectively evaluate the motivations of conscientious objectors. In the other group of media products; on the other hand, the issue of conscientious objection has been viewed from human rights perspective. Here it has been declared that a regulation on conscientious objection should be designed carefully in order to prevent possible human rights violations and discrimination objectors could experience.

Quote 11

Korkunun "bedeli" vicdansız ret! (Altemur Kılıç, Yeni Çağ, 17.11.2011)

... "Bedel devrimi"nden sonra "vicdanî ret" veya vicdansız asker kaçaklığı... Bazıları "Benim vicdanım silah tutmaktan rahatsız oluyor" diyerek askerlikten kaytaracaklar... "Vicdanî ret" konusunda, askerlikten muaf tutulmak isteyenlerin vicdanî duygularını nasıl ölçecekler?.. Tansiyon aleti gibi bir şeyle mi?.. Askerlikten kaçmak isteyenleri nasıl ayıracaksınız?.. Kendi kavillerine göre mi?..
Keşke bu kaytarıcılara, bazı ülkelerde olduğu gibi "tüfek tutmak" yerine tuvalet temizleme fırçaları verilse... "Vicdanî ret" kırılmış bir tüfekle simgeleniyor... Aslında bir tuvalet fırçasıyla simgelenmesi lâzım...

... "After the paid military service, now we see conscientious objection or unconscientious desertion... Some will escape from military service by saying "I will have a guilty conscientious if I hold a gun." How will evaluate the conscientious of those who want to be exempted from military service? With a blood pressure monitor or something? How would you pick out those who want to get rid of military service? By their appearance?...
How I wish these idle men are made to clean the toilets instead of holding guns like in many countries.. Conscientious objection is symbolized with a broken gun. In my opinion, it should be symbolized with a toilet brush...

The argument viewing conscientious objection as a tool that could be abused by the ones trying to shirk their military service could be seen parallel to the theme "conscientious objection is desertion." As suggested previously, this view sets military service as the normative duty of citizens and, in the extreme form, equates the ones opposing military service with traitors. These arguments are militaristic in the sense that they let the military norms and practices have a part in the social life and blur the distinction between the military and the civilian (Sjoberg & Via, 2010). Moreover, the deeper these representations imbed in the society, the more central place occupies the military in the society. Parallel to this, as the society becomes more militarized, the discrimination and human rights abuse the objectors could experience becomes more likely, which was anticipated by the opposite party who states that a regulation on

conscientious objection should be carefully made so that possible negative outcomes objectors might experience could be prevented. Below is stated that a regulation on conscientious objection would be a disadvantage to current and prospective objectors if it is not designed carefully.

The last theme marking the representation "Conscientious objection issue needs to be discussed deeply." is that it is a technical regulation which needs to be cautiously examined by government officials. The actors producing and disseminating this theme are primarily government officials who concurrently give the message that government is the competent authority on the issue of conscientious objection (See Quote 13).

Quote 12

İnsan hakkı olarak "vicdani ret" (Zaman Gündem, 16.11.2011)

"...İstanbul 31. Sulh Ceza Mahkemesi'nde görülen duruşmaya, sanık Süleyman Tatar ve avukatı katıldı. Kendini savunan Tatar, "Barış için vicdani ret" platformunun üyesi olduğunu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde söz konusu eyleme katıldığını ve söz konusu açıklamayı kendisinin okuduğunu belirtti. Erkeklerin zorunlu olarak askerlik hizmetine tabi tutulmasına karşı olduğunu ifade etti. Vicdani reddin anayasal bir hak olarak tanınmasını talep eden sanık, "Şu anda vicdani ret konusu kamuoyunda tartışılmaktadır. Ancak biz bu biçimiyle değil de, vicdani ret uygulandığında insanlara ekonomik, siyasi ve sosyal ayrımcılığa dönüşmesini engelleyecek biçimde uygulanmasını istiyoruz. Kamuoyunda tartışılan bu işin sulandırılmış halidir." diyerek beraatını talep etti…"	*...Defendant Süleyman Tatar and his lawyer attended to the lawsuit heard in the 31st Criminal Court of Justice of Istanbul. Tatar, in his defense, stated that he was a member of "Platform of Conscientious Objection for Peace" and the participated to the said event in Boğaziçi University and he delivered a speech. He added that he objected to man's being forced to perform the military service. The defendant said that conscientious objection should be a legal right. He demanded the acquittal by saying: "Conscientious objection is being discussed by public. However, we want to the eventual economic, political and social discrimination to be prevented when conscientious objection is given as a right. What is being discussed by the public right now doesn't reflect the essence of conscientious objection…"*

Quote 13

Vicdani rette değişik seçenekler masada (Zaman Politika, 15.11.2011)

...
"VİCDANİ RET İÇİN ŞU AN BİR ŞEY SÖYLEMEK ZOR"
Gazetecilerin gündeme ilişkin sorularını cevaplandıran Bakan Sadullah Ergin, vicdani ret konusunun kapsamının genişletilip genişletilmeyeceği sorusu üzerine, "Bu çalışmada bugün birçok değişik ihtimaller, alternatifler şeklinde basında yer aldı. Savunma Bakanlığımız konuyu değerlendiriyor. Avrupa Konseyi Komitesi'nin Türkiye'ye dönük bir talebi var. Bu taleple ilgili bir çalışma yapılıyor. Ama bu çalışmada değişik seçenekler masanın üzerinde" diyerek bu konuyu siyaset kurumunun değerlendireceğini ifade etti. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı'nın bu konudaki görüşlerinin de önemli olduğuna dikkat çeken Bakan Ergin, "Bütün bunlarla birlikte bir görüş ortaya çıkacak. Şu an için bir şey söylemek zor, ama bu yönde Savunma Bakanlığımızla birlikte bir çalışma var. Bu çalışma tamamlandığında Bakanlar Kurulu'nda bir çalışma yapılacak." açıklamasında bulundu.
...

…
"IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION"
In response to the questions on whether the scope of conscientious objection will be broadened, Minister Sadullah Ergin stated as follows: "Many options have been discussed today. Ministry of Defence is currently evaluations them. The European Commission demands something from Turkey. We exert our efforts on this. However, we focus on a number of options." Stating also that opinions of the General Staff is of great importance, Minister Ergin concluded as follows: "After all the discussions, we will agree upon an option. It is too early to draw a conclusion now; yet we work in cooperation with Ministry of Defense. When this process is finalized, the Council of Ministers shall carry out a work on it."
...

Apart from these representations, a simultaneous discussion related to "the source of discussion on conscientious objection" has been carried on. The primary and predominating source represented in the media products is "foreign powers"; i.e. European Union, European Court of Human Rights, Council of Europe, and USA. These actors have been mentioned to be the source of discussion mainly in the newspapers of right wing; i.e. Yeni Çağ and Zaman. The major argument grounding this theme is that discussion on conscientious objection issue has started in Turkey as a result of imposition

by these actors; i.e, that conscientious objection as an issue has no roots or public support within Turkey. In Quote 14 a columnist refers to European Union as the source of discussion on conscientious objection.

Quote 14

Vicdani ret ihanet (Hürriyet Gündem, 18.11.2011)

Özcan, dün TBMM'de düzenlediği basın toplantısında şunları söyledi: "AB 'Tutuklu sürelerini kısaltın' diyor, yapıyor musunuz? Hayır. AB size 'Basın özgürlüğünü güvence altına alın' diyor, yapabiliyor musunuz? Hayır. Peki vicdani ret deyince neden hemen topuk selamı verip çalışmaya başlıyorsunuz. Vicdani ret, Türkiye'nin kolunu kanadını kırıp savunmasız bırakma projesidir. AB'den önce vicdani ret söyleminin sahibi terör örgütüdür. Türkiye ne İsviçre'dir, ne Norveç. Orada ayrılıkçı terör örgütü yok. Onların emperyal güçlerin Ortadoğu taşeronu gibi her an savaş çıkarmaya hazır bir başbakanları da yok. Vicdani retten faydalanacak olanlar sadece zengin aile çocukları ve bölücü terör örgütü sempatizanlarıdır. Vicdani ret talep etmek Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne ihanet etmektir."	*Özcan stated as follows during a press meeting held in Turkish Parliament yesterday: "the EU suggests to cut down on the detention period, do you implement it? It suggests providing the press with freedom, do you implement it? No. Well, why do you immediately take some steps when it comes to conscientious objection? Conscientious objection is a project designed to clip Turkey's wings. The idea of conscientious objection belongs to the terrorist organization before the EU. Turkey resembles neither Norway not Switzerland. There is no terror threat there. They don't a have a prime minister who is ready to make war anytime out of the interests over the Middle East. Those who will enjoy the privileges of conscientious objection are solely children of rich families and followers of terrorist organization. Demanding conscientious objection is equivalent to betrayal to the Republic of Turkey."*

The second source of discussion on conscientious objection has mentioned to be PKK with the implication that this issue has been used as a trump card by the Kurdish movement in their effort to divide the country. This source has been dominantly proposed by Hürriyet, which represents the mass media, and Cumhuriyet, which represents Kemalist left.

A third source is Gülen movement which is a religious, social and political movement led by Fethullah Gülen. This source has been suggested by statist-seculatist Cumhuriyet with the implication that conscientious objection has been proposed by the government in line with the interests of Gülen Movement.

In most of the media products more than one source has been suggested as initiators of discussion on conscientious objection; moreover, PKK and European Union have generally been mentioned alongside one another, with the implication that these two actors work in cooperation to weaken and demolish Turkey. This implication could be seen as the sign of nationalist discourse in Turkey, leading argument of which is that Turkey is under attack by enemies inside and outside of the country.

2.4.2 Media Representations of Conscientious Objectors

Results have indicated that media representations of conscientious objection could be examined in three dimensions which are "Justifications of Conscientious Objection", "Difficulties of Being an Objector" and "Stereotypes of Conscientious Objectors". As expected, newspapers have differentiated from one another in terms of the scope they handle the issue and the viewpoint with which they approached the issue. Conscientious objection has been examined profoundly by leftist liberal Taraf and nationalist conservative Yeni Çağ. These two newspapers have been followed by rightist pro-government Zaman and mainstream media tool Hürriyet while statist-secularist Cumhuriyet was, again, relatively indifferent to the issue.

2.4.2.1 Justifications of Conscientious Objectors

Justifications of objectors have been examined in two groups which are ideological justifications and justifications based on individual factors. An initial evaluation of newspapers shows us that justifications based on individual factors have been predominantly represented in the media products examined while ideological justifications have fallen behind of it.

Religion, personal ideology, ethnicity, conscience, the process of military service, morality and sexual orientation of objectors have been represented to be the individual factors leading individuals to object military service in Turkey. On the other hand, one's identification with or closeness to political groups such as Kurdish Movement and Anti-War Movement or ideologies such as pacifism, antimilitarism, anarchism or one's opposition to political order have been represented to be ideological reasons for one's objection to military service.

It should be noted that, although examined separately, these factors might unite in many objectors; i.e. one's objection might result from a combination of ideological and individual factors while it might also ensue solely from ideological or individual factors. Although individual factors overweigh the ideological factors in the media products that are examined in media analysis, these justifications have been represented to be coexisting. For example, in both of the newspaper reports quoted below - one is related to the statement of Minister of Education on the issue of conscientious objection and the other mentions that Conscientious objector Muhammed Serdar Delice has been taken into custody – we can see that individual and ideological factors are united in one's justification for objection.

Quote 15

Vicdani ret bir insan hakkı (Taraf, 04.12.2011)

...

'Sorunum devletle değil silahla'

Avcı, toplumda ayrı ayrı değerlendirildiğinde, askerlik sorumluluğunu üstlenmek istemeyenler, devlet adı altında bir yapıya hizmet etmeye ilkesel olarak karşı çıkanlar, "Benim devletle sorunum yok, silahla, askerlikle, insan öldürmeyle sorunum var" veya "Benim bununla da sorunum yok ama bugünkü zorunlu askerlik biçimiyle, bugünkü askerlik yükümlülüğünde karşılaşılan ya da karşılaşılabilecek muamelelerle sorunum var" diyenler olabileceğini ifade etti.

...

...

'I have a problem with guns, not with the government'

Avcı has stated that those who refuse to perform military service and serve an institution in the name of state may say: "I don't have any problem with the state, I have problem with the gun, with killing people. Or, I have problem with the style of compulsory military service of today and the treatment which I am likely to receive in it."

...

Quote16

Milliyetçi vicdani retçi gözaltında (Taraf, 29.11.2011)

...

Milliyetçi imani ret
Açıklamasında "Müslüman olmayan bir ordunun mensubu olmayacağım" diyen Delice, Etkin Haber Ajansı'na verdiği röportajda reddinin milliyetçi boyutuna ilişkin olarak ise şunları söylemişti: "İmani redden ziyade milliyetçi imani ret diyebiliriz. Çünkü ben bir Türk milliyetçisiyim. Belki komik gelebilir insanlara. Ama insanlar senelerce bu şekilde kendilerini kandırdılar. İşte, vatan, millet... Ben soruyorum, askerde olan bir insan gün sayıyorsa; vatanına milletine ağza alınmayacak laflar söyleyebiliyorsa, bunun nasıl bir milliyetçilik, nasıl bir vatan sevgisi olduğunu sizlere bırakıyorum." Delice, askerlik çağındaki gençlere tavsiyesi sorulduğunda da "Sağa sola çizikler

...

Nationalist religious objection
Delice, in his interview given to Etkin Press Agency, has stated as follows: "I will not be a part of a non-Muslim army. We can say nationalist-religious objection rather than a religious one. Because I am a Turkish nationalist. Perhaps people can find it funny but they have fooled themselves for years by repating such words as nation and country. I wonder how a person can be a patriot if s/he counts the day during military service and tell inappropriate things about his country." Delice has given some advices to the youth and said as follows: "Stop counting down the days, because when you get out there, you will have lost your character,

atarak, şafak sayarak bu işi yapmayın (...) Çünkü buradan çıktığınızda kişiliğinizi, benliğinizi, onurunuzu, haysiyetinizi yitirmiş bir şekilde çıkacaksınız" demişti. *...*	*honor and dignity."* *...*

2.4.2.2 Difficulties of Being an Objector

The second dimension of media representations of conscientious objectors is the difficulties of being an objector in Turkey. Results have indicated that not only the social difficulties and human rights abuse but also legal difficulties have been represented by the newspapers. However, it can be seen that this issue has found a limited space of discussion.

The prevalently represented social difficulty objectors experience is "civil death". Civil death, or "civiliter mortuus" as used in law, is a term referring to loss of all or almost all of one's civil rights due to a conviction for a felony (Law Dictionary, 2013). This term entered into circulation and association with conscientious objector Halil Savda's trial in the European Court of Human Rights with the decision "…In so doing, they [conscientious objectors] open themselves to a form of "civil death", on account of the numerous criminal proceedings that the authorities invariably bring against them, the cumulative effects of the resulting criminal convictions and the possibility of being prosecuted throughout their lives." (ECHR, 2012). Although the results are limited, media analysis has shown that the difficulties objectors experience has been known to public and government in Turkey. For example, it can be inferred from quoted statement by the Minister of National Defense (Quote 17) that this issue is very well known by the government and that it has been on the agenda of the government; i.e. that they have been working on a regulation to prevent repetitive prosecution of objectors. Moreover, as Quote 18 points out, the

civil death that conscientious objectors are subjected to, has been discussed in the public as well.

Quote 17

Bakan Yılmaz'dan İran Açıklaması (Zaman Gündem, 27.11.2011)

...
" AB'nin vicdani ret konusunda neden bu kadar ısrarcı olduğunun" sorulması üzerine de Bakan Yılmaz, şunları kaydetti: Avrupa Birliği'nin bir ısrarı yok. Bir yorum farklılığıyla o noktaya varırsınız. Ama şu anda bizden istenen nedir? Bizden istenen diyor ki, bu vicdani rete verilen cezayı bir seferle sınırla diyor. Bizim çalışmamız ona yönelik. Yoksa vicdani reti, 'ben getirdim, sen de getir' diye bir çalışma yok. Bizden istenen vicdani rette verilen, örnek veriyoruz, bir tane vatandaşımıza vermişiz, adam diyor ki, 'tekrar askere gitmeyeceğim' Yine aynı suçtan, nedir, askere gitmeme. Bir daha dönüyorsunuz, durmadan soruşturma devam ediyor. Diyor ki, ömür boyu bu adamı tahkikat baskısı altında tutabilmek, hukuka aykırıdır, insan haklarına aykırıdır. Taraf olduğunuz bir mahkemenin kararına uymak gerekir, doğru mudur? Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesine taraf mıyız? tarafız. Bizim aleyhimize bir karar vermiş mi? Vermiş. O kararı yerine getirmek lazım. İstenilen husus cezanın teke düşürülmesi, bu kadar."
…

...
In response to the question on why the EU insists on conscientious objection, Minister Yılmaz has reported as follows: "the EU does not insist on. This is just an interpretation. However, what do they demand us? They demand us to punish a person on conscientious objection not more than once. And we are working on it accordingly. Let's say a man refuses to perform the military service and the law punishes him in jail. If the keeps refusing after he gets out of jail, then they say it is against the laws and human rights to give him a life-long sentence. Since we are a party to the International Court of Justice, then it is our duty to abide by its rules, isn't it? Has it made a judgment against us? Yes. Then we should correct it. They want us to punish the conscientious objectors only once, that is all they want.
...

Quote 18

Vicdani retçiye kız verilir mi? (Zaman Pazar, 27.11.2011)

...
Ümit Kardaş (Emekli askerî hâkim):

...
Ümit Kardaş, a retired military judge,

"Askere gitmeyene kız verilmez yargısı Anadolu'da bile kırıldı artık. Ama vicdani retçinin bulunduğu konum itibarıyla yaşayacağı çok sorun var. Bugün biri, ülkemizde ben vicdani retçiyim derse eğer cezaevine girer, kaçak yaşamayı tercih ederse evlenemez, çocuğunu nüfusa kaydettiremez, yurtdışına çıkamaz, tapu alamaz vs. Yani medeni bir ölüm halinden söz ediyoruz. Bir baba da kızının bunlarla uğraşmasını istemeyip evladını vicdani retçiye vermeyebilir. Haklıdır da. Ama kızım olmadığı için rahat konuşuyorum, ben verirdim."
...

has stated as follows: "It is no longer the case that families don't let their daughter marry a man who hasn't perform the military service. A conscientious objector will certainly face a great many problems by its nature. If a man declares his a conscientious objector, he will go to the jail; if he chooses to live as fugitive, then he cannot get married, cannot register his child, cannot go abroad, neither can get land register. Thus, it is more like to be dead. For all these reasons, a father can be unwilling to let his daughter marry such a man. However, I can speak easily since I don't have a daughter.
...

A second human rights abuse conscientious objectors experience has been represented as "ill treatment and torture". Turkey has been charged repeatedly by European Court of Human Rights due to violation of Article 3 of European Convention of Human Rights stating that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading" (ECHR, 1950). For example, in the case of Osman Murat Ülke, Turkey has been imposed to punitive fine of 10,000 euros with the decision that "the treatment inflicted on the applicant had caused him severe pain and suffering which went beyond the normal element of humiliation inherent in any criminal sentence or detention" (ECHR, 2006). Although limitedly, this issue has been represented in the media products examined within the scope of media analysis. For example, in Quote 19, columnist touches on the subject of ill-treatment the objectors are exposed to as follows:

Quote 19

En çok… (Ahmet Altan, Taraf, 25.12.2011)

" Askerî hapishanede, gardiyanların gözetiminde diğer mahkûmlar

"It is not possible for a conscientious objector to make himself heard when he

tarafından dövülüp, parası gasp edilen "vicdani retçi" sesini o hapishanenin dışına kolay kolay duyuramaz. *Buna güvendikleri için ona o kadar rahatlıkla zulmederler, o kadar rahat döver, hırpalar, parasına el koyarlar."* *...*	*is bullied and usurped his money by other prisoners under the supervision of guardians in military prison. They can easily beat him, bully him and take his money since they know they will not be punished in return."* *...*

A third difficulty faced by conscientious objectors has been represented to be stigmatization and discrimination. As briefly discussed in the related chapter, conscientious objection lays in the in the junction point of state, law, society and its individual members. Accordingly, it is possible for conscientious objectors to experience negative outcomes of the public, as well.

As military service has been seen as the norm duty of men and as a phase of manhood in the media products, a prominent stigma that has been put on objectors has been represented to be "gay", with the implication that they are not manly enough to become soldiers so they choose to be conscientious objectors. In the quotation below, the columnist criticizes this viewpoint and states that objectors are not necessarily composed of gay men, although the group of objectors could include some gays.

A Fourth difficulty of being an objector in Turkey is related to the due course of legal processes. As mentioned previously, conscientious objectors are currently charged with insubordination by military courts and treated as if they are draft-dodgers if they declare their objection during military service. If they have declared their objection in Civvy Street; on the other hand, they are tried by civil courts on the charge of turning people against the military. The processes of prosecution - i.e. objectors' being tried by military courts although they declare that they refuse to be soldiers, etc. - and ill treatment objectors are exposed to during these processes have led

Turkey be fined by European Court of Human Rights for several times but there has been no regulation or improvement in these issues so far. Although limited, these matters have been represented in the media products (See Quote 21 below).

Quote 20

Şakacı arkadaşlar için vicdani redde giriş (Banu Tuna, Hürriyet, 26.12.2011)

...
" Türkiye'nin gündeminde yok derken, sayın bakan aslında hükümetin gündemini kastediyor olmalı. Yoksa Tayfun Gönül, Yunus Erçep, Murat Ülke ve Mehmet Bal gibi onlarca kişi var vicdani retçi olduğunu açıklayan. Sayıları iki yıl önce 120 kadardı.

Bedelli askerlik de çıkınca internetteki sosyal paylaşım sitelerinde şöyle bir 'geyik' dönmeye başladı. 15 ay askerlik - Mehmetçik, 6 ay askerlik - Mehmet, bedelli - Mehmet Bey, vicdani ret - Memoş.

İnternet kullanımı herkese tanınmış bir hak, bir şeyler yazmak için yeterlilik testi filan yapılmıyor. Dolayısıyla karşınıza çıkan her veriyi ciddiye almak durumunda değilsiniz. O yüzden ben de yukarıdaki sözüm ona espriyi ciddiye almazdım. Ama internette çıktığının ertesi günü gazete sayfalarında rastladım. Bir yazar, bu sınıflandırmayı köşesine koyuyorsa artık ciddiye almak gerekir.

Memoş ile neyin kast edildiği belli, tüm vicdani retçiler eşcinseldir. Ellerine silah alamayacak kadar hanım evladı oldukları için vicdani retçiyim diye ortaya çıkarlar. Aslında dertleri askerden yırtmaktır. "
...

...
I guess what Mr. Minister meant when he said conscientious objection is not on the agenda was that it was not on "government's agenda". Or else, there are dozens of men like Tayfun Gönül, Yunus Erçep, Murat Ülke and Mehmet Bal who have declared their conscientious objection so far. After the paid military service discussions, there is a "chit chat" on the social media like follows: "15 months military service for Mehmet the Poor and the Hero, 6 months military service for Mehmet, paid military service for Sir Mehmet and conscientious objection for Mehmet the Fagot."

Internet use is open to everyone; there is no proficiency test for it. Therefore, you don't have to take everything serious when online.

What is meant by saying "Mehmet the Fagot" is quite clear: every conscientious objector is gay. They declare their conscientious objection just because they are too scared to hold a gun. What they really want is to avoid from military service.
...

Quote 21

Türkiye'de 104 vicdani retçi yasayı bekliyor (Taraf, 09.11.2011)

" Avrupa Konseyi'nin Türkiye'ye aralık ayına kadar verdiği vicdani ret konusundaki yasal düzenleme süresinin bitimine sayılı günler kalırken yapılacak olan düzenleme Türkiye'deki 104 vicdani retçiyi yakından ilgilendiriyor. Türkiye'de vicdani reddini açıklayan tek tutuklu olan İnan Süver, 17 aydır cezaevinde.

www.savaskarsitlari.org adlı internet sitesine göre Türkiye'de 104 vicdani bulunuyor. Tek tek isimlerinin yer aldığı ve hangi yıllarda vicdani retlerin açıklandığı bilgisinin de yer aldığı listede, ilk sırada Tayfun Gönül bulunuyor. Gönül 1989'da vicdani retçi olduğunu açıklamış. Listede kamuoyunda tartışılan vicdani retçiler Mehmet Tarhan, Mehmet Bal, Halil Savda ile İnan Süver'in yargılanmaları hakkında bilgiler de bulunuyor. Sitedeki bilgilere göre Mehmet Tarhan 24 Ocak 2003'de İstanbul'da vicdani reçti oldu. 8 Nisan 2005'te asker kaçağı olduğu gerekçesiyle İzmir'de tutuklanarak, Tokat'taki askeri birliğe gönderildi. Yargılamalar sonucunda dört yıl hapis cezasına çarptırıldı. Ancak Askeri Yargıtay bu kararı bozdu. 11 ay tutuklu kalan Tarhan 29 Nisan 2006'da tahliye edildi. Yeniden yapılan yargılama sonucunda ise 10 ekim 2006'da cezası 25 ay hapse çevrildi.
Vicdani retçilere hapis
Mehmet Bal ise Mersin'de dokuz aylık askerliğini yaparken 2003'te vicdani reddini açıkladı. Tutuklanarak Adana Askeri Cezaevi'ne kondu. 155. maddeden yapılan yargılamada beraat ettiği için serbest bırakıldı. 22 Ocak 2003'te tekrar tutuklandı, Mersin'deki birlikten "Üç ay hava değişimi" gerekçesi ile bırakıldı. Şu anda hakkında "firar", "izin tecavüzü" ile dört de emre itaatsizlikte ısrardan altı dava bulunuyor. Halil Savda ise 2004'te

"The European Council allow Turkey until December for the legal arrangements regarding conscientious objection and it is almost due time. 104 conscientious objectors are waiting for the result. İnan Süver, a Turkish conscientious objector has been in jail for 17 months.

According to the internet site named www.savaskarsitlari.org, there are 104 conscientious objectors in Turkey. Tayfun Gönül ranks the first conscientious objector on the list on which names and declaration dates of all the conscientious objectors are stated. He declared his conscientious objection (CO) in 1989. There information regarding the lawsuit of Mehmet Tarhan, Mehmet Bal, Halil Savda and İnan Süver. According to the information on the list, Mehmet Tarhan declared his CO on 24 January 2003 in İstanbul and he got arrested due to desertion on 8 April 2005 in İzmir and dispatched to Tokat. He was sentenced with 4 years' prison. Yet, the Supreme Military Court reversed the judgment and he was released on 29 April 2006 after 11 months imprisonment. Then he got rearrested and charged with 25 months imprisonment.
Mehmet Bal declared his CO when he was in military service for 9 months in 2003. He was arrested and sent to Adana Military Prison and released upon the judgment in accordance with the Article No.155. Then, he got rearrested and released after 3 months. There are six different lawsuits against him. Halil

Çorlu'da askeri birliğinde vicdani reddini açıkladı. Tekirdağ Askeri Cezaevi'nde bir cezaevinde kaldıktan sonra tahliye oldu. Vicdani retçi Enver Aydemir ise 2007'de vicdani reddini açıkladı. Aydemir, İslami inancı nedeniyle askerlik yapmak istemediği açıklayınca tutuklanarak Eskişehir Askeri Cezaevi'ne konuldu. Aydemir ikinci duruşmasında tahliye oldu. Tek tutuklu İnan Süver

İnan Süver, askerliğini yaparken firar etti. Süver, 2009'da vicdani retçi olduğuna dair kararını Van Askerlik Şubesi'ne mektupla bildirdi. İnan Süver Balıkesir Cezaevi'nde 17 aydır tutuklu bulunuyor. Süver'in 2001-2008 yılları arası firar eylemlerinden dolayı 25 ay hapis cezası var. Süver cezaevinde başlattığı açlık grevini 39 aradan sonra geçtiğimiz ay sona erdirdi."

Sevda declared his CO in 2004 during his military service in Çorlu. He was arrested in Tekirdağ Military Prison then got released. Enver Aydemir declared his CO out of religious reasons and arrested in Eskişehir Military Prison. He got released after his second trial. Now, İnan Süver, the only conscientious objector in prison, deserted the colors. He declared his conscientious objection in written statement to Van Military Office and he has been kept in prison for 17 months. He has 25 months imprisonment due to desertion reasons on 2001-2008. He ended the hunger strike he started in prison after 39 days."

2.4.2.3 Stereotypes about Objectors

The third dimension of media representations of conscientious objectors is stereotypes about objectors in Turkey. Results of the media analysis have shown that although both positive and negative stereotypes of objectors have been represented by the newspapers, positive stereotypes were overweighed by negative stereotypes. Positive stereotypes have been found to heroise conscientious objectors while negative stereotypes tended to degrade them.

Negative stereotypes about conscientious objectors includes "enemy of the state/society", "free rider", "deprived of national sentiment", "traitor", "coward" and "individualist". These stereotypes tend to be used in the media products opposing conscientious objection and, as can be inferred, most of these stereotypes are fostered by the ideologies of nationalism, patriotism, militarism and hegemonic masculinity. For example, in a column

of Yeni Çağ below, where conscientious objectors are defined to be "enemy of the state/society", "deprived of national sentiment", "anti-Islamist", and "coward" and "free rider", columnist argues that military service is the way of protecting the homeland, society, liberty and masculinity and those objecting military service are nothing but traitors. Taking this a step further, he equates the state with Islam, and views those who resist the state as resisting the religion Islam, as well.

Quote 22

Vicdani reddin kaynağı ve hıyanet! (Özcan Yeniçeri, Yeni Çağ, 21.11.2011)

...
"Bir bireyin politik görüşleri, ahlaki değerleri veya dinsel inançları doğrultusunda zorunlu askerliği reddetmesine vicdani red denmektedir. Bu düşüncede olan insanlar kendilerini antimilitarist yahut pasifist olarak tanımlarlar.
Bu düşüncenin temellerini Kelbiyyun (köpeksi) düşüncesine kadar uzatmak mümkündür. Bu düşünce sahipleri, medeniyetin kati ve kavi düşmanıdırlar. Bu sebeple ahlaka, sosyal değerlere, özellikle de aile ve devlete karşı duyarsızdırlar. Devletle ilgilerinin olmasını istemezlerdi. Evliliğin kaldırılmasını, kadın-çocuk ortaklığını, toplumun alışkanlıklarına, kanunlarına bağlanmamayı, insanın koyduğu her şeyin, tabiata aykırı olduğunu, tabiata dönerek yaşamak gerektiğini savunurlar.
...
Askerlik kurumu devlet ve toplumu korumaya yöneliktir. Bu nedenle askerliğe karşı çıkmak, doğrudan doğruya devlete ve topluma yönelik bir mesajdır. Askerliğe karşı çıkmak ülkenin bağımsızlığını ve özgürlüğünü korumasına da karşı çıkmaktır. Devletin

...
"Conscientious objection is refusing to perform military service on the grounds of freedom of thought, conscience, and/or religion. Those who demand this identifies themselves as antimilitarist or pacifist. The source of this opinion dates back to Kelbiyyun. The supporters of this idea are fiercely against the civilization. Therefore, they are indifferent to morals, social values, family and state. They don't want any interaction with the state. They wanted marriage to be abolished and supported the common use of wives and children. They believed every rule that humans created are against the nature and we should go back the way we live in interaction with the nature.
...
Armed Forces were created to protect the country and the nation. Therefore, opposing to it directly means to oppose to the state and the nation, its freedom and independence. Opposing to the stated is to oppose to the rules of Islam. Conscientious objection is to deny such values of Turks and Islam as "jihad", "holy war spirit" In Turkey, mounting guard is considered as a kind of

varlığına karşı olmak, İslam dininin emredici hükümlerine karşı durmaktır Vicdani ret, İslam'ın "cihat" anlayışı, "gaza ruhu", gazi ve şehit kavramları ile Türklerin tarihi müktesebatına karşı duruşu da içerir. Türkiye'de askerlikteki nöbeti, ibadet mertebesinde gören bir manevi iklim söz konusudur. Vicdani ret aslında bütün bunları reddetmek üzerine kuruludur.

Nitekim, vicdani retçilerin talepleri ve beklentileri kendilerinin yalnız askerlikten muaf tutulmasıyla ilgili de değildir. Bunlardan birisi "Yasa eşitlikçi çıkarsa 'Her Türk asker doğar'mı bunu da göreceğiz" demektedir.

...

Vicdani retçiler, askerlerin kanı, canı, hayatı pahasına sağlamış olduğu özgürlüğü tepe tepe kullanacaklar ama askerlik yapmayacaklar. Gerçekte en büyük dini ve ahlaki ihlal ve vicdansızlık budur. Asalaklığın adını vicdani ret koymakla asalaklık asalak olmaktan çıkmıyor.

Vicdani ret, zayıflığın, edilgenliğin, pısırıklığın, korkaklığın daha da ilerisi hıyanetin kamufle edilme biçimidir. Askerliğe "adam öldürme" mesleği olarak bakmak ve bu nedenle vicdani retçiyim demek de yanlış ötesi yanlıştır."

...

worship. Conscientious objection is based on objecting all these things I have mentioned.

Thusly, the expectations of conscientious objectors are not limited to be exempt from military service. One of this is to say: "We will see if all Turks are born soldier or not if the law is issued egalitarian.

...

Conscientious objectors will enjoy the freedom that the soldiers try to protect with at the cost of their life but they will not perform the military service themselves. This is the biggest unjustness. Parasites don't automatically start to be called as conscientious objectors when they want so.

Conscientious objection is a way to mask weakness, passivity, faint-heartedness and cowardliness. Regarding military service as "killing men" is more than wrong."

...

Positive stereotypes about conscientious that are represented on the media products; on the other hand, are "pacifist", "courageous", "downtrodden", and "aware of Turkish realities". These stereotypes have been generally used in media products supporting conscientious objection. For example, in a column of Zaman, columnist define conscientious objectors as pacifists who tend to deprive themselves in order to prevent other individuals' being killed and as individuals who are aware of Turkish realities (See Quote 23).

Quote 23

İyi şeyler tamamen tükenmeden (Cihan Aktaş, Taraf, 02.01.2012)

...

"Hakkında barış için vicdani ret grubundan bilgiler aldığım bir genç adam var, Muhammet Serdar Delice. Ondan önce başka isimler de vardı, hâlâ var. Genellikle Anadolu kökenli dindar ailelerden geliyorlar. Kardeş kavgasının acısını "ateş düştüğü yeri yakar" misali daha derinden hissettiğini düşündüğüm, "mahalle" nedir, askere uğurlanmak nasıl yaşanır, Çanakkale'de neler olmuştu, bilen kesimler, sözünü ettiğim.

...

Bir canlı bombanın infilakıyla nefret girdabının sebep olduğu ölümcül kötümserlik, masumiyet dâhil her şeyi yok etmeye yöneliyor, barış ve kardeşlik de dâhil buna. Vicdani retçi ise öldürmemek için, ölümler olmasın diye kendi canından vermeye başlıyor. Bir şekilde ateşin düşüp de yaktığı yerle ilgili vicdanda oluşan ret, sözünü ettiğim, sanal eylem alanlarının ahkâmı, bir profesyonel aktivist söylemi değil. Muhammed Ali Clay, Gandi ve Thoreau, hatta Abdülkadir es Sufî okumalarım, Mehmet Akif'in yüreğinden taşan ve döneminin duyarlığıyla kendi halinde kelimelerin okuyan üzerinde elektrik akımı etkisi yapacak bir heyecanla iletildiği vatan sevgisinin anlamına dönük irdelemelerimde elbette, vicdani retçinin infilakını önemsemeye sevkediyor beni."

...

...

"There is a man about whom I've got information from a group names conscientious objection for peace, his name is Muhammet Serdar Delice. There were others before him, and there still are. They come from rural-religious families. These people know what it means "Ember burns where it falls" and are aware of what means neighbourhood, who it feels like sending a son to the army with pride and what soldier went through in the Battle of Gallipoli.

A suicide bomber is enough to deepen the hatred and destroy all the goodness, innocence, peace and brotherhood. Conscientious objector, on the other hand, sacrifices his own life not to let anyone die. Thus, where the ember burns and falls is the same place. When I read Muhammed Ali Clay, Gandi, Thoreau, Abdülkadir es Sufî and Mehmet Akif, you feel the patriotism in your veins and you got startled like you have an electric shock. And this makes me think of the explosion of conscientious objectors."

...

2.4.3   Media Representations of Related Concepts

Media representations of the concepts Military service, homeland, war, and Islam, which are hypothesized to be related representations of conscientious objection and conscientious objectors, will be discussed in this section.

2.4.4   Media Representations of Military Service

Military service in itself has been one of the most popular topics of media analysis. The issue has been examined thoroughly from various viewpoints along the newspapers that are included in the media analysis.

Media representations of military service could be examined under the headings of "Forced Military Service", "Paid Military Service", "Professional Army", "Objection to Military Service", "Turkish Armed Forces", "Phenomenon of Military Nation" and "Manhood". Apart from these, there were the thematic units of "Military service is important." and "Military service is a harsh process".

Forced military service; first of all, is a reality of Turkey. As briefly summarized in the related section, forced military service has been practiced in Turkey since the beginning of 20th century. With the establishment of Turkish Republic, along with the shift in the concept of citizen, perception of military service has shifted from a task of war times to a characteristic of Turkish nation; i.e. it has gained a cultural meaning. Since then, it has been a part of Turkish culture and perceived to be an obligation. Only after 1989, when the first two conscientious objectors came up, the issue has started to be discussed in the public. Today, with the effects of the political climate, it is a popular topic of discussion. On the basis of media analysis, we can argue that discussions continue on two levels; disputability of military service and abolishment of forced military service. The discussion on

disputability of military service has two main parties: one party argues that we should start discussing forced military service and its impacts on individuals while other party asserts that there is nothing to be discussed about military service. As can be inferred from Quote 24, this first party states that it is a public need to discuss the issue of military service in terms of both its historical transformation and its impacts on individuals and the society. The second party; on the other hand, represents the government officials who seem content about the current practice of military service and try to prevent a possible discussion on it.

Quote 24

'Tanrı parçacığı' ve merhamet (Cihan Aktaş, Taraf, 15.12.2011)

... *Bu, bambaşka bir "bebek davası". Bir bebek doğumuyla barışı işaret etmez mi? Mehmet Atak'ın sorusu bu kadar yalın. Zorunlu askerliğin sonuçlarının tartışılması daha acil bir başlık olarak görülmeliyken, Atak vicdani retçi duyarlığı nedeniyle mahkemelere çekiliyor.* *...* *"Ulusal" denen eğitim sırasında ya da bir toplumu, halkı, milleti var eden ortak değerlerin benliklere yedirilmesini sağlayan toplumsallaştırma sürecinde nasıl bir sıkıntı ortaya çıkıyor ki kahramanlık ruhunu –doğası hilafına– sadece kışlaların sert terbiyesine bağlamayı anlayışla karşılamaya başlıyoruz? Ve buna rağmen, neler oldu da kimi gençler askerlik yapmamak için maddi bedel ödemeye dünden hazır görünüyorlar?* *...*	*...* *This is a total different "baby case". Doesn't a baby sign peace with his/her born? Mehmet Atak's question is that simple. In a time when the consequences of the compulsory military service should be discussed, Atak is trying to be sent to tribunals because of his sensitivity on conscientious objection.* *...* *During a so-called "national" education or a socialization process in which values of a nation is imposed, what kind a problem occurs and we start to associate patriotism and heroism with the harsh training given in a troop unit? And in spite of all these efforts, what happens and these young men are ready to pay a cost to get rid of military service?* *...*

The second discussion on forced military service is related to abolishment of forced military service. One party, again represented to be government officials, argues that the abolishment of forced military service is not a matter of discussion in the absence of particular justifications for it. The other party; on the other hand, asserts that forced military service should be abolished on the justification that it is an outdated strategy of war and as it does not respond to the needs of the society any more. These themes show that society has begun to seriously discuss the virtue of having forced military service. Although debates on this issue are not deep-rooted yet, we can argue that they could be first signs of a transformation in the military service.

A second topic of discussion is paid military service, which could be defined as being exempt from military service by means of a payment to government. So far, this implementation has been practiced four times; i.e. in the years of 1987, 1992, 1999 and 2011. In 1999, the justification for a regulation on paid military service was declared to be the earthquake which inflicted heavy damage on the country while at other times this regulation has been used for the sake of reducing the number of draft evaders and deserters in the country (Resmi Gazete, 2011). As the timing of the last regulation on paid military service has coincided with European Council's notification recommending Turkey to make a regulation on conscientious objection, paid military has been represented in the media products on conscientious objection.

The issue of paid military service is has been reflected in the media products that are examined in the media analysis, as well. There are four major arguments that are represented in the media, all of which object to a regulation on paid military service. The first argument is whether paid military service would lead to social injustice as only one segment of the

society would benefit from such a regulation. A second argument parallel to first one is that paid military service is a regulation benefitting to the government not to the society. For example, in the report quoted below, paid military service is argued as a regulation the government makes purely in order to "collect money from citizens" rather than solving the problems of those who refuse to serve in the military.

Quote 25

Destici: Sistem, asker kaçağı üretiyor (Zaman, 17.11.2011)

"…Destici, bedelli askerlik konusunun devletin para kazanmak için kullandığı bir yol olduğunu savundu. Destici, "Türkiye 80 yılda borç faizine 130 milyar ödemiş, son 9 yılda 450 milyar ödemiş. Ben Maliye Bakanı'na sordum. Bu rakamlar doğru mu diye. Eğer yanlışsa kullanmayalım dedim. 'Bakan doğru' dedi. Görülüyor ki bedelliden gelecek olan bu para geldiği gibi 2012'deki borç faizine gidecek. Bedelli askerlik devletin para kazanma yoluna dönüşmüş durumda. Bedelliyi çıkarmanın ne millete, ne devlete ne de askere faydası var." şeklinde konuştu.

Profesyonel orduya, gönüllülüğe dayanan askerliğe ve mobil birliklere karşı olmadıklarını vurgulayan Destici, şunları ifade etti: "Bedelli askerlik gibi milletin birlik ve beraberliğini bozacak uygulamalara karşıyız. Türkülere bile konu olmuş 'zenginimiz bedel öder; askerimiz fakirdendir' diye. Şehit olanlar içerisinde bir tane bürokrat, bir tane general, bir tane zengin çocuğu var mı? Eğer bedelli askerlik çıkarılacaksa zengin için de fakir için de geçerli olacak bir uygulama yapılsın. Yaş olarak 35 belirlenebilir. Asker alma sistemini de düzenlersin, asker kaçağı üretmez. Darbe yapar gibi, her 10 yılda bir bedelli askerlik çıkarmazsın.

"…Destici supported the idea that paid military service was created so as to provide the stated with more funds and said as follows: "Turkey has paid 130 billion for the interest of its debt in 80 years and 450 billion for the last 9 years. I asked the Minister of Finance if these figures are accurate so I wouldn't use them if they were wrong but he said they were accurate. It seems like the fund gathered from paid military service will be used to pay off the debt of 2012. Paid military service serves as a fund rising method. It makes no use for the people, state or the soldiers. Stating that they are not against the professional army, military service based on freewill and mobile troops, Destici concluded as follows: "We are opposed to practices like paid military service which will harm the unity and solidarity of the nation. It is also said in our ballads: 'rich pays the price, our soldier is poor'. Have you seen a martyr whose father is a bureaucrat, general or simply rich? If there will be paid military service, both rich and poor should make use of it. And if you regulate enrolment system, there will be no deserter. You won't have to pass a law on paid military service every ten year then."

Third and fourth arguments are about the relationship between conscientious objection and paid military service. One argument is that conscientious objection and paid military service are issues independent of one another; i.e. they incidentally came out together. The other argument; on the other hand, mentions that paid military service is related to conscientious objection. This argument is based on the belief that the government brings paid military service into the agenda of the country right before a regulation on conscientious objection as they want to pave the way for conscientious objection. In Quote 26, for example, a parliament member of Nationalist Opposition Party states that a regulation on paid military service would be for the benefit of conscientious objectors. Moreover he claims that the government secretly supports conscientious objection as paid military service without any basic training is close to objection.

Quote 26

MHP'li Oktay Vural'dan Başbakan'a özür eleştirisi (Zaman Politika, 25.11.2011)

"...Askerlikle ilgili tasarıya da değinen Vural, "Temel askerliği olmadan düzenleme yapılaması vicdani retçilerle ilgili düzenleme. Vicdani retçilerin önünü açmış oluyorlar. Bedelli askerlik konusunda sürekli oluşan beklentiyi ortadan kaldırmak için teklif verdik, kabul etmediler. Vicdani redde karşısın neden temel eğitimden vazgeçtin. Vicdani retçilerin talebini karşılayan yasadır. Elime silah almayacağım diyerek askere gitmek istemeyen vicdani retçiler faydalanmayacak mı? Faydalanacak." diye konuştu..."	*"...Vural has stated as follows regarding the draft on military service: 'Abolishing the basic training in military serves to the conscientious objectors. We have submitted a proposal to prevent the continuous expectation for the paid military service but they refused. If you are opposed to conscientious objection, then why did you abolish the basic training? This is what conscientious objectors want. Won't the conscientious objectors, who say they don't want to use a gun and don't perform military service, make use of it? Yes, they will..."*

Professional army is another topic of discussion on military service. There are four major themes marked by the media products related to professional army. First, there is the argument that professional army would not fit Turkey because of factors such as cultural characteristics or geopolitical standing of Turkey. The second argument, in line with the first one, states that professional army would enfeeble the army thus making the country defenseless and opening it up to potential external threats. These two themes could be seen as marks of a representation that professional army is impossible for Turkey in current conditions. For example, in Quote 27 below, the columnist argues that professionalization of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) contradicts with geopolitical position of Turkey, the founding philosophy of TAF, and Turkish traditions glorifying the army. Moreover, he defines those who support professional army as individuals lacking knowledge about the 'Turkish reality' and are trying to undermine Turkish Armed Forces. As can be inferred from the column quoted below, it has been written from a militaristic viewpoint in which the writer emphasizes the security needs, ascribes a central place to the army in the society and views it as a component of the society and the culture rather than the state. Moreover, arguments in the column could be seen as a representation of the belief that Turks are a military nation, which, according to Altınay (2004), could be seen as a strategy for the militarization of the society.

The third and fourth themes related to paving the way for a professional army are that a professional army and conscientious objection are regulations complementing one another and that a professional army is the ultimate solution to problems of military service. Problems of military service have been mentioned to be structural problems inherent in TAF or implementation issues such as paid military service and conscientious objection. Although they come from a limited amount of media material,

these arguments could be seen as initial marks of a representation "Professional army is a step of democratization.". Supporters of these arguments tend to believe that professional army is an important step in democratization and modernization of the society, which, for them, would only be possible by decreasing the power of TAF over the society.

Quote 27

Bedelli kesmedi bir de vicdani ret! (Armağan Kuloğlu, Yeni Çağ, 19.11.2011)

"...TSK'nın tamamen profesyonel yapılması, ülkenin jeopolitik durumu, tehdit algılaması, kuruluş felsefesi, ordu millet dayanışması ve kaynaşması, TSK'nın milletin ordusu olması ve gücünü milletten alması geleneklerimizle uyum sağlamamaktadır. *TSK'nın tamamen profesyonel olmasını isteyenlerin, bu durumu anlayamadıkları veya anlamak istemedikleri, güvenlik konusunu önemsemedikleri veya TSK'yı bir tehdit olarak algılayarak onu parayla kontrol edilebilir bir güvenlik şirketi gibi görmek istedikleri düşünülebilir. Hatta vicdani reddi savunanların, mecburi askerlik yerine kamuda başka sahalarda çalışmak istememelerinin etkisi de olabilir. Güvenliğin olmadığı bir ortamda demokrasi, özgürlükler ve insan haklarının söz konusu olamayacağının da bilinmesi gerekir...."*	*"...Professional army doesn't comply with the geopolitical position of Turkey, the threats imposed, Turkish Armed Forces' being perceived as the army of the nation and with our rooted traditions.* *Those who support professional army either doesn't understand its importance or doesn't want to understand it, or doesn't care about the national security or they just want to see the armed forces as a private company they can buy and use. Supporters of conscientious objection don't want to carry out any service in the public sector. They should know that, in the absence of security, there is no such thing as democracy, freedom or human rights..."*

Quote 28

Profesyonel ordu ve tuzaklar (Markar Esayan, Taraf, 28.11.2011)

"Bedelli askerlik ve vicdani ret tartışmaları bir hengâmede geldi geçti. İşin özü, yani TSK'nın ideolojik, hantal yapısı ve profesyonel askerliğe geçişi tam manasıyla tartışamadan bedellinin koşullarına kilitlendik. Hâlbuki profesyonel askerliğe tuzaklara düşmeden geçebilmek Türkiye'nin demokrasisinin sağlam bir zemine oturması için belki de en önemli zorunluluklardan birisi.

Öncellikle, bedelli askerliğe de vicdani ret hakkına da sonuna kadar tarafım ve destekliyorum. Ama her iki konu da TSK'nın bugünkü yapısının ürettiği iki sonuç, neden değil.

...

NATO ülkeleri, Soğuk Savaş sonrası ordularını reforma tabi tutarken bunu bağımsız karargâhlar üzerinden yaptı. Özellikle Almanya bunda başarılı oldu. Türkiye için de 100 bin kişilik çağın gerekliliklerine uygun, sadece mesleğini iyi yapmakla ilgili, modern teçhizatlı, hareket kabiliyeti yüksek hava ve deniz ağırlıklı bir ordu kurması, bunu da ayrı bir karargâh üzerinden hükümetin koordine etmesi tek doğru çözüm..."

"Paid military service and conscientious objection has been discussed in a chaos. Without discussing the awkward structure of Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) and transition to the profession army, we have just focused on paid military service. However, transition to the professional army is one of the prerequisites of empowering democracy in Turkey.

First of all, I wholeheartedly support both paid military service and conscientious objection. But the reason of the emergence of these concepts don't stem from the structure of TAF.

...

After the Civil War, NATO countries made a reform on their armed forces through independent quarters and succeeded, especially Germany. Now it is high time for Turkey to form a professional army of 100 thousand soldiers in line with the technology and the requirements of our age.

Another topic of discussion related to military service, the most popular one, is Turkish Armed Forces. Turkish Armed Forces have been discussed both in itself and in relation to conscientious objection. Two representations have been marked by the themes that are obtained from the media analysis. The first representation is "TAF is out of date". This representation has been marked by two themes, one of which is that TAF is a problematic structure with its unwieldiness and crowdedness. The second theme, parallel to first one, is that there is a global shift in both technology and the perception of

war and that TAF should keep up with these trends of thought. These themes – as exemplified in Quote 29 - focus on defense to be held by TAF in a possible war situation, rather than emphasizing the nature of TAF or image of TAF in the society.

Quote 29

Bedelli askerlik... Vicdani ret..vs. (2) (Namık Çınar, Taraf, 21.11.2011)

"Bir önceki yazımda, artık günümüzdeki harplerin, gerek uygulanan taktik ve stratejiler, gerekse yapısal teşkilatlanmalar bakımından, geçmiş zamanlarda kalmış orduların baş edemeyecekleri kadar değişime uğradıklarını yazmış; bu mahiyetiyle, bizimkinin de modası geçmiş bir ordu olduğunu söylemiştim.

Saldırıya uğrayan ülkelerin en çok birkaç günlük yıkımlarla işinin bitirildiği bu teknolojik savaşlar karşısında, ancak postallarını bağlıyor olabilecek hımbıllıklardaki TSK'nın da, eğer önlem alınmaz ve lüzumlu reformlar gerçekleştirilmezse, yapabileceği pek bir şey olmadığının bilinmesini isterim.

Nitekim, yarısı terhis edilmiş yedeklerden, diğer yarısı da silah altındaki muvazzaflardan oluşan, en az bir buçuk milyonluk kâğıt üzerindeki bu ordunun, kıyametin o birkaç gününde tertiplenip, hayatın üstüne tıpkı bir deprem gibi yüklenen savaş makinelerine nasıl göğüs gereceğini, askerliğini yapmış olup da bu yazıyı okuyanlar, o koşullarda ne yapacaklarını ve ne işe yarayacaklarını, şöyle akıllarından geçirip bir düşünsünler bakalım, nereye varacaklar? ..."

"As I have mentioned in my previous article, today's wars are totally different from those in the past both because of the strategies and military tactics used and structural organizations; it this regard, it is clear that our army is out of date. Attacked countries cannot survive more than a few days in these technological wars and I have to tell that Turkish Armed Forces won't be able to do anything unless they take the necessary precautions and make some reforms. Let's think how this so-called one and a half million army of which half of it discharged officers and the other half is bewildered soldiers registered on the list would react when huge was machines cast on our sky? Those who have completed their military service will understand better what I mean. Let's think about it for a moment. What will they come up with? ..."

The second representation is that "TAF is indispensable to Turkey". This representation has been marked by two major themes which are that TAF is the backbone of the society and that there is an effort to undermine TAF. As can be inferred from Quote30 below, these themes are based on the idea that TAF should be strong for Turkey to be strong. This idea has been disseminated by former Chief of General Staff (NTVMSNBC, 2009) and turned into the motto "Powerful Army, Powerful Turkey", which has been prevalently used in advertisement materials of TAF. Prevalence of this argument in public is a cue for us to understand the power of militarist ideology in Turkey as it attaches particular importance to military needs of the society and centralizes the position of the army in the society.

Quote 30

Zengine Bedelli PKK'lıya Vicdani Ret Çıkacak… Nöbeti Gariban Çocuğu Tutacak! (Yeni Çağ, 17.11.2011)

CHP Ordu eski milletvekili Rahmi Güner de, Türkiye gibi coğrafi ve stratejik konumu itibariyle dünyanın çok kritik yerinde olan bir ülkede, vicdani ret yasasının yanlış bir durum meydana getireceğini söyledi. Güner, Türkiye gibi ülkelerin silahlı kuvvetlerini devamlı zinde ve dinamik tutma durumunda olduğunu belirterek, bu durumun dünyada bazı ülkeleri tedirgin ettiğine dikkat çekti. "Güçlü bir Türkiye olması için silahlı kuvvetlerinin de güçlü olması gerekli" diyen Güner, Türkiye'de silahlı Kuvvetlerin yapısının değiştirilmek istendiğine vurgu yaparak, doğrudan doğruya paralı bir askerlik ve sözleşmeli bir silahlı kuvvetlerin gündeme getirildiğini ifade etti. *…* *Türkiye'nin her zaman güçlü ve inançlı bir silahlı kuvvetlere ihtiyacı olduğunun altını çizen Güner, bunun tarihte de böyle olduğunu kaydetti.*	*Rahmi Güner, former Deputy of Ordu from CHP, said that conscientious objection law is wrong for a country like Turkey due to its geopolitical and strategic position. He added that in a country like Turkey, armed forces should always be dynamic and ready for all threats; yet some countries are upset about it. Güner said that strong armed forces are necessary for a strong Turkey and they want to undermine the structure of the armed forces by proposing paid military service.* *…* *Underlying that Turkey will always need a strong and faithful army, Güner said this was the case in the past and will always be. Güner concluded his remarks as follows: "If we lose this spirit and don't care about it, we will go back to those days during the 1st World War when we were about to lose against the minor armies and our army was commanded by foreign*

Güner sözlerini şu şekilde tamamladı: "Eğer biz bunları ihmal edersek ve bu duyguları bozarsak sanki I. Dünya savaşından önce nasıl ki ordumuzun bazı ufak güçler karşısında hezimete uğrama durumu olduysa ve I. Dünya savaşında yabancı komutanlar bizi sevk ve idare etmişse aynı duruma düşeriz. Bu duruma düşmemek için Türkiye bilhassa ordusunu çok sağlam tutmalı…"

commanders. We have to strengthen our army not to experience all these once again..."

Quote 31

Zengine Bedelli PKK'lıya Vicdani Ret Çıkacak… Nöbeti Gariban Çocuğu Tutacak! (Yeni Çağ, 17.11.2011)

…
Çok ciddi durum
Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Antalya Milletvekili Gürkut Acar da, Türkiye'de PKK ya karşı savaşmış olan ordudaki generallerimizin büyük çoğunluğunun içeride olduğunu hatırlatarak, " Vicdani ret Türk Ordusunun temelini sarsacak çok ciddi durumdur. Vicdani ret kesinlikle doğru değildir. Türkiye cumhuriyeti ordusunun tasfiyesinin bir parçasıdır" dedi.
…

…
It's a very serious situation Gürkut Acar, Deputy of Antalya from CHP, has pointed out that the majority of generals who have fought against PKK is in jail now and added as follows: "Conscientious objection is a very serious situation which will rock the foundation of Turkish Army. It is absolutely wrong. Turkish Republic is a part of the demobilization of its army.

A second discussion of the issue is on the relation between conscientious objection and TAF. Three representations have been marked by the media products theming this discussion. The first representation is that conscientious objection would damage the present system of TAF. The themes forming this representation are the accusation that conscientious objection as concept derails the military system of Turkey, that it wears out the TAF, that it alienates people from military service and that it abuses the

notion of soldiery. For example, in Quote 31, conscientious objection is represented to be a part of the expel of TAF as it is argued to rock the army to its foundations. In Quote 32, along similar lines, conscientious objection is represented to be a factor wearing out TAF by complicating the system.

Quote 32

TSK'nın binlerce yıllık geleneğiyle oynanıyor (Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)	
"...Askerlik sistemi bir kere giderek karmaşık bir hale getiriliyor. Kısa dönem mecburi askerlik yapanlar var. 15 ay normal askerlik yapanlar var. Dövizli askerlik yapanlar var. Bedelli askerlik yapanlar olacak, vicdani retçiler olacak. Bir de profesyonel askerler var. TSK'nın bir eğitim sistemi var. Bu kadar çok çeşitli askerlik görevleri olursa bu eğitim sisteminin yürütülmesinde zorluklar oluşabilir, bütünlük bozulur. Aslında çoktan bozuldu bile..."	*"...They are making the military system complicated by the recruitment. Some men are performing the military service as short term; others do it for 15 months. Some does in foreign exchange, some with paid military service and some others are conscientious objectors. It is no wonder that the system is so complicated with all these different status which create problems eventually. We can say that the system has already undermined.*

The second representation on the relation between conscientious objection and TAF is that conscientious objection does not damage the system of TAF. This representation has been marked by two themes which are that conscientious objection does not derail the military system and that it does not oppose forced military service. The media products representing these themes tend to define conscientious objection as a right protecting the interests of not only the military but also the citizens objecting to military service (See Quote 33).

The third representation, although marked by a limited number of newspaper reports and columns, is that military needs are of first priority. This representation is marked by the media products arguing that the needs of TAF should be prioritized if a regulation on conscientious objection is to

be implemented. For example, in the quoted statement of Minister of Justice, it is mentioned that besides the requisitions of Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe from Turkey on the issue of conscientious objection, the needs and remarks of the army matter for the government in forming an opinion on conscientious objection.

Quote 33

TSK'nın binlerce yıllık geleneğiyle oynanıyor (Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)

"... *Avrupa Konseyi Genel Sekreteri Thorbjorn Jangland ise Avrupa Konseyi'nin vicdani ret kapsamında Türkiye'den beklentisinin ne olduğu sorusuna, "Mahkemenin, AİHM'in bir kararı var bununla alakalı olarak. Türkiye'deki yasalar şu an itibarıyla sözleşmenin AİHM kurallarına uygun değildir demektedir. Vicdani ret vardır Avrupa'da. Tarihte şu görülmüştür ki, bu hakkın tanınması askeriyenin gücünü tehdit etmemektedir. Tam tersine aslında askeriyenin gücüne zarar veren değil, hem ulusu korurken hem de bireylerin hakkının aynı anda korunması bu alanda mümkündür." ifadelerini kullandı."*	*"... In response to a question regarding the expectations of the European Council from Turkey on conscientious objection, Thorbjorn Jangland, Secretary General of the European Council, answered as follows: The European Court of Human Rights has given a decree on it. The procedure Turkey follows now is not in line with the Court. Conscientious objection is a human right in Europe. It has been seen throughout the history that, it doesn't challenge the military system. On the contrary, it is possible to protect the country while respecting the human rights."*

Quote 34

Askerî gücünüzü tehdit etmez (Taraf, 16.11.2011)

"... Aynı yöndeki sorular üzerine Bakan Ergin, Avrupa Konseyi Bakanlar Komitesi'nin Türkiye'ye yönelik bu konuda bir talebi bulunduğunu anımsatarak, şunları söyledi: "Bu taleple ilgili bir çalışma yapılıyor, ama bu çalışmada değişik seçenekler	*"... Mentioning the requests of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe from Turkey, Minister Ergin has stated as follows: "We are working on the requests, yet there are different options that are being discussed. The policy makers will*

masanın üzerinde. Bunları siyaset kurumu değerlendirecek.. İlk etapta AİHM'in ihlal kararının gerekçesindeki hususların giderilmesi hedeflenecektir ama Türkiye'nin kendi ihtiyaçları, Milli Savunma Bakanlığımızın, Genelkurmay Başkanlığımızın görüşleri ve ihtiyaçları bizim için önemli. Bütün bunlarla beraber bir görüş ortaya çıkacak."

evaluate them. The primary objection is to abolish the practices that the European Court of Human Rights have assessed as the violation of the articles. However, Turkey's need will surely be taken into consideration through the joint work of Ministry of Defence and the General Staff. We will come up with a solution after the negotiations."

It should be noted that although these three representations have different reference points and reflect different viewpoints to conscientious objection, they have a common ground. They each discuss the issue of conscientious objection on the basis of TAF and military needs of the country rather than human rights or social needs; another sign of the pervasion of militarist ideology in the media products.

Another topic of discussion is the phenomenon of the military nation. There are two representations formed by different parties of the discussion. First representation is that Turks are military nation. It has been marked by the themes that Every Turk is born a soldier and that conscientious objection damages the conception of military nation. As discussed previously, attribution of military characteristics to Turks as a nation dates to early 20th century when Turkish Republic is established and it has started to form and impose its ideologies. Since then, militarism and nationalism has been prevalent ideologies in Turkey and continue their dominance by occupying a place in the social knowledge. Today, according to a recent study on the relationship between the army and society (Gürsoy & Sarıgül, 2011), three out of persons in the Turkish society believes that Turks are a military nation, which could be seen as the signifier for the depth of the militarist ideology (See Quote 35 below for a newspaper report related to the study.)

Quote 35

Toplum bedelli askerlik ve vicdani ret konusunda ne düşünüyor? (Zaman Gündem, 25.11.2011)

"...Anketten çıkan sonuca göre Türk toplumu asker ve militarist bir toplum. Katılımcıların yüzde 74'ü Türklerin asker bir millet olduğu görüşünde. Buna katılmayanların oranı sadece yüzde 11'de kaldı. Ayrıca katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu da mecburi askerliğin devam etmesi gerektiğini düşünüyor. Askerliğe isteyenlerin gitmesi gerektiği ve mecburi askerliğin kalkması gerektiğini düşünenlerin oranı yüzde 15'te kalırken, yüzde 74'ü herkesin mecburi askerlik yapması gerektiği görüşünde birleşiyor."

"...According to the survey results, Turkish people are a militarist community. 74% of the participants think that Turks are a military nation. Those who oppose to this opinion are solely 11%. And the majority of participants support that the compulsory military service shall continue. Those who support the abolition of compulsory military service are just 15%.%74of participants think that everybody should perform military service."

Quote 36

Profesyonel ordu ve tuzaklar (Markar Esayan, Taraf, 28.11.2011)

"...Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Avrupa'da yüzde bir olan asker kaçağı oranı Osmanlı'da yüzde 20'ydi. Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda ise askerden kaçtığı için yakalanabilen 40 bin kişiden 1054 tanesi idam edilmişti. Yani her Türk manav, tornacı doğmadığı gibi asker de doğmuyor, ordu da peygamber ocağı değil, askerlik bir meslek, bu hamasete gerek yok artık. İnsanlar her zaman iyi yaşamaya ve pisipisine ölmemeye gayret ediyor. Bunun vatanını sevmemekle de ilgisi yok. Bir yerde adaletsizlik, akla aykırılık varsa onu ulvi değerlerle nereye kadar kamufle edebilirsiniz ki!.."

"...While the proportion of the deserters in Europe during the 1st World War was 1%, this figure was 20% in the Ottoman Empire. And during the Independence War, more than 40 thousand men were arrested due to desertion and 1054 among them were executed. So it is clear that every Turk was not born soldier, as they were not born fruit seller or machinist and barracks is not home of the Prophet Mohammed, there is no need for such discussions any longer. People are trying to have a decent life and not to die for nothing. How far can you mask the injustices and irrational beliefs with the divine values?.."

The second representation related to the phenomenon of military nation is that Turks are not a military nation, which has been marked by the themes "Not every Turk is born a soldier." and "Military myths are starting to be abandoned." The media products producing and disseminating these themes emphasize that the beliefs like Turks' being a military nation are nothing but myths incompatible with the reality in the public and they started to be abandoned as a result of transformation in the society.

Quote 37

TSK'nın binlerce yıllık geleneğiyle oynanıyor (Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)

"... *Avrupa Konseyi Genel Sekreteri Thorbjorn Jangland ise Avrupa Konseyi'nin vicdani ret kapsamında Türkiye'den beklentisinin ne olduğu sorusuna, "Mahkemenin, AİHM'in bir kararı var bununla alakalı olarak. Türkiye'deki yasalar şu an itibarıyla sözleşmenin AİHM kurallarına uygun değildir demektedir. Vicdani ret vardır Avrupa'da. Tarihte şu görülmüştür ki, bu hakkın tanınması askeriyenin gücünü tehdit etmemektedir. Tam tersine aslında askeriyenin gücüne zarar veren değil, hem ulusu korurken hem de bireylerin hakkının aynı anda korunması bu alanda mümkündür." ifadelerini kullandı."*	*"... In response to a question regarding the expectations of the European Council from Turkey on conscientious objection, Thorbjorn Jangland, Secretary General of the European Council, answered as follows: The European Court of Human Rights has given a decree on it. The procedure Turkey follows now is not in line with the Court. Conscientious objection is a human right in Europe. It has been seen throughout the history that, it doesn't challenge the military system. On the contrary, it is possible to protect the country while respecting the human rights."*

Still another topic of discussion is military service in relation to manhood. Although this topic is not as popular as other dimensions of military service, there have been some media products examining this relation. The themes generated by these media products generally criticize the relationship between military service and manhood. The first theme is that military service is a lifelong burden before men (i.e. a man cannot find a job to make

a living if he does not make his military duty, he cannot get married, or even he is not perceived to be an adult man) rather than being a phase of manhood all young men go through. This theme might imply a transformation in the representation of military service among men.

Similarly, another theme suggests that military service should no longer be seen as a symbol of manhood. A third argument is that gay men should not be forced to do military service in order to prevent possible ill-treatment and discrimination they might face during military service. And finally, there is an argument that military service is not heroic and soldiers are not heroes saving the country. Although represented limitedly, these themes hint an emerging discussion on the relation between military service and manhood in the public. For example, in Quote 38, the columnist argues that the beliefs viewing military service as a rite of passage to manhood, which normalizes the fulfillment of forced military service, are due to expire.

Apart from these topics of discussion there have generated two representations related to military service which are "Military service is a harsh process." and "Military service is important.".

"Military service is a harsh process." is a representation signifying the effects of military service on the soldiers and people in their immediate surrounding such as traumatic life events, death and killing, and human rights violation. This theme has been marked Quote 38 below.

After Mater (1998) and Altınay (2004) Selek (2008), experiences of soldiers have been a topic of interest for the researchers in the field of social sciences. For example, in a recent study, Turan (2013) examines forced military service experience with an anthropological approach (see Sünbüloğlu, 2013 for diverse perspectives on military service.) Although

these studies shed light on the experiences of individuals in military service, ill treatment and violence during military service is not fully covered and the exact statistics of ill treatment and human rights abuse during military service are still unknown Turkey.

Quote 38

TSK'nın binlerce yıllık geleneğiyle oynanıyor (Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)	
"NE KIZ, NE İŞ VERİRLER *Aslında bizde vicdani ret için düğmeye geç basılıyor.* *Pek çok Avrupa ülkesinde zorunlu askerlik çoktan kalkmış bulunuyor. Zorunlu askerlik kalkınca, vicdani redde gerek kalmıyor. AB ülkeleri içinde zorunlu askerlik halen altı ülkede var.* *Bizde geç kalmasının başka nedeni geleneklere bağlılık. Ne de olsa, "asker milletiz". Ya da "askere gitmeyene kız vermezler", "askere gitmeyene iş vermezler" ve hatta "askere gitmeyen adam değildir" menkıbeleri. Bunlar şimdi geride kalmak üzerine…"*	*"DESERVING NEITHER A WIFE NOR A JOB* *"Actually, we lag behind in conscientious objection. Majority of the European countries has repealed the compulsory military service. When you repeal it, then there is no need for conscientious objection. 6 European countries are still performing compulsory military service. Another reason of our lagging behind for it is our traditional values. We are a "military nation" after all. There is no wife and no job for a deserted. He doesn't even deserve to be called "a man". However, these clichés are about to grow out of date..."*

A website recently set up on soldiers' rights have declared that they have received 432 complaints in a period of one year from soldiers or previous soldiers related to ill treatment they have been exposed during their military service. The major reasons of appeals to the website involve insult (48%) and physical violence (39%). These two complaints are followed by excessive physical activity (16%), being deprived of adequate health care (15%), and being threatened (13%) (Asker hakları, 2012). Moreover, although soldiers are represented to be targets of ill treatment and human rights, it is represented that individuals in their immediate vicinity are also

affected. Quote 39 below has references on negative circumstances individuals face during their military service.

Quote 39

Bedelli sivillik ve vicdan hürriyeti (Yasemin Çongar, Taraf, 23.11.2011)

"...Hâsılı, her Türk asker doğmuyor. Bu memlekette gözünü açan her erkek eline silah alıp, ayağına postal geçirmek için yanıp tutuşmuyor. Bu memleketin evlâdı olmak, askere gidip komutanından dayak yemeyi, "disko" denen koğuşta işkence görmeyi, nöbette vurulup ailesine "intihar etti" diye rapor edilmeyi, eğitim zayiatı olarak kayıttan düşülmeyi, sınır karakollarını beklerken, gerilla baskınlarında ya da çarşı iznine çıkmışken kasabanın ortasında PKK'lılarca öldürülmeyi ya da dağlarda PKK'lı öldürmeyi, bazen de PKK'lı diye çoluk çocuk, çoban, kız, oğlan vurmayı görev bilmek anlamına gelmiyor. Bu memleketi sevmek, bu savaşı sevmek demek değil; vatanı sevmek "vatanî görev" adı altında dayatılan bilumum insan hakları ihlaline teferruat gözüyle bakmak demek değil...."	*"...Every Turk was not born soldier, to tell the truth. Every man born on this land is not craving for holding a gun and wearing heavy shoes. Being a patriot doesn't mean to be beaten by his commander, to be tortured in a place called "disco", to be shot during the watched and be reported as committing suicide, to be shot by the PKK militants during the weekend leave or in the guardhouse or to kill PKK militants on the mountains or to shot children, shepherd, girls and boy thinking that they are PKK sympathizer. Loving this country doesn't mean loving this war. Loving this country is not shutting one's eyes to the human rights violations and injustices under the name of "national service..."*

The last representation related to military service is that military service is simply important. This representation has been formed by the themes that military service should not be opposed, that it is a civic responsibility, that it is a prevalent ideology of Turkey and that it is the key stone of nationalism. For example, in the column quoted below, the writer defines military service as a civic responsibility and name the one objecting to it as slies. Actually, it is possible to see these themes as a summary of themes supporting and justifying current practice of military service in Turkey.

Quote 40

Bedelli sivillik ve vicdan hürriyeti (Yasemin Çongar, Taraf, 23.11.2011)

"...Ülkenin, özellikle dış tehditlere karşı korunması, güvenliğinin, savunmasının sağlanması da bir kamusal mal, bir sosyal hizmettir. Bu hizmetin, daha teknik deyişle kamusal malın maliyeti, diğer kamusal mallarda da olduğu gibi olabildiğince adil bir şekilde, toplumu oluşturan bireyler tarafından, bireylerin özverisi, fedakârlığı ile karşılanacaktır... Bedelli askerliği, vicdani reddi, toplumsal hizmetlerin karşılanması ilkeleriyle uyumlu bulmadığım gibi bir tür uyanıklık gösterisi olarak da yorumluyorum. Nerede adalet anlayışı, nerede eşit özveri, fedakârlık? Biz kamusal mallardan, sosyal mallardan yararlanalım, külfeti fedakârlığı ise başkaları taşısın. Böyle bir anlayışın, davranışın vicdani, ahlaki yönü olabilir mi? Özür dilerim, bu tür davranışları, tutumları "uyanıklık" olarak yorumluyorum. Her bireyin toplumsal yaşamanın kurallarına aykırı düşünceleri, eğilimleri olabilir. Bunların değişmesi için savaşım da verir. Ancak kurallar geçerli olduğu sürece, uyumlu davranmaya da özen gösterilmelidir..."

"...Protecting the country from external threats and ensuring its protection and defense is also a public good and service. The cost of this service, this public good in more technical terms, shall be met by the devotion and sacrifice of its public like in other areas impartially. I don't find it just to consider paid military service and conscientious objection as a refusal of performing one's national service duty. How can you talk about justice, equality and devotion then? We'll benefit from public good and social good; yet wait sacrifice from others. Does it suit to conscience and morals? Pardon me but for me, this kind of behavior is called "slyness". Every person can have some thoughts and tendencies which don't match with social rules. They can even fight for it. However, as long as the rules are valid, one can do nothing but obey by the rules..."

2.4.5 Media Representations of Homeland

Homeland is another topic that is thought to be related to conscientious objection and conscientious objectors. Although limited, all newspapers have dedicated content to the concept of homeland in their reports and columns.

Media representations of military service may be examined under the headings of "Patriotic Themes" and "Unpatriotic Themes". Patriotic themes involve the themes that discuss the issue of homeland within the frame of patriotism while unpatriotic themes signify the thematic units that question or criticize patriotism.

Patriotic themes have been generated within the titles of national service and homeland defense; apart from which exist the themes that "citizenship requires certain responsibilities." and "It's the homeland that holds us together.". Homeland defense is a theme constituted by the themes "Homeland defense is a sacred duty." and "Every single Turk should take part in homeland defense." These themes could be seen as rings of the same chain as they justify one another. Moreover, it is possible to see these themes as signifiers of patriotic ideology which has a special emphasis on the land one lives in. For example, below is a quote of Yeni Şafak (Quote 41) in which the columnist views the homeland above anything and criticizes those who do not. Moreover, he argues that individuals who conduct acts such as claiming the right to conscientious objection must be deprived of their sense of nationality.

National service; on the other hand, is constituted by the themes "There is no single way of serving one's country." and "Military service is not the symbol of patriotism.". Creators of these themes tend to glorify the homeland but they also question the beliefs equating military service with patriotism. For example, in a newspaper report quoting a statement of Minister of Education (Quote 42), it has been mentioned that conscientious objectors could be patriotic citizens and they should be allowed to serve their country in the way they choose.

Quote 41

"Vicdani Ret ve Deli Halit Paşa'nın 'Namussuz'u" (Cazim Gürbüz, Yeni Çağ, 22.11.2011)

"*Evlatlarını kaybedince 'vatan sağ olsun; diğer oğullarım da feda olsun, keşke ben de gelebilsem' diyen, şehit olan çocuklarının düşmanın üzerine yürürken ölmesinden büyük gurur ve haz duyan, vatanı için para pul dahil fani hiçbir şeyi gözü görmeyen halk kaldı mı dünyada" diye soruyor Osman Pamukoğlu...*
Vatan borcunu yerine getirmeyi reddetmek hakkına sahip olabilmek, yani "asker kaçaklığı" demektir vicdani ret. Uluslararası boyutu var bu işin, Türkiye ayağına ise Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'nin özel önemi dolayısıyla, özel bir önem ve ağırlık veriliyor. Vicdani reddi yapabilmeniz için, milliyet duygunuzu sıfırlamanız gere..."

"*Osman Pamukoğlu asks whether there are still some families who can say "God, may our country prosper!" after they lose their son in a battle, who are proud while their children fight for the defense of his country and don't care about possessions.*

Conscientious objection is equivalent to be a deserter since you refuse to serve to your country. There is an international dimension of this issue and it is of great importance because of the speciality of Turkish Armed Forces. You have to eradicate the nationalist feeling to let the conscientious objection passes as a right..."

Quote 42

"Vicdani ret bir insan hakkı (Taraf, 04.12.2011)

Yurdunu sevmenin tek yolu yok
Bu kavramın diğer ülkelerin tarihi gelişimine bakıldığında, sadece bir bahane için üretilmiş argüman olmadığının, felsefi bir arka plana sahip, din ve vicdan birliğinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğunun görüldüğünü dile getiren Avcı, şöyle devam etti: "Sezai Karakoç'un çok güzel bir sözü var; 'Yurdunu sevenlerin gözünü kimse bağlamaz'. Yani yurdunu sevmenin bir tane yolu yok. İnsanlar çok farklı biçimde yurtlarına hizmet edebilir.

There is not a single way to love one's country
Stating that conscientious objection is not a futile argument created as an excuse, that it has a philosophy and an indispensable part of freedom of religion and conscious, Avcı added as follows: "Sezai Karakoç has a saying; 'No one can cast shadow on the eyes of those who love their country.'. In other words, there is not a single way to love one's country. People can serve their country in different

'Ben yurdumu seviyorum ama böyle değil de şöyle hizmet etmek istiyorum' diyenlere de bunun önünün açık olması lazım. Ne olabilir? Kamu hizmeti olabilir. Aynı zamanda askerliği şerefli ve ulvi bir görev olarak kabul eden insanların samimiliği için de bu mesele önemli. Yani bir adam askere gidiyorsa, bu adam mecbur olduğu için değil, gerçekten vatanın sevmenin yolunun bu olduğunu, vatanına böyle hizmet etmenin kendisi için en onurlu yol olduğunu göstermek istiyordur."

ways. People cannot be force to serve their country in a single way and other options should be available. In which forms can it be possible? Let's say public service. This also matters for those who consider military service as an honorable and sacred duty; because if one man chooses to perform military service with his free will, it means he does so not out of duty but because he considers it as the most noble way to serve his country."

In this sense, it can be argued that these themes represents two different forms of patriotism; i.e. blind and constructive patriotism. The themes "Homeland defense is a sacred duty." and "Every single Turk should take part in homeland defense." symbolize an inflexible attachment to the homeland and nation as they suggest that there is only one way of being good citizens. The themes "There is no single way of serving one's country." and "Military service is not the symbol of patriotism."; on the other hand, are more flexible in the sense that they suggest that it is possible to be a good citizen although one does not or cannot perform the military duty and military duty should not be perceived as the only indicator of one's attachment to his/her country.

Apart from these two headings, patriotic themes also involve the themes that citizenship requires certain responsibilities and that it is the homeland that holds us together. These themes are considered to be patriotic as they glorify the concept of homeland and emphasize its importance in the lives of individuals.

The headline of unpatriotic themes involve the theme "It's the poor who defend the country.". This theme is considered to be unpatriotic as it questions the patriotic belief encouraging individuals to die in the name of their homeland. This theme has mainly come from newspaper reports and columns theming paid military service. In the quoted report (Quote 43), for example, it has been mentioned that it is only the poor who die in the name of homeland while rich people are always somehow privileged. Moreover, it is implied that this argument is highly represented in the public as it is subject to folk songs.

Quote 43

Destici: Sistem, asker kaçağı üretiyor (Zaman, 17.11.2011)	
"Profesyonel orduya, gönüllülüğe dayanan askerliğe ve mobil birliklere karşı olmadıklarını vurgulayan Destici, şunları ifade etti: "Bedelli askerlik gibi milletin birlik ve beraberliğini bozacak uygulamalara karşıyız. Türkülere bile konu olmuş 'zenginimiz bedel öder; askerimiz fakirdendir' diye. Şehit olanlar içerisinde bir tane bürokrat, bir tane general, bir tane zengin çocuğu var mı? Eğer bedelli askerlik çıkarılacaksa zengin için de fakir için de geçerli olacak bir uygulama yapılsın. Yaş olarak 35 belirlenebilir. Asker alma sistemini de düzenlersin, asker kaçağı üretmez. Darbe yapar gibi, her 10 yılda bir bedelli askerlik çıkarmazsın."	*Stating that they are not against the professional army, military service based on freewill and mobile troops, Destici concluded as follows: "We are opposed to practices like paid military service which will harm the unity and solidarity of the nation. It is also said in our ballads: 'rich pays the price, our soldier is poor'. Have you seen a martyr whose father is a bureaucrat, general or simply rich? If there will be paid military service, both rich and poor should make use of it. And if you regulate enrolment system, there will be no deserter. You won't have to pass a law on paid military service every ten year then."*

The aforementioned folk song, named Yemen song, is an old song narrating the conditions soldiers go through in Yemeni Battle of First World War. The song is famous for the lyrics quoted in the report; i.e. rich pays the price our soldier is poor. In fact, there are lots of folk songs in Turkey that have been

sung during the First World War and that reflect the negative war experiences of soldiers with unpatriotic references (See Zürcher, 1996 for a valuable analysis of folk songs that represents the war experiences of Ottoman soldiers.

2.4.6   Media Representations of War

War is a concept that is hypothesized to be related to conscientious objection and conscientious objectors. The results of media analysis have shown that this issue is examined only by the newspaper Taraf while all others remain silent on the topic, at least during the period of media analysis.

Three themes have been generated from the thematic units related to war which are "War is not a solution to world problems.", "War is about nothing but dying and killing." And "Turkish civil war is the plot of sovereigns.". These themes criticize the concept of war and refuse it not only locally; i.e., in the context of Turkey, but also globally.

2.4.7   Media Representations of Islam

Islam is the last concept that is thought to be related to conscientious objection and conscientious objectors. According to the results of media analysis, all the newspapers give quite a limited space to the topic of Islam in relation with conscientious objection, which implies that the discussion of conscientious objection is Islamic perspective is not a prevailing one in contemporary Turkey.

The themes related to Islam could be examined in two headings which are military service and conscientious objection. To begin with military service,

three themes on the relation between military service and Islam have been marked by the media products. The first theme is that military service is a sacred and it is constituted by the thematic units suggesting that barracks is the home of Mohammed and soldiers are called Mehmetçik, meaning little Mohammeds. An example of this theme is given in Quote 44 below. As can be seen in the quotation which involves a statement of Prime Minster on the issue of conscientious objection, creators and disseminators of this theme tend to attribute religious meaning to military service.

Quote 44

Başbakan Erdoğan'dan vicdani ret açıklaması (Hürriyet, 22.11.2011)

Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, bedelli askerliğin şartlarını açıkladıktan sonra vicdani ret iddialarına da açıklık getirdi. Başbakan Erdoğan şöyle konuştu:
"Vicdani ret olarak adlandırılan bir düzenleme Hükümetimizin gündeminde asla olmamıştır. Bu konuda çıkan haberler spekülasyondan öte bir anlam ifade etmiyor. Askerlik bu milletin, bu topraklar için en kutsal vazifelerden biri olarak kabul edilmiştir. Biz askerimize 'Mehmetçik' derken bunun bir anlamı var; bu "Küçük Muhammed" anlamındadır. Biz askerliği Peygamber Ocağı olarak görmüşüz. Tabii birçok spekülasyonlara neden olmuş şeyler olmuştur, olabilir.
Ama biz, bu millet, bunu böyle biliriz. Görmeyenler yok mu? Var. Ama bu milletin kahir ekseriyeti bunu böyle bilir. Askerlik hizmetinin ciddiyetinin zedelenmesine de istismara da asla müsaade etmedik, asla müsaade etmeyiz. Bedelli askerlik uygulamasının ülkemize, milletimize, gençlerimize, onların ailelerine hayırlı olmasını diliyorum."

Upon explaining the procedure regarding the paid military service, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has stated as follows regarding conscientious objection: "Such regulation as conscientious objection has never been on the agenda of our government. News issued on this matter should be considered no more than a speculation. Military service has been accepted as one of the most divine services paid to one's country on this land. When we call our soldier as "Mehmet the Hero", it has a meaning. It means "Little Mohammed". We regard the barracks as the home of the Prophet. Of course, many speculations have been created on it. However, we, as our nation, regard it as it is. Isn't there anyone who cannot see it? Yes there is. But the vast majority of this nation considers it like this. We have never let those who want to play upon army and exploit it and never will we. I hope that the paid military service may be to the benefit of our country and people."

Another theme the relation between Islam and military service is that military service has no sacred value. The supporters of this view, although marginal, argue that military service has no sacred attributions and that it should thus fade away.

The third theme of this heading is that forced military service does not match the philosophy of Islam. Parallel to the former theme, they argue that military service has no religious attributions; however, they raise their argument from a religious standpoint. For example, in the report quoted below, statement of a conscientious objection is included where he implies that Turkish army is not a Muslim army and states that he thus refuses to be a part of TAF (See Quote 45).

Quote 45

Askerî cezaevinde kurt kanunu (Taraf, 18.12.2011)

"...Kendisini dindar ve milliyetçi olarak tanımlayan Delice, askerden izne geldiği sırada yaptığı açıklamada, "Beş aylık askerlik süresi, neyin ne olduğunu görmeme vesile olmuştur. Müslüman olmayan bir ordunun mensubu olmayacağım. Zulme karşı sessizlik zulümdür" diyerek vicdani reddini açıklamış, "Kendimize hayali düşmanlar yarattık. Kürt kardeşlerimizi hedef aldık. Yıllarca bir takım yalanlarla kandırdık gençliğimizi" diye konuşmuştu."	*"...Delice, who identifies himself as a religious and nationalist person, stated as follows during his leave after performing the military service for five months and declared his conscientious objection: '5 months military service was more than enough for me to understand the realities. I will not be a part of a non-Muslim army. Silence before oppression is also oppression. We have created imaginary enemies. We have targeted our Kurdish brothers. We have fooled the youth with a number of lies".*

The second heading discussion on Islam is about the relationship between conscientious objection and Islam. There are two parties to the discussion which argue either that conscientious objection matches the values of Islam or that conscientious objection contradicts with the values of Islam. The first party argues that forced military duty does not belong to the Islamic tradition settled by the prophet and his four caliphs; rather it is a phenomena contradicting with the perception of war practiced by the prophet. Alongside this argument, they state that conscientious objection is a practice supported by the values of Islam. In the quote below, for example, the transformation in the perception of war and military service in the Islamic tradition has been briefly mentioned and it is argued that forced military service is a practice independent of the practice in times of the prophet. Moreover, it has been suggested that conscientious objection is an opportunity for Muslims to introduce the Islam of that practiced in the time of the prophet.

Quote 46

Askerî cezaevinde kurt kanunu (Taraf, 18.12.2011)	
"… *Hz. Peygamberin ordusu* *Hz. peygamber ve dört halife döneminde baktığımızda düzenli bir ordu bulunmamaktadır. Herkesin silahı var ve herkes normal zamanlarda kendi sanat ve mesleklerini ifa ederek kendi geçimlerini sağlamakla meşgul kimselerdi. Sefer kararı alındığında gücü ve sağlığı yerinde olan kimseler silahlarıyla birlikte biraraya gelerek birlik oluştururlardı. Bu birliğin başına bir komutan tayin edilir ve savaş sırasında elde edilen ganimetlerde bu sefere katılan kişiler arasında paylaştırılırdı… Kemalizim*	*".. Army of the Muhammad the Prophet When we search the age of four caliphs and Muhammad the Prophet, we can see no regular army. Everyone had a gun and they were engaged in their profession to make a living. When they decided on the battle, they summoned the healthy men to join the troop with their gun. They appointed a commander to each of the troops and they share contraband of war. Turkey, blended with Kemalist ideologies, kept on regular army tradition following Umayyad Caliphate by expanding its scope. Rulers have succeeded to prosper by*

mayasıyla mayalanmış Türkiye devletinde ise Emeviler'den gelme düzenli ordu geleneğini genişleterek devam ettirdi. Erkek yurttaşlara! zorunlu askerlik uygulaması ve askerliğe karşı çıkanları kanunlarla ve mahkemelerle korkutarak sindirmeye çalışarak iktidar sahipleri iktidarlarını uzun süre sürdürmeyi başarmışlardır. Batı toplumundaki vicdani ret hareketi bizim kendi tarihimizle yüzleşmeyi ve gerçek Asrı Saadet İslamı'yla tanışmaya vesile olabilir ümidindeyim.."

forcing men to perform compulsory military service and punishing those who refuse to do so with the rules they invent either in prison or in courts. I do hope that the conscientious objection movement in the West can help us to confront our past and meet the real Islam of Era of Bliss."

The second group; on the other hand, argues that conscientious objection does not match the values of Islam, as it contradicts with jihad; i.e. waging war in the name of Islam, which is an essential philosophy of Islam in their view. For example, in Quote 47 below, the columnist argues that conscientious objection contradicts with the basic precepts of Islam, including jihad.

Quote 47

Askerî cezaevinde kurt kanunu (Taraf, 18.12.2011)

"...Vicdani ret, İslam'ın "cihat" anlayışı, "gaza ruhu" , gazi ve şehit kavramları ile Türklerin tarihi müktesebatına karşı duruşu da içerir. Türkiye'de askerlikteki nöbeti, ibadet mertebesinde gören bir manevi iklim söz konusudur. Vicdani ret aslında bütün bunları reddetmek üzerine kuruludur."

"...Conscientious objection contradicts with the basic values of Islam including jihad, holy war spirit and such norms as martyr and war veteran. Turkey has such spiritual atmosphere that the guard duty is regarded as equivalent to worship. Conscientious objection is based on objecting all these I've mentioned in fact."

When all the results of media analysis are evaluated in the light of the hypotheses of present study, it could be concluded that the first two hypotheses have been affirmed in the media analysis. The first hypothesis was about the relation between representations of conscientious objection and objectors in Turkey and representations of the constructs of military service, war, homeland, and religion. It was supported by the results of the media analysis as representations of conscientious objection and objectors could not be analyzed independently of representations of aforementioned concepts.

The second hypothesis of the study was that there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance with their political standing. Results have shown that there are some differences among the newspapers in terms of not only the extent that they handle the issue of conscientious objection but also the viewpoint by which they approach the issue. For example, Taraf and Yeni Çağ are the newspapers that give space to highest quantity of references related to issues that are examined in this study, yet these two newspapers have entirely different viewpoints. Cumhuriyet; on the other hand, has been the newspaper with least references to examined topics. Therefore, we can conclude that this second hypothesis has been supported by newspaper analysis, as well.

This study has indicated that prevalent representations of conscientious objection and objectors exist in the society. Moreover, although there are significant differences between the newspapers in terms of the frequency and depth with which they give place to issues of conscientious objection in their reports and columns, it can be argued that the issue has been examined in the press media in a thorough way within the period of media analysis. As

mentioned before, 113 newspaper reports and 62 columns were included in the media study. When these numbers are compared with the sample of an earlier study on conscientious objection (Kaya, 2005), the picture becomes clearer. Kaya searched the newspaper reports, columns and interviews taking part in four national newspapers from January 2000 to May 2005 and only 84 pieces of media materials were included in the sample. The newspaper reports and columns in this study; on the other hand, almost doubles that number although the analysis was restricted to only 3 months. This trend shows us that conscientious objection issue has covered quite a distance in a short period of time and took root in the consensual universe of the society.

CHAPTER III
INTERVIEW STUDY

In order to investigate the research question "Are social representations of conscientious objection produced by the individuals parallel with newspaper representations of conscientious objection?", an interview study has been conducted with 51 participants, all of whom reside in Ankara.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 women and 33 men whose ages ranged 19 − 67, with an average of 29.23. Demographic variables of participants are as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Demographic Variables of Interviewees

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Birth of Place (Regions in Turkey)		
Aegean Region	7	13.7%
Black Sea Region	1	2%
Central Anatolia Region	18	35.3%
Eastern Anatolia Region	9	17.6%
Marmara Region	8	15.7%
Mediterranean Region	3	5.9%
Southeastern Anatolia Region	5	9.8%
Education		
Primary School	1	2%
High School	6	11.8%
Undergraduate	35	68.6%
Graduate	9	17.6%
Civil Status		
Married	10	19.6%
Single, in a relationship	12	23.5%
Single, no relationship	29	56.9%

Table 8. (continued)

Profession		
Student	25	49%
Academic	4	7.8%
Civil Servant	14	27.5%
Worker	5	9.8%
Craftsman	3	5.9%
Political Identification		
Left Wing (Liberal Leftism, Socialism, Communism, Marxism)	15	29.4%
Kurdish Movement	5	9.8%
Republican People's Party	3	5.9%
Liberalism	1	2%
Right Wing (Nationalist Movement Party, Nationalism, Islamic Movement)	8	15.7%
Apolitical / No political Identifications	19	37.3%
Religious Identification		
Islam	31	60.8%
Agnosticism	1	2%
Atheism	1	2%
No religious Identification	18	35.3%
Duration of Time One is Aware of the Subject		
0-6 months	7	13.73%
6 months – 1 year	9	17.65 &
1 -3 years	8	15.70%
3 -5 years	7	13.72%
5 – 10 years	14	27.44%
10 – 15 years	4	7.84%
15 years or more	2	3.92%
Source(s) of Knowledge		
TV (Visual Media)	23	30.26%
Internet	10	13.16%
Friends	24	31.58%
School / Class	4	5.26%
Printed Media	15	19.74%
Military Service (Men)		
Fulfilled	14	42%
Non-fulfilled	19	48%
An Intimate with a recent/forthcoming military duty (women)		
Yes	10	56%
No	8	44%

3.1.2. Procedure

Information was obtained through oral, face-to-face discourse using semi-structured and in-depth interviews which were audio-taped. Participants were chosen via snowball sampling from different universities and neighborhoods of Ankara. Prior to interviews, they were fully informed about the objectives and scope of the study, approximate length of the interviews (10 minutes to 1 hour), voice recording, confidentiality of their records and that they had the right to withdraw from the study if they felt uncomfortable. Participation was on a voluntary basis and interviews began only after the interviewee read and signed the informed consent form presented by the researcher. Emphasized topics of the interviews were as follows:

1. Have you ever heard the notion of conscientious objection?
2. Where/When have you heard about conscientious objection for the first time?
3. Have you ever participated in a discussion related to conscientious objection?
4. What was your first impression related to conscientious objection?
5. What does conscientious objection mean to you?
6. Do you think that conscientious objection is a right? Why?
7. Who do you think will be a conscientious objector?
8. How do you think the concept of conscientious objection is perceived in Turkey?
9. What does military service mean to you?
10. Do you think that military service has a role and importance in men's lives?
11. Do you have children? Would you support your son to do military service?

12. How would you react if one of your intimates refuses to serve in the military?

13. What are the advantages / disadvantages of conscientious objection?

Although the structure and order of questions sometimes changed during the interviews, the main topics were discussed with all interviewees. The questions were sequenced from general ones to specific ones – in other words, from the most general knowledge about conscientious objection, to conscientious objection in Turkey and then to individual attitudes toward it. The length of interviews ranged between 15 and 49 minutes; all of them were recorded.

3.2 Results

After the literal transcription of the interviews, they were read and reread on the basis of social representations theory, with a view to empirical categorization, through the thematic units expressed by the participants. Then on, all the related units were grouped and given a provisional name, for the second empirical categorization. Based on these empirical categorizations, the scripts of interviews were reread in order to arrange the contents into thematic blocks.

Here, it should be noted that when the interviewees are compared in accordance with their gender, education level, occupation, or birth of place, there were no significant differences in the extent or content of knowledge related to the issues that are examined in this study. Thus, no further examination was made for these demographic variables.

3.2.1 Representations about Conscientious Objection

As can be seen in Table 9, the results indicated that representations related to conscientious objection can be divided into five thematic blocks as

follows: "Supporting Conscientious Objection", "Opposing Conscientious Objection", "Ignorance about Conscientious Objection", "Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection" and "Alternative Solutions".

Table 9. Representations related to Conscientious Objection*

Thematic Units	#	Frequency	Percentage
Supporting Conscientious Objection (CO)			
1. CO is a human right.			
• CO is a human right that should be enforced in Turkey	70	45	90%
2. CO is a way of resistance.			
• CO is a way of resistance against militarism and Turkish Armed Forces.	38	23	45%
• CO is a way of resistance against cultural norms in the society.	19	13	25%
• CO is a way of resistance against sovereigns.	10	7	14%
• CO is a way of resistance against being a warring party of the civil war in Turkey.	13	8	16%
• CO is a legitimate way of struggle that should be respected.	45	21	41%
3. CO is an important development.			
• CO is a necessary regulation for Turkey	29	16	32%
• CO is a liberating movement.	19	14	27%
Opposing to Conscientious Objection			
1. CO is not suitable for Turkey because of its geopolitical position/cultural norms.	60	26	51%
2. CO should not be implemented until terrorism is over.	18	12	23%

Table 9. (continued)

3. CO is nothing more than deserting.	22	10	20%
4. CO is an insult to/abuse of homeland, ancestors of the society, martyrs and their families.	9	7	14%
5. Resisting military service is a crime; objectors should be severely punished.	13	6	12%
6. Society is not mature enough to accept such a change.	6	4	8%
Ignorance of Conscientious Objection			
1. CO is unknown in Turkey.	33	17	33%
2. The debate on CO should move from ideological context to humanitarian context.	11	7	13%
3. Media representations of CO should be increased.	11	6	12%
Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection			
1. Positive Consequences			
• CO movement becomes prevalent with removal of all the obstacles.	13	13	25%
• Fight against militarism accelerates.	14	10	20%
• Everyone internalizes it after the first shock.	12	8	16%
• Turkey becomes a more democratic and developed country	13	6	12%
• It would not affect men's willingness to do military service.	16	5	10%
• Collapse of the system accelerates.	7	2	4%
• CO becomes a civil issue rather than a political one.	4	1	2%
2. Negative consequences			

Table 9. (continued)

• It would lead to separation of the country.	42	23	45%
• The society would be broken into fractions.	9	8	16%
• Objectors would get harmed unless there is a protective mechanism.	15	6	12%
• Number of men willing to do military service would decrease.	7	6	12%
• Rightist front would raise a stink.	5	4	8%
• It means the end of the nationalist ideology.	6	3	6%
• Kurdish people would be torn between supporters and opponents.	2	2	4%
• The majority of the country would oppose CO.	4	1	2%
Alternative Solutions			
1. Professional Army			
• The solution of CO problem is the professional army.	18	10	20%
• Professional army would soften up the dissuasiveness of TAF.	18	6	12%
• Poor boys would keep on dying for homeland when the army becomes professional.	3	1	2%
2. Civil Service			
• Creating alternative civil service in place of military service is to the benefit of Turkey.	27	15	30%
• Alternative civil service cannot be equated with military service.	12	8	16%
• Alternative civil service would be more useful than military service.	5	3	6%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.1.1 Supporting Conscientious Objection

The first segment, "Supporting Conscientious Objection", includes three units which are "Conscientious objection is a human right", "Conscientious objection is a way of resistance." and "Conscientious objection is an important development". "Conscientious objection is a human right." unit reveals the most prevailing representation about the topic. 45 out of 51 interviewees (almost 90 per cent) considered that conscientious objection was a human right and it should be enforced in Turkey.

The second unit, "Conscientious objection is a way of resistance.", includes themes stating that conscientious objection is a way of resistance against militarism (45%), violence (25%), cultural norms of the society (25%), sovereigns (14%) and being a warring party of civil war in Turkey (16%) also almost half of the participants (41%) stated that conscientious objection was a legitimate way of struggle and should be respected.

The third unit, "Conscientious objection is an important development", includes two themes which are "Conscientious objection is a necessary regulation for Turkey" (32%) and "Conscientious objection is a liberating movement" (27%).

3.2.1.2 Opposing Conscientious Objection

The second block, namely "Oppositions to Conscientious Objection", marks prevailing representations related to inadmissibility of the conscientious objection. Slightly more than half of the participants (51%) stated that conscientious objection was not suitable for Turkey because of its

geopolitical position or cultural norms. Secondly, 12 participants (23%) stated that conscientious objection should not be implemented until terrorism is over. A third theme related to conscientious objection was that conscientious objection was nothing more than deserting which is seen as impotency and cowardliness in Turkish culture (20%). Another argument in line with deserting is that conscientious objection was unacceptable in Turkey because of the history of conflict in the country. 7 participants mentioned that conscientious objection was an insult to and abuse of the homeland, ancestors of the society, martyrs and their families. Still another argument emphasizing conscientious objection's being unacceptable in Turkey states that resisting compulsory military service was a crime and that conscientious objectors should be subjected to severe sanctions such as prison sentence or even they should be denationalized (12%). A group of 4 participants claimed that conscientious objection would not be accepted in Turkey because neither the community nor the government was mature enough to accept such a change.

The third thematic block is related to ignorance of conscientious objection in Turkey. 17 participants have mentioned that both conscientious objection movement and the content of a possible regulation on conscientious objection are unknown to Turkish society. Moreover, some of the interviewees mentioned that the Turkish community could only be familiar with conscientious objection if the debate on conscientious objection moved from an ideological context to a humanitarian one (13%), or the media representation of conscientious objection movement and number of objectors increased (12%).

3.2.1.3 Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection

The thematic block named "Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection" marks representations related to what would happen when

conscientious objection would pass into a law. The themes in this block can be sub-categorized into positive and negative consequences. The positive consequences of a possible regulation on conscientious objection are expressed to be that it would become widespread with removal of all the obstacles (25%); that fight against militarism would accelerate (20%); that everyone would adopt to it after a short period of shock (16%); that Turkey would be a more civilized and democratic country (12%); that it would had no negative effect on men's willingness to serve in the military; i.e. those willing to serve in the military would keep on doing it (10%); that the collapse of the current capitalist system, would accelerate the process (4%); and that the debate of conscientious objection would move from an ideological framework to a more civil one (2%).

The negative consequences of a possible conscientious objection regulation; on the other hand, are expressed to be the political division of the country, which would end up in chaos as the country becomes an open target to enemies (25%); fractions in the society; i.e. supporters vs. opponents of conscientious objection (16%); that conscientious objectors would be harmed unless there is a protective mechanism for them (12%); that there would be a sharp decrease in the number of men willing to do military service (12%); that the nationalist movement would be up in arms (8%); that nationalist ideology would collapse (6%); that Kurdish people would be torn between supporters and opponents of CO (4%); and that the majority of the people living in the country would oppose it (2%).

3.2.1.4 Alternative Solutions

The last block, "Alternative Solutions", marks representations of alternative solutions to conscientious objection issue, which are expressed to be professional army and civil service. The thematic unit of professional army involves three themes, namely, that it is the solution of all problems related

to military service (20%); that Turkish Armed Forces would soften up and lose their dissuasive power (12%); that poor boys would keep on dying in the name of their homeland as they would be the soldiers in a possible professional army (2%).

The themes of alternative civil service are that civil service is place of military service would be to the benefit of Turkey (30%); that alternative civil service would not be equated with military service (8%); and that civil service would be even more beneficial to the society than military service (6%).

3.2.2 Representations about Conscientious Objectors

Representations about conscientious objectors can be examined in five thematic blocks which are "Justifications of Conscientious Objectors", "Personal Consequences of Conscientious Objection", "Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors", "Public Image of Conscientious Objectors" and "Factors behind Prejudice against Conscientious Objectors". The contents of these blocks is presented in Table 10.

3.2.2.1 Justifications of Conscientious Objectors

"Justifications of Conscientious Objectors" block marks representations related to justifications that are expressed by the objectors. The themes of this block can be examined within two subcategories: ideological justifications and justifications based on individual factors. The majority of the interviewees (70%) have stated that antimilitarism could be a justification for conscientious objection. Another group of participants (20%) have mentioned that one's unwillingness to be in warring parties or to be somehow involved in Turkey's civil conflict can be seen as a justification for conscientious objection. Humanism, or respecting people's right to live, is another ideological justification proposed by participants

(12%). Lastly, anti-imperialism, being against the states' unequal and subordinate relationships to other states, is a justification for conscientious objection suggested by 4 of the participants.

Participants mentioned five major justifications based on individual factors which were individual's religious identity (refusing to be a soldier of a secular or non-Muslim army – 23%), individual's ethnical origin (i.e. being a member of ethnical minority – 21%), individual's lifestyle (i.e. having economical or psychological responsibilities for his/her family – 21%), individual's gender identity or sexual orientation (i.e. being gay or a trans individual – 18%), or individual's statement of unwillingness to perform military service without specifying any justification (14%).

Table 10. Representations related to Conscientious Objectors*

Name of the Thematic Block	#	Frequency	Percentage
Justifications of Conscientious Objectors			
1. Ideological Justifications			
• Antimilitarism	70	45	90%
• Unwillingness to be involved in warring parties	16	10	20%
• Humanism	8	6	12%
• Anti-imperialism	6	4	8%
2. Justifications Based on Individual Factors			
• Individual's Religious Identity	19	12	23%
• Individual's Ethnical Origin	13	11	21%
• Individual's lifestyle	13	11	21%
• Individual's gender identity or sexual orientation	10	9	18%

Table 10. (continued)

• Individual's statement of unwillingness to perform military service without specifying any justification	12	7	14%
Personal Consequences of Conscientious Objection			
1. Advantages of Being a Conscientious Objector			
• To be at peace with oneself	17	9	18%
• To pioneer the social change	5	5	10%
• Not to be an instrument to militarism	6	3	6%
• To have more freedom	6	3	6%
• No advantage in current circumstances	6	2	4%
2. Disadvantages of Being a Conscientious Objector			
• To be exposed to neighborhood pressure	90	45	90%
• Not to be able to claim one's rights/stories of objectors	15	13	25%
• To be exposed to violence	28	12	23%
• To be deprived of one's fundamental rights	17	11	22%
• Not to be able to find a decent job	16	10	20%
• To be exposed to government pressure	18	5	10%
•			
• Not to be able to marry	4	3	6%
Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors			
1. Positive Stereotypes			
• Stalwart and decisive individuals enduring negative outcomes of their decisions	40	28	55%
• Antimilitarist individuals	33	19	37%
• Humanist Individuals	30	19	37%

Table 10. (continued)

• Pioneers who can combat against the system / Prometheus	36	14	27%
• Open-minded and nonconformist individuals	13	6	12%
• Admirable individuals	9	6	12%
• Sincere individuals	5	5	10%
• Freedom-lovers	14	4	8%
• Downtrodden individuals	8	4	8%
• Intellectual individuals	5	2	4%
2. Neutral Stereotypes			
• They do not have a particular political/ideological view	10	6	12%
• They do not belong to the same ethnic origin	9	4	8%
• They should not be seen as identical	9	4	8%
3. Negative Stereotypes			
• Individuals who do not care about their country or nation	17	13	25%
• Pragmatic individuals who care about nothing but themselves	14	7	13%
• Non-Turks (individuals belonging to ethnical minorities)	10	7	13%
• Anarchists	8	4	8%
• Individuals against Turkish nationalism	4	4	8%
• Lotus eaters	8	3	6%
• Atheists without moral or spiritual values	5	3	6%
• Individuals who find military service unnecessary	5	3	6%
• Subversive Kurds who try to disrupt national integrity	10	3	6%
• Gay or trans individuals who are not qualified as real men	8	3	6%
• Second-class citizens	3	2	4%

Table 10. (continued)

• Leftists	2	2	4%
• Marginal individuals	3	1	2%
• Capitalist individuals who value nothing but money	1	1	2%
Public Image of Conscientious Objectors			
1. General Image of Conscientious Objectors			
• Public image of objectors is distorted/prejudices	56	45	90%
• Perceived in a bad way	19	10	20%
• The image is associated with the political identification of the addressee.	8	5	10%
• The image might differ between the urban and rural segments areas.	4	4	8%
• CO is not perceived as a right in Turkey.	6	3	6%
2. Images related to Manhood			
• Objectors are unmanly.	27	17	33%
• Objectors are reprobates or honorless cowards.	18	12	25 %
3. Images related to Ideologies of Militarism, Nationalism, Patriotism and Religion			
• Objectors are traitors.	35	20	40%
• Objectors are individuals who do not care about their state or community.	21	15	30%
• Objectors are deserters.	12	5	10%
• Objectors are not of Turkish origin.	9	4	8%
• Objectors are not Muslims.	6	4	8%
4. Images related to Objectors' Worldviews			
• Objectors are anarchists.	6	6	12%
• Objectors are separatists who try to destroy the national unity.	6	5	10%

Table 10. (continued)

	#	Frequency	Percentage
• Objectors are marginal individuals who live in the extremes of the population.	6	5	10%
Factors behind Prejudice Against Conscientious Objectors			
• Militarism/the myth of military nation	84	48	95%
• Nationalism & conservatism	46	22	44%
• Religious culture of the society	28	21	41%
• Argument that Turkey is under security threats because of enemies or of the separatists who destroy the national unity	24	13	25%
• Public unawareness of conscientious objection	18	10	20%
• Low representation of objectors in the mainstream media	10	10	20%
• Socialization / education system which condition individuals to war and kill	24	9	17%
• Public prejudice/ dislike of what is different	14	4	8%
• Patriarchal structure of the society	12	4	8%
• Argument that public is not ready to discuss such an issue	9	4	8%
• Mainstream media image that military service is fundamental	4	4	8%
• Hegemonic system of the world giving the message that wars and armies are necessary	7	3	6%
• That people lack the chance of freethinking	5	2	4%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.2.2 Personal Consequences of Conscientious Objection

The "Personal Consequences of Conscientious Objection" block includes the positive and negative impacts of declaring one's objection, which have been expressed by interviewees as pertaining to the advantages and disadvantages. The most commonly expressed advantage of being an objector is inner peace; i.e. not to contradict with one's ideologies or beliefs (18%). This theme is followed by "pioneering the transformation of the society" (10%); "not to do military service"; i.e. not allowing oneself to be an instrument of militarism, defending oneself from its negative effects (8%) and "to have more freedom" (6%). Also, 2 participants have mentioned that being an objector has no advantages under the current circumstances of society (4%).

Being an objector is recorded as having many more disadvantages than advantages, according to most of the participants. The disadvantages expressed by the participants include being exposed to neighborhood pressure; i.e. being labeled, socially excluded, humiliated, losing social status, etc. (90%); inability to claim one's rights as is the case of the European Court of Human Rights proceedings (25%); possibility of being exposed to physical, sexual, or psychological violence (23%); being deprived of one's fundamental rights such as right to health, right to education, and right to house (21%); being unable to find a decent job (20%), being exposed to government pressure (10%) and being unable to marry (6%).

3.2.2.3 Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors

The "Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors" block involves positive, neutral and negative stereotypes represented by participants during

interviews. The most widespread positive stereotype about conscientious objectors is their being stalwart and decisive individuals, enduring much suffering as a consequence of their decision. This stereotype was mentioned by almost 55 percent of participants. The stereotypes following this one are being an antimilitarist individual (37%) and being humanist with a high awareness about human life (37%). Another positive stereotype about conscientious objectors is their being pioneering individuals who can combat the system or Promethean figures (27%) (Prometheus is a hero of Greek mythology who steals the wisdom and knowledge – symbolized as the fire of gods' mountain - from gods and presenting it to humankind), in the words of one participant. Another stereotype mentioned by 6 participants (12%) was objectors' being open-minded and nonconformist individuals who question the system and do not hesitate to raise their voice against injustice. There is another stereotype in line with the aforementioned ones: objectors' being admirable in terms of their worldviews and lifestyles or by their mere existence. This stereotype was shared by 12 per cent of the participants. Other stereotypes represented by the participants were objectors' being sincere individuals (9%), freedom-lovers (7%), downtrodden (7%) and, lastly, intellectual individuals (4%).

Neutral stereotypes mentioned about the conscientious objectors are that they do not necessarily have a particular political or ideological view (12%); that they do not belong to the same ethnic origin, i.e. they are not only Kurdish people, (8%); and that they should not be seen as identical (8%).

When it comes to the negative stereotypes about the conscientious objectors, the most widely represented one is that objectors do not care about their country or nation; they might even be regarded as traitors (25%). Following this one, come the stereotypes of being pragmatic individuals who care about nothing but themselves (13%) and being non-Turks, i.e. being a

member of an ethnical minority in Turkey such as Kurds, Greeks, Circassians, etc., (13%). Another stereotype is objectors' being anarchists who react against the state. This stereotype was mentioned by 4 individuals (8%). Other than that, they were seen as being against Turkish nationalism (8%), as 'lotus–eaters'; i.e. lazy persons who are devoted to pleasures of life (6%), as atheists who lack moral and spiritual values (6%), as individuals who find military service unnecessary (6%), as subversive Kurds who try to disrupt national integrity (6%), as gay or trans individuals who are not qualified as real men (6%), as second-class citizens (4%), as leftists (4%), as marginal individuals who live in the extremes of the society (2%) and as capitalists who value nothing but money (2%).

3.2.2.4 Public Image of Conscientious Objectors

The "Public Image of Conscientious Objectors" block displays themes related to the public image of conscientious objectors; i.e. how society regards conscientious objectors, as stated by the participants. The representations in this block can be examined in 4 units: general image of conscientious objectors, images related to manhood, images related to notions of nationalism, patriotism and religion, and images related to objector's worldviews.

First of all, it must be mentioned that almost all of the participants (90%) confessed their awareness that a somehow distorted and prejudiced image of objectors was preponderant in the public domain. The most widely represented public image of objectors is that they are perceived in a negative way. This image was expressed by 10 participants (20%). 10 per cent of participants mentioned that the image of conscientious objectors was associated with the political identifications of the addressee. Similarly, it has been mentioned that the evaluations were based on the stories and characteristics of current objectors (8%) and that the image might differ

146

between the down town and the country (8%). Lastly, 6 per cent of the participants expressed that conscientious objection was not perceived as a legitimate right in Turkish population.

Images related to manhood involve two units. The first image was about objectors' being "unmanly", i.e. that they might be gay or trans individuals who do not have the necessary masculine characteristic, or that most of the objectors are women for whom military service is not an obligation. This public image was represented by one third of participants. In line with the first one, the second image was that objectors were reprobates or honorless cowards who, again, cannot be qualified as real men. Such a sentiment was expressed by almost 25 per cent of the participants.

In the unit "Images related to ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism and religion" there occur 5 themes related to images of objectors. First of all, there is a public image of traitor, represented by 40 per cent of participants. Then come the images that objectors are individuals who do not care about their state or community (30%), the image of deserter (10%), and the images that objectors are not of the Turkish origin (8%) and that they are not Muslims (8%).

The public images in relation with objectors' worldviews represented by the participants are that they are anarchists (12%), that they are separatists who try to destroy the national unity (10%), and that they are marginal individuals who live in the extremes of the population (10%).

In the last thematic block, "Factors behind Prejudice against Conscientious Objectors", factors that are represented by participants to cause prejudice towards conscientious objectors are examined.

First of all, militarism and the myth of military nation have been the constructs that are prevailingly represented as the factors behind the prejudice towards the conscientious objectors. This theme was expressed by 95 per cent of the participants. The ideologies of nationalism and conservatism, being mentioned by 44 per cent of participants, are the second widely expressed factors as the causes of prejudice, and the religious culture of Turkish society is on the heels of them (41%). Following these concepts, there come the arguments that Turkey is under security threat either because it is surrounded by enemies or because of the separatists who try to destroy the national unity (25%); that the public does not have enough opinion related to conscientious objection (20%); that conscientious objectors are not represented in the mainstream media (20%); that the processes of socialization and education condition people to war and to kill (17%); that the people of Turkey are prejudiced individuals who do not tolerate difference (8%); that the patriarchal structure of society nourishes militarism (8%); that the society is not ready to discuss such an issue (8%); that the mainstream media creates an image of military service as a fundamental duty (8%); that the hegemonic system in the world lead individuals to believe that wars and armies are necessary (6%); and that people do not have the chance to think freely (4%).

3.2.3 Representations about Related Concepts

In this section, prevailing representations related to concepts such as military service (both generally and in relation to manhood), homeland and war, which were acquired during the interviews, will be examined.

3.2.3.1 Representations of Military Service in General

Representations of the military service could be examined in four blocks which are "Militarism", "Patriotism/Nationalism", "Religion", "Personal

Processes", and "Themes Referring to Turkish Army". The contents of these blocks are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Representations of Military Service in General*

Name of the Thematic Block	#	Frequency	Percentage
Militarism			
1. Promoting Themes			
• Military service is a national tradition/heritage.	53	26	50%
• Our country is under security threat; military service is obligatory.	35	19	37%
• Every Turkish man should learn how to battle.	19	12	23%
2. Countering Themes			
• Military service is about committing violence.	30	10	20%
• It is a profession – not everyone can be a soldier.	19	9	18%
• Everyone does not have to like the army/military service.	12	7	14%
• It means to be an instrument to Turkish civil war.	10	4	8%
• You become the property of the army the moment you join it.	4	4	8%
• War does not solve any problems of the world.	7	3	6%
• It's high time that humanity come to the fore, not the armies.	3	3	6%
• We won't need any army when we learn to respect one another.	3	3	6%
Patriotism/Nationalism			
1. Promoting Themes			
• National service is the way we pay our debt to our country.	87	34	67%
• It is essential for national unity and solidarity.	35	16	31%

Table 11. (continued)

• It is a sign of patriotism.	36	15	29%
• It is essential for the continuation of the nationalist ideology.	26	8	16%
• It is the manifestation of nationalism (The one who refuses to do the military service should be seen as a traitor.)	18	6	12%
2. Countering Themes			
• It is not homeland protection.	24	16	31%
• Turkish civil war has alienated people from the military and military service.	17	12	23%
• It is a brainwashing process.	31	11	21%
• There is no such thing as national duty.	10	6	12%
• If a Kurdish man joins the army, it means he will fight against his own people.	10	4	8%
• It is not the way we could pay our debts to homeland.	8	4	8%
Religion			
• It is a sacred duty.	18	8	16%
• Barracks is the home of Mohamed.	10	5	10%
• Military service has religious references.	5	3	6%
• In Anatolia, men's hands are dyed with henna before joining the army.	10	4	8%
Personal Processes			
1. Promoting Themes			
• Once you join the army, nothing will be the same in your life.	14	12	23%
• The army is a melting pot.	10	6	12%

Table 11. (continued)

• Military service provides the individual with the essential discipline one needs throughout the adult life.	14	5	10%
• It is a process full of adventures.	9	5	10%
• Women should join the army, as well.	7	3	6%
• Not everyone doing his military service dies.	12	2	4%
2. Countering Themes			
• It eradicates critical thinking to create obedient individuals.	66	33	65%
• It is a place full of unnecessary rituals; there is no room for reason and logic.	54	31	61%
• Military service should be based on voluntariness; making it obligatory is wrong.	46	30	59%
• It is a traumatic experience.	44	23	45%
• There is a possibility of being exposed to maltreatment.	43	22	43%
• There is a possibility of death/injury.	25	22	43%
• It is nothing more than a waste of time.	30	18	35%
• No one is willing to do military service.	33	16	31%
• The process of military service affects not only the individual but also the people around him.	16	13	25%
• It is some kind of jail.	23	11	21%
• It is the place of cruelty and oppression.	21	11	21%
• The first thing that comes to mind when one thinks about military service is the chain of command.	25	10	20%

Table 11. (continued)

• Those who receive a university degree have a different experience of military service than those who don't.	11	10	20%
• It is a sign of individual's insignificancy before the system.	11	9	18%
• It is a challenge that you take orders from someone who has a lower social status than you.	13	8	16%
• Most of men serve in the military just because of neighborhood pressure.	10	7	14%
• There is an iron discipline you undergo.	10	6	12%
• Once you join the army, nothing will be the same again in your life.	10	6	12%
• There is no use postponing it, do it and leave it behind!	10	6	12%
• There are harsh penalties you undergo.	6	4	8%
• If my son goes there and dies a martyr, then I am willing to pay the price of paid military service.	6	4	8%
• It is not a duty for women.	5	4	8%
• Gay men should not be forced to serve in military.	10	3	6%
• It is a duty neither for men nor women.	10	3	6%
Themes Referring to Turkish Army Specifically			
• The army is a corrupted organization.	26	20	39%

Table 11. (continued)

	#	Frequency	Percentage
• Discriminations and injustices imposed during the recruiting process have alienated people from the army.	17	11	21%
• The army cannot manage its military potential.	26	10	20%
• Turkey has traditionally tried to remain at the forefront with its army.	15	6	12%
• The reason why the army is at the forefront is the failed politics of Turkey.	5	4	8%
• It is the armed forces of the sovereigns.	5	4	8%
• The army itself is an element of fear.	10	3	6%
• Hostility underlies the existence of the army.	6	3	6%
• The army ill-treats soldiers of Kurdish origin.	3	1	2%
• The army is a homophobic organization.	1	1	2%
• The army accredits the media.	1	1	2%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.3.1.1 Militarism

The "Militarism" block involves themes either promoting or countering militarism that were represented by the participants during the interviews. The most prevailing of the promoting themes, is that military service is a national tradition dating back to 800-13000 years – which could be seen as a national heritage from the ancestors of the society (the history of military service has been mentioned to date back to Ottoman Empire, while some of the interviewees have argued that this tradition traced back to the pre-Islamic Turkish Hun Empire). This theme has been implied by half of the

participants in the interview study. Another commonly mentioned argument is that Turkey is under security threats either because of external enemies or by separatist groups who try to destroy national unity and divide the country; therefore, military service is obligatory for all Turkish men. This theme has been signified by 19 participants (37%). In line with these themes, a third argument that has been expressed by 23 per cent of the participants is that every Turkish man must learn how to fight and military service is like an internship preparing them for battle any time they are needed.

The themes countering militarism are that military service is all about firearms and committing violence against someone, which has been mentioned by 20 per cent of the participants; that soldiery should be seen as a profession (i.e. everyone would not be a soldier in the same way that everyone could not be a doctor or a teacher) and should be practiced only by the professionals not by all the adult male population of the country (18%); that every person might not like the army or enjoy the military service (14%); that military service means to be an instrument in Turkish civil war by force (14%); that one would become the property of the army at the moment one begin the military service which requires a full loss of willpower (8%); that war is an ineffective strategy to solve the problems in today's world (6%); that it is the high time that humanity came to the fore rather than the armies (6%) and finally, that humanity would not need any armies when people learn to respect one another (6%).

3.2.3.1.2 Patriotism / Nationalism

The Patriotism / Nationalism block marks representations either promoting or countering the concepts of patriotism and nationalism. The most prevailing theme among the ones promoting the notions of patriotism and nationalism, is that military service is the debt of honor (i.e. that every

single member of Turkey owes a debt to the homeland and military service was the way of paying that debt.), which was mentioned by 67 percent of the participants. A second popular theme is that military service is essential for national unity and solidarity (31%). In line with these ones, there exist the arguments that military service is a sign of patriotism, i.e. a regular Turkish citizen would be proud of doing the military service (29%); that military service is essential for the continuation of the nationalist ideology (16%); and that military service is the manifestation of nationalist tendencies of individuals, i.e. those refusing to do the military service are equal to traitors (12%).

The themes countering the ideologies of nationalism and patriotism are that military service is not the correct means of protecting the homeland (31%); that Turkish civil war have alienated people from the military and the military service (23%); that military service is nothing but a brainwashing process in which individuals are indoctrinated with the hegemonic ideology (21%); that the concept of national duty is meaningless (12%); that Kurdish men are forced to battle against their own people in the name of national duty (8%) and that military service is not a way that one could pay his debt to homeland (8%).

3.2.3.1.3 Religion

The thematic block marking representations of military service in relation to religion involves the themes that military service is a sacred duty (16%); that the barracks is the home of Mohammed (an Islamic phenomenon implying that Mohammed was the greatest soldier and all the soldiers fighting for their country are 'little Mohammads' – 10%); that young men's hands are dyed with henna before joining the army in order to symbolize their being blessed with the sacred task of guarding the well-being of the country (8%).

3.2.3.1.4 Personal Processes

The block of personal processes involves themes supporting and opposing military service with references of personal processes. The themes promoting military service are as follows: Military service is a milestone in a man's life; i.e. nothing will be the same in one's life after military service (23%); the army is a melting pot where many people have the chance of meeting members of other social groups for the first time in their lives (12%); military service provides the individual with the essential discipline one needs throughout the adult life (10%); military service is a process full of adventures (10%); that women should join the army and experience the maturing process of military service, as well (6%); and it is illogical to be afraid of military service because not everyone dies during military service (4%).

Among the themes opposing military service with references to personal processes are placed the prevailing themes that military service eradicates critical thinking and creates obedient individuals who try not to deviate from dominant ideologies and state discourses (65%); that it is a process full of meaningless rituals of no temporal purpose (61%); that it should be on a voluntary basis, i.e. it is wrong to force individuals to join the army (59%); that it is a traumatic experience with permanent adverse psychological effects (45%); that there is a risk of being exposed to maltreatment such as physical or verbal violence by superiors (43%); that there is a risk of death or permanent injury (43%); that it means nothing but a waste of time (35%); that no one would join the army it was not an obligation; i.e. no one does military service willingly (31%); that military service has negative effects on not only the individuals but also the people around them (25%); that it is a form of imprisonment depriving individuals of freedom for a period of time (21%); that it is a place for cruelty and oppression (21%); that the first thing coming to one's mind about military service is the chain of command

and the strict hierarchical structure of the military (20%); that individuals lacking a university degree and thus serve for a longer period of time are treated differently to those who have a university degree and perform military service for a shorter period, i.e. they are more likely to be treated badly than those with a university degree (20%); that military service is the manifestation of individual's insignificance before the system (18%); that military service is a challenge in a way that many people have to take orders from ones who have lower social status (16%); that most men serve in the military in order to avoid neighborhood pressure which put them and their family in a miserable position (14%); that there is an iron discipline in the military that many individuals have difficulty adjusting to (12%); that military service is such a devastating experience that nothing will be the same in one's life after he joins the army (12%); that because there is no way of avoiding military service, there is no option but to accept the inevitable and get it done as soon as possible (12%); that there are harsh penalties even for minor offences (8%); that it is better to pay the price of paid military service than to send one's son to the military and see him die as a martyr (8%); that military service is a harsh experience that is not suitable for women (8%); that gay men should not be forced to serve in the military in order to prevent possible abuse and discrimination (6%); and that military service is a terrible experience appropriate neither for men nor women (6%).

3.2.3.1.5 Themes Referring to Turkish Armed Forces
The block representing themes referring directly to the Turkish Armed Forces specifically involves the arguments that the army is a corrupted organization (39%); that the discriminations and injustices imposed during the recruitment processes e.g. bestowing privilege upon someone based on individual's financial status, political identification or kinship ties, etc. (21%); that the army cannot manage the military potential it has, i.e. there

are so many soldiers employed in unnecessary and useless tasks that they eventually become nothing more than a burden for the military (20%); that Turkey has a traditional struggle of using its army as a trump card in the international arena (12%); that Turkish Armed Forces is nothing but the army of the sovereigns (8%); that the army itself is an element of fear and terror in Turkey (6%); that the army draws its strength from hostility and hatred (6%); that soldiers of Kurdish origin are exposed to maltreatment of their superiors and other soldiers in the army because of their ethnicity (2%); that the army is a homophobic organization making life unbearable for gay and trans draftees (2%); and that the army accredits the media in order to maintain its place in the politics (2%).

3.2.3.2 Representations of Military Service in Relation to Manhood

As can be seen in Table 12, representations of military service with references to manhood could be examined in three thematic blocks which are "Representations with a Positive Frame", "Representations with a Neutral Frame", and "Representations with a Negative Frame".

Table 12. Representations of Military Service in Relation to Manhood*

Name of the Thematic Block	#	Frequency	Percentage
Representations with a Positive Frame			
1. Military Service as a Way of Personal Development			
• Military service makes men more mature and patient.	36	22	43%
• It is a school of hard knocks.	35	19	37%
• It knocks sense into young men by disciplining them.	20	12	23%
• It teaches young men how to take responsibility.	24	11	21%

Table 12. (continued)

• It socializes men with members of social groups they have never encountered before.	14	7	14%
2. Military Service as a Way of Masculinity Justification			
• Military service is one of the milestones in a man's life.	57	25	49%
• It justifies a man's existence in the society.	36	23	45%
• It teaches how to battle, which is a must for men.	24	9	18%
• It is the duty of men.	16	9	18%
• It is the manifestation of masculinity.	24	7	13%
• It is the sign of honor for men.	17	7	13%
• Men love weapons and fighting by existence, this process gives them the chance of experiencing with weapons.	7	4	8%
Representations with a Neutral Frame			
• Military service should be done on one's free will; it is not one's family or the government to decide.	18	8	16%
• Military service is a subjective concept; its importance varies among people.	8	6	12%
Representations with a Negative Frame			
1. Critical Views about Military Service			
• Military service is not the way that a young male learns how to be a grown-up.	16	6	12%
• Military service does not teach anything; it's just a waste of time.	15	6	12%
• Patriarchy and militarism are ideologies which nourish one another.	14	5	10%
• Military service teaches men to fully obey the system.	4	4	8%

Table 12. (continued)

	#	Frequency	Percentage
• Men have more important issues than battling with an ambiguous enemy.	5	3	6%
• Military service is a paternalistic concept.	7	2	4%
• Military service unmans the men.	4	2	4%
• Military service is a process which creates a killer out of a baby.	3	1	2%
2. Social Pressure Men Feel Related to Military Service			
• A father may not let his daughter marry a man who did not perform his military service.	22	16	31%
• A man refusing to do military service is not considered as a real man.	17	13	25%
• Uncompleted military service is a lifelong burden.	18	11	21%
• One cannot find a decent job unless he performs his military service.	8	5	10%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.3.2.1 Representations with a Positive Frame

The block "Representations with a Positive Frame" involves themes affirming military service in terms of personality development and masculinity justification. The theme of personal development marks representation related to the positive effects of military service on young individuals in terms of entering adulthood. The arguments grouped in this theme are that the experience of military service makes young men more mature and patient individuals (43%); that military service is the 'school of hard knocks' – as there it gives the opportunity to learn through experience

as in the case of individuals who learn essential things such as how to read and write, personal hygiene, or family planning during military service (37%); that military service knocks sense into young men by disciplining them (23%); that it teaches young men how to take responsibility (21%); and that it socializes them with members of different groups that they have never encountered before (14%).

The phrases grouped under the theme "Military Service as a Way of Masculinity Justification" are that military service is one of the traditional milestones in the process of being a man, the others of which are being circumcised, having a job, and getting married (49%); that military service itself justifies a man's existence in the society, i.e. it is the most important criteria of being a man (45%); that a man should learn how to battle in order to qualify as a man and military experience gives that opportunity (18%); that military service is the duty of a man which he takes as a process of socialization (18%); that it is the manifestation of masculinity, as demonstrated by one participant who stated, "If you are a man, then you go and fight like a man! "-(13%); that it is the symbol of honor for men (13%); and that men love weapons and fighting by nature and military service gives them real life experience with weapons (8%).

3.2.3.2.2 Representations with a Neutral Frame

The "Representations with a Neutral Frame" block is formed of two arguments which are firstly, that military service should be done by one's own free will, i.e. it is a choice for the individual, not his family or the government to decide, (16%) and that secondly, military service is a subjective concept the significance of which varies from person to person (12%).

3.2.3.2.3 Representations with a Negative Frame

The block named "Representations with a Negative Frame" include themes criticizing military service and themes accenting the social pressure men feel related to military service. The arguments criticizing military experience in terms of its being bound-up with manhood are as follow: "Military service is not the way that a young male learns how to be a grown-up." (12%); "Military service is a period you learn nothing about nothing; it is just a waste of time."(12%); "Patriarchy and militarism are ideologies nourishing one another."(10%); "Military experience teaches men to fully obey the system."(8%); "Men have more important issues than battling with an ambiguous enemy such as earning their keep or caressing their lovers."(6%); "Military service is a paternalistic concept" (4%); "Military service unmans the men; i.e. it takes men's advantaged position in the society for a certain period." (4%); and "Military service is a process which creates a killer out of a baby." (2%).

Themes representing social pressure men feel in relation to military service are that a father may not let his daughter marry a man who did not perform his military service (31%); that a man refusing to do his military service is not considered to be a real man, i.e. he would be seen as a 'limp-wristed' – with all the connotations such an expression implies (25%); that military service is an obstacle before one and it could turn to be a lifelong burden if not fulfilled (21%); and that one could not find a decent job unless he has completed his military service (10%), the latter being due to the practicality, rather than discrimination, on the part of the employer.

3.2.3.3 Representations of War

As can be seen in Table 13 below,, representations of war could be examined in two thematic blocks which are justifications and critiques of war.

3.2.3.3.1 Justifications of War

The block named "Justifications of War" involves representations supporting war or justifying it in some way. The themes of this block are that every single citizen of this country should learn how to battle so that our country could continue existing (21%); that war is legitimate in case of homeland defense (20%); that Turkish nation was fond of warfare (12%); that war is legitimate when done in order to protect one's family (6%); that war is legitimate when one's right to life is violated (6%); that martyrdom is a title to be proud of (6%); that war is legitimate when fought against imperialism (4%); and that martyrdom is sacred and those it is bestowed upon may directly go to the Heaven (2%).

Table 13. Representations of War*

Name of the Thematic Block	#	Frequency	Percentage
Justifications of War			
• Every citizen should learn how to battle so that our country survives.	16	11	21%
• War is legitimate in case of homeland defense.	17	10	20%
• Turkish nation is fond of warfare.	7	6	12%
• War is legitimate when family protection is needed.	3	3	6%
• War is legitimate n case of violation of the right to live.	3	3	6%
• Martyrdom is a title to be proud of.	3	3	6%
• War is legitimate in casa of war against terrorism.	3	2	4%
• Martyrs ascend directly to the heaven.	1	1	2%
Criticisms of War			
1. Criticisms of War in General			
• War means to die in vain.	30	11	21%

Table 13. (continued)

• War is to the benefit of the sovereigns, not of fighters.	19	11	21%
• War is about nothing but dying and killing.	16	11	21%
• Battling requires expertise; it is out of ordinary men's depth.	11	10	20%
• Battling is a choice; those who want to battle are free to do so; however they do not have the right to force those who do not want to be involved in the battle.	15	7	14%
• War is not an efficient way to solve political problems; they should be resolved by politicians in a democratic manner	11	6	12%
• War smears to the world and humankind.	10	6	12%
• War is something unnecessary and ridiculous.	13	5	10%
• If you are against the war, you shouldn't bear arms in the first place.	5	2	4%
• The factor underlying war is propertianism.	5	2	4%
• If it is legitimate for you to get something through war, you should not condemn who does the same thing against you with the same motive.	2	2	4%
• Fighting is not the way to serve one's country.	3	1	2%
2. Criticism of War in Turkey			
• People do not want war any longer; let this war come to an end!	31	20	40%
• No one raises his/her child to see him dead.	15	10	20%

Table 13. (continued)

	#	Frequency	Percentage
• There are parents whose one son serves in the Turkish army and the other one is a guerilla fighting against it.	7	7	14%
• The reason of the everlasting war in Turkey is the failed politics.	6	5	10%
• Parties of this war are not equal.	11	4	8%
• The civil war in Turkey is neither legitimate nor rational.	10	4	8%
• The martyr is a complicated concept in Turkey.	10	4	8%
• The mentality legitimizing sacrificing sons in the name of homeland boosts militarism.	4	3	6%
• Battling and killing is condemned by the Islam, except for certain circumstances.	3	2	4%
• Women will end this war.	3	1	2%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.3.3.2 Criticism of War

The representations in the "Criticism of War" block could be examined in two subgroups which are criticism of war in general, and criticism of war in Turkey. The first theme criticizing war in general is that war means to die in vain. This theme was expressed by 21 per cent of the participants in the study. Other themes expressed are that war benefits the sovereigns; not the ones fighting (21%); that war is about nothing but dying and killing (21%); that battling requires expertise which is beyond the knowledge of ordinary men(20%); that armed struggle is the choice that those fond of fighting are free to do so but they do not have the right to force the participation of

others (14%); that war is not an efficient way to solve political problems; they should be resolved by politicians in a democratic manner (12%); that war smears the world and humankind (12%); that war is something unnecessary and ridiculous (10%); that if one is against the war s/he should not bear the arms in the first place (4%); that the underlying reason behind the existence of war is materialism (4%); that if an individual or a state thinks that it is legitimate to get something through the war, then they have no right to condemn anyone who does the same thing against them with the same motives (4%); and that battling is not the way to serve one's homeland (2%).

The second subgroup, criticizing war specifically in Turkey, involves representations criticizing the Turkish "civil war" (It is important to note here that the on-going armed conflict in the southeastern region of the country is not officially referred to a *war* but represented as a war by almost all of participants. Hence, the armed conflicts are named by the researcher as a civil war). The themes involved in this subgroup are as follows: "People do not want war anymore, let this war come to an end!"(40%); "No one raises his/her child to see him die."(20%); "War means to shoot one's own siblings." (18%); "There are parents whose one son serves in the Turkish army while the other one is a guerilla fighting against it." (14%); "The reason for the everlasting war in Turkey is failed politics." (10%); "Parties of this war is not equal to one another." (8%); "The civil war in Turkey is neither legitimate nor rational." (8%); "The martyr is a popular but complicated concept in Turkey."(8%); "The mentality of the person willing to sacrifice his/her son in the name of homeland boosts the militarist ideology in Turkey." (6%); "Battling and killing are condemned by the religion Islam except for certain circumstances such as war in the name of Islam or war to defend one's life." (4%); and "women will put an end to this war." (2%).

3.2.3.4 Representations of the Homeland

Representations related to homeland could be examined in two thematic blocks which are "Blind Patriotism" "Constructive Patriotism" and "Antipatriotism". The blocks could be overviewed in Table 14.

Table 14. Representations of Homeland*

Name of the Thematic Block	#	Frequency	Percentage
Blind Patriotism			
• It is a sacred duty to defend one's country.	26	9	18%
• Citizenship requires some certain responsibilities.	13	9	18%
• If you love your country, you should risk death in the name of it.	10	6	12%
• Home defense is not solely men's duty; everyone should battle when needed, regardless of gender.	10	6	12%
• Ones who can sacrifice their lives or the lives of their children in the name of homeland deserve to be respected.	4	2	4%
• Homeland is equally important as one's family.	2	2	4%
• Love this country, or leave it!	2	1	2%
Constructive Patriotism			
• Military service is not the only way to serve to one's homeland.	32	17	33%
• If one has the right to sacrifice him/herself for homeland, then the opposite should be considered as a right, as well.	6	5	10%
• The important thing is to live equally under a single flag.	7	4	8%

Table 14. (Continued)

	#	Frequency	Percentage
• It is not obligatory to love one's homeland in the same way and degree as others.	3	3	6%
• Treason has nothing to do with military service.	1	1	2%
Anti-Patriotism			
• Why is it always the poor who die in the name of homeland?	20	10	20%
• Homeland does not give one's deceased child to him/her back.	19	8	16%
• It is unreasonable to sacrifice one's child for the sake of homeland.	13	6	12%
• I did not choose to be born in this country, why should I owe to it?	10	6	12%
• Patriotism is irrational; how could a person attached to a land although s/he cannot choose to be born there?	9	4	8%
• Do you think that the land on which you plant your flag automatically belong to you?	3	2	4%

* In this table the column # represents how many times each theme were mentioned during the interviews, the column Frequency represents how many interviewees mentioned each theme, and The column Percentage represents what percentage of interviewees mentioned the theme.

3.2.3.4.1 Blind Patriotism

The thematic block of blind patriotism marks representations in favor of blind attachment to one's country. The themes of this block are that home defense is a sacred duty (18%); that one should have some responsibilities within the frame of citizenship (18%); that if one loves his/her homeland, s/he should risk death in the name of it (12%); that it is not solely men's duty to defend the homeland, i.e. everyone should battle when needed

regardless of gender as it was the case in the Turkish war of independence (12%); that the persons who could their lives or the lives of their children in the name of homeland should be respected (4%); that homeland is an equally important notion as the family (4%); and that one should either shape up or ship out, i.e. those who do not love this country should leave it (2%).

3.2.3.4.2 Constructive Patriotism

The themes grouped under the block of constructive patriotism are "Military service is not the only way to serve one's country." (33%); "If one has the right to sacrifice himself/herself for homeland, then not to sacrifice oneself in the name of homeland should be considered as a 'right' as well." (10%); "The only thing that matters is to live equally under a single flag." (8%); "One should not be obligated to love his/her country in the same way and degree as others (6%); and "Treason has nothing to do with military service; the ones accusing conscientious objectors of being traitors should read the poem named "Traitor" of Nazım Hikmet very carefully. " (2%).

Lastly, the themes compiled under the block of anti-patriotism are "why is it always the children of the poor who die in the name of the homeland?"(20%); "The homeland does not give one's deceased child back to him/her." (16%); "It's unreasonable to sacrifice one's child for the sake of the homeland." (12%); "It was not I who chose to be born in this country; why then, should I owe it anything?" (12%); "Patriotism is an irrational ideology; how could a person feel attached to a land even if s/he did not choose to be born there?" (8%); and "Do you think the land on which you plant your flag automatically belongs to you?" (4%).

These results show us that both blind and constructive ways of one's attachment to the social group he/she belongs or the place of that group are

represented in the public as well as antipatriotism; i.e. the tendency to devalue patriotic sentiments and practices.

3.3 Discussion

In this section, social representations of conscientious objection and related constructs that are gained through the interviews will be discussed within the frame of Social Representations Theory.

3.3.1 Social Representations of Conscientious Objection

As indicated in the Results section, social representations of conscientious objection could be examined in five thematic blocks which are "Social Representations Supporting Conscientious Objection", "Social Representations Opposing Conscientious Objection", "Ignorance Related to Conscientious Objection", "Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection" and "Alternative Solutions to Conscientious Objection".

3.3.1.1 Social Representations Supporting Conscientious Objection

Three representations have been marked by interviewees, which are "Conscientious objection is a human right.", "Conscientious objection is a way of resistance." and "Conscientious objection is an important development.".

"Conscientious objection is a human right."; firstly it should be stated that this representation was marked by almost all the interviewees. Moreover, as hypothesized, this representation is parallel to the media representation "Conscientious objection is a human right.". Participants have mentioned exclusively that conscientious objection should be considered a human right in Turkey. In Quote 1 below, for example, the interviewee mentions that

individuals have the right of objecting the acts and practices on the basis of their conscience.

Quote 1

Yani bir kişi yapacağı işi eylemden eğer vicdanı rahatsız oluyorsa bunu yapmama hakkı vardır kişisel olarak baktığımız zaman. Ki bu bir insan hakkı olarak da görüyoruz biz bunu yani vicdanı sızlatan, rahatsız eden... Nedeni ne olursa olsun, çeşitli nedenler olabilir. Bu bir insan hakkıdır. Bu hakkın da saygıyla karşılanması gerekiyor. Temel düşüncemiz bu.	*If a person has a guilty conscious over doing something, then s/he has a right not to do it when we take it personally. We also consider it as a human right... It doesn't matter what the reason is not to perform this action. This is a right. And a right should be respected. This is our principle.*

The second prevalent representation supporting conscientious objection is "Conscientious objection is a way of resistance.". This representation has been marked by a variety of interviewees. Although the object of resistance might varied from one interviewee to another; i.e against militarism and the TAF, against violence, against cultural norms in the society, against sovereigns, against being a warring party of the "civil war" in Turkey – whatever the object, participants were united in their tendency to view conscientious objection as a way of struggle. For the participant in Quote 2, who introduced himself as a conscientious objector, conscientious objection is a way of resistance against militarism, war and sovereigns in the society.

Quote 2

"Gerekçem, eee, biraz daha geniş bi açıdan bakıyorum yani ben, hani ben elime silahı almazsam karşımdaki de silahını indirmeye ikna olabilir diye düşünüyorum. Onun dışında birbiriyle savaşanların hepsinin aslında savaştan hiçbir çıkarının olmadığını	*"My motivation is, I consider it in a wider frame, that is: if I refuse to hold a gun, than my enemy may also drop his/hers. Besides, those who fight in a war have no interest out of it. Some of them are made to hold a gun and some others are made to think that this is*

düşünüyorum, sadece yani bi kısmı eline silah almak zorunda kalmıştır, bi kısmı da ideolojik nedenlerden dolayı o savaşı kendi savaşı gibi görüyodur ama aslında bunların hiçbiri, yani bunların doğru olmadığını düşünüyorum. Savaşın aslında egemenlerin daha çok güç elde etmek istediğinden doğduğunu düşünüyorum, hakların arasında pek sorun çıkacağını düşünmüyorum yani. Sonuçta savaşlar, sonuçlarına baktığımızda, savaşanlara yaramıyo. Halk kesimine hiç bi faydası olmuyor. Bütün tarih boyunca bunu görüyoruz. Hep egemenler kendi güçlerini arttırdı ya da kendi çıkarları için insanları savaşa gönderdiler. Ya bu açıdan bakıyorum onun dışında, tamamen içten gelen bi şeyle silahları sevmiyorum yani duygusal bir şey de olabilir. Yani öyle oyuncağını bile sevmem silahın. Ülkemizdeki savaş durumu var. Hani ben cepheye falan gitmeyi bırakın, çatışmaya girmeyi bırakın ben yani askere gidip çaycı olmayı bile onun bir parçası olmak sayıyorum ve bunu kabul etmiyorum yani. Çok fazla bi politik kişiliğim yok ama kendime bunu bi amaç olarak seçtim yani, sonucu ne olursa olsun, sonucundan korkmuyorum, sonuçlarına katlanıcam. Benim de mücadele biçimim bu diyim yani kendime bunu seçtim.”

his/her war out of ideological reasons; however I think neither of them is true. I think that wars are invented to render sovereigns more powerful; otherwise, people would have no problem among themselves. After all, when we look at the wars, we'll see that they are not to the benefit of the fighters. It has no benefit to ordinary people We can see it throughout the history. I think this way; however I don't like guns by my nature, this is something sentimental. I didn't like toy guns, either. We have a civil war in our country. I think that working as a tea maker is also to become a part of this war let alone fighting in the field and joining to the barracks and I object to it. I am not very engaged in politics but this is the path I chose for myself and I am not scared of its consequences no matter what. This is the way I fight for…”

It should be noted that this representation has been marked in the interview study despite the fact that conscientious objection as a form of resistance does not appear in the Turkish media. Thus, we can argue that this representation has been formed independent of media representations.

The third representation supporting conscientious objection is that it is an important development in Turkey. Disseminators of this representation tended to view conscientious objection as a liberating movement intended to

make the country a better place and thought that a regulation on conscientious objection is necessary for Turkey. The participant in Quote 3, for example, argued that it is possible to transform the society with the help of conscientious objection. This representation, again, is parallel to media representation, stating that a regulation on conscientious objection should be made.

Quote 3

...Vicdani ret toplumsal açıdan bir gerçekliğe tekabül ettiğinde çok özgürleştirici bir şey yani toplumsal olarak bu mücadeleyi birlikte vermek toplumu dönüştürmek açısından tabi ki yani hani çığır açıcı bir şey olur yani, ama vicdani retçiler açısından en azından Türkiye bağlamında çok açık ki bir çok dezavantajı var yani, bunu işte aşağılamalarla, toplumsal baskıyla işte devlet baskısıyla işte bahsettiğimiz işte mahkûmiyetlerle falan görüyoruz yani onlar açısından kesinlikle çok zor ama bunu biz hep beraber toplumsal olarak bir mücadeleye dönüştürebiliriz hepimiz bizim kazanımımız bu olur yani...	*... Conscientious objection is a social reality and it is a liberating act. It would be, of course, path-breaking to fight for this right as a whole nation for the transformation of the society. However, with in Turkish context, it has clearly many disadvantages like humiliation, government pressure and sentences imposed. Thus, this is absolutely a very difficult situation for the objectors; yet if we can transform this into a social striving, then it will be to our benefit...*

3.3.1.2. Social Representations Opposing Conscientious Objection

The second thematic block involves themes opposing conscientious objection which come together and form two representations. The first representation marked by these themes is "Conscientious objection is a pipe dream for Turkey.". This representation has been marked by the themes stating that conscientious objection could not be implemented in Turkey because of the geopolitical position of Turkey, because of cultural norms in Turkey, because of the problem of terrorism, because it is an insult to or abuse of the homeland, the ancestors of the society, martyrs and their families or as society is not mature enough to accept such a change.

As can be inferred, these themes handle the issue from various viewpoints. Some focus on the political climate in Turkey emphasizing the geopolitical position of the country or the problem of terrorism while others give prominence to cultural factors such as norms, sanctity of the homeland, the ancestors or the martyrs, or the level of social development. Despite these differences, they come together in their opposition to conscientious objection and form this representation. The representation "Conscientious objection is a pipe dream for Turkey" and the themes forming it are parallel to media representation with identical name.

It can be argued that these themes reflect the ideology of nationalism and patriotism as they tend to glorify the notions such as the homeland, the ancestors of the nation and the martyrs who died in the name of the homeland and view conscientious objection as an abuse of those sacred notions. Moreover, they could be seen as militaristic as they emphasize the military needs of the society while they mention geopolitical condition of the country or the problem of terrorism, which is an issue under the control of TAF. In Quote 4 below, for example, the ideology of patriotism is reflected, as the interviewee payed homage to the homeland and memories of ancestors who sacrificed themselves in the name of the homeland. Moreover, this quote could be seen as the reflection of militarist ideology as the military needs of the society are emphasized and the army is given a special place in the society.

Quote 4

...Çünkü ben kendimi Türk olarak düşündüğümde, tarihimize baktığımda, bu ülkenin buraya nerelerden nasıl geldiğine... Bir kurtuluş savaşı örneğine, o atalarımıza saygısızlık gibi geliyor o yüzden de olmaması	*...When I think myself as a Turkish citizen, when I look back our history and understand how we gained all these we have right now.. We made an Independence War and when I think it, conscientious objection seems like an*

174

gerektiğini de düşünüyorum… Yani bizim atalarımıza biraz da saygısızlık olduğunu düşünüyorum çünkü bizim yetişme tarzımız büyüdüğümüz toplum hep bizi doğduğumuzdan beri dayatılan düşünceler jeopolitik konum, bizim ülkemiz şöyle İsrail oyun oynuyor Amerika oyun oynuyor ee biz bunların içinde büyüye büyüye ister istemez böyle bişey olmamış olmasa bile bunun içinde hissediyoruz bu da bunun önemli bir parçası olduğu için askerlik askeriye daha doğrusu o yüzden kendinizi sorumlu hissediyorsunuz ailenize topluma…

insult to our ancestors. This belief stems from the way we were raised and the ideas imposed to us from our childhood. The geopolitical position of our country, such countries as Israel and USA play on us. As raised in such a county, you start to feel and think like this out of our control. That is why we feel responsible to our family and country and obliged to perform our military service…

The other representation opposing conscientious objection is that conscientious objection is no more than deserting. Supporters of this view argue that conscientious objection is an act to be punished as deserting is considered to be a crime in Turkish law. This representation, again, is parallel to media representation of deserting. Moreover, it constitutes a major argument in the discussion related to punishment, which holds sway in newspaper articles and columns.

3.3.1.3 Ignorance Related to Conscientious Objection

The third thematic block involves the representation that conscientious objection issue is an unknown phenomenon to Turkey. The themes forming this representation state that the public is little aware of the notion. Moreover, some ways by which this issue can become more well-done were suggested by the interviewees. Some participants suggested that the discussion on conscientious objection should be moved from an ideological sphere to a humanitarian sphere, so that more people could relate to the issue. Another solution to popularize the issue was the enhancement of media representations related to conscientious objection so that more people could learn about it. For example, it can be inferred from Quote 5 that

conscientious objection could not find enough space of discussion in Turkey as the parties of discussion approach the issue from an ideological viewpoint rather than a humanitarian one.

Quote 5

… Ben şöyle, seneler için radikal her türlü görüşe muhalif duran bir kişi olduğum için ne sonuna kadar hayır vicdani ret olmalı gibi tartışmaları kabulleniyorum ki bir kısmı onların da sadece ideolojik boyutta bunun üstünde durduğunu düşünüyorum. Diğer taraftan da vicdani retçiler vatan hainidir diyenlere pek hoş gözle bakmıyorum bu anlamda benim benim kastettiğim kısmı bu yani Türkiye'de de bir tartışma ortamı olmadığı için vicdani reddin bu noktalarda durduğunu düşünüyorum…	*…As I am opposed to all kinds of radical ideas, I can neither say that conscientious objection should absolutely be a right –I think that those who support this is just acting out of ideology- nor can I tolerate those who regard conscientious objectors as traitors. To some up, why conscientious objection is regarded as it is today is that there is no room for the discussion over it…*

3.3.1.4 Public Consequences of Conscientious Objection

The public consequences of conscientious objection constitute another thematic block related to conscientious objection. The themes come together under the representations that "Conscientious objection will be good for Turkey." and "Conscientious objection will be bad for Turkey." To begin with the affirmative points, those themes forming the representation that a regulation on conscientious objection would be good for Turkey are that a regulation on conscientious objection would make the movement more prevalent as it would remove all the obstacles, that it would accelerate the struggle against militarism that it would help development of the public approval of conscientious objection, that it would make Turkey a more civilized and developed country, that it would not affect men's willingness to do military service and thus would not threaten the military power of Turkey, that it would contribute to the collapse of the current system and that it would help conscientious objection to become a civil issue rather than a political one. As can be inferred, these themes approach the issue from

different viewpoints although they unite in the view that a regulation on conscientious objection would be good for Turkey. One theme, for example, views the issue within the context of the antimilitarist movement.

Supporters of this view, argue that fighting militarism is one of the major challenges ahead of democratization in Turkey. Parallel to this, there are themes that Turkey becomes a more democratic and developed country with the help of this regulation, that it would contribute to collapse of the current system and that it would take conscientious objection from political sphere to civil one. These themes are, again, views the regulation on conscientious objection as a part of democratization of the country. Apart from these, there is a prominent theme that a regulation on conscientious objection would help the movement to become more widespread in the society; i.e. it would encourage possible objectors to publicly declare their objection, as the obstacles before the objectors and possible difficulties objectors face would be eliminated. In line with this one, there is the theme that when a regulation is made, it would be easier for the public to internalize conscientious objection, which would ease the lives of objectors, as well. Quote 6 reflects some of the views mentioned so far. The interviewee suggests that a regulation on conscientious objection would make the movement more widespread in public as when the legal obstacles before the objectors are removed, lots of individuals would find a chance to settle with their accounts with the state and current system and fight with it in an overt way. Moreover, in Quote 7, it has been mentioned that public would internalize conscientious objection after an initial shock as in the case of all new phenomena. This theme contradicts with the belief that conscientious objection would not fit Turkey as the public would not accept such an act, which constitutes a major representation in both media representations and social representations that are acquired through the interviews.

Quote 6

… Şöyle bir şey var, şimdi Türkiye'deki mevcut klişe yıkılırsa eğer, yani vicdani ret anlamında özel anlamda vicdani ret üzerinden tartışmak gerekirse, vicdani ret kavramı yasalaşırsa her birey vicdani ret hakkını kullanma hakkı vardır denirse, bu bence insanları daha doğrusu bu zihniyetten ne kadar nefret ettiğinin de en büyük göstergesi olur. Çünkü vicdani ret hakkını kullanacak bir sürü insan gün yüzüne çıkacak. Bunu da yasal dayanaklara dayandırdıkları için toplumdaki devlet ve millet çatışmasında aslında temelinde yatan bu antipati, devlete karşı bağımsızlık, hani böyle bağımlılık değil de daha çok korku bağımlılığını göstermesi olarak gün yüzüne çıkar diye düşünüyorum…	*…If the cliché in Turkey collapses, that is if conscientious objection is legalized, if they say every person has the right of conscientious objection, this will show how people hate this mentality. Because, a great many people who want to use the conscientious objection right will come out and they will have the legal basis for it. The conflict between the state and the nation, not a normal kind of dependence but more like a dependence based on fear, will come to like, that is how I think.*

The last theme of this group states that conscientious objection would not threaten the military power of the society as it would not decrease men's willingness to do military service. This theme reflects an entirely different viewpoint to the issue of conscientious objection although it implies that conscientious objection would not lead to bad consequences in the society. However, as can be inferred, it does not view conscientious in a positive way. Supporters of this view has stated that a regulation on conscientious objection would do no harm to the society as patriotic Turkish men would not give interest to such a regulation; rather they would continue to serve their noble duty.

Quote 7

…İlk başta herkes isyan eder, herkes karşı çıkar sanırım, yani kimse kabul etmez bunu. Toplumdaki vicdani ret hakkını kullananlara ilk başta kötü gözle bakılabilir, işte bi askerliğini yapıp gelmesi, işte vatan haini de	*…Everyone will riot, everyone will oppose to it in the first place. They will look with an evil eye to the conscientious objectors and call them as traitors; however they will get used to it in time. People start to feel comfortable*

denilebilir ama şöyle bi durum var zaman geçtikçe insanlar buna alışır. Yani böyle düşünüyorum yıllar geçtikçe insanlar bu durumu gördükçe kabullenmeye buna alışmaya başlıcaklar neden çünkü kuşak değişimi olucak. Ne olucak vicdani reti gören ve vicdanı ret hakkını kullanan insanlar toplumda yetişmeye başlıcak ve onlara gayet mantıklı gelicek. Nasıl ki eskiden yapılan bazı şeyler bize şu an mantıksız geliyo ve şu an artık o kuralları değiştirmişiz, aynı o şekilde olucak…

with this idea as the years go by because there will be a new generation. They will think that if conscientious objection is a right, then it is logical to make use of it. When we think some practices performed in the past, we may find them irrational; this is exactly how it would be regarded in the future…

The themes marking the possible negative effects; on the other hand, are that it would lead to separation or fragmentation of the society, that objectors would be harmed unless there was a protective mechanism, that there would be a decrease in the number of men doing military service, that it would lead to social unrest as the right wing would rise against the regulation, that it could destroy the nationalist ideology which allegedly unifies Turkey, that Kurdish people would be torn between supporters and opponents and that public would not internalize such a regulation.

In these themes, which come together and form the representation that accepting conscientious objection would be a bad move for Turkey, reflections on nationalism and militarism can be seen. Firstly, the themes that conscientious objection would lead to separation or fragmentation of the society reflect the viewpoint that military service is the bond that holds the nation together, which is a viewpoint blending the ideologies of militarism and nationalism. As discussed before, this viewpoint is a sign of how militarized the society is. Secondly, it reflects to tendency of taking nation into the front, which is a characteristic of nationalism. In Quote 8; to give an example, it is argued that a regulation on conscientious objection would lead to loss of national conscience which eventually would lead to

fragmentation of the country as the military service is seen as the glue of the nation.

Quote 8

… [Vicdani ret yasalaşırsa] bence toplumsal bi dezavantaj olabilir belki milli şuur kaybedilmeye başlanabilir, yozlaşma olucaktır onun sonunda, yozlaşmayla birlikte insanlar milli şuurlarını kaybedicekler, milli şuurunu kaybedince de Türklüğünü kaybedicektir. Böylece belki, eee, ülke boyut değiştirebilir. Bugün mesela Türk Devleti diyoruz yarın Türk Devleti olarak değil de nasıl bugün Amerika Birleşik Devletleri olarak geçiyosa ülkemizde sadece birleşik milletler denicek çünkü içinde Türkü Kürdü Çerkezi Lazı gibi şeyler var bunun yanında din etkeni de var. Bunun dışında din bölüyo, mezhepler oluyo, bunların bölünmesine yol açabilir ve ülkenin bölünmesine kadar gidebilir…	*… [If conscientious objection is legalized] it will be to the disadvantage of the nation, national conscience may be lost and corruption will occur. When they lose their national conscience, they will lose their Turkish identity, as well. Then, the whole country will change. We call it today as Turkish Republic, yet after these changes; we may call it like United States as we call the United States of America, as there are Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian and Laz people living in Turkey along with people having different religions and sectarians which pose a threat to the unity of the country. ..*

Another theme marking the representation that conscientious objection would be bad for Turkey is that there would be a decrease in the number of men who will to do military service as a regulation on conscientious objection would mean that military service is not forced any more. Contrary to those mentioning that a regulation on conscientious objection would not affect men's willingness to do military service, supporters of this view argue that most of young men conduct military service not because of their patriotism but because it is compulsory duty. Moreover, they view conscientious objection as a threat to military power of the country. In Quote 9, for example, the participant argues that a regulation on conscientious objection would lead to a gap in the military structure as everyone would use their right to conscientiously object.

180

Quote 9

... *Ama o zaman* [vicdani ret yasalaştığında] *gerçekten çok büyük bi boşluk olacağını düşünüyorum askeri yapıda, yani kimse bu sefer şey yapmak istemicek, askere gitmek istemicek, herkes o hakkını kullanmak isticek...*	... *[if conscientious objection is legalized], there will be a huge gap in the system because no one will want to perform his military service, everyone will want to use his conscientious objection right...*

A third negative consequence of conscientious objection for Turkey is that objectors would be exposed to more difficulties unless a protective mechanism is employed. Supporters of this view have argued that a regulation on conscientious objection would turn into a tool of oppression – both state oppression and public oppression – against conscientious objectors if it is not designed carefully. Similarly a regulation on conscientious objection is represented to have negative consequences for Kurdish citizens who are believed to be torn between supporters and opponents of conscientious objection. In Quote 10, for example, it is mentioned that if a regulation on conscientious objection is made separatists would try to convince young Kurds not to perform their military duties, which is thought to be a disadvantage for them.

Quote 10

... *Yani, bölücü güç olarak, yani, şu anda zaten bizi bölmeye çalışan bi parti söz konusu, bu Türk bi parti değil zaten, bunu herkes gayet iyi biliyo, meclise girdiler ellerinden geleni yapıyolar hani Öcalan'ı bırakalım o bizim anamız babamız şeklinde. E zaten belirli şekilde, Hakkâri'de olsun Şemdinli'de olsun gereken çalışma hep söz konusu, hani onlara çanak tutacağını düşünüyorum. Bi kere Kürtleri göndermicekler. Kesinlikle istemicekler. Bazı insanların*	...*Well, there is already a separatist political party which is not of Turkish descent, everyone knows it. They got their place in the Parliament and demand liberation for Öcalan saying he is their family. There are already some privileges for them in such cities as Hakkari or Şemdinli. This law will be to their benefit. Kurdish people will not perform their military service in the first place, this is for sure. Then, it will inspire some young people who have*

bakın, böyle bişey var, siz de faydalanabilirsiniz deyip zafiyeti olan insanları veya kafasında bir şeyleri oluşturmamış genç beyinleri, eee, kafalarını çelme olacağını düşünüyorum. Bu yüzden büyük dezavantajları olacağını düşünüyorum.	*questions in their head and they will manipulate this youth. That is why I think conscientious objection is to our disadvantage…*

The last theme marking negative consequences of conscientious objection is the belief that it would lead to public unrest. Disseminators of this theme have argued that the public would not internalize a regulation on conscientious objection and it would be protested by relatives or the martyr or the right wing (See Quote 11). This theme is parallel to media representation that conscientious objection would not fit Turkey. Inherent in this representation is the belief that Turkish society is a militarized society with norms justifying military practices; therefore a regulation as conscientious objection would not get public approval. Moreover, the rightists of the country particularly are understood to stand for the nationalist and militarist ideologies as they tend to glorify military practices as well as ascribing cultural characteristic to it. In line with this viewpoint, there is another theme asserting that conscientious objection would mean the end of nationalist ideology as proponents of this view tend to see military service as the place where young men acquire a sense of nationality; in other words, military service is represented to have key importance for the acquisition of nationalist ideology.

3.3.1.5 Alternative Solutions

The heading "Alternative Solutions" involves the themes that are represented to be alternatives to problem of conscientious objection in Turkey. The themes are united under two thematic blocks which are professional army and civil service.

Quote 11

… ne gibi yani mesela hani doğuda askerlik yapmış insanların ya da doğu batı çok fark etmiyor belki hani askerliğini yapmış insanlarla yapmamış veya bundan sonra yapmayacak olan insanlar arasında belki tartışmalar yaşanabilir ne bileyim şehit aileleri işte bizim çocuklarımız niye öldü diyebilir yani ya da sağcılar vatan elden gidiyor diye ayaklanabilir mutlaka, hani bi barışçıl yollarla çözülecek bir şey olduğunu düşünmüyorum…	*… I don't know but there may be some discussions among men who performed their military service - in the east or in the west, it doesn't matter - and those haven't performed and object to it. Families of martyrs may say why we have sent our son to the army and let him die there. Nationalists may say we are losing our country. I don't think this issue can be solved with peaceful ways…*

To begin with professional army, there are three themes representing the views of interviewees. The prominent view is that having a professional army is the ultimate solution to the conscientious objection issue, which is a view represented in the newspapers too. Proponents of this view express that professional army would be the most beneficial solution to military service related problems in Turkey including conscientious objection as a professional army includes limited number of professional soldiers whose job is to wage war and who is less likely to die accidentally. Moreover, it is argued that it would solve the issue of conscientious objection as it would mean the abolishment of forced military duty. This viewpoint, which is parallel to media representation supporting professional army, is exemplified in Quote 12.

Opponents of this view mark the theme that professional army would decrease the dissuasiveness of TAF. Parallel to media representation that professional army is impossible for Turkey in current conditions; proponents argue that Turkey needs a crowded and dissuasive army which symbolizes its power in the context of Middle East. In Quote 13, for

example, it is argued that a professional army would soften up the image of Turkey and make it defenseless against the external powers.

Quote 12

... Aileler o stresi yaşamaz belki kabul olursa, terör olaylarında olan kötü işte art arda gelen durumlar yaşanmaz belki, daha profesyonel askerler görev alacağı için bu durumda, bunun sayısı azalabilir. Askerlik bi korku, bi zorunluluk olmaktan çıkabilir, bi meslek haline gelebilir, o yüzden insanlar hani işte boşu boşuna gitti demeyiz... Yani mesela bi şehit oluyo, anneler, işte oğlunu kaybetmiş anne diyo ki vatan sağ olsun diyo ama bu yine de içinden mi bunu diyo sorusunu düşünüyorum yani...	*... Families of soldiers will not have to feel the terror and stress all the time and bad events may be prevented with the professional armies. Military may not be regarded as something to fear and a necessity, it may transform into a profession, and men will not waste their time anymore. When a mother loses his son in the battle, she may say "May our country live long and prosper"; but I am not sure how much she means it.*

Quote 13

... Ama şöyle bi durum var hani insanlar tamam kendi canlarıyla ilgili bazı sıkıntılar var işte onları düşünüyolar ama Türkiye'nin coğrafi konumunu düşündüğün zaman, işte bulunduğu bölgeyi, ondan sonra tarihinden bugüne kadar geçmiş yaşadığı olayları düşünüldüğü zaman hani askeri güç caydırıcı bi nedendir bi ülke için. İşte terörle profesyonel askerlik... Tamam, gene olabilir profesyonel askerler olabilir, terörle onlar ilgilenebilir ama o şu anki binlere, şu anki asker sayısına ulaşılamaz o zaman. Yani caydırıcı bi güç olmaktan çıkar. Bence gerekli bişey yani, askerliğin alınması, yapılması ve herkesin gitmesi gerekiyo sonuçta, dış güçlere karşı caydırıcı bi neden askeriye...	*...Well, of course people may value their lives, but on the other hand, when we take the geographical position of Turkey and our history full of wars and victories, we can say that having a powerful army is a deterrent before other countries. Yes, we can deal with terrorism by means of professional armies; however they will not be as numerous as we have now, nor will it be a deterrent any longer. That is why military service is necessary in my view. Everyone should perform his military service; this is a deterrent against external threats...*

Another theme about professional army states that poor people would keep dying when the army becomes professional as the poor are the most likely to become professional soldiers in order to make a living. They approach the issue from a societal justice perspective and argue that a regulation as professional army would widen the gap between the rich and the poor.

When all the themes are evaluated together, it can be concluded that there are prevalent representations about conscientious objection in Turkey. Moreover, these representations tend to be parallel to media representations of the issue and in line with the ideologies of militarism, nationalism and patriotism.

3.3.2 Social Representations of Conscientious Objectors

In line with the results obtained through content analysis of the interviews, social representations of conscientious objectors could be examined in five thematic blocks which are "Justifications of Conscientious Objectors", "Personal Consequences of Being an Objector", "Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors", "Public Image of Conscientious Objectors" and "Factors behind Prejudice against Conscientious Objectors".

3.3.2.1 Justifications of Conscientious Objectors

Justifications of conscientious objectors have been represented to be based on either ideological or individual factors. To begin with ideological factors, antimilitarism has been represented to be the most prevalent ideology behind one's objection. This was mentioned by nine tenths of interviewees. Then come the justifications of one's unwillingness to be a warring party in Turkish-Kurdish conflict, humanism, and anti-imperialism as other ideological reasons motivating individuals to declare their objection.

These factors are parallel to media representations of justifications. However, it should be noted that media representations of justifications were found to be broader than those acquired through interviews, as justifications of one's closeness to ideologies of pacifism or anarchism, for example, do not seem to have been considered worth mentioning by the interviewees.

The individual factors that motivate individuals to become objectors; on the other hand, are represented to be one's religious identity, ethnical origin, lifestyle, gender identity or sexual orientation or one's unwilling to do military service without giving any specific reason. These factors are, again parallel to media representations of individual justifications with a few differences. One's personal ideology, conscience, and the process of military service have been represented in the media while these factors are lacking in the interviews. Justifications based on one's lifestyle and unwillingness; however, have been mentioned in the interviews while they are not represented in the media.

Another important thing to note is that ideological factors outweighed individual ones in the interviews, whilst the opposite seems to be the case regarding media representations. Thus, it can be concluded that the public tend to perceive conscientious objection as an ideological act despite the media's broader reading.

3.3.2.2 Personal Consequences of Conscientious Objection

Conscientious objection has been represented to have both positive and negative consequences for objectors. Advantages of being an objector have been represented as being at peace with oneself, pioneering the social change, not being an instrument to militarism, and having more freedom. As could be inferred, these themes view objectors in an affirmative way.

Moreover, it is possible to see reflections of the ideology antimilitarism on them as they tend to glorify the act of conscientious objection within the context of fight against militarism. In Quote 14, for instance it has been argued that declaring conscientious objection would help individuals to make peace with them and avoid the discomfort they might feel because they have been a part of militarist acts.

Quote 14

… Yani vicdani ret o kadar ismi üzerinde ki… Vicdani ret sizin bireyselliğinizle ilgili yani siz sallıyorum işte, en son Enver Aydemir olayı vardı gitti işte ceza evinde kaldı falan filan. Hani şey, bu adamlar belki bissürü zorluk yaşıyo falan ama tek faydaları kendileri, yani kendileri derken vicdanlarıyla barışıklar ve temel problem de o yani. Mesela ben az evvel o bahsettiğim askerlik deneyiminden sonra mesela vicdanımın çoğu yerinde mesela ben şey yapamıyorum yani ben çoğu zaman o kadar kötü oluyorum ki… Yani düşünsenize biri gidip bi yerlerini bombalıyo. Orda on kişi yüz kişi ölüyo ya da işte acı çekiyo her neyse. Gelip çok rahat bi şekilde orda uyuyo ve siz hiçbir şey yapamıyorsunuz orda izliyorsunuz. Bunun vicdani huzursuzluğunu çektim hep. O yüzden vicdani ret insanın kendisiyle olan ilişkisinde olumlu bi şey olduğunu düşünüyorum…	*...It is obvious from its name "Conscientious objection", it is about the conscience of a person, and it is something personal. But like in the case of Enver Aydemir, there is jail in the end. They go through lots of difficulties. As I have just mentioned, I feel very bad when I think my experiences in the army. Let's think that, someone bombs somewhere, tens of, hundreds of people die or suffer there and you can do nothing but sleep or watch what goes on. I have always had a guilty conscious because of it. That is why I consider conscientious objection as something which contributes to the inner peace of a person.*

Negative consequences of conscientious objection, on the other hand, have been represented to be more various and prevalent. Being exposed to neighborhood pressure, being deprived of and unable to claim one's rights, being exposed to violence, being unable to find a job and make a living, being exposed to government pressure, and being unable to marry are

represented to be the negative consequences conscientious objectors would face in Turkey. As can be inferred, objectors are represented to be disadvantageous both socially and legally, with an emphasis on social dimensions of life such as social relations, work or marriage. Social pressure, for example, is a difficulty that is suggested by almost all interviewees. The emphasis on social disadvantages could be seen as a mark of how prevalent the ideologies of militarism and nationalism are represented to be in the society. Almost all the interviews have mentioned that those who abandon military service have a negative image in the society. For example, in Quote 15, an interviewee states that introducing one as a conscientious objector would lead to discrimination in the society as the ideology of nationalism is highly prevalent in the society. Hence it can be concluded that the society has been represented to be nationalist and militarist by its members.

Moreover, these consequences are in line with the media representation "Difficulties of Being an Objector" although there are some differences in the prevalence of the representations. Neighborhood pressure, for example, is the most prevalent difficulty objectors experience according to analysis of the interviews while civil death; i.e. one's being unable to exercise their civil right because of repetitive punishment, has been the most prevalently represented difficulty in the written media. Moreover, the legal difficulties that objectors experience are more detailed in media representations. The accusations by which objectors have been tried are mentioned in the media while they are absent in the interviews.

Quote 15

…Tabi toplumda dezavantajları çok… O mahalle baskısı o şeyi, onlar sana zaten bi dezavantaj sağlayacaktır. Hani bi yere bi iş başvurusu yaptığında sana sorarlar askerliğini yaptın mı yapmadın mı? Senin oraya yazacağın bi vicdani	*…Of course, there are many disadvantages… Let alone other things, neighborhood pressure is more than enough to make you feel bad. When you apply for a job, they will surely ask you whether you have performed your*

military service or not. And when you say you are a conscientious objector; then I'll bet your application will surely not be a successful one. This declaration is more than enough to blacklist you in such a nationalist country like Turkey.

3.3.2.3 Stereotypes about Conscientious Objectors

According to results of the interview study, not only positive but also neutral and negative stereotypes about objectors have been represented in society. Positive stereotypes include "stalwart and decisive", "antimilitarist", "humanist", "pioneer", "open-minded and nonconformist", "admirable", "sincere", "freedom-loving", "downtrodden" and "intellectual". These stereotypes have been represented in different rates with "stalwart and decisive" being the most common. As can be inferred, these stereotypes mark public tendency to promote, or romanticize, so to speak, heroise the objectors.

Neutral stereotypes; i.e. that objectors are not of the same ideology or worldview, that they do not belong a particular ethnic group and that they are not alike, mark the theme that objectors are different than one another and it is wrong to categorize them as members of the same group, thus dulling the idea that they may be incendiary.

Negative stereotypes; on the other hand, represent the tendency to degrade objectors in the eyes of public. The stereotypes that objectors are individuals who do not care about their country, that they are pragmatic, that they are not of Turkish origin, that they are anarchists, that they are against Turkish nationalism, that they are lotus eaters, that they lack moral or spiritual values, that they find military service unnecessary, that they are subversive Kurds who try to disrupt national integrity, that they are gay or transsexual;

i.e. that thy cannot qualify as real men, that they are second class citizens, that they are leftists, that they are marginal and that they are ultra-materialist capitalists. In these stereotypes, it is possible to see the reflections of the ideologies of nationalism, militarism, patriotism and masculinity. As being a Turk is equated with willingness to do military service and defend the homeland, those refusing to do it are demonstrated to be non-Turks who are deprived of national sentiments and who take no account of military service or selfish individuals who value nothing but themselves and their self-interests. Moreover, as the military service is seen as the indicator of one's lacking masculinity, objectors are thus seen as gay or transsexual. This issue is mentioned in Quote 16, below, in which the interviewee mentions that viewing objectors as gay men has nothing to do with reality; rather this representation is formed with the effects of patriarchal structure of the society.

It is important to note here that these stereotypes are included in the group of negative stereotypes as they are represented to be negative in the interviews, which goes for positive stereotypes, as well. In other words, being a member of an ethnical minority, or being gay or transsexual do not have negative connotations in themselves; rather they were portrayed as negative by interviewees, which could be seen as reflections of public view to those groups. In Quote 16, for example, it is emphasized that society views the objectors as unmanly, which in practice is of course an insult from a patriarchal point of view.

McGarty, Yzerbyt, and Spears (2002) describe stereotypes as representations or impressions about social groups and their individual members. Accordingly, it is possible to view these stereotypes as reflections of social representations about conscientious objectors in the society. Hence we can argue that both positive and negative representations about objectors

exist in the society. Moreover, these stereotypes are, to some extent, represented in the newspaper reports and columns, which strengthen the conclusion that both positive and negative representations of objectors have been formed in the society so far.

Quote 16

... Türkiye'de daha çok, vicdani retçilere eşcinsel gözüyle bakılır. Hani, eee, ataerkil bi toplumda yaşadığımız için, silah eline almayan kesinlikle eşcinseldir, toptur, hani erkek değildir mantığı öne sürülüyo ve bu çok iğrenç bir şeydir. Hani, insan olarak bi insanın toplumda, hani insan olarak bi insanın bunu düşünmesi çok iğrenç bir şey.	*... People think you are gay if you are a conscientious objector in Turkey. In a patriarchal country like Turkey, they can easily label you as gay, faggot or simply "not a man" if you refuse to hold a gun, and this is awful. It is totally awful to think this way if you consider yourself a humane individual.*

3.3.2.4 Public Image of Conscientious Objectors

Representations related to public image of conscientious objectors reflect the views of interviewees for the public image of objectors. In other words, they could be seen as second level representations of objectors in society. These representations can be discussed under four headings, namely, "General Image of Conscientious Objectors", "Images Related to Manhood", "Images Related to Ideologies of Militarism, Nationalism, Patriotism and Religion" and "Images Related to Objectors' Worldviews".

To begin with the general image of objectors, it has been mentioned by almost all of the interviewees that public image of objectors are somehow distorted or prejudiced. Thus making the case that conscientious objectors' distorted representation in society is an open secret. Apart from this, it was represented that objectors are perceived in a negative way, that the image is associated with the political identification of the addressee, that the image of

objectors seems to differ between urbanites and rural-dwellers, and that the public tend not to view conscientious objection as a right.

As for public images of objectors in relation to manhood, interviewees mentioned that objectors are represented in the public as "reprobates" or "unmanly" and "dishonorable", "cowards". This second level representation is parallel to first level representations of objectors which are indicated in the interviews and media analysis.

Public images related to ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism and religion, thirdly, are represented to be "traitor", "lacking national or patriotic sentiment", "deserter", "non-Turk", and "non-Muslim". Here, we can say that the second level representations have parallels with the first level representation of objectors as these themes are acquired from the media and interview analysis, as well.

Images related to objectors' worldviews, lastly, were generally assumed to be "anarchist", "separatist", and/or "marginal". These themes are, again, in line with the representations gained through the analysis of the interviews combined media material. The way the public thus tends to view objectors has everything to do with the militarization of the society. As discussed before, militarization is a process involving the normalization of the militarist practices in the society and the more normalized the military service is in the society, the more marginalized the objectors are.

These second representations help us to view social representations of conscientious objectors in a brighter way. Although most of the interviewees themselves argue that they do not view conscientious objection and objectors in a negative way, they believe that the society would. Actually, this is not the first time this correlation has been formed. In a study conducted by Crespi in 1945, in which he examined the public

opinion towards conscientious objectors, he found that individuals tended to be modest when declaring their opinion, while they were stricter when expressing the public image of objectors (Crespi, 1945). In other words, whilst participants declared that they do not have any hostility towards the objectors, they thought that the society would not approve. This pattern affirms Moscovici's (1984) view that social representations include but cannot be reduced to individual representations.

3.3.2.5 Factors behind Prejudice against Conscientious Objectors

In line with the second hand representations of conscientious objectors, some common themes have been formed from interviewees' explanations for the prejudice that objectors are exposed in the society. To begin with the most common one, there is the prevalent belief that militarism and the myth of military-nation has lead to the prejudice against objectors. This theme was touched upon by 90 per cent of the interviewees. After militarism, came the ideology of nationalism and conservative structure of society, religious culture, the argument that Turkey is under security constant threat, public unawareness of conscientious objection, low representation of conscientious objectors in the mainstream media, socialization and education system which condition individuals to wage war and kill, public prejudice toward the other, patriarchal structure of the society, argument that public is not ready to discuss such an issue, mainstream media image that military service is fundamental, hegemonic system of the world giving the message that wars and armies are necessary, and individuals' lack of freethinking.

These findings are interesting as they imply that the factors leading to the "distorted public image of conscientious objectors" – as represented in the interviews – are also known to the public. In other words, they reflect the "reflexive nature" of social representations as Bauer and Gaskell have previously named (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). Moreover, they support the

hypothesis of this study that social representations of conscientious objection and objectors are related to ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity as all of these ideologies are represented to be affecting the public image of conscientious objection and objectors.

3.3.3 Social Representations of Related Concepts

In this section, social representations of military service, war and homeland, which have been found to be related to social representations of conscientious objection and objectors, will be discussed.

3.3.3.1 Social Representations of Military Service

Military service has been represented to be related to social representations of conscientious objection both in general terms and in relation to manhood.

3.3.3.1.1 Social Representations of Military Service in General

Results of the interview study have shown that military service has prevalent representations. These representations could be examined under five headings which are "Militarism", "Patriotism/Nationalism", "Religion", "Personal Processes" and "Themes Related to Turkish Armed Forces".

In the heading entitled "Militarism", the themes both supporting and countering the ideology of militarism have been included. Those supporting militarist ideology; to begin with, are that military service is a national tradition, that military service is essential as the country is under security threats, and that every Turkish man should learn how to fight. The themes arguing that military service is a national heritage and that every man should learn how to fight could be seen as the reflection of the belief that Turks are a military nation, as it puts an emphasis on cultural or national value of the military service. Therefore these themes unite and form the representation that Turks are a military nation, which is also documented in the media

representations. As previously discussed in the light of the literature, the belief in the military nation is a militarist idea as it puts the military needs of the society to above all else. Furthermore, aside from being drawn from the militarism of society, this belief actively contributes to militarization as it normalizes the fulfillment of forced military service with given reference to the history and thus temporal depth of the nation. Apart from these two, there is the theme that military service is a necessity for Turkey because of the security threats against it. This theme is, again, parallel to media representation that conscientious objection does not fit Turkey because of its geopolitical position. Actually, the argument forming these themes is the same: that Turkey needs its army to survive in this region. These themes are exemplified in Quote 17 where the interviewee describes Turkey as a country around which wolves are ready to pray. This viewpoint is regarded to be militaristic as it disregards other needs of the country and focuses on the military needs.

Quote 17

…Bi grup insanların ben askerlik yapmak istemiyorum, ben adam öldüremem bu benim inancıma ters diyerek askerlikten soyutlanmaları özellikle Türkiye gibi bi ülkede çok yanlış. Türkiye yani herkesin malumu üzerine çok fazla düşman sahibi olan ve çok fazla aç kurtların etrafında dolandığı bi ülke ve bu ülkede her an her şeye patlak verebilir bunu geçmişte çok iyi gördük Mustafa Kemal'de, o yüzden herkesin belli bi silah eğitimi alması gerekiyor…	*…It is very wrong for a person to say that he doesn't want to perform military service or kill a person out of his belief in a country like Turkey. Turkey, as everyone knows, has a great number of enemies and there are ravenous wolfs around. As we can see in history, everything can happen anytime, Mustafa Kemal experienced in the past. That is why everyone has to undergone a basic military training.*

The prevalent themes countering the ideology of militarism mark two representations namely, that soldiering is not for everyone, and that armies themselves are unnecessary. The first representation carries the themes that

military service is about committing violence which is an act not everyone can perform, that military service is a profession with its own characteristics, that individuals do not have to like the army and affirm military practices, that military service means to be an instrument to Turkish civil war, and that one becomes the property of the army the moment one join it. These themes mark the representation "Not everyone can be a soldier." as they have the common emphasis that military service is not for everyone. This view is antimilitaristic in the sense that it deemphasizes the militarist practices focusing on the individuals rather than military. The representation that "Armies are unnecessary." involves the themes that war is not an efficient way to solve current problems of the world, that it is high time that humanity come to the fore, rather than the armies and that human beings would not need armies when they learn to respect one another. These themes are included in this antimilitarist representation as they emphasize the idea that war and armies are not vital for humanity any more. This idea is parallel to the argument in the media products that forced military service should be abolished as it does not respond to the needs of the society any more.

These two representations signify the tendency to question the necessity of military service and the importance of the army in the society. Therefore, it can be concluded that although there are prevalent representation supporting military service and other militarist practices in the society, a shift has occurred in the way public views those practices which would mean that those representations might change in the near future.

In the thematic block "Patriotism/Nationalism", military service-related themes that support or counter the ideologies of nationalism and patriotism are included. The themes supporting these ideologies form three representations, namely, "Military service is a sign of patriotism.", "It is

essential for national unity and solidarity." and "It is a sign of nationalism.".
The representation "Military service is a sign of patriotism" includes the
themes that national service is the way we pay our debts to our homeland
and that performing military service is the sign of one's patriotism. These
themes can be exemplified with the popular Turkish idiom "Military service
is a debt of honor", which has been frequently mentioned in the interviews,
as well. They are regarded as patriotic in the sense that they glorify the
notion of homeland and emphasize one's responsibility towards it.
Moreover, in accordance with the two dimensions of the patriotism, these
themes could be seen as reflections of blind patriotism as they suggest a
single way of loving one's country without giving space to other
alternatives.

The second representation supporting the ideologies of nationalism and
patriotism are that military service is essential for national unity and
solidarity. As discussed before, military service gained cultural capital in the
years immediately after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Moreover,
this process has aided the viewpoint that military service is essential for
national unity as young men are exposed to ideologies of nationalism,
patriotism and militarism. This idea, which is in line with the media
representation of military service, was exemplified by one interviewee as
quoted in Quote 18.

The third representation in this group is that military service is the
manifestation of nationalism. Similar to previous representation suggesting
that military service is an essential duty for the nation and for national
solidarity, themes forming this representation suggest that performing
military service is a very important duty for Turkish men, as it is the way in
which young men develop national consciousness and love of the homeland.

Quote 18

...Askerlik benim için çok en başta da defalarca söylediğim gibi çok kutsal bi kurum dediğim çok fazla bugüne şehit verildi yani otuz yılı da geçti daha önce Kurtuluş Çanakkale savaşı var burdaki insanlara daha önce şehit olmuş insanlara bi refah ödeme mertebesidir ve bence bizim ülkemizi bir arada tutan, dağılmamızı önleyen de bi şeydir aynı zamanda. Çünkü insanların biraz da vatanın ne olduğunu vatan sevgisinin ne olduğunu askere gidince öğrenmeye, anlamaya başladığını düşünüyorum.	*...As I have said many times, military service is a very sacred institution for me. Thousands of men have sacrificed their life for the last 30 years, and we have Independence War and Gallipoli Battle in the past. Performing military service is like a duty of loyalty to our ancestors. That is something which keeps our country united and prevents the collapse. Because I think people start to learn what patriotism is in the army.*

In this sense, they view military service as an essential component for the promulgation of nationalist ideology and assert that those who refuse to do military service should therefore be seen as traitors. In Quote 19, for example, it could be inferred that military service is seen to be the manifestation of nationalism as well as a key for the continuation of nationalist ideology.

Quote 19

... Valla bence askerlik vatanını milletini seven, kendine Türk'üm diyen herkesin yapması gereken ve de seve seve yapacağı bir şey. Yok, ben yapamam ben silah tutamam diyenler de korkaktır, vatan hainidir ki ben memleketin çoğunluğunun bu konuda benim gibi düşündüğünü düşünüyorum. Yani insanın vatanını milletini savunmasından daha onurlu ne olabilir ki yani...	*...To me, military service is something that everyone who loves his country and nation and who calls himself as Turk has to perform willingly or not. Those who object to this and say they cannot hold a gun are cowards and a traitors; and I believe the majority of our people think like I do. I cannot imagine something more honorable than defending one's country and nation.*

The themes countering the ideologies of patriotism and nationalism are that military service is not a means of protecting the homeland nor a way in which one could pay his debt to his homeland, that the Turkish civil war has alienated people from the army and its practices, that military service is process of brainwashing, that there is no such thing as national duty, and that recruited Kurdish men have to fight against their own people. These themes are grouped together as they question and criticize the idea viewing military service as the signal of patriotism or nationalism. Moreover, they tend to question prevalent patriotic and nationalist beliefs as well as the ideologies. Below is a quotation in which the interviewee marks the themes that military service is not homeland protection or the way in which one could pay his debt to the homeland and that it is a process of brainwashing as he defines military service as a process of imposing the hegemonic ideologies of patriarchy and militarism as well as the official ideology of the state.

Quote 20

… Askerlik benim için vatan borcu değildir vatan savunması değildir öncelikle. Herhangi bir vatan borcunu askerlik yaparak ödeyemezsin bu bir zihin dışıdır, eski zihniyetinde göstergesidir aynı zamanda. Benim için askerlik insanların devlet baba kavramına, daha doğrusu o ataerkil zihniyete ona biat etmek, onun üyesi olmak, onun hizmetkârı olmak için, militarizmin insanlara benimsetilmesi için, resmi ideolojinin zihinlere daha kavramsal bir şekilde oturtulabilmesi için insanların beyninin yıkandığı bir yer…	*…First of all, military service is not a debt to be paid to one's country or a kind of country defense to me. You cannot pay your debt to your country with military service; this is an irrational and out-of-date notion. To me, the army is where people are forced to obey patriarchal mentality, to respect the greatness of the paternal state so that they can easily adopt the official ideologies. This is where people are brainwashed.*

The third thematic block involves the themes representing military service with references to Islam, which are that military service is a sacred duty,

that the barracks was the home of Mohammed and that in Anatolia, men's hands are dyed with henna before joining the army to symbolize their scarification in the name of homeland. All these themes are off the same view and they mark the representation "Military service is sacred". This representation has been marked in the media products, as well. However, it should be noted that although all the themes that are formed in the analysis of interviews are positive on the relation between military service and Islam, themes negating military service from an Islamic viewpoint have also been espoused in newspapers.

The fourth thematic block involves themes that support or counter military service in relation to personal processes. The themes supporting military service are that military service is a life altering experience, that it is a melting pot in which individuals with different backgrounds mix with one another, that it has a disciplinary quality that matures young men, that it is a process full of adventures, that it is a process women should examine and that it is illogical to fear military service because, after all, not everyone dies during. These themes unite in the representation that military service is a process that every person should experience. As can be inferred, these themes approach military service with personal references independent of ideologies. For example, in Quote 21, a participant explains the benefits of military service with references to his own experience.

Quote 21

... Yani bizim burda da öyle bir şey olabilir ama eninde sonunda bir askerliği gitmelerini tavsiye ederim yani herkese... Mesela nedir, ya isteyince askerde mesela dediğiniz her bir şey olmuyo anında yani bir sıkıya giriyorsunuz, bir kavrama giriyorsunuz orda, bir düzene giriyorsunuz, yatak alışkanlığı yapıyo yatağınızı	*...There may be such discussions now, but I highly suggest everyone to perform their military service sooner or later... For example, not only bad things happen in the army, you adopt good habits there. You start to make your bed. Even this is very important for some, some people are very messy. These good habits that you acquire*

düzeltiyorsunuz o bile insan için bazıları çok dağınıktır şeydir tertipe düzene giriyor. Yani insan kendini bir daha bi olgunlaştırıyor biraz daha yani hiç olmazsa…	*there render you more mature if nothing else...*

As for the themes countering military service, there is the prevalent representation that military service inflicts permanent damage to men. The themes marking this representation are that it eradicates critical thinking to create obedient individuals, that there is no room for reason and logic in the military, that it is a traumatic experience, that it involves the possibility of maltreatment, that it involves the possibility of death and injury, that is some kind of jail, that it is the place of cruelty and oppression, that it is nothing but a chain of command, that it is a sign of individuals' insignificancy before the system, that it involves an iron discipline one must undergo, that it alters your life permanently, that it involves harsh penalties one undergoes, that paid military service is logical as military service involves the possibility of death, that gay men should not be forced to perform military service and that it is a process neither for men nor women. As can be seen, these themes paint a pessimistic picture of military service. They handle the process of military service from a variety of viewpoints and share the emphasis that military service is detrimental for men. An interviewee, for example, explains his experience of military service as follows:

Quote 22

… bu gittiğim süreç benim için açıkçası çok onur kırıcıydı yani orda koşuyorsun yatıyorsun kalkıyorsun bunları hiç dert etmedim çünkü biz ezilenler için hiçbir zaman kolay olmadı ki orda kolay olsun ama şey kısmı yani hiç istemediğim halde hiç istemediğim bir kuruma hiç	*...the period I spent in the military was very humiliating for me, to tell the truth. You crawl on the ground, you get up, you run… These are not problem for me. Life has never been easy for disadvantageous people like me. But, serving for an institution*

istemediğim kitlelere kesimlere düşmanlık üzerinden bir görevi zoraki yapmak benim için çok çok onur kırıcı oldu, hayatımda daha çok zorlandığım bir an hatırlamıyorum, bir dönem hatırlamıyorum. Gittiğim dönemle ilgili ııı yani hiç hoş şeyler anımsatmadığını ordan söyleyebilirim. Yaptığım süre zarfındaysa yani orda olağan sayılan ve inanılmaz kin düşmanlık hiyerarşi... insan zihninin ne yazık ki alamayacağı bir anormallik normal sayılıyor ve hepimizin buna alışması isteniyor...	*which you don't belong with and fighting against people who you don't consider as enemy was really humiliating. I haven't had a more humiliating period in my entire life. What I was forced to do, all these hatred, hierarchy... An abnormality which is beyond reason and wisdom is considered as something totally normal and everyone is forced to think like this...*

A second prevalent representation is that forced military service should be abolished. The interviewees supporting this view have argued that military service should be based on voluntariness rather than being a civic obligation, that no one is willing to do military service and that most men serve in the military in order to avoid social pressure.

Aside from these representations, the common themes that are formed include the idea that military service is a waste of time, that there are differences between the military experiences of university graduates and those who cannot or do not receive the university degree, that it involves the challenge of taking orders from a person with lower status than oneself and that it is best to perform military service right away – as there is no chance of avoiding it,. These themes are in line with others in the sense that they represent the military service in a negative way although they do not fall under the representations.

It should be noted that the themes opposing military service overweigh the themes supporting military service as they are more in number and depth when compared to affirming themes. Thus it can be inferred that negative representations of military service in relation to personal processes are more

prevalent than positive representations; in other words, military service is represented to affect individuals' lives in a negative way. Moreover, social representations of military service in relation to personal processes have been marked in the interviews but most of them are not reflected in the media products although the media products of the military service are thorough and prevalent. This gives the impression that military service, as it affects individuals, is not a topic suitable for public discourse.

The last thematic block involves the themes referring to Turkish Armed Forces specifically. Two representations have been formed among the themes related to TAF. The first representation is that TAF is a problematic structure. This representation has been marked by the themes that TAF is a corrupted organization, that discriminations and injustices are likely to be imposed during the recruiting processes, that the army cannot manage its military potential, that TAF is the armed forces of sovereigns, that it is an element of fear, that hostility underlies the existence of TAF, that it ill-treats soldiers of Kurdish ethnicity, and that it is a homophobic organization. The second representation; on the other hand, is that TAF is a powerful agency of the state and is constituted by the themes that Turkey has traditionally tried to remain in the forefront with its army, that the army is powerful because of failed politics and that TAF accredits the media. These themes view TAF in a negative way although they admit that it is a powerful agent in the country.

As can be inferred, these themes involve some serious criticism directed at TAF in various dimensions. Moreover, the themes marking these representations have been partially represented in the newspapers, as well. This makes one think that the public discuss TAF thoroughly although this discussion is not fully represented in the media.

3.3.3.1.2 Social Representations of Military Service in Relation to Manhood

Social Representations of military service in relation to manhood could be examined in three headings which are "Representations with a Positive Frame", "Representations with a Neutral Frame" and "Representations with a Negative Frame".

To begin with the first heading, two representations have emerged within the interview materials which are that military service is a way of personal development for men and that military service is the way of justifying one's masculinity. The representation that military service is a way of personal development for men includes the themes that military service makes men more mature and patient, that it is a school of hard knocks, that it knocks sense into young men by disciplining them, that it teaches young men how to take responsibility, that it gives men the opportunity of socializing with members of the social groups they have never encountered before. As can be inferred, these themes share the emphasis that military service has positive impacts on men in terms of personal development. Supporters of this view tend to see the barracks as a place which transforms young boys into adults who know about themselves and the life. In Quote 23, for example, an interviewee explains how military service contributes to development of men with references to his own military experience as well as his observations.

Quote 23

... Baştan da söyleyebilirim askerlik insanı disipline ediyor. Bu güzel bir olay yani lakayt olan bir insan orda güzel disipline oluyor, çünkü niye dayaklan değil yanlış anlamayın bunu sabahın köründe kalkıyorsun, ayakkabını her gün boyamak zorundasın, tıraşını her gün yapmak zorundasın, kıyafetlerini her	*... First of all, I can say that military service desalinizes a man. This is a good thing, but it is not by beating someone, don't get me wrong. You have to get up early every morning, dye your shoes, shave, and put your dresses in order. But at home, you mom and dad do everything; they want feed you if*

gün düzenli koymak zorundasın ama bunu yanında adamın sivil hayatında ana kuzusu baba kuzusu, anası işte ağzına lokmayı tıkıyor. Orda öle bişey yok, orda öle bişey yookk kesinlikle, mesela ben orda ilk başta günde yarım dilim ekmekle ayakta duruyordum, stresten yiyemiyorum heyecandan benim böle bi mide problemim var ama on gün sonra yemekhaneye ilk ben koştum yemek yemek için, bütün her şeyi bildiğinizi unutuyorsunuz. Askere çok titiz gidip günde 10 defa elini yıkayan adam askerde el yıkamayı unutuyor umursamıyor, yani bir nevi psikolojik tedavi görüyorsunuz ister istemez. İkincisi insanın ufkunu geliştiriyor bunu her insanın değil tamam her insanın ufkunu geliştirmiyor tamam yani hani sizin bizim gibi insanların ufkunu geliştirmiyor ama köyde yaşayan adamın gariban adamın ufkunu çok iyi geliştiriyor yani ben ona kesinlikle şey adam gidiyor batıda askerlik yapıyor yapıyor batıyı görüyor veya ömrü hayatında adam belki İstanbul'u göremicek ama o sayede İstanbul'u görüyor, ve devlet buna her türlü üstünü başını, şuyunu buyunu veriyor, hatta şimdi kaç lira bilmiyorum 20 liralık bi cüzi bir maaş veriyor...

they can. And you become mama's boy. There is no such treatment in the army. For example, I could survive with half a slice of bread when I first joined the army, because I couldn't anything due to stress. I have a stomach disease. But ten days after, I run first to the dining hall for the meal, you get used to everything. It helps one's psychology; for example there is a very clean guy who washes his hand ten times a day; yet he forgets this in the army and doesn't care any longer. And it widens one's horizon, yes this is not the case for everyone, this is not the case for such men as you and me; but this is the case for the men who live in the villages. They see the cities in the west for the first time in their lives – all thanks to military service. Perhaps they won't see Istanbul again. And the government provides them with everything, including clothes and pocket money – even if it is tiny, like 20 TL for a day or something...

The second representation in which military service is framed positively is that it is the way of justifying one's masculinity. The themes marking this representation are that military service is a milestone in the lives of men, that it justifies men's existence in the society, that it teaches men how to battle, which is a requirement of manhood, that it is the duty of men, that it is the manifestation of masculinity, that it is the sign of honor for men, and that military service give men the opportunity to experience fighting and weapons, which are two things all boys and men have passion for. These themes portray the military service a period in which young men learn how

to be grown-ups as well as real men. In this sense, they are in line in what Selek (2008) has suggested in her study "Sürüne Sürüne Erkek Olmak"; i.e. that military service is a phase of manhood as well as a period in which they learn how to be "real men". In parallel, it can be suggested that military service is a level that Turkish men have to reach in order to approach the hegemonic ideal which is defined by Selek (2008) as a "though, successful, honest, serious, fit, handsome and paternalistic man who loves and protects the ones depending on him but also tend to use violence when necessary". This representation was touched upon by an interviewee in Quote 24 with the expression that there are three conditions of being a men which should be fulfilled, i.e. circumcision, military duty, and marriage, in order to be counted as real men.

Quote 24

... Ben daha önce bununla ilgili bi köşe yazısı okumuştum. Şey diyodu hani, kendi çocuğunu küfür yemeye halay çeke çeke yollayan başka bi toplum yoktur. Bizde hakkaten böyle bişey vardır düğünler ne kadar şatafatlı ne kadar bağırmalı çağırmalıysa askerlikler de böyledir. Sanki Türkiye'de şöyle bir şey var, hani erkekler için erkek olmanın üç yolu, adam olmanın, sünnet olmak, askere gitmek, arkasından evlilik. Hatta evliliği bunun bir parça dışında tutabiliyoruz, en azından şu an ama bu ikisi vazgeçilmez. Ve bunları yapmazsan adam değilsin yani...	*... I have read a column about it earlier. It says there is not another country in the world which sends their son to a place where people will swear to him by dancing. This is really the case in our country. Sendoff ceremonies organized for soldiers are as pompous as weddings. There is a three-step-way for a man to become a real man: first step is circumcision, second step is military service and the last one is marriage. We can consider marriage apart; yet the first two steps are indispensable. And you are not a man unless you do these things...*

Moreover, the prevalence of this representation helps us to understand why conscientious objectors are seen as unmanly in Turkey. Gay men were portrayed as unmanly both by interviewees and by media outlets, and there is a tendency in both the public and print media to equate those objecting to

serving in the military with homosexuality. As military service is represented as a gate to manhood, it is not surprising to see that a connection is made between those who refuse to go through with it, and gay or transsexual individuals.

The themes that neutrally frame the relationship between military service and manhood maintain that it should be the individuals to decide whether or not they would perform military service rather than their families or the state and that military service is a subjective concept the importance of which varies among people. These themes mark the representation that military service should be based on voluntariness rather than a civic obligation, which is a prevalent representation marked in both interviews and media analysis. Moreover, the perspective creating these themes is an antimilitaristic one as it focuses on the needs and motivations of the individuals rather than the army.

The themes negatively framing the relationship between military service and manhood, lastly, could be examined under the headings of "Critical Views about Military Service" and "Social Pressure Men Feel Related to Military Service". In accordance with the results of the content analysis, it has been seen that two representations have been marked by the themes under the heading of "Critical Views about Military Service". The first representation is that military service is an ineffective duty in terms of men's development. The themes marking this representation maintain that military service is not the way that young men learn how to be grown-up, that military service does not teach anything but it is just a waste of time, and that men have more important issues than battling with an ambiguous enemy. As can be inferred, these themes come together in their criticism of the representation that military service is a means of personal development for men. In Quote 25, for example, this criticism has been countered by the argument that

military service contributes to neither a man's personal development nor his perceived masculinity.

Quote 25

... Ya, daha önceden duyduğumuz üzre, işte askerlik erkeğin hayatında dönüm noktasıdır, işte bu gibi şeyler. Babalarımızdan, dedelerimizden, amcalarımızdan, dayılarımızdan duyduğumuz şeyler var. Ama ben askerlik olmadan da insanların pek çok tecrübe edinebileceğine inanıyorum. Askerliği savunan insanlar şöyle şeyler söylüyo. Okuma yazma bile bilmeyen insanlar orda okuma yazma öğretiliyo, işte tuvalet eğitimi bile olmayan insanlar falan filan gibi şeyler söyleniyo. Ya ben bu tip eğitimlerin yerinin askeriye gibi bi yer olacağını düşünmüyorum. Baskı ve zorla yapılan yer olabileceğini düşünmüyorum. Bunun yeri eğitim kuruluşlarıdır. O yüzden ben askerliğin gerçekten elle tutulur bir yerde ne erkeklik ne de eğitimde bir yeri olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Yani, bi insanı erkek yapacak şey askerlik değildir. Bi insanı insan, eğitilmiş insan yapacak şey de askerlik değildir. Ben böyle düşünüyorum.	*... Well, as we have heard before, military service is a milestone in a man's life. There are things we hear from our fathers, grandfathers and uncles. Yet, I do believe that people can get a number of experiences without performing military service. Supporters of compulsory military service say that illiterate learns how to read and write in the army, they even get toilette training there etc. I don't think that the army, where you can face pressure and bullying, is the ideal place to provide them with these services. There are educational institutions for this. Therefore, I don't think that army contributes either to manhood or to education. It is not the army which makes a man a man. It is not the army which can educate people. That's what I think, anyway.*

The second representation criticizing the role of military service in the socialization of men is that military service inflicts great damage on men. This representation has been marked by the themes that militarism and patriarchy are ideologies nourishing one another, that military service teaches men to fully obey the system, that military service is a paternalistic concept, that military service unmans the man, and that military service is a process creating a killer out of an innocent. As can be inferred these themes are similar to those marking the representations that military service is

ineffective for men's development. Moreover, they take the criticism one step further and express that military service inflicts damage on young men as imposes the ideologies of militarism, and patriarchy on men as well as making them fit to the hegemonic system of the society. One interviewee marked this representation while she was explaining her observations related to the military experience of her brother as follows:

Quote 26

...Düşünüyorum çok bence travmatik bir durum yani asker gidip gelmiş bi insanın, ıı artık aynı insan olması mümkün değil bence, ben bunu kendi abimde de gördüm, geldikten sonra çok daha sinirli, çok daha ataerkil, çok daha buyurgan bi insan olduğunu gördüm; çünkü orda gördüğü şey buydu üstlerinden, aynı şeyi bu sefer kendi alanında uygulayabileceği, kendi altında gördüğü insanlara yapmaya başladı, buna alıştı, yani dolayısıyla askerde bunu yapmak çok zordur yani bunu görüp buna karşı olmak çok zordur ancak teslim olursun teslim olduğunda da artık aynı insan olmazsın dolayısıyla sizi çok yıpratıcı, çok travmatik bir şey olduğunu düşünüyorum askerliği..	*...I think that it is a traumatic experience. You can no longer be the same person you used to be when you return. I have witnessed this through experience with my brother; he has become a more angry, patriarchal and bossy person upon his return from the army; because that was how he was treated there by his commanders. He started to treat this way to people whom he regarded inferior to him, he got used to it. It is very difficult to resist these feelings and you surrender after some time. However, when you surrender, you can no longer be the same person you used to be. That is why I think that military service is a very draining and traumatic experience...*

As can be inferred these two representations mark a different viewpoint to military service as they voice criticism to military service as well as the prevalent representation in the society suggesting that military service contributes young men in terms of personal development and endorsement of masculine ideology. Moreover, they have a symbolic value in that they imply the prevalent representation related to military service and masculine ideology has started to fall under scrutiny. An important thing to note in this point is that these representations had no place in media products although

they have been marked in the interviews, which might infer that the discussion on military service has not been conveyed into the public level yet.

The headline "Social Pressure Men Feel Related to Military Service" involves the themes that a father may not let his daughter marry a man who has not performed his military service, that a man refusing to do military service is not considered to be a real man, that uncompleted military service is a lifelong burden, and that one cannot find a decent job unless he performs his military service. These themes come together and mark the representation that military service is a burden before the lives of men. This representation is parallel to the theme represented in the newspapers that military service is a lifelong burden, which has occupied a little place in the media products.

3.3.3.2 Social Representations of War

In the light of the results from the content analysis, social representations of war could be examined under two headings which are "Justifications of War" and "Criticisms of War".

The themes merging under the heading "Justifications of War" are that learning how to battle is legitimate for the survival of the country, that war is legitimate in the case of homeland defense, that Turkish nation is fond of warfare, that war is legitimate when family protection is needed, that war is legitimate in case of violation of the right to live, that martyrdom is a title to be proud of, that war is legitimate in case of a war against terrorism and that martyrs ascend directly to the heaven. Although they reflect different viewpoints to war, these themes unite in their tendency to justify war and they mark the representation that war is justifiable.

The themes criticizing war; on the other hand could be subdivided into two groups: themes criticizing war in general and themes criticizing "Turkish Civil War". The themes criticizing the concept of war in general are that war means to die in vain, that war is to the benefit of the sovereigns not of fighters, that war is about nothing but dying and killing, that battling requires expertise which is out of ordinary men's depth, that battling should be a choice rather than an obligation, that war is not an efficient way to solve political problems, that war smears to the world and humankind, that war is something unnecessary and ridiculous, that those criticizing the war should not bear arms, that propertianism underlies the construct of war, that if it is seen as legitimate to get something through war, one should not condemn those doing the same thin against his/her group, and that fighting is not the way to serve one's country.

Inferred by these themes are antimilitarist sentiments in the sense that they negate and criticize the concept of war from multiple perspectives. Moreover, they tend to focus on the needs of individuals over the needs of the states and they glorify life over death. Hence they come together and mark the representation that war is not a solution to world problems, which is parallel to media representation of war.

The themes criticizing "the civil war in Turkey"; on the other hand, marks two representation. The first representation is that people do not want war any longer. It has been marked in almost half of the interviews. Parallel to this one is the representation that the war should come to an end, which has been marked by the themes that no one raises his/her child to see him dead, that there are parents whose one son serves in TAF while the other one is a guerilla fighting against it, that the reason behind the everlasting war is the failed politics, that parties of the war are not equal to one another, that the civil war in Turkey is neither legitimate nor rational, that those who died in

the war might not be counted as martyrs according to rules of Islam, that the mentality sacrificing sons in the name of homeland boosts militarism, that Islam does not approve the war as both of the warring parties are Muslim, and that it will be the women who end the war. As can be inferred, these themes approach to the Turkish-Kurdish conflict continuing for the last 30 years from many perspectives and come together in their opposition to it. Moreover, they represent the antimilitarist viewpoint.

When the themes either justifying or criticizing the concept of war or specifically the conflict in the country are compared with one another, it can be seen that the criticizing themes outweigh the justifying ones, which could be a sign of public disapproval of the war, both in general terms and specified in the "civil war". As for the civil war, especially, it can be seen that there is only one theme legitimizing the war; i.e. that war is legitimate in the case of terrorism – a theme marked at a low rate – while the themes criticizing it have been found to be various and more prevalent, which makes us conclude in the light of the interviews that the Turkish civil war has weak support of the public.

3.3.3.3 Social Representations of Homeland

Homeland is the last notion that is hypothesized to be related with social representations of conscientious objection in Turkey. Results of the thematic analysis have shown that the themes marked in the interviews include not only the patriotic ones but also those questioning or criticizing the ideology of patriotism.

To begin with patriotic themes, it has been seen that theme themes merging under this heading mark the representation that homeland should be defended. The themes that mark this representation are that it is a sacred duty to defend one's country, homeland defense is a requirement of being a

citizen, that one should risk death in the name of homeland, if one love their country, that home defense is not solely men's duty; rather anyone should take part in it regardless of gender, that the important thing is to live equally under the same flag, that those who sacrifice their lives or the lives of their children in the name of homeland deserve to be respected, that homeland is equally important as one's family, and that one should either love or leave the country. As can be inferred, these themes are patriotic in the sense that they tend to glorify the notion of homeland as well as prioritizing homeland defense before the lives of individuals. Moreover, it can be argued that all but one of these themes are reflections of blind patriotism as they tend to equate one's love to homeland with the desire to die in the name of it and leave no room for other alternatives.

The themes that could be seen as signs of constructive patriotism are the themes that military service is not the only way to serve one's country, that if one has the right of sacrificing him/her in the name of the homeland the opposite should be considered as a right, as well, that the important thing is to live equally under the same flag, that it is not obligatory to love one's homeland in the same way and degree as others and that treason has nothing to do with military service. These themes come together and mark the representation that there is no single way of loving one's country, which is a representation also featured in the media. Moreover, these themes reflect the constructive type of patriotism as they leave some room for alternative ways of showing patriotism and they are open for the criticism against the norms and decisions of the social group.

The themes merging under the heading of Antipatriotic Themes, lastly, mark the representation that homeland is a nonsense construct. The themes of this heading are that it is the poor who die in the name of homeland, that the homeland does not give one's deceased child to him/her back, that it is

unreasonable to sacrifice children for the sake of homeland, that one cannot owe a country in which he/she did not choose to be born, that patriotism is an irrational ideology, and it is not possible to own a piece of the world. These themes are considered to be antipatriotic as they question the sanctity of the homeland and criticize the tendency to die in the name of it.

When the representations related to homeland are examined together, it can be concluded that although the themes representing the two forms of patriotism are prevalent in the society, themes questioning and opposing patriotism also exist. Although limited, these representations correspond to those mentioned in the media too.

CHAPTER IV
GENERAL DISCUSSION

This study has been conducted in order to identify and examine the social representations of conscientious objection and objectors in Turkey within the perspective and methodology of Social Representations Theory.

In order to fulfill this aim, three research questions have been formed and four hypotheses have been developed. In relation to the first question, which examines the contents and structures of social representations of conscientious objection in Turkey produced by the newspapers, it was hypothesized that media representations of conscientious objection in Turkey is related to representations of military service, war, homeland, and religion. The results of the content analysis of five newspapers for a period of three months have shown that this hypothesis is supported as media representations of conscientious objection objectors are related to representations of these concepts with the perceived dominance of military service over all other issues.

Secondly, in relation to the newspaper study, it was hypothesized that there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance with their political standing. As previously mentioned, these newspapers are believed to represent a proportional variation of competing ideologies in Turkey; Zaman and Yeni Çağ for example, are considered to represent right wing thought – Zaman being a center-right pro-government newspaper and Yeni Çağ representing the more nationalist, conservative segment of society. As for the left, Taraf, which is a leftist liberal newspaper, and Cumhuriyet – which represents the social democrats disseminating the ideology of Atatürk were chosen. Hürriyet; on

the other hand, has been chosen as it is one of the newspapers with the largest circulation and as is thus assumed to embody the main stream media. In accordance with the hypothesis, the newspapers tend to differ from one another in terms of the frequency and depth with which they give place to issues of conscientious objection in their reports and columns, as well as the framing of those media products. The newspaper Taraf has been seen as the most powerful disseminator of the information related to conscientious objection as the issue has been examined from various perspectives in the media products of Taraf. Moreover, this newspaper tends to be positive and supportive to the issue. Zaman, which closest follows Taraf in terms of the quantity of column space it gives to the issue, has given place to both affirming and opposing views. Yeni Çağ, thirdly, is the newspaper disseminating most of the negative representations related to conscientious objection and objectors. Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet have given relatively less place to the issue and they tend to be neutral on it.

Moscovici and Vignaux (2001) argue that themata; i.e. epistemic systems in relation to general and essential properties that are attributed to object categories, are active agents in the configuration of a common field in which ordinary knowledge is shared by individuals and different conceptualizations are compared. In other words, themata are based on belief systems that are anchored in values, traditions and images of different groups – and that these are shared with others via the process of communication. Moreover, it can be argued from this perspective that social representations differentiate belief systems and different segments of society sharing said belief systems, as well as creating a common ground on which these segments or groups can be defined in a secure way in a continued existence. In line with this, the differences in the way and the extent to which the newspapers examine the issue of conscientious objection can be

seen as reflections of the political standing and the social groups they represent in society.

The interview study pertained to the second research question; i.e. whether the newspaper representations of conscientious objection are parallel with social representations that are gained through the interviews, or not. When the social representations that are marked in the interviews are compared with newspaper representations of the issue, it has been noted that the hypothesis stating that there would be a strong parallel between the two representations is supported to some extent – as the representations marked in the interviews are not only parallel to media representations, but also outnumber them in prevalence and depth. Media products are seen as a prominent means of promulgating social representations (Moscovici, 1984; Abric, 1993; Stewart & Lacassagne, 2005; Wagner & Hayes, 2005) but this study has shown that there would be other sources of social representations anyway, as some of the representations marked in the interview study are wholly absent from the newspapers.

In a study investigating the relationship between the armed forces and society (Gürsoy & Sarıgül, 2011), it has been found that almost 80 per cent of the society is unaware of conscientious objection as a concept. This finding contradicts the results of the current study, suggesting that there are sufficiently prevalent representations on the issue of conscientious objection; i.e. that the issue has a place in the consensual universe of the public domain. Moreover, as can be inferred from the results, social representations and themes that have been marked in this study are differentiated. As previously mentioned, these themes and representations are seen as elements of social knowledge as well as the consensual universe, from the perspective of Social Representations Theory. For Moscovici

(1984; 1988), further, they are reflections of the pluralist nature of the consensual universe.

The third research question and related hypothesis is based on the relation between the representations of conscientious objections and the ideologies of militarism, nationalism, patriotism, and masculinity, as suggested in the literature. As the results of both the newspaper and interview studies have shown that representations of conscientious objection and objectors are related to aforementioned ideologies, it can be concluded that this hypothesis is supported, as well. In line with the second hypothesis, stating that there would be some differences in news and columns among the newspapers investigated in accordance to their political standing, this finding implies that when consistent social representations are pieced together, it is possible to obtain a table of prevalent ideologies in Turkey. In fact, ideology is defined by many scholars as a system of representations that are imposed on us (Althusser, 1969; Fiske, 1996) and define "who we are, what we stand for, what our values and what our relationships with others are" (Oktar, 2001; p. 314). In this sense, it would not be wrong to see the representations of conscientious objections that are obtained in this study as a reflection of the prevalent ideologies in Turkey today.

In general, results have indicated that representations have multifaceted relationships with one another. Social representations, either belonging to the same or different objects, notions, or realities, are thought to construct reality together in the consensual universe. For example, social representations of conscientious objection and objectors may be used in a discussion solely on, or in relation to, social representations of other concepts and thus help the construction of the social reality by supporting or objecting one another. In this sense, the representation of "Conscientious objection is a human right." might exist together with the representation

"Conscientious objectors are traitors", in order to be used in the discussions when necessary. Moreover, it is possible to create arguments supporting or opposing a phenomenon, although there is a shared representation of the phenomenon which is the case in the coexistence of representations "Conscientious objection will be good for Turkey." and "Conscientious objection will be bad for Turkey". These trends can be explained with reference to the dilemmatic nature of the social representations (Billig, 1991) as social representations reflect the dilemmatic character of thought as in the case of common sense. Besides, these contradicting representations could be seen as indicators of the variety of social groups included in the study.

Contrary to this dilemma, it has been found that some common patterns exist among different social groups as well as different newspapers representing different political standings. Human rights, for example, have been represented to be a nucleus around which social representations of conscientious objection are formed in both interviews and media products. Objectors' being perceived in a distorted and prejudiced way in the society is another representation shared by almost all the interviewees. These examples are nothing but two of many examples upon which not only public but also printed media agrees and they imply the tendency of human beings to construct the world in a consistent manner. As suggested by the theory, social representations serve in the familiarization of the unfamiliar and emerge in different forms and versions in order to fulfill this aim.

Major events leading to changes in the social or political order of a social group are seen to have key importance in the transformations of the social group, as well as the social representations prevalent in that social group. This study has been conducted at a time when the public have started to question and criticize militarist ideologies and practices such as military

service, as well as the traditionally political nature of the army. A case in point would be the current Ergenekon and Sledgehammer trials, which have forced a public discussion on the political character of the Turkish Armed Forces. Secondly, along with the clashes and conflicts continuing for more than 30 years in the south eastern region of the country, the Roboski Raid which was carried out in Şırnak in the last days of 2011 and lead to death of 35 individuals by the bombings of Turkish Air Forces (Radikal, 2011) has led to a shift in how society perceives the Turkish Armed Forces. Along with these particular scandals, and arguably in tandem with them, more general concepts such as forced military service have started to come under criticism in the name of human rights violations and the ill-treatment of soldiers (Asker Hakları, 2011). In 2012, the Minister of National Defense declared that 2221 individuals had committed suicide during military service and that 1602 individuals had died as a result of various accidents or while trying to make themselves inconvenient for the military service between the years of 1990 and 2012 (BİA, 2012).

When the representations that have been obtained via this study related to conscientious objection and the issue of military service are re-examined in light of this information, it can be seen that the current period for Turkey is one in which prevalent representations such as that military service is a sacred duty and that every Turk is born a soldier have started to lose their grip on the public imagination, while new representations which put individual and human rights to the fore, are being formed.

The study has indicated some surprising results signaling great implications in the current socio-political climate of Turkey. The prevalent representation "Conscientious objection is a human right." and the special emphasis of the interviewees on human rights and freedom of thought, for example, signifies the relationship the individual members of the society want to have with the

state and the citizenship type they envision. These findings are important as they imply that there is a change in the consensual universe of the society in terms of citizenship and civic rights, the implications of which have begun to be seen in the ongoing Gezi protests that are performed in various cities of Turkey as of July, 2013. The protests have started after the trees in Gezi Park, Istanbul were cut down by the local authorities and turned to a country-wide struggle against human rights violations and state oppression; these protests are regarded as the greatest popular uprising in the history of Turkey.

Secondly, the finding that there is a shift in the representations of the military service, military nationhood, and Turkish Armed Forces – although representations supporting the ideologies of militarism, nationalism, and hegemonic masculinity continue to exist in a prevalent way, new representations which take individuals rather than the constructs like the army or the nation into the front have been formed – is important as it signifies a transformation in the society in which the aforementioned ideologies lose their grip in public imagination and replaced by more democratic values.

Another remarkable finding is related to experiences of conscientious objectors in Turkey. Analysis of both the newspaper materials and interviews have shown that conscientious objection in Turkey is an ordeal as individuals face human rights abuse as well as various social difficulties such as being exposed to social pressure, possibility of exposure to violence, unemployment, etc. when they declare their objection to military service in Turkey. Moreover, although the society has been represented to be the major source of difficulties objectors face, it is also represented that their public image in the society is somehow distorted and prejudiced. Coexistence of these two findings imply that society, in fact, has some

information related to conscientious objectors and the negative experiences they face but it needs to be discussed more thoroughly in the society so that the conditions could improve for the objectors.

This study has indicated results that intend to inspire future studies but require further social psychological research on the issue in order to reach a holistic and integrated meaning. Large scale studies which could be conducted with a quantitative method; to begin with, may be able to determine the extent to which the social representations that are marked in the study fit the three types of social representations; i.e. hegemonic, emancipated, or polemical social representations, that are suggested by Moscovici (1988). Moreover, large scale studies could help to increase the generalizability of the results that are gained in the study.

Another suggestion would be a deeper examination of the typology and thematic maps of social representations that are suggested in this study in order to achieve more concrete information related to the distribution of representations in the consensual universe.

Thirdly, future studies could be conducted using different tools of research such as movies, television series or books, in order to examine their impacts on constructing social reality.

REFERENCES

Abric, J.C. (1993). Central System, Peripheral System: The Functions and Roles in the Dynamics of Social Representations. Papers on Social Representations, 2(2), 75- 78.

Abric, J.C. (1996). Specific Processes of Social Representations. Papers on Social Representations, 5, 77-80.

Abric, J. C. (2001). A structural approach to social representations. In K.Deaux & G. Philoge´ne (Eds.), Representations of the social (pp. 42–47).Oxford: Blackwell.

Althusser, L. (1969). *For Marx*. London: Penguin Press.

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper.

Altınay, A. G. (2000). *Vatan, millet, kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Altınay, A. G. (2003). Militarizm ve insan hakları ekseninde milli güvenlik dersi. In B. Çotuksöken, A. Erzan & O. Silier (Eds.), *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları: Tarama Sonuçları* (pp. 138-157). İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.

Altınay, A. G. (2004). *The myth of military-nation: militarism, gender, and education in turkey*. (1 ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Altınay, A. G. (2005, November 25). *Militarizm*. Retrieved from ….http://www.savaskarsitlari.org/arsiv.asp?ArsivTipID=6&ArsivAnaID=29 73

Altınay, A. G. (2006, February 05). Mehment tarhan'ı görme zamanı. *Radikal*. Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=r2&haberno=5527

Altınay, A. G. (2009). Can veririm, kan dökerim: ders kitaplarında militarizm. In G. Tüzün (Ed.), *Ders kitaplarında insan hakları II: tarama sonuçları*(pp. 143-165). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

Altınay, A. G. (2013). "Askerlik yapmayana adam denmez": zorunlu askerlik, erkeklik ve vatandaşlık. In Y. Sünbüloğlu (Ed.),*Erkek Millet Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler* (1 ed., pp. 205-261). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Altınay, A. G., & Bora, T. (2002). Ordu, militarizm ve milliyetçilik. In T. Bora (Ed.), *Milliyetçilik: Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt 4* (pp. 140-154). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Anderson, B. (1995). *Hayali cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin kökleri ve yayılması*. (2nd ed.). İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Asker Hakları. (2011, September 23). *Asker hakları inisiyatifi, ihlalleri meclise taşıdı*. Retrieved from http://www.askerhaklari.com/basinda-biz/asker-haklari-inisiyatifi-ihlalleri-meclise-tasidi

Asker Hakları. (2012). *Zorunlu askerlik sırasında yaşanan hak ihlalleri*. (1 ed.). Ankara: Kapasite Geliştire Derneği. DOI: www.askerhaklari.com

Augoustinos, M. & Walker, I. (1995). Social Cognition: an Integrated Introduction. Sage Publications: London.

Aydın, S. (2009). The militarization of society: conscription and national armies in the process of citizen creation. In Ö. H. Çınar & C. Üsterci (Eds.),*Conscientious objection: resisting militarized society* (pp. 61-73). London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Barrett, F. J. (2001). the organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the u.s. navy. In S. M. Whitehead & F. Barrett (Eds.), *The Masculinities Reader* (pp. 77- 99). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Bar-Tal, DE. (1997). The monopolization of patriotism. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 246–270). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Bar-Tal, D., & Staub, E. (1997). *Patriotism in the life of individuals and nations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Bauer, M. W., & Gaskell, G. (1999). Towards a paradigm for research in social representations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *29*(2), 163-186.

Beardsworth, A. (1980). Analysing press content: Some technical and methodological issues. In H. Christian (ed) *The Sociology of Journalism and the Press,* (pp.371-395). Sociological Review Monograph 29. University of Keele.

Belge, M. (2011). *Militarist modernleşme Almanya, Japonya ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

BİA. (2012, May 15). Msb aÇikladi "22 yılda 2221 asker İntihar etti". *Bianet: Bağımsız İletişim ağı*. Retrieved from http://bianet.org/bianet/insan-   haklari/13834522-yilda-2221-asker-intihar-etti

Billig, M. (1988). Social representation, objectification and anchoring: A rhetorical analysis. Social Behaviour, 3, 1-16.

Billig, M. (1991). Ideology and opinions: studies in rhetorical psychology. London: Sage Publications.

Brett, D. (2006). *Military recruitment and conscientious objection: A thematic global survey*. Leuven, Belgium: Conscience and Peace Tax International (CPTI).

Central Committee for Conscientous Objectors. (2013). *How we began*. Retrieved from http://objector.org/How_We_Began.html

Chenoy, A. (1998). Militarization, conflict, and women in south asia. In L. A. Lorentzen & J. Turpin (Eds.),*The women and war reader* (pp. 101-110). New York: New York University Press.

Clémence, A. (2001). Social positioning and social representations. In K. Deaux & G. Philogène (Eds.), *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions* (pp. 8-35). Oxford: Blackwell.

Cirhinlioglu, F., Aktas, V., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2006). Sosyal Temsil Kuramına Genel Bir Bakıs. C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 30, 2, 163-174.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Cora, Y. T. (2013). Asker-vatandaşlar ve kahraman erkekler: balkan savaşları ve birinci dünya savaşı dönemlerinde beden terbiyesi aracılığıyla ideal erkekliğin kurgulanması. In Y. Sünbüloğlu (Ed.),*Erkek Millet Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler* (1 ed., pp. 45-75). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Crespi, L. (1945). Public opinion towards conscentious objectors: III. Intensity of social rejection in stereotype and attitude. *Journal of Psychology*,*19*, 251-276.

Çarkoğlu, Y., & Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2007). *Turkish democracy today: Elections, protests and stability in an islamic society*. London, New York: I. B. Tauris.

Çarkoğlu, A., & Yavuz, G. (2011). Press-party parallelism in turkey: An individual level interpretation. *Turkish Studies*, *11*(4), 613-624. doi: 10.1080/14683849.2010.540116

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: a critique. *Theory and Society, 30*, 337-361.

Doise, W. (1992) L'ancrage dans les études sur les représentations sociales. Bulletin de Psychologie, 45, 405, 189-195.

Doise, W., Clemence, A., & Lorenzi-Cioldi, F. (1993). The Quantitative Analysis of Social Representations. Harvester Wheatsheaf: New York.

Duveen, G. (1993). The development of social representations of gender. *Papers on Social Representations, 2*(3), 1-7.

Durkheim, E. (1976). The elementary forms of the religious life. (2nd ed.). New York, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

ECHR. (1950). *European convention on human rights*. Retrieved from Council of Europe website: http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf

ECHR. (2006). *Ulke vs. turkey judgement*. Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights.

ECHRa. (2011). *Bayatyan vs. armenia judgement*. Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights.

ECHRb. (2011). *Ercep vs. turkey judgement*. Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights.

ECHR. (2012). *Savda vs. turkey judgement*. Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights.

Eller, C. (1991). *Conscientious objectors and the second world war: Moral and religious arguments in support of pacifism*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Enloe, C. (2000). *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives*. London: University of California Press.

Farr, Robert (1993) The theory of social representations: whence and whither? Papers on Social Representations, 2 (3). pp. 130-138. Originally available from: http://www.psr.jku.at/PSR1993/2_1993Farr.pdf

Fiske, S. T. (1982). Schema-triggered affect: Applications to social perception. In M. S. Clark & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Affect and cognition: The 17th annual Carnegie symposium on cognition* (pp. 55-78). Hillsdale, N. J.: Erlbaum.

Fiske, J. (1996). Opening the Hallway: Some remarks on the fertility of Stuart Hall's contribution to critical theory. In D. Morley & K.-H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: critical dialogues in cultural studies*. London; New York: Routledge.

Galam, S., S. Moscovici. 1991. Towards a theory of collective phenomena: consensus and attitudes changes in group, European Journal of Social Psychology, 21, 1, 49-74.

Guimelli, C. (1993). Concerning the Structure of Social Representations. Papers on Social Representations, 2, 85-92.

Gardikiotis, A., Martin, R., & Hewstone, M. (2004). The representation of majorities and minorities in the British Press: A content analytic approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 637-646.

Gürsoy, Y., & Sarıgül, Z. Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Projelerini Destekleme Programı, (2011).*Türkiye'de silahlı kuvvetler ve toplum: Ampirik yaklaşım* (110K462). Retrieved from TÜBİTAK website: http://www.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/haberler-ve-etkinlikler/haber/536/turkiyede-silahlı-kuvvetler-ve-toplum-anket-sonuclar/

Herzlich, C. (1973). *Health and illness: A social psychological analysis*. Academic Press: London.

Hewstone, M. (1990). Causal Attribution: From Cognitive Processes to Collective Beliefs. Blackwell, Oxford.

Howarth, C. (2002). 'So, you're from Brixton?': the struggle for recognition and esteem in a multicultural community. *Ethnicities, 2* (2). pp.237-260

Howarth, C. (2006). A social representation is not a quiet thing: exploring the critical potential of social representations theory. British Journal of Social Psychology, 45(1), 65- 86.

Jodelet, D. (1991). *Madness and Social Representations.* Harvester Wheatsheaf: Hemel Hempstead.

Jodelet, D. (2008). Social representations: The beautiful invention. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 38(4), 411-430.

Jovchelovitch, S. (1995). *Social representations and public life: A study on the symbolic construction of public spaces in brazil*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation).

Kaya, R., & Çakmur, B. (2010). Politics and mass media in turkey. *Turkish Studies*, *11*(4), 521-537. doi: 10.1080/14683849.2010.540112

Kelman HC. Nationalism, patriotism, and national identity: Social-psychological dimensions. In: In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), Patriotism in the life of individuals and nations. Chicago: Nelson-Hall; 1997. p. 165-189.

Kohn, H. (1965). *Nationalism: It's meaning and history*. Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.

Kosterman, R., & Feschbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *Political Psychology*, *10*, 257-274.

Law Dictionary. (2013). Civiliter mortuus. In *Law Dictionary*. Retrieved from: http://www.lawdictionary.org/CIVILITER MORTUUS.asp?q=CIVILITER MORTUUS.

Li, Q. and Brewer, M. B. (2004), What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11. Political Psychology, 25: 727739. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00395.x

Major, M.F. (1992) "Conscientious objection and international law: A human right?" in *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*; Spring92, Vol. 24 Issue 2, pp.349-379.

Major, M. F. (2002). Conscientious objection to military service: The european commission on human rights and the human rights committee. *California Western International Law Journal*, *32*(1)

McGarty, C., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Spears, R. (2002). Social, cultural, and cognitive factors in stereotype formation. In C. McGarty, V. Y. Yzerbyt & R. Spears (Eds.), *Stereotypes as explanations: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups* (1 ed., pp. 1-16). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Markova, I. (2004). Sosyal temsiller ve demokrasi. In S. A. Arkonaç (ed), *Doğunun ve Batının Yerelliği: Bireylik Bilgisine Dair,* 121-159. Alfa: İstanbul.

Medya Tava. (2011, November 20). *14.11.2011 - 20.11.2011 haftası tiraj tablosu*. Retrieved from http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj/14.11.2011.

Molinari, L. & Emiliani, F. (1996). More on the Structure of Social Representations: Central Core and Social Dynamics. Papers on Social Representations, 5, 41-50.

Moliner, P. (2001). Une approche chronologique des représentations sociales. In P. Moliner (Ed.), La dynamique des représentations sociales. Grenoble: PUG.

Moskos, C. C., & Chambers II, J. W. (1993). The secularization of conscientious. In C. Moskos & J. W. Chambers II (Eds.), *The New conscientious objection: from sacred to secular resistance* (3-22). New York: Oxford University Press.

Moscovici, S. (1961). *La psychanalyse, son image et son public*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Moscovici, S. (1976). *Social influence and social change.* London: Academic Press.

Moscovici, S. (1981) On social representations. In J.P. Forgas (ed.) *Social Cognition: Perspectives in Everyday Understanding*, London: Academic Press.

Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of social representations. In R. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social Representations* (pp. 3-69). Cambridge University Press, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme:Cambridge/Paris.

Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a Description of Social Representations.European Journal of Social Psychology, 18, 211-250.

Moscovici, S. & Vignaux, G. (2001). The concept of themata (translated by G. Duveen). In. G. Duveen (ed.), *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology*, p. 156-183. New York. Un. Pres: New York.

Nagel, J. (1998). MAsculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 21(2),* 242-269.

NTVMSNBC. (2009, August 25). Başbuğ: Ulus devlet konusunda tarafız. *Ntvmsnbc.* Retrieved from: http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/24994533/

Oktar, L. (2001) The ideologcial organisation of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. *Discourse and Society. 12*(3), 313 - 346.

Öner, B. (2002). Sosyal Temsiller. Kriz Dergisi, 10(1), 29–37.

Özdurdu, R. (2011). *Medyada sahiplik ve yoğunlaşma, oluşturduğu sorunlar ve şeffaflığın sağlanması*. Ankara: T. C. Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu.

Özkırımlı, U. (2008). Milliyetçilik Kuramları: Eleştirel Bir Bakış. Ankara: DoğuBatı Yayınları.

Öztan, G. G. (2013). Türkiye'de milli kimlik inşası sürecinde militarist eğilimler ve tesirleri. In Y. Sünbüloğlu (Ed.),*Erkek Millet Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler* (1 ed., pp. 205-261). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Paker, O. (1999). Sosyal Temsiller Kuramının ve Epistemolojisinin Sosyal Psikoloji içerisindeki Yeri ve Önemi. In S. Erkonaç (Ed.) Psikolojide Yeni Tartısmalar. İstanbul: Alfa Basım, Yayın, Dagıtım. 45–64.

Paker, K. O. (2005). Günlük düşüncede modernlik, din ve laiklik. Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.

Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1987). Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour, London: Sage.

PPU. (2013). *Conscientious objection: History of conscientious objection in europe*.:Retrieved from http://www.ppu.org.uk/learn/infodocs/cos/st_co_eurohistory.html

Radikal. (2011, December 29). Savaş uçakları sivilleri vurdu. *Radikal*. Retrieved from: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/savas_ucaklari_sivilleri_vurdu-1073909

Resmi Gazete. (2011, December 14). Askerlik kanununda değişiklik yapılmasına dair kanun. *Resmi Gazete*. Retrieved from http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/12/20111215-1.htm

Sarrica, M.& Contrello, A. (2004), Peace, war and conflict: Social representations shared by peace activists and non-activists, *Journal of Peace Research*, 41, (5), s. 549–568.

Savaş Karşıtları. (2003, May 14). vicdani ret nedir?.*Bianet: Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*. Retrieved from http://bianet.org/biamag/bianet/19017-vicdani-ret-nedir

Savaş Karşıtları. (2013, May 20). *Vicdani reddini açıklayanlar*. Retrieved from http://www.savaskarsitlari.org/arsiv.asp?ArsivTipID=2

Selek, P. (2004). *Barışamadık*. İstanbul: İthaki Özyürek Yayınları.

Selek, P. (2008). *Sürüne sürüne erkek olmak*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Sevinç, M. (2006) "Türkiye'de ve Batı Demokrasilerinde, Vicdani Ret, Zorunlu Askerlik ve Kamu Hizmeti Seçeneği" in *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 61-1 pp. 297-322.

Schatz, R. T., Staub, E., & Lavine, H. (1999). On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism. *Political Psychology*,*20*(1), 151-174.

Sjoberg, L., & Via, S. (2010). Introduction. In L. Sjoberg & S. Via (Eds.), *Gender, War, and Militarism: Feminist Perspectives* (pp. 1-17). Santa Barbara, California: Praeger Security International.

Somer, M. (2010). Media values and democratization: What unites and what divides religious- conservative and pro-secular elites?. *Turkish Studies*, *11*(4), 555-577. doi: DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2010.540114

Speck, A. (2006). Dünyada Çağdaş red ve red hareketlerinin anahatları: Savaş karşıtı uluslararası hareket İçinde red. *Birikim Dergisi*, *207*.

Staub, E. (1997). Blind versus constructive patriotism: Moving from embeddedness in the group to critical loyalty and action. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations* (pp. 213–228). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Stewart, I. & Lacassagne, M.F. (2005). Social Representations as a Diagnostic Tool for Identifying Cultural and Other Group Differences. *Psychology and Marketing*, 22(9), 721-738.

Stolwijk, M. (2005). *The right to conscientious objection in europe: A review of the current situation*. Brussels: Quaker Council for European Affairs.

Sünbüloğlu, Y. (2013). Erkek millet, asker millet: Türkiye'de militarizm, milliyetçilik, erkek(lik)ler. İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.),*Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Toker-Kılınç, N. (2009). The morals and politics of conscientious objection, civil disobedience and anti-militarism. In Ö. H. Çınar & C. Üsterci (Eds.),*Conscientious objection: resisting militarized society* (pp. 61-73). London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Turan, Ö. (2013). "Esas duruş!": Kışla deneyimleri ya da Türkiye'de zorunlu askerliğin antropolojisi. In Y. Sünbüloğlu (Ed.),*Erkek Millet Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler* (1 ed., pp. 205-261). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Üsterci, C. & Çınar, Ö. H. (2009). Introduction. In Ö. H. Çınar & C. Üsterci (Eds.),*Conscientious objection: resisting militarized society* (pp. 61-73). London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Wagner, W. (1995). Social representations, group affiliation and projection: knowing the limits of validity.*European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*, 125-139.

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Marková, I., & Rose D. (1999). Theory and method of social representations. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2, 95-125. Retrieved from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/2640

Wagner, W., Elejabarrieta, F., & Lahnsteiner, I. (1995). How the Sperm Dominates the Ovum-Objectification by Metaphor in the Social Representation of Conception. European Journal of Social Psychology, 25, 671-688.

Wagner, W. & Hayes, N. (2005). Everyday Discourse and Common Sense: TheTheory of Social Representations. Palgrave-Macmillan: New York. Walby, S. (1992). Women and nation. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 33(1-2),* 81-100.

Zeitlin, I. M. (2001). Ideology and the development of sociological theory. (7th ed.). New Jersey: Pearson Hall.

Zürcher, E. J. (1986). Little mehmet in the desert: the war experience of the ottoman soldier. In P. Liddle & H. Cecil (Eds.), *Facing Armageddon. The first World war experienced*, (pp. 230-241). London: Leo Cooper/Pen and Sword.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ■

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Sayılan
Adı   : Gülden
Bölümü :Psikoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Conscientious Objection in Turkey: A Study of Social Representations

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ■   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ■

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ■

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: 26.07.2012