VIDEO GAMES AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL:
REPRESENTATION OF THE USA

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ABSTRACT

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"Power" is one of the oldest and most controversial topics of IR. Although there are various views on this concept, there is no consensus. The distinction between "hard power" and "soft power" which is coined by Joseph Nye, seems to be a remarkable contribution to IR discipline in recent years. According to Nye, while hard power stands for traditional means of power such as military and economic tools; soft power presents the power that states gain with other states' / or citizens of other states will, sympathy or reputation. Therefore; practices of public relations, public diplomacy or propaganda can be considered as means of soft power. One of the effective methods of using soft power is to trigger or address emotions. For this reason, arts that is an expression of emotions is often used as a tool of propaganda. Especially with the development and proliferation of digital technologies; digital platforms are becoming both a tool and a ground for

production, consumption, spreading and distribution of art. There are different views on whether video games are products of arts or not. As products of digital arts, video games can be considered as tools of propaganda and soft power.

ÖZ

PROPAGANDA ARACI OLARAK VİDEO OYUNLARI:

ABD TEMSİLİ

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"Güç" Uluslararası İlişkilerin en eski ve en tartışmalı başlıklarından biridir. Güç hakkında üstünde çeşitli görüşler olup, fikir birliği yoktur. Joseph Nye tarafından ortaya atılan sert güç ve yumuşak güç ayrımı özellikle son yıllarda Uİ disiplini için dikkat çekici bir katkı gibi görünmektedir. Nye'a göre sert güç, ekonomi ve askeri geleneksel güç araçlarını işaret etmekte iken, yumuşak güç, devletlerin kendi vatandaşlarının veya diğer devletlerin ve diğer devlet vatandaşlarının rızasını, sempatisi ya da saygınlığını kazanarak elde ettiği güç olarak görülmektedir. Bu sebeple; halkla ilişkiler faaliyetleri, kamu diplomasisi ya da propaganda yumuşak güç araçları arasında sayılmaktadır. Yumuşak güç araçlarının etkili kullanımı için kullanılabilecek yollardan biri bu araçların duyguları tetiklemesi ya da duygulara hitap etmesidir. Bu sebeple duyguların bir

ifadesi olan sanat pek çok kez propaganda aracı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Özellikle dijital teknolojilerin gelişmesi ve yaygınlık kazanması ile dijital platformlarda hem sanat üretimine, hem sanatın tüketimine, hem de sanatın yayılımına hem bir zemin, hem de araç olmaktadır. Dijital bir sanat eseri olarak video oyunları propaganda ve yumuşak güç aracı olarak kabul edilebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: yumuşak güç, propaganda, video oyunları

To my amazing mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IR	International Relations
NGO	Non-governmental organization
IO	International organization
IPA	Institute for Propaganda Analysis
WWII	World War II
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
GTA	*Grand Theft Auto*
CYOA	Choose Your Own Adventure
PR	Public Relations
MMOG	Massive Mutliplayer Online Game
MMORPG	Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Game
MMO	Massively Multiplayer Online
PS	PlayStation
IGA	In-Game Advertising
FPS	First person shooter

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"The only thing that is constant is change" claims Heraclitus, ancient Greek philosopher. International Relations as an academic discipline is not free from change. The art of persuasion, propaganda as a subject of International Relations is one of the fields that one can observe this change. As the perceptions of power and international relations change towards soft power debates, propaganda and propaganda studies become more and more important. Soft power is an approach that claims attraction and influence stand as the tools of obtaining the power. Therefore, the controlled attempt of persuading, in other words, propaganda is significant for this perspective. Throughout the history, propagandists have used many different tools to transmit their messages and persuade people with the purpose of changing their action or the way of thinking. Arts in propaganda studies hold a special place to investigate because many of art forms have been used as propaganda tools. I do not claim that all products of art can be considered as propaganda. However, since arts have a close tie with emotions, they have the power of sparking off actions or emotions that propagandists desire to generate. For this reason, some art products are produced with the intention of persuading people for a specific idea or action.

There is a wide literature of the relationship between products of art and propaganda. Although the frames and techniques that can be found in products of art are subject to change, the aim of persuasion remains the same. Since there is no magic formula of propaganda, propagandists prefer to use different tools and techniques to transmit their messages to the target audience. These tools and techniques of propaganda show both accumulation and progress. They show accumulation because the emergence of new techniques does not erase the usage of old tools and techniques completely. For example, even after the invention of filming technologies painting continued to be used as propaganda tool together with cinema. Apart from this, tools and techniques of propaganda show progress because as new technologies become a part of daily lives of people, some also become tools of propaganda.

Video games became a part of lives long time ago. The point that deserves attention here is that: playing and enjoying video games require less and less effort as the time goes by. Nowadays, video games are not things that can be enjoyed only in special saloons designed for this purpose. PCs, gaming consoles at homes, tablet PCs, mobile phones, smart gadgets all offer some form of gaming opportunity. Video games are almost everywhere in the modern world. As video games are popular products of art and they constitute a big economic activity; there is also an opportunity for propagandists to pursue this path .

The research question of this thesis is the following: "are video games being considered and utilized as a propaganda tool?". There are several countries including the U.S., the UK, Japan, Canada, and France that produce or develop video games. Hundreds of millions from almost every

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country in the world buy and enjoy these video games. Therefore, answers of some significant questions of propaganda studies turn into vague situations: Who is selling? Who is buying? What is being sold? These questions are not always easily answerable in propaganda studies. The situation about video games is also a blurred subject. However, it is interesting that regardless of the origin country of game production or game development, most of the video games are trying to be "American sounding", "American looking" and in general America-related. Precisely, the generalizations in social sciences are problematic. There are of course certain exceptions to this case. However, a quick analysis of the popular games reveal that the U.S. is the main actor of the video games one way or another. For this reason, while trying to find an answer to my main research question, I prefer to focus on the representation of the USA.

To find out whether video games can be medium for propaganda, this thesis begins with an analysis of power within IR. To provide a deeper understanding of the concept, it explains the traditional understanding of the power. The frame of traditional understanding of the power within IR is political realism. Therefore, this thesis starts with an analysis of political realism. However, the "change" shows itself in this analysis. Consequently, the evolution of political realism is explained. Although analysis of power within IR tended to focus on political realism only, this thesis gives attention to "soft power" owing to changing nature of power and international relations. Hence, this thesis contributes to two literatures: changing perceptions of the power concept within IR and soft power studies itself. I consider soft power significant in this thesis because Joseph Nye Jr., who coined the term "soft power" considers the United States as

one of the most powerful soft power users (or probably the most powerful soft power user) For this reason, I believe that the debate of representation of the USA is highly related with soft power debates itself.

In this thesis, it is shown that soft power is related with two distinct literature: persuasion processes and cultural commodities. As a consequence, both issues are explained in this thesis. Firstly, persuasion processes are not easy to define because definitions are highly depended on variables such as where one stands, when one defines it etc. To investigate persuasion processes in detail, different models and definitions of propaganda with respect to evolution of propaganda studies, are examined. It is shown that some models have higher capacity to explain the subject and explained why. Furthermore, how propaganda works is also explained with respect to known propaganda techniques defined by IPA. The working way propaganda shows that there is a possibility of being more successful if propaganda has a link with emotions. This situation reminds the second pillar of soft power debates, namely cultural commodities. For this reason, the relationship with propaganda and products of arts are widely explained. This explanation finishes with the connection of propaganda and digital arts that includes video games.

Since video games studies is a recent subject of study, there is no wide literature about video games and their significance. However, video games are important to analyze because of three main reasons: their increasing popularity, their cultural value and their economic value. All these three determinants are explained one by one in this theses to indicate why video games should be studied. This analysis shows that video games

can be considered as important elements to investigate in general and for propagandastudies.

After the significance of video games for propaganda studies is shown, this thesis argues how video games can be considered as propaganda tools and how they work as medium of propaganda. utilizing "persuasive games", the term coined by Ian Bogost. Hence, persuasive games with respect to "procedural rhetoric" concept is explained. It is shown that persuasive games function within a model that binds the virtual reality and real-life reality. This model is explained within the gamification approach. With the guidance of this information, it is indicated that video games are not related only with game world, they also affect the real world while they are being influenced by real world.

This thesis displays that persuasive games can be classified in three categories: Learning, Advertisement and Politics. In Learning part, it is claimed that video games build "new literacies" that do not exist before. In this part, it is also argued that there are some critical approaches towards persuasive games that teach things, values, ideas or situations with or without intention. In Advertisement part, various forms of advertisements related with video games are explained with respect to advertisement logic. Furthermore, this part provides some examples from different video games in order to show how advertisement is applied to video games.

Although advertisement seems to be related with products or services, it is indicated that advertisement can be used as a tool for "selling" values, ideas and life-style. The reason why all these examples are about American values, ideas and life-style is also explained by various motivators. The last part of this discussion, namely Politics part examines

the relationship between politics and video games. In this part it is argued that video games as political tools are used to back or criticize particular defined ideological frames. This argument is explained by number of examples. It is seen that while some of the examples are related with military themed video games, there are also numerous examples that are non-military in nature. Furthermore the issue of symbolism and the use of metaphors as a known propaganda method in video games are also analyzed.

CHAPTER 2

POWER IN IR: ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION

"Given enough time, any man may master the physical. Given enough knowledge, any man may become wise. It is a true warrior, who can master both." quotes Emperor Yoshiro, a video game character from *Command and Conquer 3*. It is not clear whether the developers of *Command and Conquer 3* know they are pointing an old debate of IR or not. Emperor Yoshiro is a fictional character of a video game. However, his quotation tells a lot about international relations if the "man" word is changed with the "state". States' mastership of "physical" might be defined as material components of power and states' "knowledge" might be defined as soft power. The traditional understanding of power sees the mastership of "physical" enough to define the power. However, to be a "true warrior" with a reference to Emperor Yoshiro's quotation, states need both the mastership of physical and knowledge.The "physical" part is argued with reference to political realism approach of IR and "knowledge" part is argued with reference to soft power debate. Understanding the soft power debate holds a special importance because analysis of video games as propaganda tools is framed within the soft power debates.

In International Relations[1], power is an old topic of debate going all the way back to from Thucydides to present day. The debate of power has many dimensions that scholars have disagreements upon such as the role of power, the nature of power, and the means of power and scope of power. These disagreements result in the emergence of different IR theories with different scopes and focus points. It should be mentioned that the concept of power is a blurred concept that is used for describing almost everything in international relations and this feature of it, makes describing it even harder (Tanrısever, 2005, p.54). The difficulty is a result of that every thinkers of IR see the other theories of power improper or not complete, therefore they try to 'fix' the theory in their terms and thoughts (Cerbaro, 2011, p. 148).

It is significant to note that the aim of this particular chapter is not developing a concrete definition or new perspective of power. On the contrary, with the purpose of providing a deeper understanding of the powerthe types of power are discussed with respect to IR theories and perspective of prominent IR theoreticians.

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1   In this thesis, "International Relations" (with uppercase I and R) and "IR" are used for the academic discipline of international relations and phenomena, whereas "international relations" (with lowercase i and r) is used to describe the events or issues that are being investigated.

2.1. Types and Instruments of Power

The types and instruments of power can best be understood by questioning why there is a need of power if there is any. In the study of IR, the answer to this question also depends where one stands and which theory of power one subscribes to. However, in simple terms, power is needed for reaching desired outcomes (Sancak, 2016, p. 58). To achieve this aim of obtaining desired consequences power may be seen in different forms and elements.

Power is a dynamic concept, hence who is powerful and why might depend on various components. According to Griffiths et al. as cited in Sancak (2016, p.40), in traditional understanding of power, military power was the only element that determines state power. Nonetheless, with technological advancements, information technologies and changing political atmosphere, the elements of power and their weights are changing. With these changes, while some of the components are gaining more importance, some of them are losing their credit. To illustrate, Tanrısever (2005, p. 70) claims that in today's world information is a significant element of power. Therefore, similar to power itself, components of power are also dynamic and changing.

National power of a state is complex combination of various elements. Similar to many issues related with power, components of power do not have an order of importance agreed upon. Edward Carr described the international power with dividing it into three: military power, economic power and power over opinion (Carr, 1946, pp. 109 – 132). During Cold War, US Information Agency and Defense Department used DIME

acronym in order do express the instruments of power. In DIME acronym, D stands for Diplomacy, I stands for Information, M stands for Military and E stands for Economy (Mastapeter, 2008, p. 106). Sancak (2016) claims that in recent perspectives of IR, it is common to divide the instruments of power into two parts: material components of power and abstract components of power (Sancak, 2016, p. 41). Although there are various ways to define and categorize power, in 1990, Joseph Nye Jr claimed there are two kinds of power: hard and soft power. Hard power stands for military and economic power while soft power stands for attraction and influence.

Hard power and soft power are considered with different degrees of significance by different theories of IR. In order to give a more profound comprehension of the subject, it might be useful to investigate hard power and soft power separately. Investigating power is a contested subject, for this reason I prefer to examine hard power with respect to political realist theories of IR and explain soft power argument with respect to Nye's work.

2.2. Hard Power and Power in Realist Thought

The concept of power stands in the center of political realism because; realism is a theory that focuses on competitive and conflictual side of international relations. According to realists, the main actors of international relations are states concerned with their own security and their own national interests (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017). Although all realist theories depend on same or similar assumptions of international relations

and the pursuit of power, there are different views on focus points among realist thinkers and theoreticians of IR discipline.

Political realism can be investigated with five main questions: What is the nature of international relations? Where do international relations take place? Who is the main actor of international relations? What does this actor want? Which tool this actor uses to reach its aims? For realists the answers of questions as following: The nature of international relations is struggle for power and survival. International relations take place in an anarchical environment where there is no higher authority above states to regulate and control them. The main actor of international relations is states. States want to survive and secure themselves in anarchical environment. The tool of reaching these aims is the power (Ersoy, 2015, pp. 160 – 165).

The roots of realist tradition begin with Thucydides and his analysis of the war between Athens and Sparta in which the less powerful side had to submit (Monten, 2006, p. 23). Thucydides' observation can be considered as a realist critique of international relations because; according to observation terms like justice or being 'right' are irrelevant in international affairs whereas the concept of power is the center of it (Ahrensdorf, 1997, p. 236). Another influential name to be found in the origins of realism is Niccolo Machiavelli who questioned the necessity of morality while ruling and exercising power (Holler, 2009, p. 337) and Thomas Hobbes who portrayed a chaotic "a state of nature" due the absence of political authority (Covell, 2004, p.18). Although roots of realist tradition date back to 431 B.C.E, only in twentieth century realism found itself an academic ground with the establishment of academic study of International Relations.

For the importance of 20th century for IR discipline and realism, the political atmosphere of 20th century should be examined. It might be practical to divide 20th century into two main parts to examine the power and its change. The first half of the century, it is possible to observe 'total wars' such as World War I and II that caused deaths of millions of people and the emergence of Cold War. The second half of the century is dominated by the continuation of Cold War and the efforts for building a new world system (White, 2016). World War I and II and the catastrophe they created turned the eyes to realist thinkers who are strong believers of conflictual nature of international area due to desire of gaining more power. Edward Hallett Carr and Hans Morgenthau might be considered as some of the remarking realist thinkers of twentieth century and constructed classical theories of realism.

E. H. Carr, challenged the idealist "utopianism" that supported harmony of interests based on the assumption that human beings can rationally recognize that they have some interests in common, and that cooperation is therefore possible (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017). Carr and his intellectual subscribers who are against the collective security concept due the realist thoughts, observed the failure and collapse of League of Nations that had been established with the ideal of cooperative defense and harmony of interests (Fenwick, 1936, p. 506). The emergence of World War II after the League collapsed, gave realists more credit in international politics. Despite the fact that Edward H. Carr emphasizes the importance of power, he does not define the use of power and the limits of power. This kind of definition came to IR area, only after the writings of Hans J. Morgenthau.

Similar to Carr, Morgenthau believes political realism is objectivity. According to Morgenthau, political realism is a result of human nature that always seeks power and this fact does not change (Gellman, 1988, p. 253). Therefore, power is the core element of Morgenthau's thinking. One of the remarkable contributions of Morgenthau to classical realism is his defining of six principles of realism concerning power politics, morality and human nature. The main understanding of power of Morgenthau noted in the second principle of realism. According to this principle, states always define and try to secure their national interests by means of national power (Pham, 2008, p. 258). Keaney (2006, 35 – 36) claims that there may be a link between Morgenthau's theoretical contributions and personal life and experience.

In the debate of power in international relations, Cold War holds a special place to mention because Cold War does not follow the traditional understanding of war. Despite the some "hot" crises during this period such as Korean War, Cold War was not an armed conflict as World Wars. It could be noted that Cold War is also the competition between USSR and U.S. within wide scope of topics from political influence and economy to technological advances regarding from space research to nuclear technologies. The origins of Cold War lean to the need of filling the power vacuum after the collapse of Nazi Germany. This need resulted in the dissolution of wartime partnerships between Allies (Kissinger, 1994, p. 424). Being a strong believer of *Realpolitik*, Stalin was intending communism worldwide for ideological reasons whereas United States was providing aid for European countries and supporting democracies in the region. The conflict of ideologies and interests brought about growing tension between two states and other states that are supporters of one of the two parties. In

Cold War years between 1948 – 1991 world was divided into two clearly opposing blocs: the capitalist Western bloc and the communist Soviet bloc. The existence of two superpowers and their blocs created a bipolar world (Leffler & Painter, 1994, pp. 1-12).

Despite the tension between two super powers and fear of nuclear war and mass destruction, some scholars find Cold War years "peaceful" because of "stability" of world politics. Kenneth Waltz' analysis and arguments are in line with this particular view. Waltz believes that bipolar world is stable because of absence of peripheries, the range and intensity of competition, and the persistence of pressure and crisis and lastly, revolution of military technologies (nuclear power) (Waltz, 1964, p. 882 – 886). Waltz's thought on world system and power relations probably is a result of the alteration of the war type. In other words, the change of "war" from World War to Cold War resulted in change in the understanding of realism. Not being satisfied with the classical view of political realism, Kenneth Waltz developed realism in a new way with the claim of fixing the theory. Thus, Waltz's ideas are named as "neo-realism". While Morgenthau's realism rooted struggle for power to human nature, Waltz, in order to be more scientific, avoid any philosophical explanation about human nature. Conversely, he claimed that struggle for power was a result of international system itself. According to Waltz, international system is anarchic that is to say there is no higher authority above states to regulate the system. Hence states have to concern their own survival since there is no one to help them (Waltz, 1979, p. 105). Despite the fact all states want to survive, their capacity to achieve this and keep their position is not same and it depends on states' power according to Waltz (Waltz, 1979, p. 79).

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By the end of Cold War, it is possible to observe some key changes in geopolitics, technology, ideology, and political economy. President Bush of the USA saw these changes as the emergence of "new world order". This new world order is related with the optimism wave that the end of the Cold War created and the disintegration of the 'bipolar' world order (Heywood, 2002, p. 134). It was not clear whether it was inevitable for Cold War to end or not, however, two things are clear: Cold War brought a new understanding of war and the end of Cold War, made world system multipolar (Kegley & Raymond, 1992, p.573).

To conclude, political realist theory of IR, is a theory that focuses on power struggle between states. Although different thinkers prefer to draw their attention to different parts and elements of political realism, the main focus point of arguments are same: power struggle between states and desire for gaining more power. It is noted that emergence of Cold War brought some challenges to political realism because of the change it made to international politics.

2.3. Soft Power

In *Soft Power* (2004), Nye claims that hard power is a way to exercise power, but not the only one. According to him there are three ways to obtain desirable outcomes from the behaviors of others: coercion (sticks), payments (carrots), and attraction (soft power) (Nye, 2004, p.5). While coercion and payments stand for hard power means that can be explained by militaristic and economic terms, the attraction part of his claim is used

for explaining soft power. Soft power, according to Nye, is an ability to get what one wants without using coercive power (Nye, 2006, p.26).

Soft power does not force people; on the contrary, soft power establishes cooperation with people. In other words, soft power is the tool for make people want something that the power holder wants. Nye believes that "..If I make you believe *you want* something I want, I do not have to make you force to make something *you do not want*" (Nye, 2003, pp. 10 – 11). The use of soft power might vary according to power holder. Since, in IR context the power holder is the states, states may use soft power according to their own aims. Soft power, which has many possible aims, has three main resources: foreign policy, political values and culture (Nye, 2004, p. 11).

The first factor of soft power, namely foreign policy can be illustrated several examples from United States history. Nye noted that the United States of America was "the strongest nation not only in military and economic power, but also in a third dimension" which is called soft power (Nye, 2004, p.xi.). However, Nye believes that the United States experiences fluctuations in her influence and attraction as soft power from time to time. For example, Marshall Plan that came immediately after World War II and helped the reconstruction of devastated economies of Western Europe inclined the soft power of US over communist Soviet Union (Nye, 1990, p.91). On the other hand, Nye claims that President George W. Bush's policies diminished and harmed U.S.' soft power on Muslim people (Nye, 2010, p. 4-6). Although American foreign and domestic policy has a great impact on U.S.' soft power, it is not the only determinant of soft power according to three factors of soft power assumption.

The second factor of soft power, namely political values might be found in domestic policy, in foreign policy or international cooperation related issues. Domestic issues such as the respect for democracy, foreign policy issues such as the effort for human rights and international peace and international matters such as international cooperation for environmental issues might affect the thoughts about a specific state in front of eyes of others (Aydemir, 2016, p. 141). For example, Sema Becerikli (2005) claims that US models of political values stand for a democratic construction that includes legitimacy, exercise power and attention of audience. This democratic construction means to be lobbying activities, the cooperation between public in the resolution of problems in an open environment (Becerikli, 2005, p. 30). It is possible to see the words of King Abdullah of Jordan after 9/11 attack in the line of this model saying that terrorists desire is to ruin the texture of US and demolish the things that America represents (Nye, 2003, p. ix).

The third factor of soft power is culture. In the context of soft power, culture is used for a wide range of elements from ideological tools to cultural products. It is possible to divide culture as a soft power factor into two: culture as a whole of things that are meaningful for a society and popular culture. While former type of culture can be classified as "high culture" that is for elites, latter type of culture leans on entertainment and the scope of it is range (Aydemir, 2016, p.140). Nye, himself recognizes the importance of popular culture elements for the United States. He quotes Austrian historian Reinhold Wagnleitner to express how fast adaptation of American popular culture by large numbers of Europeans after World War II revitalized European cultures of freedom, casualness, vitality, liberality

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and modernity (Nye, 2006, p.28). However, he also points out that it is a mistake to equating popular culture and soft power. Therefore, soft power includes both high culture for elites and popular culture. The different types of culture as soft power factor might influence different people. For example, students all over the world come and continue their education in American universities. American universities is an attraction for students while Silicon Valley, might be an attraction for elite entrepreneurs (Nye, 2006, p. 13). Popular culture as a soft power factor, on the other hand can best be seen as cultural commodities.

2.3.1. Soft Power and Cultural Commodities

The term 'cultural commodities' is used to express products of the print and audio-visual industries including movies, television, publishing, radio, and music. These products are vehicles for the transmission of values, life-styles, and ideologies that many see as corrosive to the recipient culture (Rauschenberger, 2003). Cultural commodities are important for the soft power debates because these commodities make values, life-styles and ideologies visible and attractive; therefore they have power to influence recipients. Cultural commodities can be found in wide range of fields. For example, Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos claims that large corporations, sports idols, pop culture symbols and a number of civil society groups create soft power of their own due to their global proliferation. For instance, McDonald's restaurants, Coca-Cola, Starbucks coffee shops and Hollywood movies promote a certain model of US society and values abroad according to them (Zahran & Ramos, 2010, p. 20).

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According to Ritula Shah, global brands with American origins such as Facebook, Twitter and Wikipedia help the inclination of country's reputation because of their value of creativity and their capacity to provide a space for freedom of speech (Shah, 2014). John Krige points to a 2002 Pew Global Attitudes Project that reveals that a geography from Europe to the Americas, from Africa to South East Asia, and in seven countries with majority Muslim populations, American scientific and technological advances were admired and found attractive by almost 80 per cent of those questioned (Krige, 2010, p.123).

Although production of cultural commodities is not unique for a specific country and all states produce more or less cultural commodities, their influence area and effect might not be same. For example, in France, the home of Cannes Film Festival, American films form the 60 percent of box office revenues while French films were a mere 0.5 percent of American market in 1990s. This situation brought about some concern and criticism in France towards American cultural commodities. Moreover Former Minister of Culture of France Hubert Vedrine publicly blamed US for "standardization and trivialization of culture" (Rauschenberger, 2003).

Similar to any other power tool, cultural commodities as a tool of soft power does not promise complete success of influence. The reason why of this situation is that same thing might be perceived differently by different receivers. For example, while some Iranian young people are admiring American culture, the same culture might be criticized and hated by conservative Iranians (Sancak, 2016, p.97).

2.4. Towards a New Understanding of Power

The fragile and ambiguous nature of soft power resulted in some criticisms towards it. Whereas some of these criticisms are related to the ambiguity of the concept itself, some of them are related with the softness of the power that is exercised.

Janice Bially Mattern is one of the scholars who finds soft power concept problematic because of the ambiguity of the concept. The first matter she finds problematic is that attraction, which is the sole foundation of soft power concept, is not clear enough. Therefore soft power becomes vague (Mattern, 2005, p. 584). The second matter that is targeted by Mattern's criticism is the "softness" of soft power. Despite the fact that Nye strongly distinguishes coercion and soft power, Mattern believes that soft power is not "soft" at all. She believes that speaker's use of language constructs 'reality'; therefore language has a "representational force". In order to obtain desired results, speaker would use this force in a way similar to verbal fight for effective persuasion (p. 586). Because of this, soft power cannot be 'soft' according to Mattern. On the contrary, soft power is a kind of coercion that is not separate from hard power. In other words, Mattern claims that soft power is a continuation of hard power (Mattern, 2005, pp. 609 – 612).

However, Niall Ferguson thinks just the opposite way. Ferguson claims that soft power is "too soft" for achieving desired results. He believes that United States is a superpower because of its huge military budget,

(which is around $300 billion per year while an average EU country's military budget is about $170 billion annually) and military superiority; not for her attraction or not for her economy. Ferguson gives the example of "… over the Islamic world kids enjoy (or would like to enjoy) bottles of Coke, Big Macs, CDs by Britney Spears and DVDs starring Tom Cruise. Do any of these things make them love the United States more? Strangely not" (Ferguson, 2009). In other words, for Ferguson, military power is still the only determinant of who is powerful, or who is not.

Joseph Nye coined the term "smart power" in order to avoid the misperception of soft power is enough alone for a state to define foreign policy. In fact, smart power is not a completely new concept to define. It is used for describing the combination of hard and soft power. While hard power is basically coercion and payment; soft power stands for attraction. Nye believes that, smart power is a combination of coercion, payment and soft power. Therefore, smart power is both hard power and soft power (Nye, 2009). Ernest Wilson believes that smart power is a need for U.S. because in Asia, Africa and Latin America the level of secondary or higher education and media outlets are steadily increasing. Therefore, the populations are more sophisticated and more knowledgeable (Wilson, 2008, p.113).

Smart power is a strategy rather than a new form of power according to Nye. As cited in Nye (2011), a high State Department official declared that smart power ("the intelligent integration and networking diplomacy, defense, development and other tools") was the "heart" of policy visions of Obama and Clinton (p.209). To illustrate: In 2009, Hillary Clinton addressed 'smart power' in order to the express her wish to depart from ideologically

driven foreign policy understanding of George W. Bush and to find new allies all around to world for provision of peaceful Middle East. She said:

> America cannot solve the most pressing problems on our own, and the world cannot solve them without America. I believe American leadership has been wanting, but is still wanted. We must use what has been called 'smart power', the full range of tools at our disposal. With 'smart power', diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy.
>
> (Benkin, 2009).

In the same line, Nicholas Cull claims that smart power is a new way of public diplomacy[2]. According to Cull, especially Obama administration backed internationally outreached military operations with soft power instruments (Cull, 2013, p.142). In the same line, Douglas Lackey finds smart power and just war theory[3] related. He believes that U.S. uses soft power in order to justify her war actions on Afghanistan (Lackey, 2015, pp. 121- 126). Although the term 'smart power' is relatively new, the 'better' rhetoric for selling, legitimization or justification of wars or ideologies is nothing new. Political authorities have used rhetorical speeches in order to legitimize their actions in the eyes of both their people and other states from the very beginning of the history. This effort of persuasion is closely related with propaganda, which aims to make, citizens believe something desirable by the political authority (or in general propaganda user) and make citizens

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[2] Public diplomacy and it relevance with soft power are argued in next chapter under propaganda definition

[3] Just war theory is related with the justification of how and why wars are fought. The justification might be related seeing the enemy as "less human" because of some differences such as religion, race, ethnicity etc.

behave or not behave in a particular way according to propaganda user wishes.

To sum up, this chapter begins with an explanation of types and instruments of power. For this purpose, the frame of political realism in IR is used to explain the concept of hard power and the frame of Nye's work to explain the concept of soft power. With the guidance of soft power debate, the relationship between cultural commodities and soft power is explained. The new understanding of power, which is a combination of hard power and soft power, namely smart power is also elaborated. Since smart power is a strategic use of rhetoric, selling and justification it can be considered as a form of propaganda. Having established the link between propaganda and the pursuit of power in IR, the next chapter will elaborate further on this relationship.

CHAPTER 3

PROPAGANDA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POWER IN IR

3.1. What Is Propaganda? How to Define It?

In the century of definitions, propaganda also has many definitions. Propaganda is a generic term and this feature makes propaganda a concept that may be described according to the situation, the describer's political standing and position, time and space. While, Fraser explains propaganda as "... the activity, or the art, of inducing others to behave in a way in which they would not behave in its absence" (1957, p.1), Taylor defines propaganda as "...a process for the sowing, germination and cultivation of ideas and, as such, is – or at least should be – neutral as a concept" (2003, p.2).

Since, propaganda is a neutral concept, similar to the absence of a single definition, there is no single form of propaganda. Taylor claims that every individual is both propagandist and subject to propaganda in varying degrees (2003,p.2). In general terms, propaganda is basically a communication tool. The word communication comes from a Latin word:

communicare, which means, "to share, divide out" literally "to make common". There is no part of the daily life free from communication processes because from walking alone in the street to reading a newspaper; from talking to someone to watching TV can be considered as communication types. Propaganda as a communication type may be in various forms and may be found in various places. Taylor claims that history of propaganda dates back to the time when humans first began to communicate each other for various purposes (2003, p.6). "Everything is propaganda." says Jacques Dreinourt as cited in Ellul (1973) for this reason. Dreinourt's quote is significant to highlight the neutrality of propaganda because of its wide perspective. Propaganda alone is meaningless. It has a meaning only if it has a channel such as poster, film, music etc. and it has a message that aims to influence human action by the manipulation of representations. According to Harold D. Lasswell, these representations may take spoken, written, pictorial and musical form (1927, p. 631).

It is not easy task to realize what propaganda actually 'sells', who is the seller and who is buying it or not. Owing to fact that propaganda transforms into many shapes, it is not an easy task to even identify propaganda if it not crystal clear. It is an attempt to persuade people to do or not to do something; therefore it may alter. Propaganda users also may vary and they may be government agencies, non-state actors such as terrorist groups or international corporations, NGOs, IOs, brands, individuals etc. Perhaps for this reason, propaganda is often confused with public diplomacy. There is a claim that public diplomacy and propaganda are two separate things. According to Rugh (2011), public diplomacy is a government's effort to reach out to the public in foreign countries. There are

three models or approaches of public diplomacy, namely: information, influence and engagement of audience. John Robert Kelley considers propaganda under the category of influence as a communication style. This influence approach is defined as longer-term persuasion campaigns aiming to effect attitudinal change amongst a target population (Kelley, 2009, p. 73) I consider Kelley's model (can be seen below) significant because it shows that propaganda is an influential tool of advocating and it can be considered as a communication style. Therefore, it can be said that propaganda's limits are not sharp and what is propaganda and what is not might be blurred. Furthermore, being a part of this model, propaganda and public diplomacy has an overlapping relationship.

Table 1: Kelley's Model

	Advocacy Model		**Advisory Model**
	Information	*Influence*	*Engagement*
Communication style	Transparent	Propagandistic	Transparent
Time-frame	Long-term/ Short term	Long-term/ Short-term	Long-term
Posture orientation	Reactive/ Proactive	Proactive	Reactive / Proactive

(Kelley, 2009, p.80)

For this almost overlapping relation, in today's world the lines that separate propaganda and public diplomacy are ambiguous. In fact, Misyuk (2013) claims that people have a general tendency to label propaganda or public diplomacy not because of content or technique, but because of source (Misyuk, 2013, p. 76). According to her, if persuasion attempt comes from a "hostile actor" people label it as propaganda and if it comes from an actor, which is supported by people, people label it as public diplomacy. In the guidance of this information, technique is not quite important in telling the existence of propaganda.

The diversity of techniques is mainly related to the desire of reaching and influencing more people. Propaganda forms often shape with the needs of the user and target audience. It may take place almost in all communication forms such as speeches, songs, posters, films, coins, paintings, sermons etc. What defines propaganda and differs from it an ordinary attempt of persuasion is the intention of it. Propaganda carries a message and intention to persuade people to that idea, ideology or the cause by using a specific technique of communication.

I believe that Kelley's definition of propaganda, which considers it as a communication tool with the intention of creating influence has a capacity to deal with the blurred nature of propaganda. With this perception of propaganda, regardless of used techniques, it may be possible to identify the propaganda even if the propagandist or target audience is not clear. Assuming Kelley's definition is suitable for propaganda studies may help drawing a study frame which is neutral rather than 'good' or 'bad'. Therefore, this neutral frame would maintain an objective of propaganda, which is convenient for academic studies.

3.2. The Evolution of Propaganda Studies

Despite the long history of propaganda, study of propaganda is considered to be a part of the social psychology field and the academic discipline only after World War I with the psychological and sociological questions of influence, leadership, decision making and change. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 169). Propaganda studies show variety similar to propaganda definitions and shapes. It is important to note that some of the propaganda models talk from the somber tones while some of the models are remaining neutral about propaganda. The difference between the research methods and definitions in the study of propaganda is basically a result of their difference of focus. Propaganda studies can be examined in various shapes such as the characteristics of propaganda, techniques of propaganda, influence of propaganda, effectiveness of propaganda etc.

Between the years 1937 and 1942, a US based organization called Institute for Propaganda Analysis composed of social scientists, journalists and educators tried to answer the questions what the propaganda is, how can one identify and deal with it and what methods propagandists use. The main focus point of IPA was propaganda that could be considered as a threat to US democratic system including propaganda of Nazism, communism and dictatorships. IPA offered five types of propaganda analysis. First one of them was societal approach. This approach underlines that propaganda grows from the social tensions and struggles that characterized by invisibility, continuity, intensity and shifting battleground. It puts two social groups that have a tension between such as white citizens vs black citizens, employees and business leaders etc. (Lee, 1945, pp. 128-

129). Second type of the analysis is social-psychological approach. This approach implies that propaganda's effectiveness depends on the knowledge of propagandist about audience. Propaganda users' consciousness of target audience's cultural and environmental factors increases the effectiveness of propaganda. (Lee, 1945, p. 129). Third method of propaganda analysis according to IPA is communicatory approach. In this analysis, the communication medium with respect to audience and the message the propaganda carries is examined. Fourth type of analysis is psychological approach. In this approach one should look to the sharpest opponent of the propaganda if the propagandist is not crystal clear in order to understand who the propaganda user is. Fifth and last method of analysis is the technical approach. This approach focuses the analysis on content and techniques that propagandist uses. (Lee, 1945, p 130). I believe that methods defined by IPA still stands because they make generalizations; therefore they have capacity to explain various environments. Furthermore, they are timeless; hence, they are able to explain different time periods.

Despite the fact that analysis methods of IPA pose some questions about propaganda user and the intention of propaganda, it does not say much about identifying propaganda. To analyze propaganda, it is necessary to know what makes persuasion attempt propaganda. Again, there is no consensus on what makes propaganda and what its essence is. There are several views and claims about techniques and characteristics of propaganda.

Hoffer (1942) in his essay in *Social Forces* makes a sociological analysis of propaganda and he also determines three characteristics of it. He believes that following three factors make a propaganda: Firstly, effort to

influence the attitudes of groups or individuals in a pre-determined way. Secondly, this effort is related to controversial matters. Thirdly and finally, a method to reach desired result is harmonizing the cultural values and interests of the audience. (Hoffer, 1942, p. 446)

Jacques Ellul deserves special attention when it comes to propaganda studies as an academic discipline. In his major work *Propaganda* (1965) – *Propagandes* (1962) in French- he tries to shape propaganda definitions with respect to the nature of propaganda itself. *Propaganda* is a multi-dimensional work that looks to propaganda in historical context, definitions, categories, relation with truth, relation with democracy and ethical perspective. Ellul believes that one of the most important thing about propaganda is its being 'total' which means having a full knowledge about target audience through all possible propaganda means. In Nazi Germany it is possible mention a total propaganda that has full consciousness of the target audience with the 'orchestration' of all possible means such as music, art, cinema, coins, posters, speeches, demonstrations etc. In fact, by mentioning total propaganda. Ellul wants to underline the psychological and sociological forces working on individuals in mass society to the detriment of individual autonomy and freedom. Whereas the Nazi total propaganda is quite visible, 'sociological propaganda' is blurred and it is hard to identify it. After giving a basic background to Ellul's thoughts and beliefs about propaganda, it is necessary to have a look at Ellul's major contribution to propaganda studies as a discipline. Jacques Ellul categorized propaganda in eight branches[4]. These branches consist of two sets as contrasting pairs and each of them

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[4] Ellul's propaganda branches and sets are shown as a table in the next page.

including four categories. The first set that consists four type of propaganda begins with 1) Political propaganda: It is a propaganda type that is organized by a defined political group to aim a defined target with a defined purpose. 2) Agitational propaganda: This propaganda type tries to stir people to act or revolt. 3) Vertical propaganda: This type of propaganda tries to aim a small group of people that is capable of influencing bigger groups as a chain reaction. 4) Irrational propaganda: Propagandists try to reach emotions by using myths rather than reaching logic by using facts. (Marlin, 2013, p.351-352)

Ellul's first set of propaganda types is more common and visible while the second set of propaganda types is less distinguishable. The second set again includes four types of propaganda. 1) Sociological propaganda: In this type of propaganda propagandist does not set a defined group to make them the target audience. The message may be invisible and diffused to audience gradually and overtly. Ellul believes that propaganda films such as *Triumph of Will* and even American films of 1950s can be counted as this kind of propagandas. 2) Integration propaganda: It is just the contrast of agitational propaganda. Rather than making people act or revolt, gives cohesion to a group. 3) Horizontal propaganda: In this type leaders act together with the masses. An important example of this type is education. In schools, children are trained to be individuals adapted to the society regardless of society's being communist or capitalist. 4) Rational propaganda: This type of propaganda is completely opposite of the irrational type. Propagandists try to reach audience's logic by using facts and figures rather than their emotions in this type. (Marlin, 2013, p. 352) Ellul wrote his work *Propaganda* in 1960s, after Great War and under the

shadow of Cold War. However, in modern world thanks to advances in communication and technological developments propaganda is getting blurred and more blurred. For this reason, although his categorization of propaganda is still valid and worth to think on and consider; the lines that separate the types of propaganda are getting barely perceptible. Propaganda types are now interlocked and combined. Furthermore, it is possible to analyze a particular propaganda by naming it more than one category.

Table 2: Ellul's Propaganda Branches and Sets

FIRST SET	SECOND SET
Political	Sociological
Agitational	Integration
Vertical	Horizontal
Irrational	Rational

(Marlin, 2013, pp. 351 – 357).

Years after Ellul's work, Nancy Snow and Douglas Walton subscribe his definition of characteristics of propaganda which dubs public relations and advertisement as propaganda. Since propaganda is a kind of communication, it is not true to trying to understand it free from communication processes according to these views. Douglas Walton

believes that there are ten essential characteristics of propaganda. 1) Dialogue structure, 2) Message content, 3) Goal-directed structure, 4) Involvement of social groups, 5) Indifference of logical reasoning, 6) One-sided argumentation, 7) Involvement of persuasion dialogue, 8) Justified by Results, 9) Emotive language and persuasive definitions, 10) Eristic aspect (Walton, 1997). On the other hand, Nancy Snow (1998) believes that there are three important characteristics of propaganda. Firstly, propaganda is an intentional communication that desires to change the attributes of a specific targeted audience. Secondly, propaganda provides advantage for the persuader in persuader's cause vis-a-via audience. Thirdly, in propaganda the information flows one-way. It is probably interesting to see that Snow's characterization of propaganda makes public diplomacy and advertisement propaganda methods for their carrying these characteristics. According to her, propaganda is basically is 'selling'. (p.21)

It is noted that the different characterizations of propaganda that have been done in different time periods by different scholars show some similarities. However, I believe that Walton's characterization of propaganda may be a better guide to explain the complex disposition of propaganda because its capacity to touch more aspects than other authors' explanations. I doubt that the other explanations have no or a little capacity to the one-sided argumentation aspect of propaganda, which I consider vital in the analysis of propaganda and persuasion processes. Furthermore, despite the Ellul's argumentation of rational or irrational propaganda types, it does not explain the lack of search for logic while Walton's model underline this feature of propaganda as a characteristic. Apart from this, I believe Walton's involvement of emotions to his study is a significant point

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to consider because study of emotions probably one of the points that deserve attention. For all these reasons, I prefer to take Walton's study as starting point in order to provide a deeper understanding of the subject and its working method.

3.3. How Does Propaganda Work?

Likewise to thoughts on propaganda, propaganda itself shows a great variety. There are several techniques of propaganda and propagandist has to decide which technique to use and which tool to make propaganda on according to the purpose, the target audience, time and space. In 1937, Institute for Propaganda Analysis identified the seven classical propaganda techniques in order to avoid (Hobbs & McGee, 2014, p. 56).

1) Name calling: This technique tries to construct an image of someone without evidence on which it ought to based. The audience is being led to fear or hate by 'bad labeling' the opposing party. These bad labels might be related to race, religion, political standing, beliefs etc. For centuries, calling someone "heretic" was extremely heavy bad labeling of that person. To illustrate: Galileo, Copernicus or Bruno had suffered from this name-calling. (Miller, 1937, p. 211). Name calling had also transformed according to the needs of propagandist. For example, calling someone 'Red' or 'communist' was an example of this technique in Cold War years. It is known that "tree-huggers" phrase is being used for humiliating environmentalists in United States. Trying to degrading opponents as 'fascists' or 'Nazis' is also a common usage of this technique. It is needed to note that, the analogy used

does not have to lean on facts or evidences in name calling. On the other hand, in Nazi Germany, name calling was used against liberals. "Liberals" were classified as weak, insipid and unprincipled. To be a "liberal" or to believe in the "stupid doctrine of equality" fostered by "Jewish-invented democracy" is to be "red" (like communists). (Yourman, 1939, p. 149)

2) Glittering Generalities: This technique can be considered as an opposite version of name calling. Propagandists, use 'virtue words' that all 'good' humans will be unite upon to shine propagandist's ideals and cause. Truth, freedom, honor, liberty, social justice, public service, progress, American way, democracy… are some of the examples of this kind of virtue words. Glittering generalities holds audience back from thinking critically on the matter that is told and make them accept without questioning it. It is generally constructed a 'bad vs good' or 'evil vs God' image in this technique. (Miller, 1937, p. 213) In this technique, propagandist chooses to strong words that have positive connotations. In *Techniques of Propaganda and Persuasion* (2005), Magedah Shabo writes a quotation that is dramatically similar to speeches of any politician. It is possible to many examples of "glittering generalities" in this sentence:

> I stand for **freedom**: for a **strong** nation, **unrivaled** in the world. My opponent believes we must compromise on these ideals, but I believe they are our **birthright** (Shabo, 2005, p. 31).

It is seen that many of advertisement campaigns lean on the same technique by saying the product has the *best* taste in the *world*.

3) Transfer: Propagandist makes audience believe that propagandist carry an authority and power of someone or something that audience respects. In

this technique it is common to use symbols that carry a feeling: Cross as a symbol for Catholic Church, flag as a symbol of nation, Uncle Sam as a symbol of public opinion. It is significant to remind that: transfer device can both be used for positively and negatively. (Miller, 1937, p. 214) In usage of this device, perhaps American flag has a special role.

> ….. the American flag is meant to evoke positive feelings and ideas; it stands for freedom, courage and equality. At its most basic, it is meant to represent something good, and Americans, in general, are expected to react positively to this image. (Shabo, 2005, p. 79)

Apart from positive meanings, a flag may carry different meanings for the viewer. For example, in WWII the Nazi flag was probably carrying negative feelings for a British citizen while it was giving a strong feeling for a Nazi soldier.

4) Testimonial: A respected or a well-known person or institution declares his/her/its own choice and audience is expected to behave or act in same way because of the respect or love they carry for that person or institution. The reverse version of this technique is also possible. (Miller, 1937, p.214) In advertisement sector, this technique is quite common. A celebrity's appearance on an advertisement is aim to catch this effect. Movie stars playing in cosmetics and beauty products' ads, campaigns against racism with the appearance of professional football players can be considered examples of this technique. In this context, the standing, expertise or position of the person might matter. To illustrate a doctor's recommendation of a specific medicine brand might be more influential than a movie star's recommendation.

5) Plain Folks: This technique uses the general tendency of people. Citizens generally tend not to trust strangers while they are prone to trust people

they know. In plain folks technique, propagandist takes advantage of this situation and appears as if propagandist is an average citizen just like the audience. This situation provides propagandist public confidence. Miller (1937) claims that especially in election years, candidates' showing their family and children, joining country picnics, showing their belief on home and mother during campaign is an example of this technique. By this way, they are able to draw an image of "just plain folks among neighbors". (p. 214) This technique is quite common among politicians. In US, Clinton's eating at McDonald's, Carter's insisting on being called "Jimmy", George Bush Sr.'s hate on broccoli can be examples of this situation. Shabo (2005) draws some highlights of the usage of this technique such as intentionally mispronouncing words to strengthen the image of a specific class, expressing extreme sentimentality such as weeping in front of a tragic matter, using the words like "home, children, mother etc" constantly, showing average shyness such as reluctant to being under spotlights etc. (Shabo, 2005, 68). Although this technique is highly common in politics, it is possible to find it advertisement sector. Popular biscuit brands' of "Like a mother did it" or companies' making their employees play in their advertisements can be instances of this technique.

6) Card Stacking: In this technique propagandist takes a standing about a specific point of view and defends it unfairly while degrading the other point of view. While doing it, propagandist might prefer to announce half of the truth or totally masquerade it. (Miller, 1937, 215) This technique becomes more important in war times especially. During World War II, in propaganda posters whereas American and British soldiers portrayed as handsome and strong men, Hitler and in general Nazis portrayed as funny

and incapable or monsters / rats. Precisely, card stacking is not unique for politics and wartime. Advertisements use this technique quite frequently. For example, gym ads that show a person's 'before/after' can be example of card stacking. Even if the person showed had changed positively, generally before/after photos do not have the same lightening, background, clothing etc. The circumstances are arranged for a better "after" photo and a worse "before" photo. In card stacking, distortion of data in a desired way can also be used such as "9 of 10 dentists recommend X". Another important point related to card stacking is the usage of censorship mechanism. Propagandist as a power holder might prefer to censor the opposing views completely or avoid significant facts. In dictatorships and totalitarian regimes, card stacking is highly common.

7) Bandwagon: Bandwagon technique is one of the main pillars of advertisement sector. Its logic is clear: Everyone else is doing it / buying this product, therefore you should do it / buy it. Most people are vulnerable about being different; hence being a part of the majority creates a comfortable environment for them. Propagandist tries to make the audience a part of the 'crowd' by saying that majority of the people behave in propagandist's desired way. Apart from this, propagandist takes advantage of the thought saying, "If everyone is doing it, then it cannot be wrong". It is important to note that this technique is not only used in politics and advertisements. It can also be used in social matters for example. "A lot of people get tattoo in recent decades. Therefore it is not wrong to do so." is a typical example of social bandwagon. This technique tries to give the message that if the audience does not follow the trend or behavior, he/she will be missing out. In advertisements, companies generally uses

bandwagon with some phrases such as "83% of the country likes X brand, thank you USA", "Y is the most preferred brand of the 2016." or "3 million members and increasing!" In wartime, this technique is used for attracting men for joining military or navy. It is interesting to see, even in science the existence of bandwagon technique can be seen in mainstream acceptance of a given theory. Sometimes public polls may shape undecided people's opinion by using bandwagon technique due to citizens' desire of a part of "winning team".

It is important to note that when IPA determined these propaganda techniques it was 1937. Despite the fact that techniques that IPA identifies are still in use and there are recent examples of them, with the changing and evolving nature of propaganda one more time shows itself: IPA's propaganda techniques are not capable of explaining every propaganda type and style. Despite the fact that some of the new techniques can be explained by IPA's classical techniques with indirect ways, it is more practical to name them as separate techniques. There are several 'new' techniques that are claimed to be effective techniques of propaganda. However, some of them are just the repetition or extended versions of IPA's classical techniques. Therefore, I prefer to avoid them and follow the original ones. Some of the significant new techniques pointed out by Shabo (2005) are:

1) Insisting on binary choices –as known as false dilemma-: This technique is one of the most common techniques that propagandists use. Propagandist acts like only if there are two options and forces audience to be one of the sides. This technique simply does not leave a room for neutrality. When

propagandist presents two options such as ally/enemy, opponent of terrorism/proponent of terrorism, part of solution/part of problem; audience is expected to choose 'good option' that propagandist provides. False dilemma, also creates a polarization between individuals by diving society into two: us vs them. After a terrorist bomb destroys a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168, Clinton announced that: "You can't say you love your country and hate your government." (BBC, 2001) He was creating a false dilemma to weaken the effect of a dramatic incident. In advertisement false dilemma is used as: "If you want to do X, then do Y". To illustrate: Schlitz advertisement in 1954 saying, *If you love beer, you'll love Schlitz.*" Furthermore, MasterCard's advertisement motto is a solid example of false dilemma: *"There are some things money can't buy, for everything else; there is MasterCard."* Apart from advertisement and politics, false dilemmas can be found in everyday life with social constructions. "If you are a man, you must love football." "If you are a woman, you have to think on your beauty a lot."

2) The Lesser of Two Evils: Whereas in false dilemma technique, propagandist provides a 'good' and a 'bad' alternative, in Two Evils technique propagandist provides two bad alternatives. The audience is expected to choose the "better" bad alternative. Propagandist tries to make the other alternative worse to persuade the audience. Shabo, believes that in the US, this technique is frequently used during election times thanks to having two main parties in the country. Both Republicans and Democrats make their speeches within 'the lesser of two evils" technique in order to avoid other parties such as Greens etc. engaging the elections and remain as only options. (2005, p. 47) In Cold War years, US foreign policy can be an

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example of this thought type. ABC Democracies (Anything But Communists) that are states with dictatorial regimes supported by US in order to diminish effect of Soviet Russia in that areas (Hirshberg, 1993, p.117). In this technique, the audience aimed to unite against the other bad option by choosing better option.

3) Scapegoat: Propagandists are generally the main power holders and they are generally the responsible ones for the solution of major problems. However, they might prefer to oversimplify a problem or matter and show an unrelated thing or person as responsible for that problem. They might point a single reason for a complex problem. In Nazi Germany, Nazi propagandists considered Jews as the reason for many problems. In 2016, Donald Trump made a declaration saying 'Saudis were responsible for the 9/11 attacks'. (Goodenough, 2016) In both situations, problems were not the consequences of a single cause. However, finding a scapegoat might help the propagandist. The origin of scapegoat term comes from an Old Testament ritual known as "goat for Azazel". In this ritual, a goat symbolically burdened with the sins of the Jewish people. (Brittanica, n.d.) It can be said that scapegoat as propaganda technique works in a similar way. Sometimes this technique is referred as "pinpointing the enemy" technique.

4) Deification: This technique is an intense and extreme form of propaganda. It tells inhumanizing a person or a group completely by prioritizing and superiorizing the person or group over anyone else. The most intense form of this technique is to show the propagandist as a god. It is not necessary to believe in leader's or group's divine features in this context. However, the strength, wisdom or fabricated 'miracles' might be

used. Especially in hard times, citizens might find it relaxing and trustworthy the deification of political leader of a country. Mao Zedong, one of the most significant users of this technique. (Landsberger, 2002) In propaganda posters, Mao's face is commonly portrayed in the sun with bright lights over China.

Precisely, due to being a communication technique, the limits of propaganda technique is the limits of human imagination and capacity. Even if humans living now are not smarter than humans lived in past, there is a fact that, humanity has a cumulative productiveness. Therefore, these techniques mentioned outline a main idea about propaganda techniques. However, it is crucial to note that, this list is not exclusive. As mentioned earlier, propaganda techniques are being shaped and reinvented according to purpose of propaganda, the audience, the needs of propagandist, time and space.

3.4. The Question of Effectiveness of Propaganda and Using Leverages

There is magic formula of propaganda that is suitable for all cases and all situations. Moreover, their effectiveness depends on various factors. In fact, effectiveness of propaganda is a problematic issue. Effectiveness is quite difficult to measure. There are several problems about measuring the effectiveness of propaganda. For example, if a propagandist makes propaganda in order to diminish the morale of enemy; the propaganda's effectiveness does only depend on propaganda itself. What if the enemy is using also propaganda in order to boost its soldiers? Since there are extreme

possibilities on diversity of the results, it is not an easy task to measure an effectiveness of propaganda. (Ellul, 1973, p. 261) Apart from the fact that effectiveness is not a simple thing to measure, propagandist might face some other problems while dealing with the audience. For example, if the target audience is uninterested in the propaganda topic, it is harder for propagandist to reach that person or if a group of citizens do not have access to a specific propaganda tool such as Internet, it is not possible to reach them through Internet.

Despite difficulties, propagandists do their best in order to spread their message by using various techniques and tools and persuade citizens in order to think or behave in a way that they desire. Jowett and O'Donnell believe that a successful propaganda should be seen, understood, remembered and acted on (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p.299). The main goal of propaganda is the desire of changing the action of target audience. To accomplish this specific aim, propagandist needs to change how the audience feel and think. For this reason, propagandists tend to use desires, weaknesses, emotions and deep thoughts in order to reach target audiences and affect them to act in a certain way that wish. To sell a product or idea, to be remembered is highly important. To be remembered getting in touch with emotions is required. Ellens (2015) suggests that citizens tend to remember advertisements that manage to reach their emotions rather than advertisements that target. Despite the fact that emotions are a good leverage to make citizens act, not all emotions are equally good motivators. Robert Plutchik claims that certain emotions are primary or basic, just as there are primary colors, and other emotions are secondary, or derived. Another important point he points out is that emotions act as amplifiers or

energizers of behavior. (Plutchik, 1986). Plutchik's most significant contribution to studies about emotions may help in propaganda studies, because it has potential to explain the degree of effectiveness of emotions as motivators and manipulators. Plutchik's wheel of emotion is a mapping attempt of human emotions. In this wheel, the inner circle shows the most intense form of similar emotions and the outer circles illustrates the milder forms. The power of emotions decreases when one goes to outer circles.
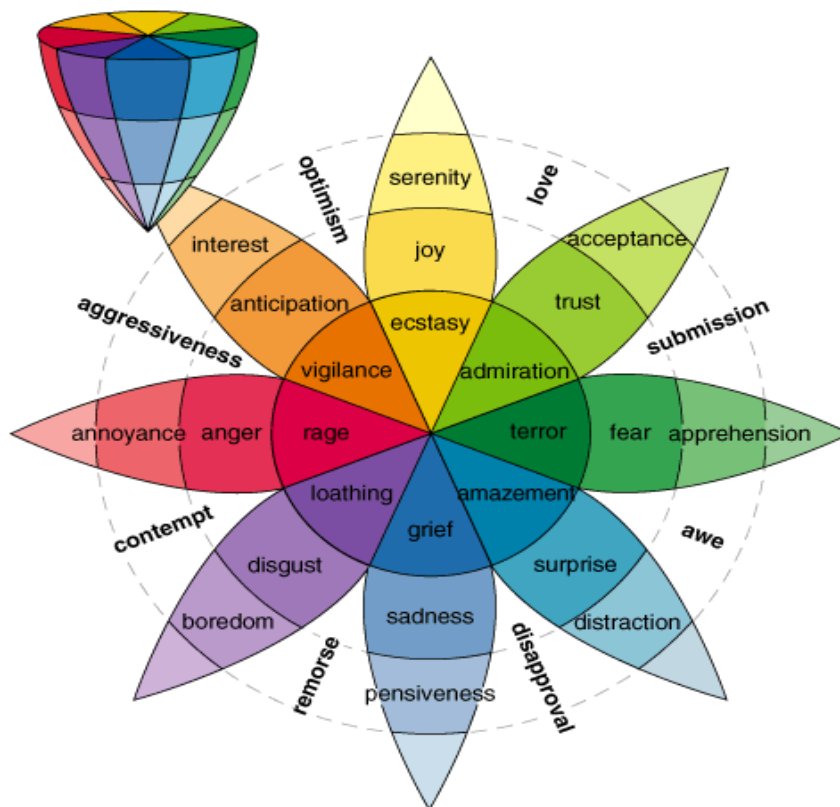
Figure 1: Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions

(Plutchik, 2001)

In fact, previously mentioned techniques of propaganda can be considered as use of emotions. For example, bandwagon technique uses the desire of being loved and fear of being left out. Transfer technique uses trust, love or fear towards a symbol. Therefore, it is possible to see emotional leverages both in product or service advertisement and political propaganda. In advertisement, it is a common message that implying if one buy that product one will gain reputation and love of others. In political propaganda similar techniques are used. Especially in totalitarian regime propagandas, it is popular to use family-like image of government / state and citizen. Apart from this, in Soviet rhetorical speeches the word "comrade" serves a similar interest: establishing a unity and usage of desire of being loved. (Shabo, 2005, p. 92) As Plutchik's wheel of emotions suggests, emotions appear with their pairs. For example, the desire of being loved comes with fear of being excluded. For this reason, similar to desires towards something or some situation, fear towards something and some situation is a powerful motivator. Fears such as fear of powerlessness, fear of loss of family and property and fear of death could be considered as powerful propaganda drivers. Especially in wartime, propagandas using the fear and terror elements by provoking the hostility against the enemy become dramatically important. Clyde Miller from Institute for Propaganda Analysis claims that propaganda that not appeal to human emotions such as fear, courage, selfishness or unselfishness, love and hate would influence only few opinions and only few actions. (1937, p.216)

3.5. Is Propaganda Necessarily 'Evil'?

Playing role in social and political life, propaganda has become one of the topic of debates. One of the remarkable subjects of propaganda topic is that propaganda's being "moral" or "immoral". There are mainly two claims about this question. While some scholars believe that propaganda is an "evil" thing to practice and it is an enemy of free thought and democracy; some scholars suggest that propaganda is a neutral thing and it is being formed with its usage, time and space; therefore not necessarily evil or bad.

Harold Lasswell as a political scientist and a communication theorist who is one of the pioneers in the field who believed there is a necessity to blend the theory with the recognition of the contributions of psychological theories. In terms of propaganda, Lasswell is quite pessimistic about propaganda. He sees propaganda as an enemy of democracy and freedom. He quotes "Democracy has proclaimed the dictatorship of palaver, and the technique of dictating to the dictator is named propaganda." (Lasswell, 1927, p.631) In fact, Lasswell's theory for propaganda is a blend of Freudian and behaviorist views. He rejects former simple behaviorist explanations about propaganda effects. Lasswell sees propaganda as a tool of 'telling lies' to public therefore an antagonist to social order and democracy. Despite the Lasswell's consideration of propaganda as 'evil' his 'propaganda-for-good' views later inspired the Office of War Information in World War II. (Baran & Davis, 2009, p. 81-83)

Precisely, it is not possible to find out the exact cause of a specific thought system or idea. This situation is also true for propaganda.

Nevertheless, it may be claimed that propaganda's negative connotation is partly related with its association with wartime. The reason why propaganda has a negative connotation might be the intense use of propaganda in Great War time and the stressful time of Cold War. It might be the reason why some scholars see propaganda as a war related phenomenon that is against free and independent thought. These negative assumptions of propaganda are partly related with its manipulation of thought. Although persuasion and manipulation are quite similar by meaning, manipulation stands as if it is an evil thing. However, propaganda relies on persuasion and consensus rather than coercion and violence. By definition, propaganda needs an audience to reach and probably the most effective way to reach the audience is to reach their emotions. At the war times, emotions are high and complex owing to tragic deaths of millions, losing loved people and belongings, negative living conditions such as hunger etc. However, this negative standing of propaganda is about the negative standing of war. Since war is a dramatic event, propaganda seems as if it is a negative concept. Furthermore, looking to history of propaganda and propaganda users, some significant figures such as Nazi propaganda user Dr. Goebbels or famous dystopian fiction worlds in the literature - where propaganda plays an essential role such as George Orwell's 1984-, enforce the evil image of propaganda stronger and show propaganda as an enemy of the reality, peace and the truth.

Marxism is also related with the negative perception of propaganda. In front of the eyes of Marxists', since propaganda is a tool of power holders; it reflects the dominant ideas of the power holders or interest groups. This situation has a strong capacity of harming the interests of

minorities or weak groups. For example, Noam Chomsky who has a Leninist view of propaganda believes that propaganda reflects interests of a specific intellectual and elite group that is 'smart enough' for deciding for the 'general public' (Chomsky, 1997, p.12).

In a changing world where everything changes gradually and eventually, propaganda does not stay same. In different time periods, propaganda methods and messages are subject to change accordingly. It is not possible to talk about the same propaganda in the ancient Rome and Great War or Cold War and the period after 9/11. This situation is mainly because of propaganda shapes according to needs and the self-interest of propaganda users. Propaganda and power has a close relationship and propagandists are the power holders. Although propaganda itself is a powerful tool to use, propagandists as power holders and propaganda users have the power of flow of the information generally through the channels such as media and censorship. In today's modern world -the world after Industrial Revolution-, propagandists hold this power as the control of the source of information.

On the other hand, it is noted that propaganda is not a purely political war tool. Propaganda has many forms and each form may serve different interests and aims. To illustrate, propaganda was used and is being used for raising public awareness about public health. Dr. J. H. Harley Williams, one the former medical commissioners of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, in Health Education Conference admits that they sustain a "creative health propaganda" in order to emphasis the 'pleasure value of health' to raise public awareness (BMJ, 1936, p. 1100). Because of this kind of positive examples, some

scholars stand neutralistic about propaganda. According to them, the problematic face of the propaganda is related with its usage and the periods that propaganda became prominent. Taylor believes that more propaganda –not less- is needed to encourage citizens to participate to democratic processes (2003, 320). He does not believe propaganda is necessarily a "bad thing" to practice; on the contrary its negativeness depends on which side one stands.

To sum up, in this chapter, different definitions of propaganda were examined and it is noted that propaganda has no fixed definition. Therefore, its limits are undefined and blurred. To show different perspectives of propaganda it is preferred to examine the evolution of propaganda studies. The working way of propaganda is explained with respect to defined propaganda techniques of IPA. Furthermore, four new techniques to IPA's definition to identify propaganda are added. It is argued that effectiveness of propaganda and measurement are problematic subjects. However, emotions might be used as "leverages" to intensify the effect of propaganda. In the final part of the chapter, it is claimed that propaganda is a neutral thing rather than evil. The position of propaganda in the chart of "the good and the bad" depends on the aim and the side one stands. For the reason propaganda has close ties with emotions and it has many usages depending on the aim and target, the next chapter is going investigate arts as propaganda with respect to the argument of cultural commodities and soft power argument of first chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ARTS AS PROPAGANDA

Probably for propaganda's close relationship with emotions, art forms hold a special place in propaganda studies. The definition of Oxford Dictionary of "art" is: "The expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form such as painting or sculpture, producing works to be appreciated primarily for their beauty or emotional power." By definition, arts and emotions are almost inseparable. For this reason, propagandists sometimes use the capacity to reach and touch people's emotions of arts. Similar to blurred nature of propaganda in terms of definitions, techniques, tools, purposes; propaganda and art relationship is not a simple one to define.

"All arts is some extend propaganda" claims George Orwell in his essay on T.S Eliot. (Orwell, 1942, printed in 2009) This sentence of Orwell is assertive one and probably debatable. Maybe, not all art forms include propaganda, maybe they do. It is not possible to verify it. Nevertheless, a fact stands still: arts are being used for propaganda directly or indirectly. For the reason there are various forms of arts, there are various forms of

arts' being a propaganda tool. Because of this diversity, it is useful to classify the art forms and investigate them separately.

Classifying and categorizing arts is not a simple task to do because of two main reasons. First, there is no consensus among artists, individuals enjoying arts or critics on what is art and what is not. Second, even with agreed upon art forms (excluding modern art or contemporary arts) there are still numberless art forms to investigate. For this reason it is difficult to investigate each and every art form. It is necessary to draw a frame to begin investigation. Therefore, I prefer to use Hegel's classification of arts, which elaborates each art form with distinctive characteristics as a starting point. Although Hegel does not mention all recognized forms of art (such as dance, or precisely, cinema) he recognizes five main forms of art: architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry (Houlgate, 2016). However, probably because of its existing time, Hegel's classification is not capable of cover some forms of art that can be related with propaganda. Therefore, I made some changes in organizing my classification of art even if I use Hegel's categorization as frame.

For the purpose of simplification, I prefer not to analyze sculpture as a propaganda tool even if it surely can be an example of propaganda and art relationship [5]. In "Painting" section, I added "Graphic-based arts" and "Photograph" to elaborate their relationship with propaganda extensively. In "Poetry" section I prefer to use "Literature" for the purpose of not to omit novels, scenarios etc. Finally, as last section I added "Movies/TV" and

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[5] One might see Trzeciak (2015) for Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda, Morris (2013) for use of sculpture in Ancient Rome with the purpose of propaganda.

"New Forms of Art – Digital Arts" in order to show the relationship of propaganda and arts on more contemporary art forms.

4.1. Propaganda and Architecture

The relationship between architecture and propaganda starts where the history of architecture starts. Architecture is one of the ways to organize how and where people live. For people not living there, architecture might be considered as impressive. For this controlling or having capacity to manipulate the architecture requires power. Because of this reason, architecture over centuries has been a symbol of power. Glenn, in *Architecture Demonstrates Power* claims that architecture is demonstration of power of the individuals responsible for their creation and they demonstrate the nature of that power. (Glenn, 2003) This desire to show power of the creators and rulers is propaganda in various aspects. It is propaganda for citizens living there because it reminds citizens to power of the ruler. It is propaganda for other states and people because it might impress them and by reminding the power of state or ruler, it may prevent them to be against that state or ruler.

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One of the clearest examples of architecture as propaganda can be seen in Egypt. Many people consider the three Great pyramids of Giza in Egpyt as a solid proof of a powerful state. However, in fact, the truth behind pyramids is different. Diamond writes "Often, the biggest monuments were built early in a state's history, before it reached its peak power. They were built for propaganda, precisely to conceal the state's lack of real clout" According to him, pyramids was a bluff of Khufu who had not capacity to show his power in other ways such as campaigns for conquest or maintaining big garrisons etc. (2003, p.891) Likewise, when one looks to the largest pyramid of Peru, one can see that while Incas were constructing channels, roads, and infrastructure; a weaker state Moche has built the relatively useless pyramid in order to make other states think that Moche had power. (Marcus, 2003) The both examples show that great pyramids of history were used as a propaganda tool even before the states obtaining the real power. Therefore impressive monuments might be used as a tool for bluff. This situation might be considered as an example of card stacking propaganda technique where propagandist manipulates the reality for the sake of propagandist's own good Nazi architecture, which reflects Hitler's personal admiration to Ancient Rome, is another example of architecture as propaganda. In Nazi architecture, it is possible to find the influence of fascism. One of the most important works of Nazi architecture is Nuremberg rally ground. A part of Nuremberg was transformed in the 1920s and 1930s into the location for the annual Nazi party rallies. In this area, Hitler and other party leaders were organizing massive propaganda events. It is noted that, this area was designed by Hitler's favourite architect, Albert Speer. (Philpott, 2016). It is possible to see the constructions of stadium-like buildings during Hitler's period because the stadiums are

place that people feel unity and become a part of crowd. This might decrease the importance and significance the individual over the crowd. Therefore the architecture of Nazis is not independent from their thought system. In Nazi constructions, it is possible to see the influences of "bandwagon" propaganda because of the desire to make citizens a part of a big crowd.

Another remarkable power of architecture is that, it is a reflection of cities' and states' cultural legacy and history. For this reason, states might try to attract tourists by using the architecture. To illustrate, Italy who has one of the highest tourism revenues, attracts millions of tourist per year with its rich architecture and deep historical texture. The official website of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and for Tourism of Italy includes many works of architecture in Italy. This use of architecture to fuel tourism activities can be seen as propaganda because of advertisement and public relations' being forms of propaganda.

Architecture can considered as a propaganda tool that deserves attention because its an inevitable part of individuals' life. Individuals are in interaction with architectural works almost every part of their life; the home structure they live in, the way they go to work, their workplace, places they bury their beloved ones etc. The spirit that architectural works including monuments generate is generally not free from ideological reflections. Furthermore, there is no need to special intention to make architecture propaganda. It is also essential to note that the target of architectural propaganda might be the citizen of the country, which is propagandist, or might be the external individuals.

4.2. Propaganda and Painting / Graphic-based Arts / Photograph

Graphic based art is known to be an essential element of propaganda posters. History is full of examples how oil on canvas, posters with carefully selected typography or photographs that shot from a special angle are used as propaganda. Visual elements are highly important in propaganda making because to leak into people's mind, a propaganda tool should be perceived first. One way to perceive events and things in general perceives them with the use of senses. Seeing is one of the most powerful senses that human can use because it is a complex process which does not start and end with the eyes only (Huxley, 1974). In seeing, eyes, mind and the nervous system associated to form a single whole. As a result of this complexity, physical and visible evidence usually are easier to understand and interpret, humans tend to trust their eyes. This trust leads to the situation what an ancient proverb says: "Seeing is believing." Arts that based on visual materials are especially important in propaganda making for several reasons.

First, seeing quickens the perception process. Reading requires some amount of time at least. Furthermore, reading something requires literacy. In other words, a person has to know how to read in order to read something. For this reason, long texts that explain the subject and the aim, as propaganda tool is not useful and practical. On the other hand, a picture is being perceived as soon as a person sees it. It does not require extra skill, background or time. Once a person sees it, it immediately goes to brain and being interpreted. It does not matter whether this interpretation is in desired way or not. It is about thinking which not aim of the propaganda is.

In this sense, the message's going to brain is enough for propaganda user. Once the message goes to brain, it will be interpreted one way or another. If this interpretation turns into belief and causes an action change, then the propaganda is successful.

Second, visual materials carry intense form of message. In visual materials, any little detail like the face expression of the people in the picture holds the capacity to alter whole interpretation. For this reason as said, "One picture is worth a thousand words". Obviously, it is possible to tell a message of story by speech or written material. However, it again requires time and space. On the other hands, a visual material can also explain the story or message. Even better, it might also carry the messages the words cannot directly say. To illustrate, especially in Cold War period propaganda, it would probably be provocative to name the 'enemy' directly. For this reason, in some propaganda films of the period, even if the 'bad side' can be easily distinguished, interpreted and named because of exaggerated characteristics of the opponents, there is not always direct naming of the enemy.

Third, visual images are easy to remember and come into mind. In 1969, Edgar Dale, an American educator, while trying to discover the best way to teaching and being remembered, found a model, namely Dale's Cone of Experience (Dale, 1946, p. 39). This cone was simply a pyramid with ten steps and from the top to the bottom of the pyramid the effectiveness of the method in learning was increasing. When one looks to the pyramid, the following elements are seen(from top the bottom); verbal symbols, visual symbols, radio recordings, still pictures, motion pictures, exhibits, field trips, demonstrations, dramatic participation, contrived experience, direct

and purposeful experiences. (Dale, 1946, p.39) According to this model, the best way to remember is to experience. However, experience is a thing that a propaganda tool cannot give. Hence, one should look one step back. After experiencing the best (first 3 way), the best way to remember is to see and observe (4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th way). Moreover, a recent research of University of Iowa suggests that brain is not good at remembering what a person heard, whereas it is better in remembering what person saw. (Cole, 2014) Remembering is significant for propaganda purposes because, carrying the message inside brain may cause the action change or transmitting the same message to other people.

Fourth, visuals increase the inspiration for the action. Since the number one aim of the propaganda is to persuade people the change their attitude or action, this feature of visual material holds a great significance for propaganda users. Researches show that 40% of people will respond better to visual information than to plain text. (DeMers, 2014) This is why advertisements use visual materials often. Since advertisement can be considered as propaganda with a simple aim: to make people buy a product or to change their consumption habits in a desired way, this point seems a significant one.

Fifth, visual material is attractive. In order to spread a message through propaganda, propaganda user should make sure that the aim could access the propaganda. It might be through listening or seeing. For example, if the propaganda is being made via radio, the aimed person has to listen it in order to catch the message. If nobody is listening that program at the time, then it is not possible to that propaganda be an effective one. Visual materials are attractive because of drawings, colors, illustrations, graphs..

etc. According to research of MDG Advertising, 94% more total views on average are attracted by content containing compelling images than content without images (MDG, 2012). Therefore the math is simple: the more people are attracted by propaganda material, the more people would be affected from its message. For this reason, taking attention of more people might affect the success of propaganda. Therefore, the usage of visual materials is beneficial for the propaganda users. Precisely, accessibility of the propaganda tools is still a matter. Propaganda users should ensure that they put the materials to right places in order to reach right people. For example, a poster asks people to join the army on a wall of an elementary school would not probably be as effective as the same poster on a factory wall.

In the Third Reich period of Germany, partly because of the Hitler's personal interest towards painting as an art form, many pieces of art are done on purpose to glorify racial purity, militarism, obedience and working for production with a romantic style. Fascism is obsessed with visuality according to Petcavage (2016, p.5), for this reason, Nazism even has built a new aesthetic form of art to providing a medium for barraging audiences with symbols archetypal of Nazi values. According to her claims, these symbols would operate with reference to a perception of reality as mass information intertwined with mass entertainment (Petcavage, 2016, p.5). For this reason, in Nazi Germany whereas some artists were encouraged, some artists were censored according to their 'value' or art and propaganda.

History shows that fascism was not the only ideology that recognizes the importance of art, in particular paintings, for the propaganda purposes. For example, paintings praising Stalin were highly popular in Soviet Russia. By using paintings, Stalin crafted an unassailable image of himself as the

sole source of leadership and stability, reducing the significance and influence of potential rivals. The main purpose of Stalin was creating the image of "father". (Konecny & Salmond, 2014, p.14) For this reason, there are numerous paintings that portrayed Stalin with children and flowers such as *Roses for Stalin* by Boris Vladimirski. Similar to desire of creating a 'strong father' of Stalin, Royal Portraiture is a tool of propaganda. One of the most known images of Henry VIII is a painting created by artist Hans Holbein. In this painting, German artist portrays the Henry VIII, standing proud and staring the viewer with a masculine look. It is also noticed that in the painting Henry VIII looks young and healthy. At his time, this portrait of him was copied and distributed across to Kingdom and friends and ambassadors. However, the reality about Henry VIII was completely different. He was not young and not quite healthy; moreover, his legs were remarkably shorter than portrayed. Therefore, his God-like image in the painting was a propaganda that intended create an illusion about King. (Johnson, 2015). Another leader that had calculated attempts to build a strong image by the tool of paintings is Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon believed that paintings might help him in order to legitimize him as a ruler, hence he employed Jacques-Louis David (1748 – 1825), Antoine-Jean Gros (1771 – 1835) and Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres 5 (1780 – 1867). It is possible to recognize the common features and similarities between these artists' works related Napoleon that follows an evolution during his reign; as a general he is a fearless warrior, as First Consul a dominant but compassionate military leader, as Emperor a strong Imperial presence, and finally, as his public opinion of his rule began to deteriorate, intellectual bureaucrat working for the good of his people. (Gimblett, 2011)

Posters for propaganda show a slight difference from paintings. Posters are direct, immediate and easy to understand while paintings leave a room for interpretation. For this reason, propaganda posters are useful and practical to use. Therefore, they have been used throughout the history in many occasions, for many purposes and by many propagandists from diverse states. Propaganda posters were extremely common especially during World War II. Zbynek Zeman, in his book *Selling the War: Art and Propaganda in World War II* (1978), examines WWII propaganda posters in five main groups. 1) "Your country needs you" posters: These posters are an appeal to patriotism. Many of them uses emotive symbols and emblems, national flags (along with swastika symbol in German posters) are the most popular precisely. In these posters, the usage of transfer technique is highly visible. 2) "You never know who's listening" posters: These posters are designed for warning and fearing citizens against spies and saboteurs. By using them, propagandists were aiming two objectives: building a group loyalty to patriotism and saving national security against spies. In these posters, pinpointing the enemy and bandwagon techniques are common. 3) "Back them up" posters: Aim of this type of posters is to increase war production. Hence, the target audience of these posters is civilians. Bandwagon and glittering generalities are common in this type of posters. 4) "United we are strong" posters: These posters aimed to underline the importance of alliances. They were morale boost for citizens. Since the national flags were the main theme of these posters, it is easy to see usage of transfer technique in them. 5) "Behold the enemy" posters: They were concerning national security by appealing to fear. The enemy was generally portrayed as inhuman and not trustable. In these posters, the lesser of two evils or false dilemma and name-calling techniques are used. (Zeman, 1978)

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Although propaganda posters lived their golden age in the years of WWII, it does not mean that their era has finished. Posters are still in use in various areas from advertisement to political propaganda purposes. To illustrate, in 2008, the stencil image of Barack Obama with "Hope" writing poster designed by Shepard Fairey, spreaded fast and became nearly as iconic as Jim Fitzpatrick's Che Guevara poster. (Barton, 2008) There are also variations of "Hope" poster saying "Progress" and "Change". This usage of strong words can be considered as an example of glittering generalities technique.

4.3. Propaganda and Music

Musical works have capacity to bring together emotions through a dramatic unity in political rituals or rituals conducted by the media, therefore this capacity bring the possibility of using music as a propaganda tool (Pufleau, 2014). Musical works are able to create imaginary scenarios and intensify the emotions, for this reason their capacity to be a tool of propaganda increases. This propaganda value of musical work may be obvious like in the example of *Glory to Stalin!* (1949, Lyrics by Evgeny Dolmatovsky, music by Dmitry Shostakovich) or it may be blurred and hidden. According to Whitcombe (2013) music has the ability to alter the level of alertness, influence focus, induce feelings of pleasure, and induce feelings of stress. After getting attention, music gives the message. In the musical works with hidden propaganda people are allowed to make their own conclusions. However, this conclusions are in fact is manipulated on purpose.

In her work, Gorzelany-Mostak (2016) investigates the music strategies of US presidents. Whereas some presidents or candidates prefer to make artists compose new songs for them, some of them prefer to use the existing songs. By definition, election campaign is already propaganda, however, in this context songs even if they are not composed with the purpose of propaganda becomes propaganda tools. *Don't Stop* of Fleetwood Mac (1977, Lyrics and music by Christine McVie), may be considered as an example. In fact the song is not a propaganda song, however after Clinton's speech saying that "Keep putting people first. Keep building those bridges. And don't stop thinking about tomorrow!" by quoting the lyrics of song, it became a propaganda song of the election campaign (Haskell, 2015).

It is a mistake to think that propaganda songs are only used for politicians or they make artists to produce songs or music for their objectives. Sometimes, artists have their own message to give and persuade people. Since artists are not free of world affairs and political environment, they prefer to show their standing or their thoughts about a specific issue through their art. For example, John Lennon's *Imagine* (1971, Lyrics and music by John Lennon), is a song of hope and desire for a world full of love and peace. It is important to note that the song was released in 1971, during Cold War. *Imagine* has inspired billions of people that are not pleasant with the tension of the world politics. Apart from this, song has continued to anthem of the citizens who think that countries and religions are problematic for world peace. Years after 1971, after terrorist attack in Paris which took place in November 2015, a pianist named Davide Martello with his grand piano played *Imagine* for the victims of the attack in Bataclan square to "offer a sign of hope" according to his own sayings. "I can't bring

people back but I can inspire them with music and when people are inspired they can do anything. That's why I played *Imagine*." says Martello. (Bucks, 2015) In fact, Martello's words are a highlighting of the propaganda and persuasion capacity of the music.

John Street (2003) claims that soundtrack to films or advertisements generate moods and feelings. For this reason, popular music is another topic to be examined. Similar to censorship on literature, it is possible to see a censorship on music. Therefore, it can be understood that music has a propaganda value in terms of values and ideas. Moreover, in Nazi Germany and Soviet Union, with the censorship of particular songs, it is even possible to ban of instruments (saxophone) and a specific music genre (jazz – swing) completely. (Street, 2003). One might think that, ban of music is a unique implementation of antidemocratic regimes. However, this is not true. In Britain, it is possible to see banned songs for various reasons. These reasons had an extend list that diverse from reference to drug use, to creating a bad morale for the wartime. (Spencer, 2016). Censorship to music might have different meanings. Firstly, states may fear the possible reaction or inspiration of the song would create. In other words, they might consider music as a powerful propaganda tool. Secondly, states might want to show their standing or position by banning a specific thing related with music. For example, use of saxophone probably does not create danger itself, however, by banning saxophone prohibitors try to show their standing position against the values and background that saxophone represents. In either situation, it is possible to notice that, music is not "just music".

In music, it is possible to use almost all propaganda techniques since music gives a great freedom to artist. The lyrics of a song, the increasing and

decreasing rhythm of the song in particular points might affect the message of the song. To illustrate, Johnny Rebel uses the "N-Word" in his songs (such as song namely *Who Likes a Nigger* (2009, Lyrics and music by Johnny Rebel)) and he often underlines his sympathy for Ku Klax Klan. His songs can be a solid example of name-calling for his racist attitude. Anthems of nation states and political movements, by definition are the clearest example of glittering generalities because of their over emphasizing the "strong words." In anthems, it is also possible to find some elements of transfer propaganda techniques because of the flag and religious references in them. Testimonial technique is maybe the easiest technique to see related to music because the artist's singing or playing that song immediately gives the message that artist supports the message of the song. For example, in Vietnam War Pete Seeger's *Bring 'em Home* (1969, Lyrics and music by Pete Seeger) song gives the message that Pete Seeger does not support the war. This situation might have affected his fans. When it comes to plain folks technique, in political campaign songs it is possible to find this technique. To illustrate, in 2014, the campaign song of AKP has the following lyrics: "The man who are the way he looks like, the man he takes his power from the nation…. The man who are the confidant of the oppressed people.." These lyrics are a result of the intention of the artist for creating the politican's image of "one of us." Card stacking technique shows a little difference in music and songs. Musical works are not the places that facts place an important role and they do not carry a documental value. However, songs might defend a side in a particular incident unfairly. For example, according to their own website, *Panzer Battalion* (2005, Lyrics and music by Tommy Tägtgren) of Sabaton tells the story of Iraq operation in 2003. Lyrics of the song unfairly support the side of US while completely

humiliating Iraq side: "Killers in the east. Rats who dare to stand before us, feel our guns go live". Here, it is important to note that Sabaton is not an American band, it is Swedish. Lastly, the bandwagon technique is quite common in anthem and marches again. Especially in marches of autocratic regimes, it is possible to find "we" vs "them". In those marches the word "we" is used for all citizens the country and the nation. For example following lyrics of the *Horst Wessel Lied* (1929, Anthem of NSDAP, lyrics and music by Horst Wessel), can be counted as an example of bandwagon technique in music: "Already **millions** look in hope to the Swastika. The day for freedom and for bread has begun."

Music is a fitting propaganda tool because of its power to arouse emotions. Since the use of words is another powerful propaganda way; the lyrics of songs also give a credit to music as a propaganda tool because they provide a suitable field to use any known propaganda technique. Encouragement or ban of certain songs for certain periods of time by particular government or authorities ,in general, show that music is seen as a propaganda tool not only by artists, but also by authorities.

4.4. Propaganda and Literature

The relationship between literature and propaganda is an old one and it begins even before the existence of printing press. The reason why literature had become a tool for propaganda is a wide topic because of that; regardless of geography, literature have been a tool for propaganda not only for political reasons, but also for religious reasons. The bans on

literature works or conversely the distribution of some literature works can also be investigated related to propaganda purposes.

In 1932, Stalin referred writers as "engineers of the soul" and he states his belief about writer's production of souls was more important than production of Soviet tanks. (Shalan, 2011) Stalin definitely believed literature was a powerful tool of propaganda. In Soviet Union, book censorships were not a unique action of Stalin, on the contrary it began in Lenin's period. The books considered "harmful" by the Soviet authorities were purged. In 1923 Proskuriakova defined the features of books that were considered "harmful" to USSR. These features was: Failure to promote the worker's class consciousness and willingness to work hard, religious propaganda, pro-tsarist ideas, opposition to revolutionary class struggle, and promoting national hatred. (Rogers, 1973, p. 24) In the years of Cold War, books that promote anti-Westernization were encouraged while books degrading socialism and Red Army were banned. Stalin's belief on books and literature as a powerful tool of persuasion was a shared belief. In CIA's Church Report, the chapter on "Books and Publishing Houses" were considering propaganda as a "covert propaganda tool." As cited in Martens (2000), it claims:

> Books differ from all other propaganda media primarily because one single book can significantly change the reader's attitude and action to an extent unmatched by the impact of any other single medium..

(Church Bk I 193)

This shared belief of USSR and USA brought a battle on books between two sides of Cold War. In their book *The Zhivago Affair: The Kremlin, the CIA and the Battle over a Forbidden Book,* Finn and Couvée tell the story of how Doctor Zhivago was banned in Soviet Union and how it is distributed by CIA

covertly. (Williams, 2014) Likewise, Orwell's *Animal Farm* which is full of symbolic criticisms of October Revolution and following Soviet Era was banned by USSR and promoted by CIA. (Gerrard, 2014) In fact, it is possible to see that American government's spending money on promotion of a book that is concerning with Soviets in order to show the dangers to Soviet citizens.

Although the printing press came late, the literature had been a propaganda tool even before it. To illustrate, *Iliad* by Homer tells the story of a war between King Priam's Troy and Achaens under king Agamennon and it may pass for one of the earliest examples of literature as propaganda. (Taylor, 2003, p. 25). It can be claimed that, since missionary actions are attempts of persuading citizens to change their action and behave in a particular way; the religious texts also might be considered as propaganda tools. After the printing press met the religious texts, in Europe, especially in Reformation period it is seen that literature as a propaganda tool plays a key role. Luther's critical messages on interpretation of Bible were found harmful by Catholic authorities and were banned for this reason similar to situation in Soviet Union example. In Reformation years, Luther side was not the only side that uses literature as propaganda. On the contrary, both Lutherans and Catholics were aware of the fact that literature was a powerful tool to reach citizens. Although they were using similar devices to spread their message, their message was different in terms of content and theme. Propaganda that came from Lutherans had four themes: anti-popery, social morality, individual salvation, and Scriptural stories. The Catholics on the other hand, chose to direct their attention to anti-

Lutherism, the veneration of the saints, morality, and Scriptural stories. (Hartman, 2005).

Having a minister of propaganda with a PhD degree on literature, Nazi Germany should be examined as a user of literature as a propaganda tool. Literature as propaganda in regimes based on ideology has a special place due to fact that this regimes requires the spread of word and ideas. Since Nazism leaned on misinterpretation of Nietzsche's writings, this situation is also valid for Nazi Germany. Similar to Soviet Union, it is possible to see long lists of banned books in this period. All Marxist literature, all books questioned Nazism and German interests, books from Christian camp that was against totalitarian state, all literature that tended to pacifist-liberalism, all literature falsified or undermined Nazi values and all Jewish works regardless of subject were forbidden in Nazi Germany. (Noakes and Pridham, 1995) On the other hand, promoting Nazi ideals and ideology was a desirable theme in the books. The book named *Mein Kampf* by Hitler is accepted as one of the most important literature works that promote Nazi propaganda. After Nazi defeat in 1945, Allies handed the copyright of the book to the state of Bavaria. However, since under German law copyright lasts only for 70 years, *Mein Kampf*'s copyright expired in 2016. The book is reprinted in 2016 and sold out immediately. This situation created panic atmosphere in Germany and criticized by the Jewish population. (BBC, 2017 ; Hall, 2016) This disturbance that republication of *Mein Kampf* created can best be explained by the literature's carrying propaganda value and fear of its power to resurrect the fascist ideas of Hitler and National Socialism.

Literature is a suitable propaganda field to use any of the defined techniques. Propagandist or the author that propagandist promotes is able to apply one or more techniques according to subject, the target audience or the objective of propaganda. It is important to remind that, literature as a propaganda tool is effective not only for political propaganda but all other propaganda types. To illustrate; all advertisements, all public relations and public diplomacy campaigns are based on rhetorical textes. Apart from this, the poetry branch of the literature establishes another vital form of art as propaganda: music as propaganda. Since, all lyrics of the songs are considered as a type of poem, music and literature as propaganda go hand in hand.

4.5. Propaganda and Movies / TV

Graphic based arts, literature and cinema might be effective to manipulate citizens how to feel, think or behave; it is also possible to see the combination of these elements is also a powerful tool for propaganda users. It is important to distinguish that some films are especially made for propaganda or advertisement purposes while some films do not carry this objective. However, in either way, it is claimed that movies and TV have an influence on viewers. In late 1970s, Gerbner produced several writings on television concerning the contents of the broadcastings and their effects on citizens in terms of behavior change or mindset changing. Gerbner believes that television shows many images of violent and crime-related situations and for this reason one who spends hours while watching television is being subjected to many violent images that may bring fear and terror

(Gerbner, 1987, p. 16). Television has an effect of making those who watch television believe that the images that are shown in TV are real and they might happen in the real world according to Gerbner (Gerbner, 1978, p.55). Gerbner and Gross do not believe that TV has a direct effect on spectators. They believe that television is creating a "symbolic structure" and cultivates it (Hughes, 1980,p. 288) By using this symbolic structure that is cultivated by television, spectators interpret the social reality accordingly. This process of perception and interpretation have long-term effects on everyday life because it affects the feelings, attributes or opinion (Hughes, 1980, p.287 - 288). Although Gerbner studied on TV and crime content, it is possible to observe similar effects in any kind of media due to the fact that media always sells manufactured messages regardless of its being based on reality or not.

Decades after the term first coined, cultivation theory still lives. Ridout, Grosse and Appleton in their works (2008) examine the relationship between usage of media tools and the perception of threat by mainly investigating the US citizens' following of mass media and news. They inspect this relationship between because of the fact that this perception of threat affects citizens and lead to behavior change. To be more precise, the citizens who feel threatened by terrorism are more ready to give up their civil liberties for the sake of liberty. The authors of the article conduct a research to enlighten the relationship that they question and they reach to some conclusions. One has to bear in mind that cultivation theory of Gerbner is essential to understand this relationship between the media tools and perception of threat. Despite the fact that personal features such as gender are still important, it is found that media use is significantly related

to perception threats at the 0.05 level. This study shows that, what is seen may affect the mindset of people and lead to behavior change (Ridout et. al, 2008, 591-592).

Movies and TV content from the aspect of propaganda studies can be investigated as propaganda films and films with propaganda feature. In propaganda films, propaganda purpose and message is obvious. The only aim is to transfer the message to target audience. Only other hand, in films with propaganda feature, aim is sometimes blurred. However, in these films it is possible to recognize some of the known propaganda techniques.

There are various kinds of propaganda films. They vary in terms of length, content, technique... Short propaganda films [6] are generally generated to be shown in factories, schools or cinemas during the break. On the other hand there are movies with long footage that are recorded with propaganda purposes. One of the most remarkable figures related with long propaganda films is German dancer, actress and movie director Leni Riefenstahl. Riefenstahl gained her fame as a filmmaker with two documentaries about a Nazi rally in Nuremberg in 1934 (*Triumph of the Will*) and the Berlin Olympics of 1936 (*Olympia*). *Triumph of the Will* is an intentional message to promote Nazi superiority starting with Hitler's arrival in Nuremberg, continuing through processions, rallies, and speeches in the order they happened, and finally with the Hitler's final address (Kelman, 2003). In film, it is possible to see Riefenstahl's manipulation on

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[6] For examples see: Soviet Sport Parade film: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rofdKemIJ4, Good Eating Habits – American propaganda film: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ys40_HxB7BM

certain basic images (such as clouds), buildings, icons (such as Swastika) and motifs by selecting every scene carefully to "win the hearts of people" for Nazi promotion (Manilla, 1965, p.23). Riefenstahl's personal close ties with prominent Nazis (Lawrence, 2016) and her success of film making continued with *Olympia*. It is noted that *Olympia* is directly financed by Goebbel's propaganda ministry (Riding, 2003). The documentary film is consisted two parts: *Festival of the Nations* and *Festival of the Beauty*. The main theme of two parts are same: "the fine New Germany, and the personal glorification of a humane, benign Führer" (Gunston, 1960, p.15). Although *Olympia* is a propaganda film just like *Triumph of the Will*, its propaganda purpose is less clear. The film takes place in Olympic games, and German athletes do not win every game in the film. However, this is not an important point in the film because film does not highlight the "final score" in every competition, on contrary it focuses on the grace, poise, and strength of the athletes (Mackenzie, 2003, p.304). Riefenstahl's creation of inhumanely perfect Aryan body is heavily criticized. Although Riefenstahl, herself stated that she was not aware of Nazi crimes, she was labeled as a Nazi criminal because of her iconic propaganda films. She has never become a member of Nazi party however this did not prevent spending four years at French detention camp for Riefenstahl. After four trials proceedings after war, she was declared as Nazi symphatizer (Riding, 2003).

Although in films that are made for propaganda purposes the objective and message is obvious, the films that are not 'propaganda films' the aim might be vague and blurred. In order to analyze which film includes a propaganda value or not, it might be useful to search for propaganda techniques defined. To illustrate, although Yeşilçam films

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cultivate (with reference to Gerbner) an image about life-style, social values or family style in Turkey, many of them do not carry propaganda value due to lack of propaganda techniques. However, on the other hand Hollywood is generally claimed to heavily carry propaganda value.

The reason why American entertainment industry matters for rest of the world is relevant with its size. Hollywood is the biggest film industry in the world according to global box office for all films released in each country around the world. According to theatrical market statistics 2016 that published by MPAA, global box office for all films released in each country around the world reached $38.3 billion in 2015 and $11.1 billion of this is belong to film industry of US and Canada. The closest rival to American film industry is China with $6.8 billion. (MPAA, 2016). Apart from these, researches show that Hollywood is being adored not only in USA, but also almost all parts of the world. Interestingly, despite the strong anti-Americanism in the Middle East countries, surveys indicates that Hollywood movies still affects the opinions about US and its culture in a positive direction. American movies especially is being liked by Europeans. A 2012 Pew Research Center survey discovered majorities in every one of the eight European Union countries reviewed saying they like American motion pictures, music, and TV, incorporating 72 percent of public in France, home to the Cannes Film Festival. Moreover, positive attitudes towards American movies, music and TV does not end with Europe. In the same study it is also found that about seven-in-ten of those surveyed in Japan, Brazil, and Mexico, for example, say they enjoy U.S. movies, music, and television (Pew Global, 2012). After 2008 crisis especially, Hollywood grew to overseas with China and Russia according to Galloway. (2012, p.

55) Even in India, which has long-resisted to American movie sector, Hollywood grew to 10 percent in market.

Although talking about a total consensus on a specific subject is quite difficult in social sciences, it is not wrong to say that there is a wide literature about the belief of Hollywood's value of propaganda. To illustrate, Redmond (2017) believes that CIA and US military have used Hollywood as a propaganda tool for almost a century starting with *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and continues with various WWII propagandas (Redmond, 2017, p. 280). WWII period for American film industry can be considered as golden age of propaganda films because of the quantity of propaganda films produced in this period. One of the remarkable examples of propaganda film of this period is *Why We Fight* series directed by Frank Capra and sponsored by War Department of the USA. Rollins (1996) claims that Capra "learnt his lesson from Nazis". According to him, Frank Capra was highly impressed by Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will.* Therefore, he immediately decided to manipulate the images for his own country's sake just like Riefenstahl did (Rollins, 1996, pp. 81-82). Katleen M. German (1990) believes that *Why We Fight* series that consist seven parts are successful mediums for persuasion and propaganda because of three characteristics. Firstly, *Why We Fight* took the advantage of being a "film". In order words, Capra was able to reach to both the eyes and the ears of the audience (German, 1990, p. 238). With radio or printing press, he could not succeed it. Secondly, German claims that Frank Capra managed to manipulate the images successfully in films. Although regardless of the film genre, almost all films show imitation of real life situations and things, in *Why We Fight* has a special success due to Capra's use of camera view (German, 1990, p.

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239). Lastly, film series follow a sequence of events. German believes that this situation creates a psychological impact on viewers that films are based on reality due to the fact that they follow a sequence of events (German, 1990, p. 239). Osborne (1990) claims that films produced between 1939 – 1945 present Axis forces as attackers to "American values" that are symbolized "mother, home, justice, health, beauty, love, money, security and education" (Osborne, 1990, p. 15). Some of the notable films that Hollywood produced during this period are *Confessions Of A Nazi Spy*, *Nurse Edith Cavill*, *Four Sons*, *The Mortal Storm*, *Escape*, and *Man Hunt* (Osborne, 1990, p. 18). As the wounds that caused by WWII healed, Hollywood propagandas went on with Cold War theme. The films produced during Cold War actively promoted Western ideology and the foreign policy of the United States (Redmond, 2017, p. 289). During Cold War period, the filming and distribution of *Animal Farm* of George Orwell can be considered as a significant move for anti-Communist propaganda of the US (Jarvie, 2008). It is also noted that, CIA involved in the production of 1984 of George Orwell in order to construct the analogy about the evil side of Soviet communism and totalitarianism (Redmond, 2017, p. 294). One might think that with the declining tension with the end of Cold War has ended the involvement of Hollywood in the propaganda field. However, this seems to be wrong. Especially, after 9/11, Hollywood supported war on terror of the USA via producing films. To illustrate, *Pearl Harbor* that aired only a few months after 9/11, is claimed to be an attempt to revive the memories of American patriotism (White, 2003, pp. 1 – 17). *Pearl Harbor* was followed by numerous military themed films such as *The Hurt Locker*, *Zero Dark Thirty*, *American Sniper*. However, not all American propaganda films came as military related films. For example *Argo* is considered as a

propaganda film even if it is not military related. There is a claim that even non-militaristic films of Hollywood carry the value of propaganda.

Another reason why Hollywood is believed to "not just producing entertainment" is the political relevance of Hollywood. To illustrate, it might be useful to investigate The 85th Academy Awards, which is one of the most prestigious awards in the world for movie sector and being watched by millions of viewers every year. In the 85th Academy Awards which took place in 2013, the winner of the award of best picture was *Argo* (2012), *which* was a highly debated film because of its subject. It was the story of the American embassy employees in Iran during the Iranian revolution and US' efforts to rescuing them from the country and bring them back to home. However, precisely the reason why this film is important for propaganda purposes is not only its subject. In award ceremony an unprecedented event was witnessed: the award of Argo was given by Michelle Obama, who was the first lady of US at the time. Furthermore, the speech that is done by Ben Affleck who was one the producers of the movie and also lead actor of the movie when he received the award from Mrs. Obama's hands was worth to consider. He said that: "... I want to thank Canada. I want to thank our friends in Iran living in terrible circumstances right now." (Wyatt, 2013) It is important to underline the fact that the timing of the ceremony was the period when US – Iran relations was cold, nervous and on edge. Therefore, the reaction against film, especially after it is rewarded, did not come late. Mehr News, official Iranian agency, published series of objections about *Argo* by saying that its not reflecting the reality and showing Iranians negatively with the words: "The Iranophobic American movie attempts to describe Iranians as

overemotional, irrational, insane and diabolical while at the same, the CIA agents are represented as heroically patriotic" (Mullen & Brumfield, 2013). It is noted that *Argo* had 7 nominations for Oscars and it won 3 of them.

The belief of Hollywood is not just producing entertainment, is also related with seeing it as an instrument of soft power by production of message. This messages can be produced intentionally or unintentionally. However, it does not change a fact: every message, every symbol creates an image and citizens are likely to take this image because they are spectators of this message. Even if the viewer does not agree with the message given or even hate the message, it is still important because negative image is still an image. Nye ,who is the founder of "soft power" argument, states: "Hollywood often portrays consumerism, sex and violence, but it also promotes values of individualism, upward mobility and freedom (including for women). These values make America attractive to many people overseas, but some fundamentalists see them as a threat." (Nye, 2003) Similarly, Chintamani believes that cinema's being soft power for political influence cannot be undermined. In his article his standing point is not Hollywood, but its Indian collegue, Bollywood. Similar to Hollywood's case, Bollywood is standing strong because of the famous dictum "best propaganda is not propaganda". Chintamani, thinks that when it comes to make propaganda Hollywood and Bollywood are quite similar. Although he looks to the examples such as *Top Gun* (1990) and its effect of young citizens' enlisting to the American airforce, he does not undermine older examples such as *Battle of Algiers* (1966) and its effects on Algerian struggle of freedom or recent examples such as *Iron Man* series which came right after the 9/11 tragedy. What is interesting here is that author's finding

Bollywood's propaganda related to India's foreign policy on Pakistan and Hollywood's propaganda related to aftermath of 9/11 public diplomacy goals (Chintamani, 2016)

It might be a mistake to say Hollywood's propaganda function a new thing that appears with the emergence of Cold War or 9/11. To illustrate, in the years of World War II; this function of American films were quite visible. Akarcalı (2003) claims that although Goebbels noticed the importance of cinema for propaganda and established a special unit for filming, this unit could not compete with Hollywood. The reason why the success of American movie industry for propaganda over Nazi filming industry was related with the number of American audience which is expressed by 85 billion people per week (Akarcalı, 2003, p. 253). In other words, the high number of audience was important for cinema for propaganda purposes because American movies were capable of reaching more people. Since the high number of audience is still valid for Hollywood, this situation again makes American filming industry significant for propaganda purposes in present time.

Most of the known propaganda techniques can be identified in Hollywood movies. Since, Hollywood has capacity to use many of art formed propaganda types in a single movie, it can be thought that Hollywood has capacity to reach audience through multiple channel such as music, graphic, architecture etc. at the same time.

4.6. New Forms of Art – Digital Arts

Due to advancing technologies of 21st century and computers' being a part of everyday life, creation and design find themselves a new platform to appear: digital platforms. Computer based art forms allow artists to collaborate between specialties thanks to supporting multiple formats of media and art forms. Images, music, sound, creative coding are binding together with the usage of computer. Since digital area allows users and artists countless opportunities to use, there are several forms of digital arts such as: interaction design, web design, digital filmmaking, computer animation, special effects and video games.

There are several forms of digital arts that include creativity and design. It is possible to investigate many of them related propaganda studies because digital arts often combines the classical forms of art that are tools of propagandas such as visual elements, music etc.

Propaganda websites, obviously, entered to life of individuals with the entrance of Internet. Thanks to real timing distribution of sources and information Internet became a useful tool to reach individuals in many ways including "fake news". Fake news propaganda via websites is often done for political or financial gain. In 2016, during the U.S. elections an anonymous group called PropOrNot defining themselves as "concerned American citizens with a wide range of backgrounds and expertise" (PropOrNot, n.d) emerged with the claim that Russian propaganda websites with fake news content affect American public opinion. The aim of the group is to highlight Russian propaganda websites and list them. Although there are criticisms towards the "shady and hidden" structure and

"McCarthyite blacklist" (Norton & Greenwald, 2016), PropOrNot insist that they respect freedom of expression and their only concern is to diminish Russian influence on American public opinion (PropOrNot, 2016).

Propaganda done with animation techniques is not a new kind of propaganda. Animations used by Japan, Soviets, the U.S and so on. Especially in WWII years and Cold War years, animation as a propaganda tool was quite common[7]. The only thing that is subject to change about animation propaganda is the making technique of animations. History of animation begins even before the cinematography. The basic line of history of animation follows three stages: Frame by frame animation (Bendazzi, 2016, p.21), computer based animation (2D computer drawing) and CGI animation (Pile Jr, 2013, pp. 57 - 71). The most recent phenomenon of CGI animation can both be considered under the title of movies as propaganda tools[8] and video games. For the purpose of examining digital arts with respect to propaganda studies, I believe video games branch of digital arts is the most suitable digital art form to investigate.

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[7] See: *Ducktators* (1942) –USA- , *Evil Mickey Attacks Japan* (1936) –Japan- , *Capitalist Sharks: Prophets and Lessons* (1967) –Soviet Russia-

[8] There are several examples of CGI animated films that generally produced for children. Probably for this reason, there is an aim of "teaching certain values" in CGI animated films for children. Therefore, they can be considered as propaganda films in certain extend.

CHAPTER 5

VIDEO GAMES AS ART:
WHY TO STUDY VIDEO GAMES?

"Game studies" focusing on video games is a relatively new field of investigation. However it's cross disciplinary nature provides a wide scope from aesthetics to cultural and communicative aspects to elaborate on. Probably for this reason in a relatively short span of time, game studies became a subject of scientific inquiry with significant cumulative knowledge including its own terminology, theories and methodologies that is taught and studied in universities across the world. Frans Mayra (2008) explains this expanding popularity of game studies with some basic reasons. The first reason is related with the increasing popularity of games. With the rising importance of new technologies in terms of both hardware and software, games are getting more interactive and fascinating. The increasing interactivity and the high tech advancements in the game play as well as game graphics may be considered one the reasons why video games attracting more individuals. The second reason is that not only they enter more homes and reach more people, but also they are increasingly becoming part of the socio-cultural life. Especially for citizens that live in industrialized societies, games are a part of life with high percentages of use of technological gaming devices such as smart phones, gaming consoles,

personal computers etc. The last reason Mayra mentions is the commercial success of video game industry (Mayra, 2008, p. 4-5).

Investigating these reasons one by one is necessary to have deeper understanding of nature of video games in academic sense. Elaborating the reason why video games are popular among individuals would give an idea about individuals' general attitude towards games. This attitude is relevant to individuals' possible response to messages of video games if there are any. Interrogating the socio- cultural dimension of video games necessary to understanding the relevance of video games with propaganda studies because of two aspects: the power of video games of community building and video games as an art form for being a tool of propaganda. Finally, reviewing the commercial success is significant for the purpose of seeing how big the video games market is. The popularity of the video games clearly goes beyond the number of games being sold worldwide or the number of people being engaged actively in gaming. Thus, video games as a socio-cultural phenomenon should be further elaborated.

5.1. Video Games as a Popular Phenomenon

From chess to GO, from Senet the board game of Ancient Egypt to *Grand Theft Auto IV*[9], games' popularity is not a new thing. For centuries,

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[9] Rockstar Games, 2008, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

people have always enjoyed playing games. However, gaming habits are evolving with the technological advances. While the appearance of new technologies and video games does not eradicate certain traditional types of games like chess, video games that can be enjoyed with a technological hardware seem like to reach unprecedented levels of popularity for games. This is not only valid for number of people playing video games, but also in terms of time spent these games. The interest goes well beyond playing these games, and a whole new cultural sphere is being built and shaped around video gaming. For instance, there are TV channels within networks and hundreds of YouTube channels both for playing games and introducing them, websites for live streaming of gaming, gaming communities with international organized patterns as well as number of publications (i.e. magazines) being sold.

Video games industry is a global phenomenon that spans from North America to Europe, from Brazil to Japan. In other words not only Northern countries produce, sell or buy video games, but also Southern countries both produce or consume games. According to the study of the Entertainment and software association in 2016, in the United States alone over 40% of households owns video games consoles and 67% of households play video games (Entertainment and Software Association, 2016). Worldwide age range of video game players is also quite broad. In addition to the classical gamer category of teenage boys; majority of the age group between 18 and 44 states that they play video games and even %25 of 70 years and older declared that they play video games (Entertainment and Software Association, 2016).

Nonetheless, teenage gamers form the vital vein of the gaming industry. 97% of teens aged between 12-17 play computer, web, portable, or console games (Pew Internet, 2008). According to the study of Pew Research Center (2008), 99% of boys and 94% of girls play video games. These numbers show that almost all teens are playing video games. Moreover, in the same research it is found that gaming is a daily activity for teenagers. 50% of participant teens played games "yesterday." Furthermore, as cited in Grossman and DeGaetano (1999), according to report of non-profit organization Mediascope, American children who have video game systems at home play with them ninety minutes a day on average.

Another point that deserves attention related with teens' gaming habits is that for many of them, gaming is an experience that goes beyond simply playing games. Research shows that many of teens consider gaming as a social experience (Carlisle & Carrington, 2015). Only 24% of gamer teens are playing games alone. Majorities of 65% of game-playing teens play with other people who are in the room with them while 27% of the participants play games with people who they connect with through the Internet. Online gaming is an important point to underline, as game-playing teens play with the people they know from their offline lives (47%) and sometimes play with completely strangers (27%) (Pew Internet, 2008).

Andy Przybylski's research on motivation for gaming reveals that gaming is like "trying different hats on" for many gamers. As cited in Condon (2011), Przybylski explains:

> A game can be more fun when you get the chance to act and be like your ideal self. The attraction to playing videogames and what makes

them fun is that it gives people the chance to think about a role they would ideally like to take and then get a chance to play that role.

(Condon, 2011).

According to Pryzybylski's argumentation, video games' provide the possibility of 'being whoever (or even whatever) the gamer wants' makes gamers feel better. Most college student gamers associate gaming with positive feelings, such as "pleasant" (36%), "exciting" (34%), and "challenging" (45%) (Jones, 2003). Similar to these findings, Douglas Gentile thinks that video games gives autonomy to gamer. According to Gentile, when the gamer holds the controller, he/she is in control. The gamer releases the stress-hormones such as adrenaline and testosterone, which are the hormones that would be released in a real life action. (Yenigun, 2013). Therefore the gamer feels as if she/he becomes the game character, which he/she plays for a while.

5.2. Video Games as a Cultural Matter

5.2.1. Video Games as an Art Form

The relationship between 'culture' and video games is a multidimensional topic to consider as video games' influence the culture itself on one hand and is the centre of a new culture called "video game culture" on the other. Likewise to most of the social matters, "culture" and its sources have no one true definition. Mayra acknowledges that video games and cultural debates are often linked to social constructionism that can be explained by the claim of people's perceptions of reality are not

solely based on objective matter or facts. Conversely, they are being produced socially and culturally (Mayra, 2008, p.14). For this reason, game studies search for similarities and differences between games and former fictional or artistic creations such as literature and cinema.

Finding similarities between games and other fictional or artistic creations is the starting point of a popular debate. There is an ongoing debate whether video games can be considered as an art form or not. The proponents of consideration of video games as an art form defend that video games are products of art because they are a collective result of creative skill of artists who are working for different branches and they are clearly outcome of imagination[10]. Keith Stuart (2012) believes that even if there is no need to question whether video games are art or not, there is a tendency of art critics to barricade themselves against the wave of 'new'. Stuart gives the example of the French commentators who went to the first display of paintings by Monet, Degas and Pissaro on the Boulevard des Capucines in 1874, and declared these works a crime; an affront to the formal expertise of the great masters. For him, the negative judgment about video games as art form is similar to this prejudice (Stuart, 2012).

On the other hand, Chris Melissinos (2015) who curated "The Art of Video Games" exhibit at the Smithsonian, focuses on a different angle of video games as an art form: its ability to combine many forms of art. He believes that video games are one of the important forms of art simply because of this very reason. He argues:

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[10] To have additional and more detailed coverage of the subject of video games as a form of art see: Fidalgo (2012), Smuts(2005), Bourgonjon et al. (2017).

Technology has expanded the canvas upon which artists are able to paint and tell their stories. As an art form that has only existed in the digital space, video games are truly a collision of art and science. They include many forms of traditional artistic expression—sculpture in the form of 3D modeling, illustration, narrative arcs, and dynamic music—that combine to create something that transcends any one type.

(Melissinos, 2015)

Melissinos' point is valid because many forms of art can be observed in video games. Firstly, video games have stories. Many story and scenario writers work for a game. Moreover, since some video games' stories are being shaped by gamers' decision and choices during the game play, writers have to produce alternative stories with many possible plots. Secondly, video games have an aesthetic value. Many people work for environment modeling, people modeling, the interactiveness of even small objects in games, architecture etc. Thirdly, similar to movies, in video games music holds an essential role. The music in video games completes the action or atmosphere of the video game and it serves another industry as soundtrack.

5.2.2. Video Games as Experience

It might be true that video games show similarity or even combine some of the art branches. Nonetheless, video games have also some differences. Game designer Jesse Schell argues in his book *The Art of Game Design* (2008), the game is not the experience itself while other art forms are experience. Conversely, the game enables the experience according to him. Indeed, video games are different from other art forms of entertainment because other forms of entertainment make the person experience it. (Schell, 2008, p. 10). Other forms of artistic creation generate a material experience. For example a sculpture can be seen, touched and interpreted. On the other hand video games do not create a material reality that would be experienced. In contrast, video games create an artificial reality. Since it is artificial, it is not the real "experience" itself; it "enables" experience through interaction (Schell, 2008, p.10 - 12).

In other forms of art, artist tries to create a certain experience for the person who interacts with artistic creation. However, in video games there is no certain experience for gamer, it is unique for every person who plays it. For example, while watching a movie the plot or the actions of the characters do not change according to reader's decisions. Moreover, they only display the world according to the director and how and what he/she wants the spectator to see it. The spectator has no choice to look around and be interested in unrelated details or pursue an alternative plot.

In modern video game design, there are two possible ways to tell the story of the game: linear narrative and nonlinear narrative. In linear game design, the story has a defined beginning, middle and end. The gamer decisions do not affect story in linear game design (Hurme, 2016, p.23). It is essential to distinguish that, even though in linear game design gamer decisions do not affect the story, they still affect gameplay. Because gamer still has the control on where to look, what game element he/she uses, what time he/she spends in a particular are etc. As its name implies, linear games follows a linear structure, for this reason linear game design sometimes referred as "string of pearls" (Schell, 2008, p. 264).
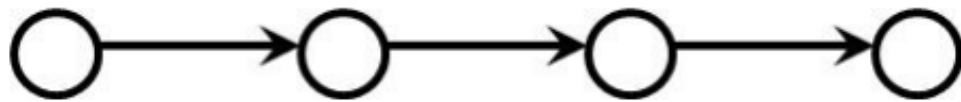
Figure 2: Linear Game Design Model

(Schell, 2008, p. 264).

Some of the examples of games with linear narrative are: *Uncharted 4: A Thief's End*[11], *The Last of Us*[12], *Half-Life 2*[13], *Rise of the Tomb Raider*[14] and *Wolfenstein*[15].

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[11] Naughty Dog, 2016, Playstation 4, Action - Adventure

[12] Naughty Dog, 2013, Playstation , Action - Adventure

[13] Valve Corporation, 2004, Multiplatform, FPS

[14] Square Enix, 2015, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

[15] Multidevelopers, 1981-...., Multiplatform, FPS

However, not all games follow this kind of linear path. The second type of story telling in video game design is nonlinear narrative. Nonlinear games do not have to have one beginning, one middle point and one end. There are multiple ways to proceed in a nonlinear game (Hurme, 2016, p.20). Nonlinear games are more interactive than linear games because of the fact that they provide opportunity for gamer to make decisions that affect the story itself directly. They present choices to gamer at particular points of the story. As gamer makes choices, it lead to new events, new choices and consequences. These decisions and choices of gamer might affect relationship status between characters; give an advantage of future skill to character or simply start a new story branch (McIntosh, Cohn & Grace, 2010). There are multiple ways to design a nonlinear game. Sometimes, these ways of nonlinear storytelling might overlap. Some of the most common nonlinear game models are branching model, parallel paths model and open world model.

1) Branching model: In this model, every decision that gamer makes opens a new path in story and gamer is able to observe the consequences of his / her decision or choice immediately or cumulatively (Adams, 2009, p. 169 -170).
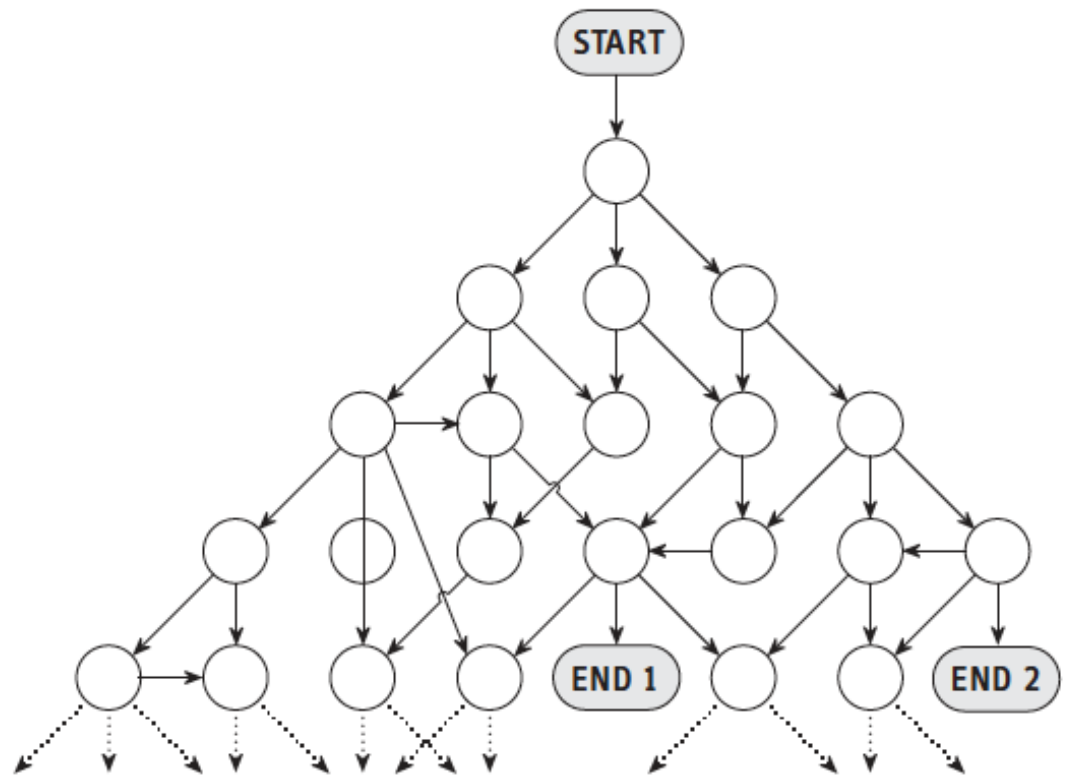
Figure 3: Branching Game Design Model

(Adams, 2009, p. 171).

Some of the examples of games with branching game model are: *The Wolf Among Us*[16], *Until Dawn*[17], *Heavy Rain*[18] and *Beyond: Two Souls*[19].

2) Parallel paths model: Since branching model requires several possible paths to follow, it is expensive and difficult to design many stories. For this reason parallel

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[16] Telltale Games, 2014, Multiplatform, Interactive adventure

[17] Supermassive Games, 2015, Playstation 4, Horror adventure

[18] Quantic Dream, 2010, Playstation, Interactive drama

[19] Quantic Dream, 2013, Playstation, Interactive drama

paths model combines nonlinear narrative with linear narrative. In parallel paths model, gamer makes choices at some points in game. However, these choices lead some "mandatory steps" to take for gamer. Ernest Adams defines these kinds of stories as "fold back stories". He describes, "…the plot branches a number of times but eventually folds back to a single, inevitable event before branching again and folding back again to another inevitable event." (Adams, 2009, p. 173-174).
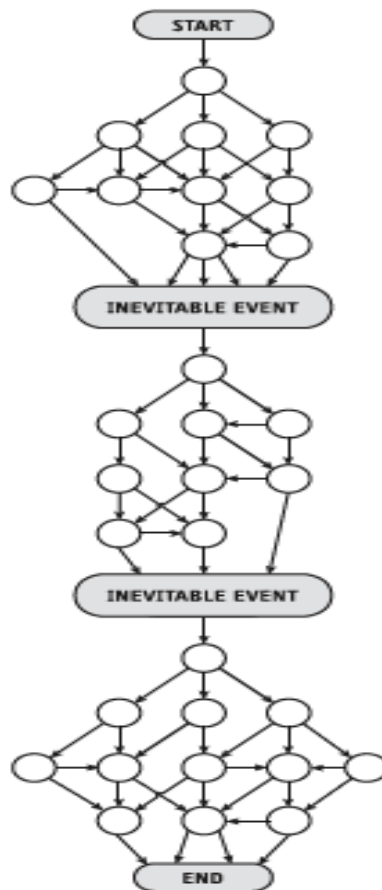
Figure 4: Parallel Paths Game Design Model

(Adams, 2009, 174).

Games with foldback stories do no have to have one ending. There might be several possible endings of them according to gamer's decisions within gameplay. Some of the examples of games with parallel path narrative are *Silent Hill*[20] series, *BioShock*[21] and *Metal Gear Solid*[22].

3) Open world model: Open world games (as known as free roaming games or sandbox games) give gamer the freedom of abandoning the main storyline for subordinate storylines and act freely in a large and disinterestedly functioning world (Bissell, 2010, p. 5).
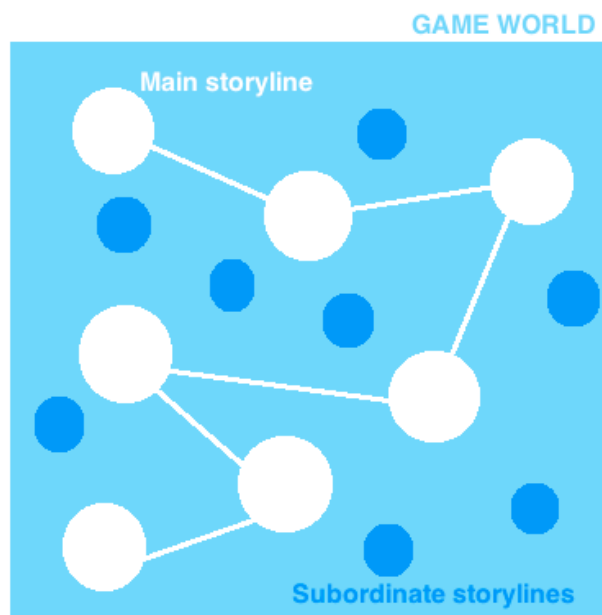
Figure 5: Open World Game Design Model

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[20] Konami, 1999, Multiplatform, Survival horror

[21] 2K Games, 2007, Multiplatform, FPS

[22] Konami, 1998, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

Open world games give high degree of autonomy to gamer. Although due to technical restrictions, there are certain limitations within gameplay; players are generally allowed to make their own decisions, follow their own path or behave in their own way within game possibilities. Some of the popular examples of open world games are *Grand Theft Auto*[23] series, *Assassin's Creed*[24], *Witcher III*[25] and *Minecraft*[26].

Indeed, video games are not the first area that nonlinear narrative is seen. Multiple-storyline books known as "Choose You Own Adventure Books" began as series in 1979 (Copeland, 1987, p.52). Choose Your Own Adventure Books[27] have a nonlinear structure different from video games. Precisely, it is not possible to create open world nonlinearity within books. For this reason, CYOA could follow branching or parallel path models. In these books, author tells the situation to reader and in certain points he/she offer choices. According to these choices, reader is directed to different pages. For example, the following example from *Underground Kingdom* by Edward Packard (1983) lead the story to two possible ways by referring page 13 and page 9:

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[23] Rockstar Games, 1997, Multiplatform, Action- Adventure

[24] Ubisoft, 2007, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

[25] CD Projekt, 2015, Multiplatform, Action role-playing

[26] Mojang, 2011, Microsoft, Sandbox

[27] Choose Your Own Adventure Books is referred to as "CYOA".

…Should you warn your friends about the strange force? If you do, they may be afraid to get close enough to rescue you. If you warn Larsen and Sneed, turn to page 13.

If you just yell, "Please hurry!" turn to page 9.

CYOA became quite popular between the years 1979 – 1999 with selling over 250 million copies worldwide and being translated into 38 languages (CYOA, n.d). However, in 1998, CYOB series ended. Graeme McMillan claims that series lost its popularity because of the rise of video games, which offer "far more exciting" interactive adventures (McMillan, 2013). The claim of the book series was making the reader "star". Books use second person narrative mode to pull the reader into story. However, even though reader becomes the "star" or protagonist of the story, he/she cannot have the real control over the character. The reader is not able to look wherever he/she wants, do whatever he/she desires etc. For this reason, even if CYOA claims to make reader the protagonist, reader is still a "spectator" that makes some choices within limited possibilities.

Being spectator is not the same position as being player. Spectator has no initiative while the movie goes on whereas player has it during the game. Ideally, in a game, player does not only watch what is going on. Player acts within the game and shapes it. This characteristic of the video games gives the player a huge degree of freedom unlike any other previous form of art, theater, cinema or literature.

To illustrate the issue clearly, a comparative look may be useful between the main protagonists of a classic movie and a video game. In the movie *Casablanca* (1942), Rick Blaine who is portrayed by Humphrey Bogart

has limitations in the eyes of spectator because he has a background set by the story of the film, he has a specific type of behavior, he has his sayings etc. All these traits of Rick Blaine are shown to the audience and there is no room for further imagination by them. The spectator cannot know everything about Rick Blaine, and is only able to know precisely what the director and the script writer wants one to know, nothing more nothing less. On the other hand, considering the main character of *Resident Evil 4*[28] (2005), the acting style of Leon Kennedy, the gun he prefers to use, through which way he goes, the degree of Leon's helpfulness etc. are decided by the gamer's choices and for this reason they alter from gamer to gamer. Whole traits of Leon Kennedy are shaped by each player's perception and desire. As a result, whoever plays *Resident Evil 4*[29], constructs a unique story and experiences a different involvement.

5.2.3. Video Games as Cultural Agency

Video games might be considered as a cultural agency because of their ability to draw a certain image of something and someone. This image might be quite effective for individuals because of their direct involvement in the game and event sequence by playing. This efficiency of video games in building-rebuilding images is not gone unnoticed by policy makers either. For instance, seeking a way for building a new and "cool" image of the country which would be attractive for especially younger

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[28] Capcom, 2005, Multiplatform, Survival horror

[29] Capcom, 2005, Multiplatform, Survival horror

demographics, the United Kingdom ran a public diplomacy campaign named "Cool Britannia" starting with 1990s. This campaign aimed to construct a more positive and a fun image of Britain going beyond the classical images of the double-decker buses, red telephone cabins etc. by using popular and fun images instead, such as the Spice Girls, Oasis, The Verve etc. It is interesting to see that in addition to real popular culture characters, one of the most important pillars of this campaign was a British video game character, Tomb Raider: Lara Croft.

Caroline Lowbridge (2016) believes that Lara Croft was a game changer in video gaming culture despite the criticisms against her sexualized image. However, PR authorities of Britain believe that Lara Croft was a strong British female character that appeared in a highly male dominated gaming world. Besides, Lara Croft is thought to be one of the most powerful feminist characters probably because of her strength despite her youth, and her extensive physical and intellectual abilities and knowledge displayed and needed throughout the game to overcome obstacles and solve puzzles. Lara Croft was so loved and internalized as a British character that a part of a ring road in Derby named after her as "Lara Croft Way" in 2010. Even the British government was so impressed by the game's success that Lara Croft was named as an ambassador for British scientific excellence. It is claimed that Lara Croft was arguably as iconic as James Bond in films for British image (Lowbridge, 2016). With her proper English with a proper British accent, her mansion and the way mansion had been decorated by game developers, Lara Croft seem to be a good way to present British image for British PR makers.

All in all, video games have potential to create a certain image of something or someone. In case of Cool Britannia campaign, British PR makers used this potential for creating a cultural agency. Similar to this situation, game developers or game producers might use this potential for different purposes by creating cultural agencies using video games[30].

5.2.4. Video Games and Third Place

Community is the creation of people to maintain common needs and it is both a feeling and a set of relationship between community members (Chavis & Lee, 2015). By definition, communities require social environments to exist. Ray Oldenburg prefers to call these social environments in which communities are formed and live and thus people gather and interact with each other "places" (Oldenburg, 1999, p.16).

According to Oldenburg, there are three places in community building. The first place is the home, which is regular and predictable place to be in. Children grow in this environment and it has a great impact in their development. The second place is the work place where individuals have productive roles. This place is competitive and encourages individuals to rise above their fellows (Oldenburg, 1999, p.41). Oldenburg argues that there is also a "third place" other than home and work. The existing of third place that can be described as place for informal social gatherings, is a result of a need according to claim of Oldenburg. He claims that people need third

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[30] These possible purposes will be elaborated in the chapter of "Procedural Rhetoric, Serious Games and Persuasive Games".

places in order to lend a public balance to the increased privatization of home life (Oldenburg, 1997, p.6).

There are several examples of third spaces. They and their eminence might vary with historical period and cultural setting. For example, in ancient Greece agoras, forums or public baths can be considered as examples of third place (Oldenburg, 1999, p. 42). In twentieth century, in the United States candy stores, soda fountains, coffee shops, diners, etc. are some of the examples (Oldenburg, 1997, p.6). Although third places are found differently from time to time or place to place, they share some common characteristics and features. Oldenburg (1999) notes the main features of third places as following: First third places are neutral grounds. By neutrality, it tried to explain that individuals are not obliged to be there, on the contrary, they might be in the third place or leave as they please and no one is the "host" (Oldenburg, 1999, p.46). Second, third places are levelers. In this sense, there is no formal rule set for membership and exclusion. Third spaces are accessible to general public regardless of social status (Oldenburg, 1999, p 47-48). Third, in third places, conversation is the main activity. Although, other activities other than conversation such as playing games take place in third spaces, talking still seems hold the essential position there. Fourth, accessibility to third places is quite high. Individuals easily access there and in the time period they spend in third place, they feel welcome. For this reason, it is possible to spend hours in third places with the feeling of being free from responsibilities for a while. Fifth, third places have regulars to set the atmosphere and mood. Therefore, third place might attract newcomers any time. Sixth, third places have a low profile. This feature of them, helps third places to give a feeling of "home"

to individuals those come to third place. Seventh, the mood of third places is always playful. Individuals feel joy rather than anxiety or alienation in third places. Finally, third places are "a home away from home". In other words, third places offer regularity, familiarity and feel of ownership to individual. Therefore, being in the third place gives the sense of warmth to comers (Oldenburg, 1999, pp 44 – 62).

Although Oldenburg thought about coffee shops, bars, pubs etc. when he coined the term "third place", concept has been widened with the contribution with several scholars. Jeffres et al (2009) divided third place into four categories: 1) Places for eating, drinking and talking, 2) Places for organized social activities, 3) Outside venues such as street meetings, 4) Commercial Venues (Jeffres et al, 2009, p. 340). Slater and Koo (2010) tried to fill the gap of original third place term by looking at art venues and art museums as third places. Thanks to the advancements of technology, the shift of public space to internet based areas and the widespread use of online technologies, new perspectives about third place carried the concept from physical environment to virtual space.

Crick (2011) claims that virtual third place has all the main characteristics of Oldenburg noted. Even more, virtual third space is providing more new opportunities for potential social interaction by getting rid of the barriers of time and space. Therefore it is more accessible (Crick, 2011, p.5). Steinkuehler and Williams (2006) contribute to the conceptualization of the virtual third place by expanding the issue to online gaming by pointing MMOGs (Massive multiplayer online games). They express that MMOGs might function as third places where informal

sociability takes place. Furthermore, MMOGs carries every feature of third places Oldenburg noted (Steinkuehler & Williams, 2006).

MMOG [31] s (Massive Multiplayer Online Games) brought new perspectives that deserve attention to game culture debates because of their expanding popularity and due to their particular gaming experience offered. These games are being played by high number of gamers simultaneously and globally and allows them to interact with each other, team up to realize missions and develop alliances and rivalries among groups, all in a virtual world, going beyond physical time and space boundaries. To illustrate the point, *League of Legends*[32] is a striking example. This game had over 100 million active registered players per month in average in 2016 worldwide (Volk ,2016.). In many MMOGs, there is a possibility to develop one's own character with the player deciding all aspects of their character's attributes, gender, physical appearance, intelligence, dexterity etc. There are mainly four choices of characters in these types of games: warrior, thief, magic-user (mage) and healer. Nevertheless, unlike shooter games, in MMOGs, the class the player chose does not limit the character itself (Monaghan, 2010, p.302). Asbjørn Jøn claims that MMOGs and MMORPGs are inductive to the development of a unique way of language features and jargon. Moreover, they also have their own conventions; events, etiquettes and the players even share some particular community values (Jøn, 2010, p.97).

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[31] Sometimes referred as MMORPGs (Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games) or MMOs (Massively Multiplayer Online).

[32] Riot Games, 2009, Microsoft and macOS, MMO

MMOGs allow player to interact with both the environment and with other players as well. It is possible to say that, MMOGs are like previous role games with its parts of killing monsters, obtaining quests etc. However, there is also the aspect of internal sociability in MMOGS. Unlike the other non-online games, in the case of MMOGs the gaming culture is being built in the game world itself, not outside the community with communicational tools such as online forum discussions (Jacko, 2012, p.625). Moreover, online gaming allows gamers to marry in game, build houses etc. Players are able to establish some alliances, guilds or legions. This feature of online gaming creates a strong sense of belonging and the wish for reproducing; sharing or redistributing what the player has in the online community (O'Connor et al., 2015).

5.3. The Economics of Video Gaming

Video games industry is a huge industry in which millions of dollars flow at global scale. In fact, video game market is a broad market that has two main branches: the hardware industry and the software industry. Tools and gadgets that are used for gaming characterize the hardware industry. They can be video games consoles such as PlayStation, XBox, PC or Wii and their side products such as XBox Kinect or PSMove. The software industry leans on video games itself. In a general sense, video game industry continues to be a growth industry. Worldwide sales of video game software and dedicated hardware was estimated by DFC Intelligence at $67 billion worldwide in 2010 and expected to grow to $82 billion in 2017 (Gaudiosi,

2012). Moreover, in the United States only, video game incomes exceeded $30 billion in 2016 (Entertainment Software Association, 2016).

By February 2017, a popular game for the ever-popular physical gaming console, Nintendo Wii, Wii Sports sold 82.54 million units worldwide, followed by Super Mario Bros with 40.24 million units (VGZCharts, 2017, cited in Statista). These massive figures in sales are accompanied with the debate and related online conversations, which mean people, do not only buy and play these games, but read and converse about them as well. In 2016 there were around 75.000 online articles mentioning the popular game, *Overwatch,* followed by 36.500 online articles mentioning *Pokemon Go (*ICO Partners, Statista, 2016)*.* Worldwide, as of June 13, 2017 – only Microsoft Windows games- *Sims 3* sold 8.02 million units, while *World of Warcraft* sold 6.32 million units (VGZCharts, 2017).

Since playing video games require some devices to play on, it might be useful to look at the figures of the hardware industry. In a research in 2015 among the 12-17 year olds it is revealed that they play games on mobile devices 63%, consoles 60%, desktop and laptop 45% and portables 26% (NPD Group, 2015). It is estimated that the share of tablet gamers among tablet users in the United States will increase to 75.9% in 2020 (eMarketer, 2015). In 2016, digital games industry revenue in the United States by mobile games was 5.524 million U.S. dollars while by console games was 2.618 million U.S. dollars.

Although the United States is a quite big market for digital gaming and video game industry, one should remind that the industry is not limited only with the US. On the contrary video games industry is very global. For instance, the highest number of Internet users who play online

games on their computer as of 4th quarter of 2014 is listed as China, Turkey, Thailand, Vietnam, Taiwan, Brazil, Philippines, Argentina, Canada and United States respectively (GlobalWebIndex, 2014).

Especially with the wide spread of smartphones and tablet computers, mobile gaming industry became a phenomenon that deserves further attention. As March 2016, in the United States, after popular mainstream gaming devices such as PlayStation, Windows and Xbox; Android and iOS were said to be favorite video game platforms of gamers with 18% (Forbes, 2016). Moreover, it is reported that with the percentage of 63%, in the U.S., mobile devices are the most used gaming devices by children (NPD Group, 2015). Mobile contents market value worldwide rose from 6.9 billion U.S. dollars to 59.8 billion U.S dollars between years 2011 – 2017 and it is estimated that it will be 74.4 billion U.S. dollars in 2019 (Capcom, 2017). In 2017 as May, global mobile gaming revenue is reported to be 22.6 billion Euros (IDATE, 2017).

Similar to overall video game industry, mobile gaming industry is a global phenomenon. The leading mobile gaming markets are China, the United States, Brazil, Russia, Japan, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Mexico and Republic of Korea. These countries consist 63.5% of mobile gaming markets worldwide (Unity Technologies, 2016). According to research of GlobalWebIndex in second quarter 2016, in the Asia Pacific market alone, 71% of Internet users played a mobile game via a smartphone. Latin America, Middle East and Asia markets followed this at 68%. The North American and European markets saw smartphone mobile gaming activity of 52% and 50% respectively (GlobalWebIndex, 2016). Worldwide, mobile games have the longest mobile application session among smartphone users

with average 7.55 minutes; followed by media and entertainment applications, all apps, travel and lifestyle applications and e-commerce applications (Localytics, 2015).

All these numbers showing commercial success of video games indicates that video games reach to massive numbers of individuals and households. However, precisely the numbers alone cannot explain what happens when they reach players or why game developers / producers want to reach individuals. Earning money might be a powerful motivation for creating new content, however, this motivation is unable to explain non-profit games. Moreover, making money explanation still suffers from lack of expounding the potential effect on buyer. With the purpose of enlightening the issue of possible intentions of game developer / designer / producer other than making money, their attainable outcomes on individuals and elaborating relationship with propaganda studies; it is necessary to investigate issues of procedural rhetoric, serious games and persuasive games.

CHAPTER 6

PROCEDURAL RHETORIC, SERIOUS GAMES AND PERSUASIVE GAMES

"Persuasive games" is a term coined by Ian Bogost in 2007. Bogost believes that videogames are expressive medium, thus they have a "procedural rhetoric" that is persuasive. He defines procedural rhetoric as, "the art of persuasion through rule-based representations and interactions rather than the spoken word, writing, images, or moving pictures" (Bogost, 2007, ix). Even though procedural rhetoric shows some similarities to other techniques of manipulation and persuasion such as being a type of effective expression, since it is procedural, it requires procedural systems such as computer software. To understand procedural rhetoric, it might be useful to investigate classical understanding of rhetoric such as visual rhetoric.

6.1. Procedural Rhetoric

According to Bogost, video games have multiple forms of cultural expression besides having just speech and writing. Having photographic and cinematic expression, video games can be considered as a part of "visual rhetoric". To explain the potential of images for reflective rhetorical purposes Bogost gives reference to Charles A. Hill's explanation of visual rhetoric:

> It is likely that verbal text, because of its analytic nature (being made up of discrete meaningful units) and because it is apprehended relatively slowly over time, is more likely to prompt systematic processing, while images, which are comprehend wholistically and almost instantaneously, tend to prompt heuristic processing.

(Bogost, 2007, p. 22).

Hill's explanation of visual rhetoric does not have a solid conclusion because images do not reflect an exact message such as speech does. However, as cited in Bogost, Hill argues that the images do not have to give an exact message. For example, even if the advertisements do not want to persuade people to buy product, on the contrary advertisers want to compel people to buy product regardless of the reason why (Bogost, 2007, p.22). Despite the images' potential of being rhetoretical tools for persuasion processes, visual rhetoric is not enough to describe the expressive nature of video games. Video games are more than images because the images in video games are constructed, coded or even selected within digital field. For this reason, there is a need to describe a new field of rhetoric of persuasion for video games, namely: digital rhetoric.

Digital is a word that is often used to describe computer-based or electronic. It is also used for describing the contrast of "analog" technologies, which based on the principles of similarity, proportion, and resemblance. Within computer systems context, digital refers to encoding of information in binary digits (as known as bits) (Eyman, 2015). The connection between rhetoric and digital is firstly established in 1989 by Richard Lanham with the usage of term "digital rhetoric" suggesting that digital production is the "ultimate home of rhetoric". As cited in Eyman, Lanham claims that "it is the computer as fulfillment of social thought that needs explication" (Eyman, 2015).

Since digital rhetoric is a relatively new field to explore and discuss, many scholars and writers prefer to make comparisons with digital rhetoric and traditional persuasion and rhetoric methods such as text. Because of this tendency, digital rhetoric studies proceed with the reference to hypertext or traditional communication fields such as media. However, digital rhetoric brings some unprecedented features to the field such as encouragement of self-expression, participation, and creative collaboration (Zappen, 2005, p. 321).

The characteristics of digital rhetoric described differently by different scholars. Laura J. Gurak as cited in Bogost identifies some of the basic characteristics of digital rhetoric as speed, reach, anonymity, and interactivity. The first three features that Gurak counts are simply about the computer technologies itself (Bogost, p.25). Interactivity, the fourth feature stands in a different location from the other three. Zappen believes that the interactivity that digital spaces create is the essence of their encourgement of self-expression, participation and creative collaboration. Thus, digital

spaces' ability to create social communities comes from this feature (Zappen, 2005, p. 322). This feature of digital technologies is related with Bogost's claim of procedural rhetoric.

Procedural rhetoric claim of Ian Bogost follows the classical persuasion models. According to Bogost, procedural rhetoric requires to change opinion or action just like classical models of persuasion. However, there is a contemporary point of this model: procedural rhetoric results in expression, in other words transmitting ideas in an effective way. Bogost argues that just as visual materials such as photography, moving images etc., computer hardwares, softwares and video games have become pervasive and thus they are become account for procedural expression (Bogost, 2007, p.29).

Video games, with the perspective of procedural rhetoric, show visuals without pointing crystal clear arguments. The images video games show do not have to be directly carry a message. Vivid messages are proved to be more persuasive than pallid information (Sherer & Rogers, 1984, p. 321). Thus, video game viewers or players are more likely to be manipulated or persuaded with not only images that are shown in video game, but also the context related video game such as cultural or physical processes. In video games context, procedural rhetoric debates go hand in hand with interactivity because vivid information blended with interactivity resulted in a more complex procedural rhetoric. Interactivity of video games with active participation of gamer, does not guarantee meaningful or non meaningful expression or persuasion, however, it creates a ground for both (Bogost, 2007, p. 34 – 45). The procedural rhetoric of video games can best

be investigated with the help of two genres of video games: serious games and persuasive games.

6.2. Serious Games

Serious games are games that are not created with the intention of fun or entertainment but with the goal of raising awareness about a problem or issue or teaching an action. They are also being used for game-based learning for number of issues such as basic geometry. Although serious games might be educative, they may serve other purposes such as strategic thinking. The developers /producers of serious games can be found from various fields. Industrial institutions, governments, companies or even military sponsored serious games exist. Despite the fact that serious games are generally seen as a part of gamification approach, serious games are different from gamification. Gamification approach refers using game thinking and game design elements to improve learners' engagement and motivation, while serious games explains the design of full-fledged games for non-entertainment aims, "gamified" application solely employ elements of games (Dicheva, Dichev et. al, 2014, p. 75).

According to Clark C. Abt (1970), "serious games" is a general term not only for video games, but also for analog games such board games or role playing games that is created under straightforward impact and guidance of external institutional goals as cited in Bogost (Bogost, 2007, p.55). There are several types of serious games. Some of the genres of serious games might overlap because of the lack of clear distinction among

genres. Bogost suggests that, the genre and context of serious game depends on the institution that uses game and its purpose by giving examples:

> Educational games translate existing pedagogical goals into videogame form; government games translate existing political goals in videogame form; health games provide doctors and medical institutions with videogame-based tools to accomplish their existing needs; military games help armies and soldiers address existing global conflicts with new, cheaper, and more scalable simulations; corporate games provide executives with videogame-based tools to accomplish their existing business goals; first responder games offer simulated views of already known methods of response to natural disaster or terrorist incident; and science games provide appealing videogame-based tools to clarify known principles and practices.
>
> (Bogost, 2007, p.57).

Although serious games can be seen as an instance of procedural rhetoric because of carrying a meaningful message and purpose, they do not have full potential to explain commercial gaming industry due to having organic bounds with institutions such as military, economic institutions etc. However, the procedural rhetoric in video games, that back or challenge the understanding of a particular issue, brings the concept of "persuasive games" which is more complex and inclusive.

6.3. Persuasive Games

In general terms, persuasion is seen as a social process that is triggered by social interactions. Thus, persuasion is an ability of social actor that creates relationship, rewarding people with positive feedbacks, designing target behavior and providing social back up. B. J. Fogg claims that, computers might function as social actors with persuasive aims (Fogg,

2002, p. 90). This claim of persuasive technology is leaning on the assumption that there are five social cues to leverage the persuasion processes and computers have ability to use every of them. Fogg recognizes five social cues as: physical, psychological, language, social dynamics and social roles. Persuasion through physical cues refers to physical attractiveness of technology. Fogg hypothesizes that people are likely to be persuaded by things that they find physically attractive. Since technology is advancing in a way that visually attractive, physical cue is being operated. The development of more human-like characters or more realistic graphics in games as time goes by can be counted the examples of this category. The physical cue of persuasion by computers define the situation that moments computers appear as if they have emotions, preferences and ability of empathy. According to Fogg, people are likely to be persuaded if they could establish similarities between potential persuader and themselves. Referring features that belongs to humans, computers create a physical cue claims Fogg. Influencing through language, works in a similar way. Computers use language as if they have a personality. They even praise users with phrases such as "Great job!" and make people feel good. Feeling good makes people easier to persuade. Persuasion through social dynamics, works through turn taking, cooperation, praise for good work, answering questions and reciprocity. In final cue, which is social roles cue, computer uses human figures as authority or supporter to influence people. For example, an educational software "behaves" as if teacher to be more persuasive (Fogg, 2002, pp 91-114).

Persuasive games share a similar logic with technological persuasion of Fogg. However, it is noted that while persuasive technology does not necessarily include procedurality, persuasive games have it. In other words, persuasive games are created by expressional codes that are crafted with computers. In case of video games, codes are not open and function beneath since they are considered as trade secrets. Even if this situation brings some debates about not being transparent, it is noted that prodecural rhetoric is not an automatic part of expression that is crafted by computers (Bogost, 2007, pp 62-64). On the contrary, procedural rhetoric of computational expression is something constructed with intention.

Since persuasive games are result of construction, design and craft; it might be useful to investigate the designing model of them in order to have a deeper understanding of the way they work. In persuasive game design, there are three main concepts to describe: gamification, game world and behavioral change design. Through gamification, players that live in real world are able to experience game world. Thus, players' real world experience turns into game world experience. At the same time, game designer and player carry game world into real world by designing it or playing it. However, these altering processes never take place totally and it goes on as an endless circular relationship (Visch et. al, 2013).
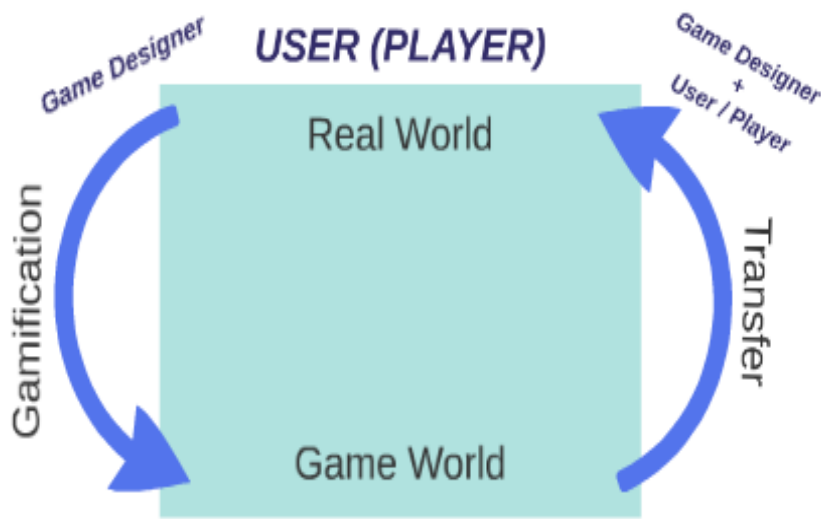
Figure 6: Persuasive Games Model

(Visch et. Al, 2013)

Visch et.al claim that the driving forces for motivation in both real world and game world are same: autonomy, competence and social relatedness. To fulfill these needs, individuals have to do active search. However, since game world is designed, it is explicitly crafted to fulfill these needs for a gratifying experience (Visch et al, 2013). Jess Schell believes that creating experience for player is the main goal of game designer. He points out the "paradox of experience" defining that one cannot experience anything that is not an experience. Therefore, game is not experience itself; game enables the experience (Schell, 2008, p. 10-11). Although games cannot give the exact reality to player and it creates an imaginary experience, game designers try hard to create more realistic atmosphere and experience for gamers. This process of crafting experience

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for players is a solid example of gamification, which is a main pillar of persuasive game design.

On the other hand, another essential part of the persuasive game design transfer is done by not only game designer, but also by player. Transfer can be explained by referring the influence of game world to real world in terms of behavior or attitude change. This transfer process from game world to real world might take place in different stages or ranks: change in an act of complying, a behavior change and an attitude change, formation or reinforcement (Oinas-Kukkonen, 2012). Games often require target behavior for game world. If target behavior transcends the game world and player transfers this target behavior to real world, it is an example of persuasive game design. In this process of transfer the behavior from game world to real world, there are three possibilities to observe the change:

1) Sudden change – In this type of change game world experience works the prime for the real world.

2) Gradual change – In this type of change game world and real world behavior affect each other gradually. With this change game world might fade into real world or some elements of game world endure in the real world.

3) Adaptive change – In this type of change the degree of transition from game world to real world is not stable. It is conditional and determined by player's actual behavioral change in real life (Visch et. Al, 2013).

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Persuasive games might be designed for several objectives and thus, they might serve many domains. However, in order to make easier to follow, it might be useful to interrogate them in three main domains: learning, advertising and politics.

6.3.1. Persuasive Games and Learning

The educational value of video games is a controversial topic because this degree depends on the description of the word "educational". Education has different descriptions changing according to point of view. It might refer formal schooling, acquisition of knowledge /skills /attitudes or lifelong learning processes. In classical terms, education is an effort with a defined purpose to develop certain knowledge, skills, attitudes or habits. On the other hand, in broader sense, with a contemporary perspective of education, education is a life long process in which all the knowledge, experience and skills individual acquires (Srivastava, 2014, pp. 3-5).

According to James Paul Gee, playing video games teaches a "new literacy". This understanding of literacy is different from classical educational understanding referring reading and writing. Gee claims that in modern world literacy of language that is described as reading and writing is not enough to describe multimodal "literacies". For example there is a need for "visual literacy" to read images, videos and even interior designs of homes etc. Reading images is important for Gee because sometimes images have different or even independent meanings from texts (Gee, 2003, p. 13). According to Gee video games give gamers critical thinking, establishing relations among things and problem solving skills (Gee, 2003,

p. 49 -50). Gee also refers to the fact that video games enable players to make mistakes without facing real consequences. This opportunity that video games give a new kind of experience to explore and practice "life" in virtual space and "teach" gamers about identity (Gee, 2003, p. 67). The cultural dimension of video games also deserves attention according to Gee because video games represent ways of perception to world and moreover, it is open to interaction (Gee, 2003, p. 166 – 167).

There are video games in which the learning purpose is more visible than others. Some of simulation games can be considered as an example of these kind of games. To illustrate, *Flightgear* is designed to teach mechanics of aircraft equipment and how aircrafts function (Nisansala et. al, 2015, p. 60 – 61). Another popular simulation game example is *SimCity*[33] series that teach urban planning in terms of planning infrastructure investments, choosing energy sources, making constructions etc. The logic of simulation games as following: video games teach their content. Gee summarizes how games teach as follows:

> The content of video games, when they are played actively and critically, is something like this: They situate meaning in a multimodal space through embodied experiences to solve problems and reflect on intricacies of the design of imagined worlds and the design of both real and imagined social relationships and identities in the modern world.
>
> (Gee, 2003, p.48).

This point Gee shows, brings about a critical question: If video games teach their content, what if their content is negatively reinforced? (Bogost,

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[33] Multi developers, 1989 -...., Multiplatform, Construction simulation

2007, p. 237). This question leads some debates among educators, gamers, parents and game developers.

The main argument evolves around the possible negative effects on gamers, especially on children. The image of violence and its effects was a former debate for TV and cinema[34], however the gamer being in full control in video games seems to intensify the debate and take it to another dimension. In TV and cinema, individuals are mere spectators that see and watch the violence. However, video games allow gamers to be the person that acts (violator in violence case) himself or herself. The debate related with the relationship between games and violence behavior has two sides: There are people who think violence in games is relevant to real life violence behavior and blame games. On the other hand, some people believe that behavior is a complex process and "it is lazy to blame games".

The proponents of the idea that there are negative effects of video games especially on violence behavior, stick to the studies on young adults playing video games showed that those who play a violent virtual reality game had a higher heart rate, proclaimed more dizziness and nausea and shown more aggressive thoughts than who played a nonviolent game (Grossman and DeGaetano, 1999). Moreover, some of them claim that flight simulators were used as training for terrorist attacks such as 9/11. It is reported that version of the *Microsoft Flight Simulator[35]* at the time of the attacks included the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center. After 9/11, Britain removed *Microsoft Flight Simulator* from shelves concerning that the

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[34] Please see: Andison (1977), Dogra (1994). Feshbach & Tangney (2008)

[35] Multi developers, 1982 – 2006, DOS, Windows, macOS, Flight Simulator

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game can be used as a tool for terrorist attacks (Amoakwa, 2005). Another claim that believers of the connection of video games and violence make is to establish relationship between shooter games and mass / school shootings. Especially after 20 years-old Adam Lanza killed twenty-six people in an elementary school in Connecticut in 2012, society turned their eyes to Lanza's obsession on video games. It is noted that, Lanza ,like many of the 20 years-old young adults, liked games both violent ones and non-violent ones (Ferguson, 2014, p. 554-555). In 2000, FBI defined a "typical profile for shooters" in which playing video games was a criterion. Although there was a lack of explanation of direct link, politicians such as senators Joseph Lieberman, Sam Brownback, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Rick Santorum blamed video games for shootings and call politicians for action (Sternheimer, 2007, p. 13).

On the other hand, opponents of the connection of video games and violence think that behaviorist view on video games is problematic because it simply assume that video games has the capacity to affect the gamer negatively, but positive change never happens. Ian Bogost claims that this is not true because video games are not automatic validation of violence behavior. On the contrary, they give player the opportunity to empathize with people and situations they may not normally encounter (Bogost, 2007, p. 238). Another point that is remarkable for the issue is that, there is no solid evidence shows there is a connection between video games and violence. There are several ways to "learn violence" behavior. Since researchers are not capable of isolating the sample from every other violent related thing but video games, it is difficult to reach genuine evidences. Christopher J. Ferguson claims that proving such connection is problematic

because the studies are generally experimental studies. This situation results in differences of the results from study to study (Ferguson, 2014, p. 557). Probably, this is why some studies on video games conclude "video games cause violence" and some studies conclude, "it is not possible to determine if video game violence affects aggressive behavior".

Since video games "teach" their content, it is a mistake to think that only positive / negative behaviors can be learnt from them. Many of the modern video games situated, contented or themed with historical elements including historical people, locations, events and architectural works. Due to the fact that gamers are active subjects of gaming process, they somehow "live" the historical elements within video games. Some of the games take place in historical settings and some of the games enable gamer to create and alternative history for a known event or situation. To illustrate, the mission of Boston Tea Party in *Assassin's Creed 3*[36] is an example of historical events in games. Sometimes games do not take place around a particular event, however they take place in a specific time period in a particular geography to set atmosphere and certain limitations. *L. A. Noire*[37] that takes place in 1940's Los Angeles can be an example of such games. Alternate history games such as *Wolfenstein: The New Order*[38] in which Nazis won World War II or *Stalker: Shadow of Chernobyl*[39] in which there was a second

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[36] Please refer following link for official Boston Tea Party trailer for AC3's UK release: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mDsItFMX2Ag / Ubisoft, 2012, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

[37] Rockstar Games, 2011, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

[38] Bethesda, 2014, Multiplatform, FPS

[39] THQ, 2007, Microsoft, FPS

explosion side around Chernobyl, create new histories with small touches to real and factual history. Metzger and Paxton (2016) claim that this "deployment" of historical elements in video games may affect players' thinking about world and history (Metzger & Paxton, 2016, p. 2). They refer "Disney effect" to clarify their position. Disney effect is a term to define that Disney animation movies change some perceptions on certain things especially on children. As cited in their work, studies of Afflerbach and VanSledright (2001) show that while studying imbedded texts in a history textbook that the thinking of middle-school students was affected by the 1995 Disney animated movie *Pocahontas*. According to findings, children are more prone to accept "movie history" as prior information over factual historical texts (Metzger & Paxton, p.4). Disney effect shows that, this kind of effect on media in not a unique for video games. However, one should remember the fact that: video games include active participation of individual and direct interactivity unlike other types of media tools.

The effect of video games that shows similarity to Disney effect brings some concerns. This concern about the history that is shown in video games is generally written from white dominant European societies. This issue is remarkable because Kapell and Elliott (2013) claim that Western historical perspective divides the world into two: Self and Other (Kapell & Elliot, 2013, p. 75). One of the clearest examples of this separation can be seen in Roman history. In the times of Roman Empire, the word "barbarian" was used to refer any foreigner / non-Greek although it refers to being savage and not having cultural identity in modern English (Bembenek, 2012, p. 77). Emily Joy Bembeneck points that "phantom of Roman Empire" is still wandering over video games by putting "barbarians" to inferior

positions. For example, in *Civilization V*[40] barbarians are unable to construct units despite the fact that all other nations (such as the Persian or the French) can construct special units (Bembeneck, 2013, p. 82) and in *Grand Ages: Rome* [41] barbarians can be used as inconsequential slave labor (Bembeneck, 2013, p. 83). Similar to this situation, *Sid Meier's Colonization*[42] offers a choice of playing as Native culture with almost no buildings, little option for play while it offers the choice of playing as European culture with advanced city management (Mir & Owens, 2013, p. 94). Despite the fact that the inequality between Europeans and other cultures is seem to be fixed in some games such as *Rome: Total War*[43], Western perspective of history in video games seems to be more visible. This visibility can be considered as an example of procedural rhetoric.

Ian Bogost (2007) claims that procedural rhetoric of video games related with Western -especially with American- perspective also plays a role for teaching some values and aspirations. Therefore it advances the function of existing and proposed public policy (Bogost, 2007, p. 264). According to Bogost (2007), some of the values and aspirations that video games teach through are: consumption (p. 263), the values of work (p. 275) and morality and faith (p. 282). Examples of this kind of procedural rhetoric can be seen in many games. To illustrate, regarding the issue of

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[40] Firaxis Games, 2010, Multiplatform, Strategy

[41] Haemimont Games, 2009, Microsoft, Strategy

[42] MicroProse, 1994-95, Multiplatform, Strategy

[43] In this game, players are able to choose some diverse options related barbarians. Moreover, each barbarian groups in the game have unique features. There is no generic inferior barbarian type in *Rome: Total War.* / Activision, 2004, Multiplatform, Strategy.

consumption, Juhani Mertsalmi (2010) argues that character customization in video games functions as symbolic consumption. According to Mertsalmi, consumption through character customization is done not only for more accurate representation of player's real identity, but also present for ideal / fantasized identity (Mertsalmi, 2010, p 34). His study also shows that players enjoy using real life brands for customization of their character[44] (Mertsalmi, 2010, p. 70).

One of the controversial issues concerning procedural rhetoric is about morality that games give. Morality in this sense, represents what is "good" and what is "bad". Ian Bogost believes that in video games, the taught morality is closely related with reinforced ideology[45] (Bogost, 2007, p. 284). Another point related with good /bad in video games is that non-linear games in which gamers are allowed to make choices. While in some of the game the distinction between good choices and bad choices is clear, in some games it is not. In these kinds of games, the blurred existence of good / bad leads a new kind of procedural rhetoric: the uncertainty of morality. Some of these games questions (and perhaps criticizes) the uncertainty of some values such as justice and honor (Bogost, 2007, p. 286). José P. Zagal (2009) focuses on ethical issues in video games. In games, ethical frameworks have been drawn as follows: Some choices are encouraged and result in rewards, and some choices are discouraged. Narrative frame of video game contextualize these choices into game. On the other hand, motivation for ethical dilemmas of games can be found in various ways. First, the

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[44] For related and further information, see: Advertisement chapter.

[45] For related and further information, see: Politics chapter.

emotional involvement of characters might affect the choices of gamer. To explain, narrative framework encourages gamer to care about character's feeling (Zagal, 2009, p.3). Second, the narrative framework of game might require an action that can be considered as immoral in real world (such as killing children). However, on the other hand, it might also offer alternative ways to carry the mission without doing the immoral choice (such as casting a spell of sleep on children) (Zagal, 2009, p.4). Third, narrative framework might present immoral choices for specific actions for "extra reward". Fourth, narrative framework might generate a moral tension between the player's aims and those posed by both the narrative and the gameplay (Zagal, 2009, p. 7). Controlling crossing stories might be an example of this kind of dilemma. Some of the games with remarkably ethical dilemmas are: *Fable II[46], Manhunt[47], Heavy Rain[48], Beyond: Two Souls[49].* For example, in *Manhunt,* if player chooses to help other people suffering, the chance to getting caught by "bad men" increases. Therefore, players should without helping other people in order to not to get caught.

Video games in the framework of persuasive games can be considered as significant elements because they might affect the player as a learning tool. They transfer information or images to player during gameplay and through these processes video games construct a new literacy. Although their direct effect on behaviors or thoughts is not clearly visible or proven, there are debates and studies related the influence of

[46] Lionhead Studios, 2008, Xbox360, Role-playing

[47] Rockstar, 2003, Multiplatform, Survival horror

[48] Quantic Dream, 2010, Playstation, Interactive drama

[49] Quantic Dream, 2013, Playstation, Interactive drama

video games on behavior change. Video games also show many images about history, nations, situations and events. These elements are also a remarkable topic for debates because it is claimed that people with certain Western perspectives create them. Another point associated with video games and learning is the morality issue. While some games show a clear picture of good morality versus bad morality, some games generate ethical dilemmas for player. The intersection point of video games related with propaganda studies regarding learning again can be summarized with the claim of procedural rhetoric.

6.3.2. Persuasive Games and Advertising

To examine video games as persuasive tools in terms of advertising, it is necessary to investigate logic of advertising. Since advertising is an intended effort to generate wants and ask target audience to submit these wants; it is a propaganda genre by definition (Brown, 1929, p. 39). Moreover, some of the properties those advertising carries overlap with propaganda properties and definition. The use of words, images and sounds to grab and hold the attention (stimulus), the appropriation of and entrenched in other discourses, hence seeking credibility and employing camouflage (parasitism), use of metaphors, images and poetic devices to represent and associate (symbolism), use of exaggerated version of expression (hyperbole), use of duplication of slogans, images or motifs (repetition), use of words such as "you" (direct address) can be examples of this overlapping relation (Rutherford, 2004, p.10). Kaur et. al (2013) argues that the logic of advertisement is not only sell a product, but also alter

society and make people buy things they do not want or need. Therefore, advertising may construct identities and attitudes (Kaur et al., 2013, 61).

Louise Story (2007) claims that, in modern world "blank space" is an endangered thing because advertisement is everywhere. She claims that TV, newspapers and magazines advertisements do not satisfy advertisers anymore. For this reason they try "alternative media" tools such as stamps on eggs, food cartoons that promote companies or interactive floor displays to be more attractive and interesting to get attention of people (Story, 2007). This search for alternative media place for advertisement is a result of consumers' rising awareness of intention of advertisers' intention. In other words, consumers know that advertisers are trying to make them buy things regardless of their needs (Bogost, 2007, p. 150). Therefore, video games became one of the results of advertisers' quest for new domain to transfer their commercial messages as a new media tool.

Advertising in video games can be seen in various forms. One of the most popular forms of advertisement is advergames. Advergames can be defined as "interactive gaming technology to deliver embedded advertising messages to consumers" (Bogost, 2007, p. 152). Advergames should be distinguished from "in-game" advertising. While advergames are special form of game to promote brands in which entertainment content mimic game play, in game advertising is more close to traditional brand placement in movies, TV etc. (Cauberghe & De Pelsmacker, 2010, p. 5). The use of advergames has a broad trend in marketing practices. It is possible to see companies from various fields use advergames as advertising tool. Seth Grossman (2005) claims there are four main reasons why companies use advergames: Firstly, advergames are cheap to use, especially in comparison

to commercial airtime. Secondly, games are popular and especially children spend more time on Internet or playing games. Thirdly, since games are interactive, players are more prone to retain commercial messages with games according to some experts. Fourthly, unlike traditional marketing, advergames might go viral if players like the game (Grossman, 2005, p. 229 – 230). Moreover, usually, design of advergames is simple and the duration of their gameplay is quite short. Another point of advergames is players are able to play them repeatedly. This repetition is also results in repeated exposure to the brand. It is claimed that this repeated exposure of brand results in brand recall (Cauberghe & De Pelsmacker, 2010, p.6).

Figure 7: An Example of Advergame specially designed for M&M

On the other hand, in-game advertising (sometimes referred as IGA) is an integration of advertisement during gameplay. IGA might be located in backgrounds, in-game billboards or stores. It also can be found in pause screens or game load screens. It can be said that IGA model of advertising is more close to traditional brand placement model of TV and cinema,

however the difference of it again lies within the interactive nature of video games (Yang et. al, 2006, 144).

Figure 8: An Example of IGA, *A store from **inFAMOUS 2**[50]*

with SubWay advertisement.

Persuasive games as advertisement tool is characterized by lack of direct control of persuading agent. In these games seller tries to reach potential costumer without direct control on games (Bogost, 2007, 153). In other words, seller implies that purchasing a specific product is "good" for potential costumer. With the knowledge of possible good consequence implied by seller, the gamer is free to purchasing that product or not. The use of advertisement and the visibility of information about product in video games may change in terms of the advertisement type that game developer use. Chen and Ringel, as cited in Taşkıran & Yılmaz (2015) claim that there are three type of advertisement in games. Firstly, associative

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[50] Sucker Punch Productions, 2011, Playstation, Action - Adventure

advertisement in games promotes a brand with lifestyle association with providing indirect information (Taşkıran & Yılmaz, 2015, p. 69). Associative advertisement is closely related with the trend of "lifestyle marketing" in which cultural trends, virtues and consumer attitudes holds the paramount importance of marketing (Michman et. al, 2003, p. 1-2). Secondly, illustrative advertisement in games makes the product main focus point of game. For example, collecting or obtaining the product that is subject of advertisement, might be the quest of gamer during gameplay (Taşkıran & Öncel, 2015, p. 70). Thirdly, demonstrative advertisement in games allows gamers to use the product in virtual world (Taşkıran & Öncel, 2015, p. 70). It is noted that, although, these three types of advertisement seem different, sometimes two or three of them can be used together.

Investigating the effects of IGA and advergames is a complex issue because it has many sides to investigate. Especially in recent years, there are several studies on IGA and advergames and their effect of attitude change towards brand that is advertised. One of the main focus points of these studies is brand recall and brand familiarity. As cited in Mau et. al (2008), studies of Yang et al (2006) show that approximately one-third of the brands in computer games can be remembered immediately after playing the game. Furthermore, another study shows that, the prominent brands appeared on games can be recalled more easily (Mau et. al, 2008, p. 831). The effects of game related advertisement became topic of debates. The main reason why these debates appeared is that the heavy use of IGA and advergames of "unhealthy" foods. It is found that, most of the advergames promote food with high sugar, sodium and fat by a recent study of Michigan State University (Oswald et al, 2013). Grossman claims that one of the biggest

problems related IGA and advergames is lack of legal regulations about it (Grossman, 2005, 236). Although Grossman's concern is about promotion of unhealthy food via video games, there is also a problem of lack of regulation in terms of privacy and surveillance considering dynamic in-game ads. Some games tracks player's information to serve customized ads and players may not always be able to realize it (Bogost, 2007, p. 169).

The only familiarity that video games breed is not towards brands. Video games also breed familiarity towards specific cultures and places. Tom Bissell (2010) examines why *Resident Evil* [51] game takes place in "Racoon City" although the game is fully Japanese. He claims that the reason why Racoon City is chosen for game is "a valiant attempt at something idiomatically American-sounding" (Bissell, 2010, p. 17). One of the most visible examples of making a game that is more familiar to American culture can be seen in *Grand Theft Auto* series.

Grand Theft Auto[52] series started in 1997. The games released in 1997 and 1999 were taking place in 2D universe. However, starting from 2001 *Grand Theft Auto* games met with 3D universe. For the purpose of investigating the cultural elements that breed familiarity towards American culture in these games, it might be more useful to look the games that take place in 3D universe. *GTA* presents an open world game environment to player. As cited in Schell (2008), game designer David Jones describes *GTA* as a "medium" for "living, breathing, a city that was fun to play" (Schell, 2008, p. 90). This design of the series takes place in imaginary places.

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[51] Capcom, 1996, Playstation, Survival horror

[52] *Grand Theft Auto* series are commonly to be remembered as *GTA.*

However, despite the fact that the places are not real, they are heavily influenced from real American cities. For example, the location of *GTA: Vice City*[53] is an oceanside metropolis and it is an obvious model of Miami of 1986 (Bissell, 2010, p. 163), the location of *Vice City*'s sequel *GTA: San Andreas*[54] is California in early nineties (although one of the cities is same as Vegas) (Bissell, 2010, p. 164) and Liberty City that is location of *GTA IV* is quite similar to New York (Bissell, 2010, 167). Tom Bissell notes that:

> The strength of Liberty City –a carefully arranged series of visual riffs on how New York City looks and feels rather than street-by-street replication –is that, almost instantly becomes itself. As you learn Liberty City's streets and shortcuts, you are reminded of various real-life places – the cobbled streets of Meatpacking District in Meat Quarter, the shadowy concrete canyons of midtown in Star Junction…

(Bissell, 2010, p. 172).

Mathews and Holden (2018) consider seeing familiar places in games as an important issue. According to them, games highlight ecological and cultural aspects of local places. Therefore, via providing experiences for players, games show the roles that players enact, embedded tools and mechanics to players (Mathews & Holden, 2018, p. 168). In given circumstances, games are able to "sell" the behaviors or cultural aspects to players within it.

In *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* players play as CJ, a Los Angeles gang member in early nineties. This deserves attention because game is set on a cultural timing steeped deeply in racial and economic politics (Bogost,

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[53] Rockstar Games, 2002, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

[54] Rockstar Games, 2004, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

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2007, p. 113). For this reason, *GTA: San Andreas* started debates about the emergence of "gangsta rap" culture in popular culture. Criticisms towards the game related with culture focused on its recapitulation of popular media's depiction of African American males as violent and criminals (DeVane & Squire, 2008, 266). In the game a new feature to series is added: players need stamina and strength to run or fight. However, the only way to maintain this energy is to going fast food restaurants and eats burgers, chicken or pizza. It is also noted that foods with less fat like salad is more costly in the game (Bogost, 2007, 113 – 114). Although stamina and strength is maintained by consumption of fast food, it has also consequences: If player consumes too much fast food, CJ gets fat. When CJ gains weight, it gets harder to run or fight. For this reason, game offers an option: going to gym to ride stationary bike and lift weight (Bissell, 2010, p. 164). This diet and obesity part of the game is worth investigating because American image is commonly associated with "ballooning stomach" in European countries. Furthermore, it is noted that in France, the press that mentions obesity as a health threat as "Americanization". In this context, Americanization means having an inactive lifestyle and increasing the consumption of sugar and fat (Knowlton – Le Roux, 2007, p. 1). The satirical way of "Americanization" in *GTA* series did not finish with *GTA: San Andreas.* In *GTA IV*, some activities are added to open world of *GTA*s. Players are able to go to play darts, bowl or play billiards, visit comedy club (that provides five minute stand-up shows), strip club, cabaret club or drink in a bar (Bissell, 2010, p.178). Brian Baglow argues that:

> What GTA does is it actually take the American culture as we understand it from movies - it's every gangster movie, it's every

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crime caper. It uses that, but keeps it very grounded with a British sensibility.

<div align="right">(Lee, 2013).</div>

In this chapter, video games are investigated as an advertising tool as a procedural rhetoric element. Regardless of selling a product, knowledge, attitude or culture; in persuasive games, persuasive agent has no direct control on player. On contrary, seller shows player the thing he/she tries to sell and implies that buying this product / knowledge /attitude or culture would have positive effects on player. For this reason, even if the message of persuasive games are not clear in every game, breeding familiarity seems an essential element of them.

6.3.3. Persuasive Games and Politics

To examine the relationship between video games and politics, the concept of ideology should be examined first. Throughout the history, different thinkers, philosophers and politicians describe ideology and its functions differently. Ian Bogost claims that, video games operate as useful tools of political ideologies in terms of different ideas of different thinkers. Video games visualize logics to make up a worldview (with reference to Gramsci's view of hegemony), make ideological distortions in political situations (with reference to Žižek's 'false consciousness' theory) or state such situations (with reference to Badiou's logic of dictating a situation's organization) (Bogost, 2007, p. 74 – 75).

Video games as political matters, just as like other video games, carry procedural rhetoric messages in various forms. Political video games with political topics systematize a particular political system or value package through representation that video games offer via procedural tools. Bogost (2007) claims that playing political video games unpacks the procedural rhetoric of video games and therefore players gain political perspectives even though these perspectives are usually detached (Bogost, 2007, p. 75). Since forms of procedural rhetoric in video games change, political video games can be found in various forms. The degree and the way that message is given is also change depending on what game expects from player.

One of the bold examples of political video games is *America's Army*[55] series that launched in 2002 firstly. There is no doubt whether the game is political or not, because the publisher and financer of the game is American government. Furthermore, *America's Army* series are also known as "the official game of the U.S. Army" (America's Army, 2018). *America's Army* is a FPS (first person shooter) game in which players play as a soldier and try to shoot "enemies" from first person perspective. In other words, player is in the game while playing the game. Although the production of the game cost about $33M dollars to tax payers (Mastrapa, 2009), it is free to download and enjoy the game. Although, military related games are quite popular within the context of video games, *America's Army* is different from them because of two main reasons: the direct fund of government and the known desire of Army to encourage and teach players to join to U.S. Army (Schulzke, 2013, p.62).

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[55] United States Army, 2002 – 2013, Multiplatform, FPS

Similar many popular tactical FPS games such as *Counter Strike*[56], *America's Army* makes players to join death matches with small groups to gain victory over them. However, although the genre and the aim are similar, the gameplay of them is quite different. In *Counter Strike*, players are able to use continuous effort to avoid fire and they can fire effectively while jumping or running. Moreover, there is no training section as a prerequisite before playing the game. If player dies in game, he/she immediately respawns from ground. In addition, there are some fun "tricks" that player may apply that provide infinite ammunition etc (Bogost, 2007, p.75). On the other hand, *America's Army* has completely different mechanics. Firstly, *America's Army* is designed for teaching purposes. For this reason, it begins with a training section in which players learn military mechanics and communication tools. Before completing this section, it is not possible to enter the game. Furthermore, players have to complete rifle or sniper qualifications by gaining enough score with the purpose of entering the game. This training section is highly realistic because players have to learn " to breathe at the right moment in the firing sequence, and get the most from an M-24 by using it on a bipod in a stationary position" (Zyda et al, 2003, p. 29). Secondly, *America's Army* is realistic in terms of real life mechanics. The weaponry is the same weaponry as Army uses in real life. Each weapon is highly detailed and has different styles of use and players have to use them accordingly in order to proceed in game. It is noted that, the game is realistic not only for its graphics, but also for sounds. For a realistic experience of war and conflict, players hear noises of footsteps, bullet impacts, particle effects, grenades and shell casings (Bogost, 2007,

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[56] Valve L.L.C., 2000, Multiplatform, FPS

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p.78). Thirdly, in *America's Army*, the team system is different. In *Counter Strike* players are able to choose one of the following teams: Terrorists or Counter-Terrorists. On the other hand *America's Army* has only one option: Players have to play as American soldiers. While they are playing, they perceive the opposing team as villains. However, the opposing team see themselves as American soldiers again. As Bogost explains: "..Both teams believe themselves to be the 'good guys'" (Bogost, 2007, p. 78).

America's Army is believed to be an accurate characterization of the U.S Army. However, the political persuasion of the game lies in a different place: the game is also an accurate characterization of political context that Army deploys. The advancement system of the game relies on "Army Values" including "Loyalty, Duty, Respect, Selfless Service, Honor, Integrity and Personal Courage". By advancing these scores, players are able to gain coins, ribbons and badges / medals (America's Army Gamer Manual, p. 58 - 63). I believe that, the advancement system of *America's Army* is a solid example of a known propaganda technique: glittering generalities. Therefore, *America's Army* serves for two interests at the same time: encouraging –especially young- individuals for joining the army and giving the ideological frame of Army with the reinforcement of strong words. Precisely, not all players of the game join the army. However, they all try to gain "honor points" by killing opposing team's members or accomplish missions such as securing an oil pipeline, crossing a bridge. For this reason, the game matters because of its representations, symbols, game rules, social rules and capacities for the action (Squire, 2008, p. 651).

Political procedural rhetoric of video games does not only function by showing how things work. There is also another possibility: Video games

might demonstrate how things do not work. "Unwinnable games" or "no-win situation games" are games with a system fail, thus players cannot win the game. These games can be considered as political games because they involve a critique of the system itself. The procedural representation of unwinnable games is that player cannot win because system is problematic. One of the examples of unwinnable games is *September 12th* [57]. In the beginning of the game, player encounters with a screen saying that:

> This is not a game. You can't win and you can't lose. This is a simulation. It has no ending. It has already begun. The rules are deadly simple. You can shoot. Or not. This is a simple model you can use to explore some aspects of the war on terror.

On the same screen there are illustrations of "terrorists" and "civilians". In game, player sees a simple model of a city probably in Middle East. Through a sniper scope, player can aim and shoot people. However even if player directly aims "terrorist" to shoot, since they are walking; player may not able to shoot those terrorists. This situation leads to possible consequences: player sometimes shoots civilians even if he/she does not intend and regardless of who he/she kills player sees people crying for the person who killed. Moreover, every shooting that player makes ruins the city, buildings and plants. Procedural rhetoric of *September 12th* is an attempt to criticize war on terror.

It should be noted that not all games related with politics are political games. Political games carry procedural rhetoric. In other words, they aim to generate, shape, form or change an opinion or attitude towards something or some situation. On the other hand, election simulations of

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[57] Newsgaming, 2010, Mini flash game

mini games with "fun" political figures cannot be examples of this kind of intention. Games like *Osama Gotchi* (a mini game in which player can use various torture techniques on Bin Laden) and *Hillary vs Obama* (a mini game in which you can 15 seconds to beat your opponent Hillary or Obama) are not political games. The reason why this kind of games are not political games is that they take procedural mechanics, which already exists and adapt it to a political skin. They do not intend to alter these mechanics into rhetoric in order to support or harm a political argument (Bogost, 2007, p. 94). Some video games involve a representation of a political position (e.g. *America's Army*) and some video games help to emphasize a specific political position on a special political situation (e.g. *September 12th*). In both game types the procedurality of the rhetoric of video games intend to give a perspective to player on such political issues. Procedural rhetoric of political video games has a claim to establish interconnectivity between the game and politics itself.

Despite the fact that the first reason why commercial games exist is making money of them, commercial games might carry political messages at the same time. Positech's *Democracy*[58] series that released its first game in 2005 can be considered as an example of this situation. The official website of *Democracy* meets players with a bold message:

> Have you ever wanted to be president? or prime-minister? Convinced you could do a better job of running the country? **Let's face it, you could hardly do a worse job than our current political leaders**.[59]

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[58] Positech Games, 2005 - ....., Multiplatform, Government simulation

[59] Official website of *Democracy 3*, retrieved in 2 May 2018

Democracy is a government simulation game. Similar to a real government does, player has to deal with number of issues such as crime rates, unemployment, national debt, terrorism, climate change etc. at the same in the game. While governing the country, players try to gain the loyalty of ruled people by trying to understand designed models of individual voters. There are many voter groups, pressure groups, party memberships, and income levels in *Democracy*, therefore player should deal with complex issues regarding understanding individual voters. Although, voter behavior and desires are essential for player in gameplay, player also has to pay attention to existing laws, policies and situations. This might not be an easy task to do because all these variants are interrelated and they have influence on each other. In long term, these elements also have an impact on voters as well. Player has to make policies in *Democracy*, however every policy has a different effect on every voter and every policy affects other variants related with that policy (Democracy 3, 2018).

Democracy and possible thoughts that game may give sparkled some debates over game and political situations. One of the main reasons why *Democracy* became the focus point of debates is that although the name of the game offers a democratic rule, the simulation lefts out some essential parts of a democratic government. In *Democracy*, there is no parliament system; no implementation of "checks and balances" system and every country in the game features a majority voting system (Pichlmair, 2015, p.1). This situation results in some debates suggesting that *Democracy* is dictatorship simulation rather than a democracy simulation. Another point is that, despite the fact that the game is originally designed as a model of industrialized Western country's government; with expansion packages it

expanded its scope to African countries. When player selects one of the African countries (e.g. Kenya), the priorities of the player (and ruled people within context) change. This change gives birth to new debates on representation of Africa in video games in general. HIV epidemic, female genital mutilation, armed robbery, military force interfering are some of these situations that player has to deal with while playing as president of an African country. One might consider "Universalism vs. Cultural Relativism[60]" debate in this context because sometimes moves that seem to be "good" in Western understanding do not result in positive consequences in *Democracy 3: Africa.* For example, if player bans Child Labor in Kenya, this move results in poor rural areas with unhappy people that rely on income that comes from child labor (Souppouris, 2016).

I believe the procedural rhetoric of *Democracy* series deserves attention because, in *Democracy* being a dictator by lowering the level of freedom of press / expression, turning off political capital etc. increases the chance of being successful in the game. One might claim that *Democracy* is just a game. However, video games become pieces of supported political speech, therefore they become strictly integrated with existing political discourse (Bogost, 2007, p. 103). Moreover, it is proved that video games have impacts on democratic attitudes on young people. Young people who play political process simulations have more positive changes in political

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[60] Universalism vs. Cultural Relativism is one of the classical debates on human rights. In this debate, the proponents of universalism support the idea that human rights should have a universal frame to apply each and every country. On the other hand, proponents of cultural relativism subscribe the idea of the uniqueness of cultural values for every country. Therefore, it is not possible to apply same human rights in every country because of cultural differences.

trust and negative changes in "stealth democracy" attitudes with comparison to non-player young people (Barthel, 2011, p. 28 – 39).

Taxlandia[61], which comes with motto of "Tax builds my future", is a project of European Union with the purpose of education of tax system. In the game player controls a small European state called Taxlandia in crisis over a tax rebellion. Similar to *Democracy*, *Taxlandia* requires player to deal with number of issues. However, the key of success in *Taxlandia* is to increase the taxes and collect more and more taxes. If player selects to collect low taxes, he/she will fail (Mitchell, 2017). The game started some debates both for its budget (around £90,000 from taxes of European citizens (Gutteridge, 2017)) and its propaganda value. *Taxlandia* widens the heavily criticized tax policy debates especially in United Kingdom due to the messages that game gives. Many critics including Jonathan Arnott from UKIP, claim that *Taxlandia* was a propaganda project that aims to teach children low taxes and persuading new companies are negative things (Clark, 2017). While *Taxlandia,* has a positive representation of taxes, *Tax Evaders* [62] that is variation of *Space Invaders* has completely opposite metaphor of taxes. In *Tax Evaders,* which opens with a message of "Save USA from John Kerry's tax ideas", player as enacts George W. Bush and tries to shoot down taxes sent by John Kerry. Bogost believes that *Tax Evaders* represents taxes as an enemy threat metaphor. Regardless of player's political perspective and standing, taxes seem like a foreign enemy /alien (Bogost, 2006, p. 170). The metaphoric representation might simplistic,

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[61] EU, Not specified, Mobile platforms, Government simulation

[62] Independent, 2008, Mini flash game.

however the real power of visual metaphor lies in its potential further understanding, which might turn into reality (Feinstein, 1982, p. 45).

The use of metaphors is one of the common elements of known propaganda techniques. Especially in transfer technique, propagandists use the power of metaphors and symbols to give the message. Both in *Taxlandia* and *Tax Evaders* there is a metaphoric message about taxes. While in *Taxlandia* tax is portrayed as something "good" and should be defended; in *Tax Evaders* tax is characterized as something "bad" and should be fought with. Using metaphors should be examined here because even if the symbolism of metaphors completely reveal, this situation makes a slight difference between metaphor and literal meaning. For this reason, it is claimed that literal use of words and using metaphors are not different, but the same (McCloskey, 1964, p. 217). Therefore, procedural rhetoric in video games functions with not only direct use of words, but also with metaphors and symbols.

Procedural rhetoric of video games regarding politics, functions via different ways. The ways it follows and how it is expected to affect the player depend on the differences between the descriptions of ideology, political aim etc. However, it might be claimed that the main aim of political videogames is to give a certain perspective in a political frame to player. To reach this aim, political video games sometimes show how things work. Nevertheless, there are also critical political games that demonstrate how things "do not" work. Another outstanding tool that political video games use is metaphors and symbols. Metaphors and symbols deserve attention because they have a special power to give a message without saying the exact message with literal meanings and words.

Video games can be / are propaganda mediums. Although why they can be considered as propaganda tools is a subject that is relatively easy to explain, why they are used as propaganda mediums is a harder question to answer. There might be several motivations behind it. The popularity of video games, the power of community building and the market shares of video games can be counted as some of them. However, even this explanation does not have capacity to enlighten the relationship between video game developers, producers, politicians, all these people that labor over video games and gamers. I personally believe that there are complex webs of relations behind this of socio-political matter. Indeed, video games are tools of propaganda, however, what is not? As Taylor said (2003) every individual is both propagandist and a subject to propaganda (2003, p.2). Being a committed gamer, I know that I am a subject to propaganda while playing video games. However, it does not have to be an "evil" one. Sometimes what is perceived, understood and taken is more significant than what is said and given.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aimed to investigate the question whether video games can be seen as a tool of propaganda or not. In order to answer this question the study starts with an analysis of power within the field of IR. In Chapter two, the power in IR is argued on the basis of realism and the new perspectives of IR. For the purpose of making the new perspectives of power clearer, soft power and smart power that is closely related with soft power are analyzed. In soft power debate, it is seen that there are various factors to exercise soft power. I prefer to focus on cultural factors. With this aim, the cultural commodities, which have close connections with ideological frames of producers, including Hollywood are described. Due to the fact that, by definition soft power is an aim to persuade people for a thought or attitude, it has natural ties with propaganda. For this reason propaganda is spelled out in the next chapter.

Following, propaganda as a soft power tool is expounded. Firstly, the definition of propaganda clarified. It is seen that propaganda has many definitions and every definition focuses on different sides. Secondly, propaganda as an academic subject delineated. The evolution of propaganda studies and what has changed with time is shown in this chapter. It is also explained that there are various types of propaganda and there is no agreement on them. For this purpose, different classifications of propaganda that is done by different scholars are shown. Thirdly, the functioning way of propaganda explained with respect to described propaganda techniques of IPA. In this section, I preferred to add three new propaganda techniques to IPA's classical techniques because I think that there is necessity to expand the frame of propaganda in today's world. Moreover, since world is changing day-by-day, propaganda is also subject to change. For this reason, I believe that more propaganda techniques can be added to list. Therefore, this section is always open to further research. Fourthly, the problem of effectiveness of propaganda and possible leverages of propaganda are argued. Fifthly and lastly, whether the propaganda is a negative thing is discussed. I argued that propaganda is a neutral thing and its being "bad" or being "good" depends on the context, user and user's aim.

In Chapter four, it is shown that propaganda has many forms. To exemplify this situation, I focused on the relationship between propaganda and arts. Since there are many forms of arts and there are debates on what can be considered as arts and what cannot, I preferred to stick to the Hegel's classification of arts. However, I believe that Hegel's classification of arts is not enough for today's world of art because it does not cover any

contemporary arts of any art form that is done with contemporary techniques. For this reason, I added Movies / TV and New Forms of Arts – Digital Arts to this discussion. This section can be considered as an important part for this thesis because of the fact that Hollywood's general consideration of being a soft power instrument. I believe that the only reason that digital arts is not counted as soft power tools immediately after Hollywood is digital arts came to the history stage late. If digital arts, especially video games, which make the player a part of the game itself, had existed as a popular element in the time when Nye firstly coined the term soft power, they would be an inseparable aspect of soft power debates together with Hollywood. For this reason, I favored video games and their importance as the subject of next chapter.

Since the topic is relatively new, there is lack of information and awareness about why studying video games is essential. In this sense, I discussed why video games are important to study. In this section, I elaborated my discussion in three main parts: video games as popular phenomenon, video games as a cultural matter and the economics of video games. This section might be noteworthy for explaining the influencing power of video games on developed or developing countries. Although I chose to focus mainly on American video game industry, the other video industries e.g. Japanese or Russian video game industries might be subjects for possible researches. Also it is necessary to note that there is a need for further research on what distinct video games and simulations. Furthermore, I think that examples such as *Second Life* (and other life simulations where goals and objectives are always not clear) and MMORPGs constitute great potential to investigate the virtual space of

gaming community and gaming community as a cultural matter. Especially, the possible cultural impact and the promoter force of these virtual communities need to be investigated by ethnographic studies in the future.

In the final chapter the question whether video games are propaganda tools or not is answered. As presented, video games are being used as propaganda tools. The "procedural rhetoric" as formulated by Ian Bogost, estanlishes the strong linkage between video games and propaganda. Persuasive games that carry procedural rhetoric with respect to their aim are discussed to illustrate the point. In this respect, persuasive games with the discussions of learning, advertisement and politics are investigated in detail.

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Nevertheless, although the propaganda value of video games exists, there is ambiguity of the motives behind it. For this reason, the relationship between game producers, game developers and their connections should be further investigated. Despite the fact that similar situations related with Hollywood are rather known, video games as propaganda actors are still not recognized enough. However, this lack of research on video games brings about serious gaps in propaganda and cultural studies. Similar to

books and movies, video games are now one of the pillars of "package merchandise". Nowadays, cultural products are being produced or sold together in "packages". Whenever a book / movie / video game is released, the other pillars of the triangle follow it. It may be argued that merely reading a book such as *Harry Potter* does not satisfy readers anymore. People want to see it on screen. Hence, the movie follows. People see the actor Daniel Radcliffe as Harry Potter in the movie. In the past, such adaptation would be the end of the line as it is the case with many examples of book adaptations in Hollywood. However, recently a new cultural phenomena is in the making: the video game. People want to read Harry Potter, watch Harry Potter and also "be" Harry Potter. Therefore, the motives behind this desire and the producers' attitude towards it should be interrogated. To enlighten this relations further researche is necessary.

Video games are being used as propaganda tools. Furthermore, it is not right to consider video games as "just another propaganda tool". Indeed, video games are possibly the most effective one propaganda tools.. The three main factors discussed in chapter five **X, YX, ZY**, enable video games to transmit messages and create emotions much stronger than other forms of propaganda. Even if, it is not possible to accurately measure the effectiveness of propaganda, it can be said that since video games make the person "a part of propaganda" itself, it may be argued that video games are the most effective way to make propaganda of certain things and ideologies.

However, it should be noted that video games do not have to be "evil" propaganda tools. Since, propaganda is a neutral thing, the position of video games in the propaganda studies seems neutral. Video games are commercial tools for advertisement purposes, teachers for various subjects

and political tools to support or criticize certain ideologies. The reason why the United States is the most important country as the user of video games as propaganda tool is that she is already a soft power user and throughout the world people are used to American values, ideas and life-style because of the tools like Hollywood movies. Nye's quotation of "Hollywood's portraying consumerism, sex and violence" with "promoting values like individualism, upward mobility and freedom" (Nye,2003) is also true for video games. Throughout writing this thesis, I have always wondered that why Joseph Nye did not mention video games as soft power tools. He is 81 years old as of today. Maybe he could not catch the power of video games due to he has never experienced them before. However, I believe that video game will widen and enlighten the propaganda and soft power debates in future. For this reason, further research on video games is needed. Ethnographic studies in the field is also a must for a deeper understanding of the subject.

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APPENDICES

A: GAMES CITED

1. Grand Theft Auto IV – Rockstar Games, 2008, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

2. Uncharted 4: A Thief's End – Naughty Dog, 2016, Playstation 4, Action - Adventure

3. The Last of Us – Naughty Dog, 2013, Playstation , Action - Adventure

4. Half-Life 2 – Valve Corporation, 2004, Multiplatform, FPS

5. Rise of the Tomb Raider – Square Enix, 2015, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

6. Wolfenstein – Multi developers, 1981-…. , Multiplatform, FPS

7. The Wolf Among Us – Telltale Games, 2014, Multiplatform, Interactive adventure

8. Until Dawn – Supermassive Games, 2015, Playstation 4, Horror adventure

9.   Heavy Rain – Quantic Dream, 2010, Playstation, Interactive drama

10.   Beyond: Two Souls – Quantic Dream, 2013, Playstation, Interactive drama

11.   Silent Hill – Konami, 1999, Multiplatform, Survival horror

12.   BioShock – 2K Games, 2007, Multiplatform, FPS

13.   Metal Gear Solid – Konami, 1998, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

14.   Grand Theft Auto – Rockstar Games, 1997, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

15.   Assassin's Creed – Ubisoft, 2007, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

16.   Witcher III – CD Projekt, 2015, Multiplatform, Action role-playing

17.   Minecraft – Mojang, 2011, Microsoft, Sandbox

18.   Resident Evil 4 – Capcom, 2005, Multiplatform, Survival horror

19.   League of Legends – Riot Games, 2009, Microsoft and macOS, MMO

20.   SimCity – Multi developers, 1989-…., Multiplatform, Construction simulation

21.   Microsoft Flight Simulator – Multi developers, 1982 – 2006, DOS, Windows, macOS, Flight Simulator

22.   Assassin's Creed 3 – Ubisoft, 2012, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

23.   L.A. Noire – Rockstar Games, 2011, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

24. Wolfenstein: The New Order – Bethesda, 2014, Multiplatform, FPS

25. Stalker: Shadow of Chernobyl - THQ, 2007, Microsoft, FPS

26. Civilization V - Firaxis Games, 2010, Multiplatform, Strategy

27. Grand Ages: Rome – Haemimont Games, 2009, Microsoft, Strategy

28. Sid Meier's Colonization – MicroProse, 1994-95, Multiplatform, Strategy

29. Rome: Total War – Activision, 2004, Multiplatform, Strategy

30. Fable II – Lionhead Studios, 2008, Xbox360, Role-playing

31. Manhunt – Rockstar, 2003, Multiplatform, Survival horror

32. inFamous 2 – Sucker Punch Productions, 2011, Playstation, Action - Adventure

33. Resident Evil – Capcom, 1996, Playstation, Survival horror

34. Grand Theft Auto: Vice City – Rockstar Games, 2002, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

35. Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas – Rockstar Games, 2004, Multiplatform, Action - Adventure

36. America's Army – United States Army, 2002 – 2013, Multiplatform, FPS

37. Counter Strike – Valve L.L.C., 2000, Multiplatform, FPS

38. September 12th – Newsgaming, 2010, Mini flash game

39.   Democracy – Positech Games, 2005 - …., Multiplatform, Government simulation

40.   Taxlandia – EU, Not specified, Mobile platforms, Government simulation

41.   Tax Evaders – Independent, 2008, Mini flash game

PROPAGANDA ARACI OLARAK VİDEO OYUNLARI:

AMERİKA TEMSİLİ

Bu tezin amacı, video oyunlarının; değerleri, fikirleri ve yaşam tarzını satmada bir propaganda aracı olup olmayacağı sorusunu yanıtlamaktır. Bu soruyu cevaplama amacıyla, bu tez Uluslararası İlişkiler akademik disiplininde güç kavramının bir analizi ile başlamaktadır. Gücün birçok tanımı olmakla birlikte, güç basit bir anlatımla istenilen sonuçlara ulaşmak için ihtiyaç duyulan bir araçtır (Sancak,2016). Günümüz dünyasında güç de dinamik ve değişen bir doğaya sahiptir (Tanrısever, 2005).

Gücün elementleri farklı tanımlarla birlikte değişmektedir. 1990 yılında Joseph Nye Jr. iki çeşit güç olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Bunlar: sert güç ve yumuşak güçtür. Sert güç, ekonomi ve askeri kaynakları ifade ederken; yumuşak güç, çekim ve etkiyi anlatmaktadır. Bu tezde sert güç politik realizm kapsamında tartışılırken, yumuşak güç Nye'ın çalışmasıyla

oluşturdğu çerçeve bağlamında tartışılmıştır. Tezde öncelikle politik realizmde gücün farklı düşünürlerce farklı algılanış şekilleri verilmiş daha sonra yumuşak güç tartışmasına geçilmiştir.

Yumuşak güç devletlerin istediklerini şiddet içeren güç kullanmak zorunda kalmaksızın elde edebilmesi kabiliyetidir (Nye, 2006, s.26). Buna göre eğer birini sizin istediğiniz şeyi onun istediğine inandırırsanız şiddet kullanmanıza gerek kalmaz (Nye. 2003, s. 10). Yumuşak gücün birçok amacı olmakla birlikte üç kaynağı vardır: dış politika, politik değerler ve kültür (Nye, 2004, p. 11). Tezde, yumuşak güç ve "kültür ürünleri" ilişkisini anlatmak için özel bir bölüm ayrılmış ve bu bölümde Amerikan kültür ürünlerine yönelik eleştirilere yer verilmiştir.

Güç tartışmasının son kısmı, yeni bir güç anlayışı olan "akıllı güç" konusunu ele almaktadır. Bu güç anlayışı, yumuşak ve sert gücün bir bileşkesi olarak ifade edilebilir (Nye, 2009). Akıllı güç tartışması görece yeni olsa da, devletlerin eylem ve fikirlerini "satma" ve "meşrulaştırma" için daha iyi hitabet kullanması fikri yeni değildir. Hitabet, tarih boyunca bir ikna yöntemi olmuştur ve propaganda için kullanılmıştır. Bu yüzden propaganda tartışmaları yumuşak güç için son derece önemlidir.

Bu nedenle tezin ikinci bölüm bir yumuşak güç aracı olarak propagandayı ele almaktadır. Propagandanın tek bir tanımını yapmak güçtür. Bu nedenle bu bölümde propagandanın farklı tanımlarına ve farklı propaganda modellerine yer verilmiştir. Bunu takip eden bölümde ise akademik bir disiplin olarak propaganda çalışmalarının tarihsel gelişimi anlatılmıştır. Sonraki bölümde ise propaganda nasıl çalışır sorusu cevaplanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda 1937 yılında kurulan Propaganda Analizi Enstitüsü'nün tanımladığı 7 klasik propaganda tekniği

açıklanmıştır. Bunlar: İsim takma, genellemeleri parlatma, transfer, tanıklık, gösterişsiz halk, kart seçme ve grup vagonudur. Bunun yanısıra, tezde PAE'nin tanımlamadığı dört yeni teknik de yazar tarafından eklenmiştir. Bunlar: ikili seçimlerde ısrar, iki kötüden iyisi, günah keçisi ve ilahlaştırmadır.

Propagandanın etkisi ölçülebilir değildir (Ellul, 1973, s. 261). Fakat propagandanın duygulara seslenmesinin ya da duyguları tetiklemesinin propagandanın etkisini arttırabileceği düşünülmektedir (Ellens, 2015). Bu bağlamda Plutchik'in ortaya koyduğu Duygu Çarkı'na (2001) yer verilmiş ve korku ve sevilme isteğinin en güçlü duygular olduğu ortaya konmuştur (Shabo, 2005, s. 92). Takip eden bölümde ise propagandanın kötü bir şey olmasının bir gereklilik olmadığı, propagandanın iyi ya da kötü olmasının amacına ve bağlamına bağlı olduğu açıklanmıştır.

Tezin üçüncü bölümü duyguların ifadesi olarak tanımlanabilecek sanat ve propaganda ilişkisini incelemektedir. Bu amaçla propagandanın mimarlık, resim ve grafik tabanlı sanatlar, müzik, edebiyat, televizyon – sinema ve yeni sanat formları – dijital sanatlar ile olan ilişkileri ayrı ayrı incelenmiştir. Yeni sanat formları – dijital sanatlar bölümünde propaganda web siteleri, animasyon propaganda filmleri ve video oyunlarından bahsedilmiştir. Video oyunlarının sanat olup olmadığına dair tartışmalar mevcut olsa da, bu tez video oyunlarını sanat kabul etmektedir. Bu nedenle tezin dördüncü bölümünde video oyunlarının propaganda çalışmaları için neden önemli olduğu ve neden araştırılması gerektiği anlatılmıştır.

Oyunların neden çalışmaya değer bir konu olduğu üç ana maddeyle açıklanabilir: oyunların popüler bir fenomen olması, oyunların kültürel bir değerinin olması, oyunların ekonomik değeri (Mayra, 2008).

Oyunların popüler bir fenomen olması; tarih boyunca insanların eğlence amacıyla oyun oynamaktan hoşlanması, oyunların insanların kafalarında idealize ettiği şekli yaratabildiği alanları olması ve oyunların insanları iyi hissettirmesi ile açıklanmıştır. Oyunların kültürel değeri olması; video oyunların sanat eseri olması, video oyunlarının bir deneyim sunması, video oyunların kültürel bir ajan olması ve video oyunların "üçüncü alan" olması ile anlatılmıştır. Tezde video oyunlarının sanatsal değeri konusunda çeşitli görüşlere yer verilmiş olmasına karşın video oyunlarının bir sanat dalı olan sinemaya benzerliğinden ve birçok sanat dalını içinde barındırmasından ötürü video oyunlarının sanat ürünü olmasına dair görüş ağır basmaktadır. Özellikle çevrimiçi oyunlarda kurulagelen sosyal topluluklar ise oyunların kültürel ajan olma özelliği ile ilgili tartışmanın odak noktası olarak tartışılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra Oldenburg'un "üçüncü alan" olaral tanımladığı ev ve iş dışında kalan ve kişinin kendini rahat hissettiği yer olması sebebiyle de video oyunları kültürel bir değer taşımaktadır (Oldenburg, 1999). Oyunların ekonomik değeri ise istatistikler ve verilerle açıklanmıştır. Bu verilere göre oyun sektörü hızla gelişmekte olan ve pazar payı oldukça büyük olan bir sektördür. Ayrıca bu verilere göre video oyunlarının yanısıra mobil oyunların da dikkat çekici ölçüde popüler olduğu görülmektedir.

Tezin beşinci bölümünde video oyunlarının propaganda ile olan ilişkisi detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme Ian Bogost'un 2007'de ortaya attığı "ikna edici oyunlar" kavramı bağlamında yapılmıştır. İkna

edici oyunlar," yöntemsel hitabet" yoluyla kişileri ikna etmeyi ya da manipüle etmeyi amaçlamaktadır (Bogost, 2007). Konunun daha açık olması için yöntemsel hitabet konusuna ayrı bir bölüm ayrılmıştır. Yöntemsel hitabet ir ikna tekniğidir fakat burada ikna edilmek istenen kişiye mesaj doğrudan verilmez. İkna edilmek istenen kişiye potansiyel ikna süreçlerinin imajları verilir (Bogost, 2007, s. 22) Video oyunlarında ikna süreçlerini sadece görsellikle anlatmak mümkün değildir. Video oyunlarının ikna şekli dijital hitabettir. Dijital hitabetin belirleyici özelliklerinden biri sağladığı etkileşimdir. Dijital ortamların kişilere sağladığı etkileşim insanların dijital ortamda kendini ifade etmesini, dijital ortamlara katılımını ve yine dijital ortamda yaratıcı işbirliğini teşvik edici faktörlerdir. Dijital ortamların sosyal topluluklar kurma gücü, dijital ortamın sunduğu etkileşimden ileri gelmektedir (Zappen, 2005, s. 322). Yöntemsel hitabet, tıpkı klasik ikna yöntemleri gibi kişilerin fikirlerini ya da eylemlerini değiştirmeyi amaçlar (Bogost, 2007, s. 29). Video oyunlarının sahip olduğu yöntemsel hitabeti en iyi şekilde değelendirebilmek için ciddi oyunlar ve ikna edici oyunların incelenmesi gerekmektedir.

Ciddi oyunlar, eğlence ya da zaman geçirme amacı yerine bir konu ya da bir problem hakkında bilinç arttırma ya da bir eylemi öğretme amacı ile yaratılmış oyunlardır. Birçok farklı sektörden farklı amaçlarla ciddi oyunların geliştirildiğini söylemek mümkündür. Ciddi oyunlar oyunlaştırma yaklaşımının bir parçası olarak görülmesine rağmen aslında oyunlaştırma ve ciddi oyunlar farklı kavramlardır (Dicheva, Dichev et. Al, 2014, s. 75). Ciddi oyunlar anlamlı mesajlar ya da amaçlar taşırlar. Bu sebepten onları yöntemsel hitabet olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür.

İkna süreçleri sosyal süreçlerdir. B.J. Fogg, 2002 yılında bilgisayarların sosyal aktörler olarak değerlendirilebileceğini öne sürmüştür. Bilgisayarların fiziksel, psikolojik, dilsel, sosyal dinamiksel ve sosyal rollere bağlı işaretlerle teknolojik ikna süreçleri yarattığını iddia etmiştir (Fogg, 2002). İkna edici oyunların çalışma prensibi teknolojik ikna süreçlerine yakındır. İkna edici oyunlar bilgisayarlarda yapılan ifadesel kodlarca yaratılmıştır. Aynı zamanda ikna edici oyunlar tasarım ve zanaat ürünüdür. İkna edici oyunların çalışma prensibi üç ana elementle ifade edilmektedir: oyunlaştırma, oyun dünyası ve davranışsal değişim tasarımı. Oyunlaştırma sayesinde oyuncular gerçek dünyada yaşamalarına karşın oyun dünyasını deneyimleme fırsatı bulurlar. Böylece oyuncuların gerçek hayat deneyimleri, oyun dünyası deneyimlerine dönüşür. Aynı zamanda oyun tasarımcısı ve oyuncu, oyun dünyasını tasarlama ya da oynama yoluyla gerçek hayata taşır. Bu süreçler değişkendir, hiçbir zaman tam bir gerçekleşmeye tabi değildir ve bu döngü sonsuzdur (Visch et. al, 2013). Bu döngüyü sağlayan üç ana etmen: otonomi, rekabet ve sosyal alakadır.

İkna edici oyun dizaynının dikkat çekici bir özelliği de davranış değişikliğine sebep olmasıdır. Bu davranış değişikliği hem oyun dünyası hem de gerçek hayat davranışlarını etkilemek üzere iki yönlüdür. Davranışlardaki bu değişim üç farklı şekilde gözlenebilir:

1) Ani değişim: Oyun dünyasındaki davranış gerçek hayattaki davranışın önüne geçer.

2) Kademeli değişim: Oyun dünyası ve gerçek hayat davranışları birbirlerini kademeli olarak etkiler.

3) Uyumcu değişim: oyun dünyası ve gerçek hayat değişimleri stabil gerçekleşmez. Değişim şartlata bağlı olarak değişir ve oyuncunun gerçek hayattaki davranışsal değişimine bağlıdır (Visch et. al, 2013).

İkna edici oyunlar birçok farklı amaçla tasarlanırlar. Ama onları üç ana sınıfta incelemek onları anlamayı kolaylaştırmaktadır. Bu üç ana sınıf: Öğrenme, Reklam ve Politikadır.

Oyunların eğitici değeri kişinin eğitimi nasıl tanımladığına göre değişmektedir. James Paul Gee, video oyunlarının "yeni bir okur-yazarlık" öğrettiğini iddia etmektedir. Gee'ye göre modern dünyada tek bir okur-yazarlıktan söz etmek mümkün değildir. Bunun yerine birçok farklı okur-yazarlık türünden söz edilebilir. Gee, oyunların kişilere eleştirel düşünmeyi, şeyler arası ilişkiler kurmayı ve problem çözme yeteneğini öğrettiğini düşünmektedir (Gee, 2003, s. 49-50). Video oyunlarının içeriğini öğrettiği varsayımı bazı tartışmalara yol açmaktadır. Bu tartışmalardan biri video oyunlarının içerdiği şiddeti öğrettiği varsayımı odaklıdır. Bu tartışmanın bir benzeri şiddet içerikli TV yapımları ve filmler için de mevcuttur. Burada video oyunlarını farklı kılan, kişinin seyirci olma durumundan çıkarak eylemi "yapan kişi"ye dönüşmesidir. Video oyunlarının içeriğini öğretmesi ile ilgili bir diğer konu da video oyunlarının geçtiği mekanlar, içerdiği tarihsel olaylar ve kişiler hakkında bir imaj yaratıyor olmasıdır. Örneğin bazı oyunlar tarihsel bir olayın alternatif versiyonunu göstererek oyuncuya

tarihi deneyimleme fırsatı sunmaktadır. Bu durum bazen kişilerin kafasında tarihsel kişiler ya da olaylarla alakalı yanlış hatırlanacak imajlar olmasına yol açmaktadır. Bu etkiye "Disney etkisi" adı verilmektedir (Metzger & Paxton, 2006, s. 2). Disney etkisine benzer bir endişe doğuran başka bir durum da oyun yapımcılarının genellikle Batılı ülkeler olması ve tarihsel olayları Batılı ve taraflı bir perspektiften yansıtıyor olması endişesidir. Bogost'a göre bu Batılı perspektif oyunculara tüketim, çalışmanın değeri, ahlak ve inanç gibi bazı Amerikan değerlerini de öğretmektedir (Bogost, 2007). Buradaki tartışmalı konu video oyunlarının ahlak değerlendirmesidir. Örneğin, bazı video oyunlarında ahlaki olarak "iyi" olanı yapmak iyi sonuçlar doğurmamaktadır. Bu tarz durumlar oyuncuları ahlaki ikilemlere sürüklemektedir.

İkna edici oyunlar ve reklam ilişkisinin incelendiği ikinci bölümde öncelikle reklamın mantığı ve tanıtımı itibariyle bir tür propaganda olduğu anlatılmıştır. Reklamcılar artık TV, gazete gibi geleneksel reklam yöntemleri ile yetinmemekte ve alternatif reklam yerleri aramaktadır. Bu alternatif reklam yerleri yumurtalar üstüne damgadan, yiyecek kutularına, etkileşimli zeminlere kadar birçok yere yayılmıştır (Story, 2007). Video oyunları da artık bu alternatif reklam araçlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Video oyunlarındaki reklamlar çeşitli şekillerde görülmektedir. Bunlardan ilki "advergames" denilen reklam-oyunlardır. Reklam-oyunlar, oyun içi reklam ile karıştırılmamalıdır. Reklam-oyunlar reklam için özel olarak tasarlanmış oyunlardır. Oyun içi reklamlar ise televizyondaki ürün yerleştirme şeklinde görülen geleneksel reklamlara daha yakındır (Cauberghe & De Pelsmacker, 2010, s. 5). Son zamanlarda

reklam-oyunlar pazarlama pratiklerinde önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Seth Grossman (2005) şirketlerin reklam-oyun kullanmalarının dört ana nedeni olduğunu iddia etmiştir: Birincisi, reklam-oyunların ucuz olmasıdır. İkincisi, oyunlar özellikle çocuklar arasında oldukça popüler olduğu için reklam geniş bir kitleye ulaşmaktadır. Üçüncüsü, oyunlar etkileşimli ortamlar olduğundan kişiler oyun sırasında gördükleri reklamları hatırlama eğilimindedir. Dördüncüsü, geleneksel reklamcılığın aksine reklam-oyunlarda eğer kişiler oyunu severlerse oyunun ve dolayısıyla reklamın viral olma şansı vardır (Grossman, 2005, s. 229 – 230). Reklam-oyunlar oldukça kısadır ve tekrar tekrar oynanabilirler. Oyunun tekrar tekrar oynanması kişinin reklama da tekrar tekrar maruz kalması anlamına gelmektedir. Bu durum, reklam-oyunun markasının hatırlanabilirliğini arttırıcı bir etkendir (Cauberghe & De Pelsmacker, 2010, s. 6).

Oyun içi reklamlar ise oyunun normal akışında oyunda çevrede yer alan reklam panosu benzeri yerleştirilmiş reklamları ifade etmektedir. Bu reklamlar aynı zamanda oyunun dondurma ya da yükleme ekranlarında da yer alabilir. Bu model, televizyon ya da sinemadan alışık olduğumuz geleneksel reklamcılık modeline daha yakındır. Ama burada oyun içi reklamları geleneksel TV reklamlarından ayıran şey yine oyunun etkileşime el veren yapısıdır (Yang et. al, 2006, s. 144). İkna edici oyunlar reklam bağlamında değerlendirildiğinde bu oyunlarda ikna edici ajanın direk kontrolünün olmadığını söylemek mümkündür. Bir başka deyişle ikna edici ajan oyuncuyu bir servis ya da ürünü almanın onun için potansiyel bir iyilik taşıdığına ikna etmeye çalışır ama oyuncunun ürünü ya da hizmeti alması konusunda direk bir kontrolde

bulunamaz. Bu durum, yaşam tarzı "satışında" da aynı şekilde geçerlidir. Oyun iyi reklamların etkilerini incelemek karmaşık bir konudur çünkü incelenmesi gereken çok fazla boyut içermektedir. Bu boyutlardan biri marka aşinalığı yaratmaktır.

Video oyunlarının ve oyun içi reklamların yarattığı tek aşinalık markalara değildir. Video oyunları aynı zamanda spesifik kültür ve mekanlara karşı da aşinalık doğurmaktadır. Örneğin tamamen Japon yapımı olan *Resident Evil* oyununun geçtiği şehrin Japonca bir isim yerine İngilizce bir isim olan Racoon City olarak seçilmesi şehrin ismini Amerikanlaştırarak kabullenilmesini kolaylaştırmaktır (Bissell, 2010, s. 17). Bu duruma bir başka örnek ise Amerikan kültürüne dair çok sayıda referans barındıran *Grand Theft Auto* serisidir.

1997 yılında piyasaya çıkan *Grand Theft Auto* serisi ilk çıktığında iki boyutlu bir evrende geçmekteydi. 2001'den itibaren ise üç boyutlu bir oyun dünyasına geçiş yapmıştır. *GTA* oyunculara açık dünya bir oyun deneyimi sunmaktadır. Oyunun geçtiği mekan ve yerler gerçe değil, hayal ürünüdür. Buna karşın bu mekan ve yerlerin gerrçek Amerikan şehirlerinden oldukça fazla etkilendiğini söylemek mümkündür. Örneğin *GTA: Vice City*'deki Vice City 1986 Miami'sinin açık bir modelidir (Bissell, 2010, s. 163). Aynı şekilde *GTA: San Andreas*'ın San Andreas'ı 90lı yılların başındaki California'yı (Bissell, 2010, s. 164), *GTA* IV'ün geçtiği Liberty City ise New York'u anımsatmaktadır (Bissell, 2010, s. 167). Bu benzerlikler oyuncuların şehrin ekolojik ve kültürel özelliklerine aşina olmasını sağlamaktadır. Böylece video oyunlarının davranış ve kültürü satması kolaylaşmaktadır.

Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas'ta oyuncular Los Angeles'ta bir çete üyesi olan CJ isimli karakteri oynamaktadır. Bu nedenle bu oyunun piyasa çıkışı oyunun "gangster rap" kültürünü övmesiyle alakalı bir takım tartışmalar başlatmıştır. Bunun yanısıra, oyunun ana karakterinin Afro-Amerikalı olması da Afro-Amerikalıların suçlular olarak yansıtıldığına dair bir takım ırkçılık tartışmalarını gündeme getirmiştir (DeVane & Squire, 2008, s. 266). Ayrıca bu oyunda değişiklik olarak karakterin bazı eylemleri yapabilmesi için staminası olması gerekliliği getirilmiştir. Oyunda stamina kaynağı olan şey yiyeceklerdir. Oyuncular, oyunda staminayı fast food yiyeceklerinden elde etmek zorundadırlar. Ayrıca oyunda salat gibi yiyecekler fast food yiyeceklerinden daha pahalıdır (Bogost, 2007, s.113). Fast food yiyeceklerinin fazla tüketimi oyunda CJ'in şişmanlamasına yol açmaktadır. Bu durumda karakterin yapması gereken ise spor merkezine gidip spor yapmaktır (Bissell, 2010, s. 164). Bu durum araştırmaya değer bir konudur çünkü Avrupa'da Amerikan kültürü sıklıkla obezite ve kötü beslenme ile ilişkilendirilerek, Amerikanlaşma bir sağlık tehditi olarak görülmektedir (Knowlton – Le Roux, 2007, s. 1). *GTA*'nın satirik Amerikan kültürü öğeleri bununla sınırlı değildir. *GTA IV*'te oyuncular dart oynama, bowling ya da bilardo oynama, beş dakikalık mini stand-up gösterileri için komedi kulüplerine ya da striptiz kulüplerine gitme gibi yeni seçeneklerle buluşmuşlardır.

İkna edici oyunlar kısmının son bölümü ikna edici oyunlar ve politika arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. İkna edici oyunlar yöntemsel hitabet çerçevesinde çeşitli politik mesajlar taşımaktadır. Bu mesajlarla politik başlıkları, değerleri ve özel politik sistemleri sistemik bir şekilde

sunmaktadırlar. Politik oyunları oynamak oyunların barındırdığı yöntemsel hitabeti ortaya çıkarmaktadır ve oyuncular bu yolla politik bakış açıları kazanmaktadırlar (Bogost, 2007, s. 75). Yöntemsel hitabetin video oyunlarda ortaya çıkışı çeşitli olduğundan, politik oyunlar da çok çeşitli formlarda bulunmaktadır. Mesajların veriliş yoğunluğu ve şekli de oyunun oyuncudan ne beklediğine bağlı olarak değişmektedir.

Politik oyunların en belirgin örneklerinden biri 2002'de piyasaya sürülen *America's Army* isimli oyundur. Bu oyunun finansörü de Amerikan hükümeti olduğundan oyunun politik bir oyun olduğuna dair bir şüphe bulunmamaktadır. Ayrıca, oyun "Amerikan ordusunun resmi oyunu" olarak tanımlanmaktadır (America's Army, 2018). Oyun, oyuncunun bir askeri canlandırarak düşmanları vurmaya çalıştığı birincil kişili nişan alma türünde bir oyundur. Oyunun yapım maliyeti vergi mükelleflerine 33 milyon dolar olarak yansıdıysa da oyunu indirmek ve oynamak bedavadır (Mastrapa, 2009). Askeri temalı birçok video oyunu bulunsa da *America's Army* onlardan iki yönüyle ayrılır: Birincisi, hükümetçe finanse edilmek ve ikincisi ordunun Amerikan ordusuna katılım sağlamak konusundaki bilinen isteği (Schulzke, 2013, s. 62). Bunun yanı sıra *America's Army*, birçok açıdan oldukça gerçekçidir. Örneğin, oyundaki silahlar oldukça detaylı bir şekilde modellenmiştir ve her birinin kullanım şekli ayrıdır. Oyuncunun oyunda ilerleyebilmek için bu silahları kullanabilmesi gereklidir. Ayrıca oyundaki sesler, ayak izleri, parçacık efektleri, mermi kovanları gibi gerçekçi öğeler de oyunda yer almaktadır (Bogost, 2007, s. 78). Oyunun dikkate değer bir başka özelliği de oyunda iki takım karşı karşıya oynamasına rağmen oynayan her iki takımın da kendini Amerikan

ordusu olarak görüp, karşı tarafı düşmanlar olarak görmesidir (Bogost, 2007, s. 78). Oyunda ilerleme sistemi ise "Ordu Değerleri" isimli sisteme dayanmaktadır. Buna göre oyuncular; sadakat, görev, saygı, kendini düşünmeden hizmet, onur, bütünlük ve kişisel cesaret gibi değer puanları kazanarak ilerleme göstermektedir (America's Army Oyun Rehberi). Yazar, bu ilerleme sisteminin bir propaganda tekniği olduğuna inanmaktadır.

Video oyunların yöntemsel hitabeti yalnızca şeylerin ve olayların nasıl işlediğini göstererek çalışmaz. Bir diğer ihtimal de şeylerin ve olayların nasıl işlemediğini göstermesi olabilir. Bu durumun en önemli örnekleri "kazanılamaz oyunlar"dır. Bu oyunlar bir politik sistemin eleştirisini yapan politik oyunlardır. Burada video oyununun yöntemsel hitabeti oyuncunun oyunu kazanmasına izin vermeyerek problemli olanın sistemin kendisi olduğunu gösterme gayesi güder. Bu tür oyunlara bir örnek *September 12th* isimli oyundur. Bu oyunun yöntemsel hitabeti, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin terörle savaş politikalarını eleştirmektedir.

Politika ile alakalı bütün oyunlar politik oyun olarak adlandırılamaz. Politik oyunların yöntemsel hitabet taşıması zorunludur. Bir başka deyişle bu oyunlar, politik bir konu üzeirnde fikir ya da eylem değişikliği yapma ya da yaratma amacındadır. Diğer yandan, politika ile alakalı eğlenceli mini oyunlar bu tür bir amaç taşımamaktadır. Bu younlar varolan oyun mekaniklerini alarak bunları politik konulara uyarlamaktadır. Bir mesaj vermek amacıyla özel olarak tasarlanmamaktadır (Bogost, 2007, s. 94).

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Ticari amaçla yapılan oyunların ana yapılış amacı para kazanmak olmasına karşın, bu oyunlar da yöntemsel hitabet içeriğiyle birlikte politik mesajlar taşıyabilirler. 2005'te piyasaya çıkan *Democracy* isimli oyun buna bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu oyun bir hükümet simülasyonu oyunudur. Oyunda, oyuncular bir ülkeyi yönetirken aynı anda karmaşık bireysel oy davranışları ile de uğraşmak zorundadır. Bunun yanı sıra oyunda oyuncunun uğraşmakta zorunda olduğu her konu birbiri ile ilişki halindedir ve birbirini etkilemektedir (Democracy 3, 2018).

Democracy'nin piyasaya çıkışı birçok tartışmayı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu tartışmalardan biri, oyunun ismi "Demokrasi" olmasına rağmen simülasyonun demokratik bir devletin bazı elementlerini dışarıda bırakmasıdır. Bunlardan bazıları parlament sistemi, kontrol mekanizmaları ve salt çokluk dışında kalan oylama stilleri sayılabilir (Pichlmair, 2015, s. 1). Bu durumlar oyunun demokratik bir devlet simülasyonundan çok bir diktatörlük simülasyonu olduğu görüşünü doğurmuştur. Bir başka tartışma konusu ise oyunun ek paketiyle birlikte oyuna eklenen Afrika ülkeleri seçeneğidir. Afrika ülkelerinin oyuna eklenmesi "Evrenselcilik" ve "Kültürel görecelilik" tartışmasını gündeme getirmiştir. Oyunda Batı anlayışına göre "iyi" kabul edilen bir hareketi yapmak, kimi zaman Afrika ülkeleri için kötü sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Örneğin, eğer oyuncu Kenya'daki çocuk işçiliğini yasaklarsa bu hareketin sonucu fakir kırsal kesimler ve mutsuz insanlar olarak oyuncuya dönmektedir (Souppouris, 2016).

Yazar *Democracy*'nin politik ikna edici oyunlar konusunda önemli olduğuna inanmaktadır çünkü oyuncu, oyunda basın özgürlüğü, konuşma özgürlüğü ve benzeri öğeleri yasakladığında oyunda başarılı olma şansı artmaktadır. *Democracy*'nin yalnızca bir oyun olduğu düşülebilir fakat araştırmalar video oyunlarının gençlerin demokratik tavırları üstünde etkilerinin bulunduğunu kanıtlamıştır (Barthel, 2011, s. 28-39).

Tezde politik oyunlarda metaforun kullanımına ilişkin ise iki karşıt örnek gösterilmiştir: Avrupa Birliği'nce finanse edilen ve vergi sisteminin önemini anlatan *Taxlandia* ve Amerika'da John Kerry'nin vergilendirme sistemini yermek amacıyla yapılan *Tax Evaders.* Bu iki örnek birbirinin tam zıttı örnekler kabul edilebilir çünkü *Taxlandia* ancak ve ancak oyuncunun fazla vergi toplayarak başarılı olabileceği bir simülasyon oyunu iken, *Tax Evaders* vergilerin düşman bir uzaylı gibi sembolize edildiği ve oyuncunun Amerika'yı vergilerden "koruyarak" kazanabileceği bir oyundur. Simgelerin ve metaforların kullanımı propagandanın bilinen tekniklerinden biridir. Özellikle transfer tekniğinde propaganda yapımcıları, metaforların gücünü kullanarak kitlelere mesajlar vermektedir. Metaforların kullanımı, sözcüklerin kullanımından çok da farklı değildir (McCloskey, 1964, s. 217). Video oyunlarındaki yöntemsel hitabet sadace sözcüklerin kullanımı yoluyla gerçekleşmez, aynı zamanda sembollerin ve metaforların kullanımı ile de gerçekleşebilir.

Bu tezin son bölümü olan sonuç bölümünde öncelikle tezin tamamının kısa bir özeti verilmiş, araştırma sorusu tekrarlanmış ve en son olaral bulgulardan söz edilmiştir. Buna göre yazar kendi kişisel

görüşünü de belirtmiş ve video oyunlarının propaganda araçları olarak kullanılabileceğine dair fikrini söylemiştir. Fakat bu propagandanın ille de kötü bir propaganda olması gerekmez. Bunun yanı sıra sonuç bölümünde konu ile ilgili araştırmaların yetersizliğinden söz edilerek bu konuda daha fazla araştırma yapılmasına dair öneriler yer almaktadır.

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