

THE REPRESENTATION OF CONSERVATORY MASCULINITY
THROUGH TV SERIALS *SEN ANLAT KARADENİZ*

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ABSTRACT

THE REPRESENTATION OF CONSERVATORY MASCULINITY THROUGH TV SERIALS: *SEN ANLAT KARADENİZ*

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This thesis examines the concept of conservatory masculinity and its reproduction and representation through television, which is one of the ideological state apparatuses. One of the main aims of the thesis is to present that since the JDP came to power in 2002, it has adopted conservative democracy, and the connection with masculinity has come to the light in the last periods. Another aim of the thesis is to draw attention to how the relationship between conservatism and masculinity is adopted and emphasized in discourses and policies. This thesis focuses deeply on what kinds of impacts media has on society and the ways in which television which is one of the most-watched media tools constructs cultural hegemony, as well as the effects of the government discourses and policies which are reproduced through television serials. How conservatory masculinity is handled and processed in television narratives has been examined by narrative analysis through *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* serial.

The serial of *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* clearly presents the relationship between conservatism and masculinity through the male characters and constructs the

concept of conservatory masculinity in accordance with the basic principles of conservatism and masculinity.

Keywords: Conservatism, Masculinity, The JDP, Patriarchy, TV serial, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*

ÖZ

KORUMACI ERKEKLİĞİN TELEVİZYON DİZİLERİ ARACILIĞIYLA YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ: *SEN ANLAT KARADENİZ* ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, korumacı erkeklik kavramının ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biri olan televizyon ile yeniden üretimini ve temsilini analiz etmeyi hedefler. AKP hükümetinin iktidara geldikten sonraki sürecinde muhafazakar demokrasi kavramını benimsemesi ve erkeklik ile kurduğu bağın özellikle son dönemlerinde gittikçe gün yüzüne çıkması tezin gösterdiği temel amaçlarından biridir. Tezin bir diğer amacı ise muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik ilişkisinin söylemlerde ve politikalarda nasıl benimsendiğine ve vurgulandığına dikkat çekmektedir. Bu tez ayrıntılı bir şekilde medyanın toplum üzerinde ne tür etkileri olduğunu ve en çok izlenen medya araçlarından biri olan televizyonun kültürel hegemonyayı ne şekillerde oluşturduğunu, ayrıca televizyon dizileri ile tekrar üretilen hükümet söylem ve politikalarının etkileri üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Korumacı erkekliğin televizyon anlatılarında nasıl ele alındığı ve işlendiği *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* dizisi üzerinden anlatı analizi ile incelenmiştir.

Sen Anlat Karadeniz dizisi, muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik ilişkisini erkek başroller üzerinden oldukça belirgin bir şekilde göstermekte ve korumacı erkeklik

kavramını muhafazakarlığın ve erkekliğin temel ilkeleri doğrultusunda belirgin bir şekilde inşa etmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Muhafazakarlık, Erkeklik, AKP, Ataerki, Televizyon Dizileri

To all women...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DP	Democrat Party- Demokrat Parti
ISA	Ideological State Apparatuses- İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtları
JDP	Justice and Development Party- Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
JP	Justice Party- Adalet Partisi
MP	Motherland Party- Anavatan Partisi
NOP	National Order Party- Milli Nizam Partisi
NSP	National Salvation Party- Milli Selamet Partisi
PRA	The Presidency of Religious Affairs- Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı
RSA	Repressive State Apparatuses- Baskıcı Devlet Aygıtları
RTSK	Radio and Television Supreme Court- Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu
VP	Virtue Party- Fazilet Partisi
WP	Welfare Party- Refah Partisi

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

From the past to the present, various research has been done about women and femininity from a feminist perspective. Yet, a complete feminist analysis would also entail an account of men, who play various roles in a woman's life, namely, being a husband, sexual partner, lover, father, brother, colleague, schoolmate, etc. This thesis takes masculinity as its focal point for analysis. However, given that masculinity is not one, but rather point to a plurality of *masculinities*, the scope of this thesis will be limited to what I call "conservatory masculinity," in conjunction with its links to conservatism.

In this study, a TV serial is analyzed, which aired on television once a week between 2018 and 2019, with a perspective of conservatism and "conservatory masculinity." The concept of conservatory masculinity does not necessarily have an ideological relationship with conservatism, in that it is something that is not peculiar to conservative ideology. Although it seems ideological, it is more than that because this relation can exist in vary ideologies because it takes its position to ideologies and exists itself through concepts. To explain more, conservatory masculinity exist itself in any ideology through concepts so, it establishes itself as conceptual. The relation, rather, is conceptual. There are two significant reasons for this relation being conceptual rather than ideological: (1) conservatory masculinity is seen and has existed under many ideologies, including those that are not necessarily conservative, and (2) because of the reason of existence, both conservatism and conservatory masculinity show intersectionality and reproduce themselves. In fact, this is an indispensable issue, that is, they need each other to continue their existence. To clarify this relation more, this relation is based on the concepts of conservatism such as religion,

tradition, nationalism, family, state, and authority, and how these concepts correspond with masculinity and forms conservatory masculinity. There is one point here to stress that conservatory masculinity can find any way or ideology to continue itself and it makes this as conserving main concepts and principles of the main ideology. Conservatory masculinity thus finds a way to incorporate the conservatory position into the main ideology. The relationship between conservatism and masculinity in Turkey exists itself as a conceptual. Therefore, they create a hidden agreement because both of them use their arguments in favor of themselves. The point here is both to justify and create this relationship based on an individual's consent in society. As in this research, justification and consent are approved in favor of ideological state apparatuses. This clearly shows that this relation is consolidated through ideological state apparatuses as normal and acceptable. Therefore, conservatism and masculinity both consolidate their power and sustain it. To highlight this conceptual relation, the history of conservatism and its basic concepts will be explained and how they overlap with masculinity will be analyzed as one of the main lines of the research. Therefore, Turkey's history of conservatism and current government, and its political ideology of conservative democracy is going to be explained. Also, this thesis reveals how the concept of conservatory masculinity is constructed and represented by the media that has been under the effect of the government's political ideology since 2002. As a result, the research presents how conservatism and its concepts overlap with masculinity and form a conservatory masculinity. By doing this, some concepts of conservatism, religion, tradition, nationalism, authority, state, and family are going to be analyzed under this relation. To make the concept of conservatory masculinity more concrete, a TV serial is going to be discussed and analyzed.

To explain and prove this framework, the TV serial *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* will be examined through the concept of conservatory masculinity from the perspective of the ideological state apparatuses. Ideologies have always been effective over society, but they have some steps to take to do that, and one of which is media to

construct and sustain their power. Ideological approaches do not just give the main ideology and its relation to other concepts but also highlight some subheadings besides the main context. Thus, to understand the ideological approaches within the context of all these relationships, masculinity, media, and gender roles are examined from a feminist perspective.

Historically, Turkey has always been conservative to an extent. As Bora explains, after WW1, the Ottoman Empire adopted the developments of the West and both westernization and modernization patterns began, yet the national Turkish identity, which comes from the past, has been continued in the period of the Turkish Republic (Bora, 1998). Modernization begins in 17th c. in West Europe that is cultural and social transformation process and the Ottoman Empire realizes its condition that is backward. This modernization process continues to foundation of Turkish Republic and a new national identity composes of this process. This identity is seen as a part of Islam, so both national and religious identities find a place in society. Despite these changes, the capitalist modernization process starts and accepts this identity but when looking at cultural and social changes, there is a reaction in the society because this integration of political, economic, and social changes causes a reaction as it is called conservatism. Because in general terms, conservatism means that conserving and keeping tradition, belief and values of society that come from the history. As a result, both the Turkish modernization process and national Turkish identity acquire conservatism (Bora, 1998).

However, after the election of the Justice and Development Party, conservatism has easily found its way into various areas. In this regard, especially women and their social lives have been affected by the politicians' discourse, and the Presidency of Religious Affairs, which is a religious ministry of Turkey, has given fatwas and explanations about women's lives and behaviors. To give an example, PRA answers a question about divorcing and says that divorce occurs when a husband says "boş ol" or gets divorce only by saying via phone, text,

internet, or fax (Öztürk, 2018). In 2017, the president of PRA gives a speech about March 8th and says that these things humiliate all women and there is no room for them in Islam (Çatlak Zemin, n.d.). Some institutions, such as the PRA, continue to provide advice to society in order to protect and maintain government power and order in society. It is a fact that government and state institutions reveal their conservative identity and this conservative identity which has JDP adopts the idea of conservatory masculinity is constructed by conservatory masculine representations. Indeed, conservatory masculinity creates the situations and conditions that it has and conserve as adopting hegemonic ideology but it makes that by providing an advantage over its masculinity. In that case, it both reproduces what it conserves and legitimizes them through its masculinity. In fact, masculinity which can be found in any ideology, has a conceptual relation with conservative ideology, which JDP has adopted in the last 18 years. I call this conceptual relation conservatory masculinity.

While religion and patriarchy are also effective and dominant in Muslim-majority societies like Turkey, conservatism draws its power from these two important systems. Patriarchy and religion have been best friends for centuries, and it is not a matter of a woman's class, race or ethnicity for either of them because the main point is the system: in other words, women's subordination and the idea of male superiority are the main points for patriarchy and monotheistic religions. Berktaş explains that;

“...However, the birth of monotheistic religion is associated with a certain historical and social ‘moment’, and this relationship leaves its mark on all three versions of monotheistic religion, causing them to show common characteristics. Without disregarding the specificity of each and the differences between them, this is the unifying bond of the patriarchal system as a result of its interaction with the emergence and institutionalization of a man and a woman to be arranged in a hierarchical manner that divides absolute and rigid gender roles, patriarchal family relations based on the rule of the blessing of man, and in this context, we can say that the control on the female body and the legitimization were legalized” (Berktaş, 1994, p. 26)

If a woman lives in a dominant patriarchal and religious society, she will be both a victim and an active agent of it (Berktaş, 1994).

Towards the end of 2019, 474 women were killed, and so many women were also wounded by men (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu, 2019). Every part of a woman's life has been surrounded by some arguments regarding gender roles and expectations such as being and acting as an honorable woman, accepting male superiority, having some identities as a mother, wife, and daughter. They teach women how to behave, how to act, and how to give birth to a child. Regardless of class, ethnicity, race, or age, women have been trapped by thoughts and ideas in this patriarchal society. Nevertheless, it should be explained clearly that masculinity is behind them because it chooses men as its main and important agents, but these important agents not only show their power and dominance but also, they can also be actively part of women's lives and deaths.

There are some different types of masculinities. One of them is hegemonic masculinity, which is a dominant form of masculinity within society. Being heterosexual, Sunni, and having a Turkish identity is a hegemonic masculine identity in Turkey. Toxic masculinity is another type of masculinity in a society that is defined as an acceptance of violence, aggressive, or not weak. However, in this research, I will explain conservatory masculinity as a type of masculinity in society which is conserving religion, family, hometown. All three masculinities have an effect on men and this effect shapes their lives in many ways. For example, during the childhood period, most of the boys are expected to be tough, aggressive and at the beginning of adulthood, some expectations come to encounter heteronormative norms such as having a good job, being heterosexual, having a family. Besides, there is one fact that having a conservative identity has some values such as religion, property, tradition, the order of society. The reason why conservatory masculinity has been chosen for this research is the process that begins with JDP, conservatism has been

increased and this process has spread over a long period. Furthermore, the rise of right-wing ideology in the world, especially in Europe, and its relation with conservatism increases its effect on society. For example, abortion restrictions in Poland, violence against women and the LGBTIQ+ movement, or always emphasizing gender roles, religion and tradition discourses against women and the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey. As explained above, there is different masculinity which is coined as conservatory because it has different nuances and dynamics from other masculinities. To understand this conceptual relation and to analyze it, conservatory masculinity has been chosen and through media, it will be explained. Given not only conservatory masculinity but also patriarchy, religion, and the state created by an endless circle, this established circle draws upon some ideological tools such as media and family.

The media is an important part of cultural and social life. Television is one of the most significant tools used to expand the hegemonic ideology of the state. It is a black box to produce and give some symbols, icons, ideas, and messages to individuals in the society. It is a machine that collects ideas, symbols, and messages, but it gives all the social and cultural norms with the perspective of hegemonic ideology. Media should be seen as an apparatus because economic relations determine the social and cultural norms, but these social and cultural norms are determined by the superstructure. In other words, production relations shape the dominant class because it gives them capital with its surplus value. This superstructure shapes base's social and cultural norms according to hegemonic ideology. Although the base determines the superstructure, the superstructure decides what people want. This dominant class is a part of capitalism and capitalism needs some material things to shape the basis of its ideology. Capitalism needs images, icons, and objects to surround people with the hegemonic ideology. Using the capitalist framework, Debord identifies these images, icons, and objects in their perspectives.

According to Debord, this society is the society of the spectacle, which gives his book its title (Debord, 1970). He uses the word “the spectacle” as a part of the society and he says “The spectacle is not a collection of images but a social relation among people mediated by images” (Debord, 1970, bk. 3). These images are based on the economy, which is held by the ruling class power, so the ruling class creates its own dominance over the society and makes people alienated from themselves (Debord, 1970, bk. 12). If power and the economy determine these images and appearances, it is reasonable to conclude that people are surrounded by images, which can be found everywhere, from television to billboards. Thus, characters, for example, are presented as determined and created by the main ideology. When people watch TV shows and see a male character who is associated with conservatory masculinity, they may believe that this is "accepted and normal" for society.

In fact, this main ideology is used through media and cultural forms, so when looking at the whole system of the media, it should say it is actually industry as Adorno and Horkheimer say, “culture industry” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014). The culture is interrelated to everything from movies to magazines, so it requires careful analysis. The culture industry creates domination which is based on the power of the upper class and this upper class decides the things that the lower-class watch. The industry categorizes the programs, but it is clearly categorization by consumers, so the culture affects the minds with propaganda and gives the idea of what you belong to, which class you are in. In other words, the whole process of the industry is monopolized by the dominant class or the capital, so it can be said that the process of the production is elected and after that presented to the society (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014, bk. 169). People, in the end, do not oppose these presentations and images. This not only strengthened the culture industry, but also elevated it to the status of decision-maker. To sum up, the culture industry gives hegemonic ideology and reproduces it constantly. And finally, art becomes a commodity that perpetuates the main ideology.

Based on this framework, it is going to be argued that the media is an ideological state apparatus that the state uses as a cultural and social agent. Moreover, television which is one of the media tools spreads the main ideology but especially TV serials, the most popular entertainment programs to be watched by so many viewers, take on this duty in the media sector. The state gives its hegemonic ideology through this apparatus and gives some concepts as accepted and idealized ones and especially, through TV serials, the state constructs and reproduces its hegemonic ideology. Because of that, it should be said that conservatory masculinity is reproduced and represented through television serials. In this research, conservatory masculinity will be examined by way of looking closely at how it is constructed and represented in the media, and more specifically, in TV serials.

After the election of 2002, JDP has been in government and it gives its political ideology of conservative democracy with masculinity. During the analysis, I also explain how conservative principles are associated with masculine ideas and how masculinity is identified with conservatism, and the ways in which both of them support and reproduce each other constantly. To be clear, the main aim of this thesis is to understand the relationship between conservatism and masculinity under JDP rule and to demonstrate the discursive production of conservatory masculinity through an analysis of a TV serial.

1.1. Media and Television Studies

As discussed earlier, ideology and ideologies are imposed with consent or force. Althusser divides them into two parts: repressive and ideological state apparatuses. Media is one of the IDAs such as family, education, and press so, it has huge importance in people's lives (Althusser, 2014b). With the development of technology, people's lives have changed but the important fact is in here the narrative of the stories. One of the significant parts of the media, television, is an issue of narrative and each narrative has a meaning behind it. In other words, the

meaning is the narrative that is shaped by the dominant classes or the power with the consent of the society. As Hall said, the texts are not determined, they are preferred by the dominant ideology or political perspectives (Hall et al., 2005). However, most significantly, texts are presented to people as if they had consent for that. To explain more, audiences take these texts without questioning because hegemonic discourse uses these texts as accepted and wanted, so it should be said that audiences or the subjects give their consent voluntarily. These narratives are based on gender issues such as femininity and masculinity because, the media sector is monopolized by certain people who have capital so, the narratives and other issues are directed and served the interest of creating more capital according to them (Binark & B. Gencil, 2010).

Media studies began in the 19th and 20th c. and in this era, the message of the media tools and audiences' preferences and their conditions such as race, class, ethnicity, age were analyzed and critiques have been offered about the idea of mass society. However, especially, Frankfurt School theorists argue the cultural area and media within a Marxist perspective. According to them, "after the mid-19th c., the cultural area is shaped by not the mass preferences, whereas it is shaped by capitalism and its producers' necessities" (Çelenk, 2003, p.29). In the first years of the 1900s, there was no criticism and approaches about television because it was effective after the '40s and '50s. Television came into people's lives after the '40s regularly. However, the 1970s was the climax of television studies. While the audience studies still continued their hegemony at the beginning of the 1970s, audience studies were closely tied to media studies in those years is stated that it has disfavored and lost its place gradually (as cited in Çelenk, 2003). After Gramsci and its concept of hegemony, Althusser's theory of IDAs brings new ideas about culture and television.

TV narratives and the meaning that it tells, gained importance in academic studies. Fiske says that "TV discourse presents us daily with a constantly updated version of social relations and cultural perceptions" (Fiske & Hartley,

2004, p.5). If the TV tells us our social relations and cultural perceptions, it needs analyzing because, as Althusser said “dominant class shows its hegemony over the other class, on the other hand, the state provides that with its RSA and IDAs such as family, education, media, and union organizations” (Binark & B. Gencil, 2010, p.49).

There are some happenings and situations that change people’s lives and occur the important points. Television is one of them because it brings entertainment at home without a fee. From the 1930s to now, television still protects its place because it is both entertaining and free. Although there are new platforms on the internet such as Netflix and Blu Tv, television is still preferred. According to a survey, TV serial is the second preference of audiences after the news – that is, learning and entertaining are two important issues in television (RTUK, 2018b). “TV serial is a program that is aired according to a period (once a week or every day) and has a certain story and character- continuing. ...There are many kinds of it but dramas are the most preferred ones in Turkey” (Aydın & Kuruoğlu, 2014, p.158-9). Therefore, the serial of *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* is analyzed according to textual analysis.

1.2. Television and Narrative

A narrative has always been a part of human lives because people need to speak and tell the stories, myths, and legends to others both themselves and the future. There are many kinds of narration, but the main point is the communication and message of them. Every story has a message or metaphor inside them. Rimmon-Kenan says:

“[T]he term *narration* suggests (1) a *communication* process in which the narrative as a message is transmitted by the addresser to the addressee and (2) the verbal nature of the medium used to transmit the message. It is this that distinguishes narrative fiction from narratives in other media, such as film, dance, or pantomime” (Kenan- Rimmon, 2005, p. 2)

This narrative gives its story through the discourse, according to French structuralists, the story is the “what is of the story”, and the discourse is “which way that is told” (Chatman, 2008, p. 9). A narrative consists of some elements according to structuralist theory; narrative and it divides two, story and discourse, the story consists of events and characters (Chatman, 2008). Television texts have also narratives so, TV has developed specific kinds of programs and narrations. By looking at TV series and serial, it should be said that both of them have basic narratives and techniques inside them. Each week, a TV serial has repeated itself and gives particular, institutional, and material nature of the world that is known in TV (Ellis, 2001) Narrative structures and techniques guide texts in an interpretative way, that is interpretation and understanding the story, plot, and discourse. Therefore, in cultural studies, all cultural products, readings, institutions are read as a text so, as in this thesis, the TV serial is going to be analyzed as a text. McKee defines text as “whenever we produce an interpretation of something’s meaning – a book, television program, film, magazine, T-shirt or kilt, piece of furniture or ornament – we treat it as a text. A text is something that we make meaning from” (McKee, 2003, p. 4) When thinking about that, textual analysis is more suitable than other methodologies because, as in this serial, the interpretation comes from when it is interpreted as a text. All television serials have narration or story and these are also called text which are open to interpretation. Every culture gives different meanings to things that are around them because the dominant ideologies that use media as an instrument give specific thoughts and beliefs to audiences and it is important that how audiences interpret these media thoughts and beliefs. Therefore, Turkey is a good example to describe conservatory masculinity because as claimed in this thesis, one of the main ideologies of the government is to give the idea of conservatory masculinity in many ways. To understand conservatory masculinity in a television serial, this thesis analyzes it through interpretation by looking at the plot, setting, characters and dialogues. Although textual analysis is a vast content, it can be limited with specific topics and questions as in this study.

1.3. Methodology

When I first decided to conduct my research, I have looked at almost every methodology analysis and then, I decided to analyze TV serial as a text, but I only examined two seasons of the serial because one of the main characters, who is one of the significant characters to show conservatory masculinity characteristics, dies at the end of the second season. I also limit the analysis with the representation of the conservatory masculinity by looking at main male characters in the serial and examine them from the point of conservatory masculinity principles. When I take into consideration other research and resources, I notice that television is a narrative all by itself, so I am going to analyze TV serial as a text. There are many examples of this kind of methodology being employed, for instance in *“What it Means to Be a Man”*: *Examining Hegemonic Masculinity in Two and a Half Men* (Hatfield, 2010) and *Hegemonic Masculinity in thirtysomething* (Hanke, 1990). The purpose of the study is to analyze how conservative masculinity is demonstrated and produced itself in a TV serial through visual and textual qualities of the media text (in terms of story and discourse). Shortly, the serial is going to be analyzed as a “text,” because every serial has narrative and this narration means text for serials, characters, dialogues, situations, settings are looked at with the principles of conservatory masculinity. Especially, in the following chapters, specific scenes will be examined as an example of conservatory masculinity.

Within the context of all these reasons, the TV, which is employed as a media apparatus, and the TV series that consists of an important part TV program have been chosen for this master’s thesis. In this thesis, the TV serial “Sen Anlat Karadeniz” is going to be examined with the frame of one of Althusser’s ISAs, the media, and television. There are some reasons why this serial has been chosen. One of them is that it takes the issue of violence against women from the perspective of a conservative family. The second one is that the fiction of the serial has specific characteristics of conservatory masculinity. The last and

important one is throughout the serial the main male characters of the serial reflect conservatory masculinity, but it also reflects how these conservatory masculine male characters are “acceptable” by women and society. In fact, this “acceptable” conservatory masculinity has some differences from the other masculinities such as hegemonic or toxic because this one is more acceptable because of its paternalistic way and its benefits to patriarchy and capitalism. Hegemonic and toxic masculinities or heroes as in historical series are not accepted and seen proper for the society. Although conservatory masculinity has also negative sides to women and society, these negative aspects of it are covered with something that is seen for the sake of society. For example, conservatory masculinity uses violence to protect his values or keeps religion alive in society because religion gives the idea of gender division and benefits of a man from itself.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

This study’s mainframe is drawn by Althusser’s idea of media as one of the ideological state apparatuses that the state and the government use to impose their ideology on individuals. How the media gives the state’s ideology on individuals through TV serials which are popular among television programs. To analyze the TV serial, textual analysis is used because the TV serial is going to be taken as a text. In this context, throughout the thesis some questions will be raised:

- 1) How does the TV serial reproduce the state’s ideology, especially when we take into consideration that the TV serial is aired on a privately owned channel?
- 2) How does conservatory masculinity reflected and perpetuated within a TV serial? How does this TV serial help us think about the relationship between conservatism and masculinity?

- 3) Which themes are constructed around conservatism and masculinity in the TV serial and the relation thereof?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The main point of this study is to examine conservatory masculinity in contemporary Turkey through a TV serial. In order to analyze this relation, this study highlights some significant points including men's position in society and how conservative values shape masculinity in a society. First, the study shows the state and its institutions' position of this constructing process. Because some discourses and policies of this state's and its institutions' which emphasize conservative values determine the male subjectivity in this construction period. Also, it reveals the state's position in society as a control mechanism over men's lives.

Secondly, this study explains media and its power over society while explicating the hegemonic ideology. Media is a broad sector in an individual's life but it is also a functional instrument to expand the main ideology as normal and accepted. By analyzing it, it is going to be shown how media can be turned into an instrument to perpetuate and reinforce ideas in an individual's life without knowing. As in many social and cultural areas, media is a part of constructing process and it puts male subjectivity in some position. Thus, this study reveals this position and shows it through an effective way, television.

To sum up, although there are many academic types of research about TV serials in Turkey, such as daily life in conservatism, a discourse of family in conservatism, or discourse of advertisements, magazines, and comics. Women and their subjectivity in conservatism are discussed and brought pro and counter-arguments to conservatism. However, none of them are interested in the relationship between conservatism and masculinity. Conservatory masculinity is part of our lives because of its relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. In

other words, patriarchy is a system of male dominance over women but it also gives advantages to control women's lives. Capitalism needs people for the production period but it needs some institutions such as family because a worker must be prepared the next day and all the works at home have to be done by someone, a woman. Thus, capitalism and patriarchy are articulated to each other because both of them need and support to reproduce themselves. Besides them, the idea of conservatism is articulated masculinity to continue its hegemony and it creates an idol of conservatory masculinity as a preferred. Therefore, this thesis is concentrated deeply on the importance of conservatism in our lives that has been affected since 2002 and its relationship with masculinity. In addition, television is still a part of our lives even if the Internet has been playing a significant role nowadays. I hope this research will be a path for talking about conservatism and masculine relationship in social and cultural life in other ways. It is necessary not only to talk about the effects of conservatism in women's lives but also to consider the effects of conservatism in men's lives. This study might pave the way for analyzing conservatory masculinity in other parts of the media instruments, such as in advertisement and cinema studies. Briefly, this study raises some questions about how conservatory masculinity exists in other media tools such as cinema and magazines under the control of the JDP, and how conservatory masculinity is idealized in youth's/ young generation's lives who are born in the 2000s.

1.6. Structure of the Study

In this study, conservatory masculinity is analyzed in four chapters. In the first chapter, the introduction of the study, research questions, methodology, and significance of the study is explained. The second chapter gives a historical and theoretical framework of the study for a better understanding of the research, so this chapter draws a theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. After the theoretical and conceptual part, the third chapter discusses the history of conservatism and masculinity in both the world and Turkey, so how both of them

is articulated each other and make the concept of conservatory masculinity. The first part of the third chapter is going to examine conservatism, its principles and relationship with patriarchy. In this regard, conservatism and its values will be revealed and it will be a good way to understand how it is articulated by masculinity. To understand masculinity and its relation with conservatism, the second part deals with this issue of masculinity, after that the relationship between conservatism and masculinity is examined and how the term conservatory masculinity is coined will be explained. It is necessary to understand conservatism and masculinity relations in a better way. After that, to show and analyze conservatory masculinity in the television serial, Chapter Four analyzes critically this term through a TV serial *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*. Then, Chapter Five concluding remarks are written and discussed all previous matters of the study to highlight the research problem.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter begins to analyze the concept of ideology and its historical background through its relation with the concept of hegemony for further chapters and discussions. After that, the chapter aims to explain how ideology and hegemony are related. The point is here that ideology attains a hegemonic position in a society and produces itself in many parts of life but especially in social and cultural life. Thus, the point is here that ideology has to be understood briefly and it is looked at how it reproduces and constructs itself on individuals.

With given that points, the chapter continues by explaining Althusser's repressive and ideological state apparatuses to show the functions of ideology. How the ISAs construct the main ideology and spread it with their instruments over the subjects. Media is one of the ISAs and the chapter keeps going on with explaining it for a better understanding of the function of a TV serial. The media's position in Turkey is an important fact and the chapter takes this issue into it.

Based on this, the chapter deals with the main ideology of Turkey to reveal it in television serials. Turkey has been adopted conservative democracy since the JDP government and the government always emphasizes that to shape social and cultural life in Turkey. The point is here conservatism is a state's ideology and because of its hegemonic position, it is articulated with masculinity and to form conservatory masculinity and to continue its power over society. Thus, conservatory masculinity will be explained by giving principles, values, and examples from the most popular TV program of television, a serial. With this

regard, the chapter ends with the conclusion of the chapter and gives the aim of the research.

2.1. Ideology

Ideology and hegemony are associated with each other, to spread ideology, it is necessary to put it in a hegemonic position. For example, in Turkey, conservatism is one of the ideologies that the government adopts but it has also a hegemonic position because, in many areas and institutions such as politics or education, school conservative values and principles have always been imposed as idealized ones. However, the ideology must be examined if we want to talk about hegemony. For centuries, many philosophers have thought about ideology and there are many definitions of it. “The concept of ideology was identified by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in 1796 and Tracy used the concept of ideology to reveal the sources of thought and ideas consciously and to express the science of idea (idea-logy)” (Sucu, 2013). On the other hand, Eagleton defined ideology as “it is a general material process which produces the idea, belief and value in social life” (Eagleton, 2015). Besides, Eagleton implies that “ideology reflects the idea and belief of a group of people who are ruling class or dominant in the society” (Eagleton, 2015). In addition to Eagleton, Gramsci also takes the issue of ideology, but he bases upon Marx’s ideas and views about base and superstructure correlation. The whole history is based on the class struggle and this conflict between classes is associated with the base and superstructure relationship (Giray, 2013). Marx thinks that base and superstructure are interrelated, but the base is economical, and it defines the superstructure. To summarize it clearly, Giray explains Marx’ base- superstructure relation in the following way:

“The base is the economic structure and the legal, political, cultural structure that accompanies and occurs with this economic structure is the superstructure. The economic base and economic conditions determine actions and social conditions. Superstructure institutions are consisting of parliament, education, church, mass media, the judicial system, etc.” (as cited in Giray, 2013. P2).

“Stating that juridical systems are not understood because of themselves such as political regimes, and stating the conditions of “the superstructure occurred because of material living conditions” seemed more important than an autonomous superstructure vision to Marx” (as cited in Giray, 2013.p2).

Marx generally defined the ideology as a negative concept because he thinks that the dominant class uses it as power. In other words, the base forms the economy and the superstructure form the ideology. Thus, it is necessary to fight with ideology in every field. In other respects, Gramsci brings the word “hegemony” into Marx’s literature because hegemony and ideology are interrelated to each other for him.

“The word of hegemony comes from the Greek word of ‘hegemonic’” (Çoban, 2012. p1). It means the control of the dominant from the others. It was taken as a dominant class’s power over the oppressed class by taking their consent. Yet, it is not a forced governing, rather “it is understood more of an ideological and cultural governing which is processing according to bourgeoisie ‘values’” (Çoban, 2012. p1). For Gramsci, there are two levels; civil society and the state and he says that “These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of “hegemony” which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of “direct domination” or command exercised through the State and “juridical” government” (Gramsci, 1999 p145). However, this hegemony controls its power not via forcing instead controlling with some apparatuses. These apparatuses give the main ideology as it is natural and general truth.

To sum up, ideology can be negative or positive but the important fact is it is a way to construct and produce the dominant class as a hegemonic position in society. Conservatism and masculine relation can be a good example to understand how the state produces and constructs via apparatuses; repressive or ideological. However, in this chapter ideological state apparatuses are examined

as a starting point for demonstrating how conservatory masculinity operates in Turkey.

2.2. Ideological State Apparatuses

Althusser is one of the philosophers who deal with the issue of ideology and its apparatuses in society. He identifies the ideology as the following: “Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (Althusser, 2014b, p. 256). To clarify, he explains with two theses: the former is, “What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live” (Althusser, 2014b, p. 258). The latter is: “Ideology has a material existence” (Althusser, 2014b, p. 258). That is to say, ideology is both an imaginary relationship and material existence, so it exists some apparatuses according to him (Althusser, 2014b). “Ideology takes places in institutions and their practices for him” (Onay, 2006, p. 7). The state is one of these institutions, thus he defines the state as the following: “[T]he state is not only an apparatus for dominating subjects or laborers, but it also has the apparatuses that provide consent of people voluntarily instead of forcibly” (as cited in Giray, 2013, p. 4). It provides the reproduction of the dominant ideology, that is, “dominant class needs reproducing itself within a material, political and ideological conditions” (Althusser, 2014, p. 12). Therefore, Althusser defined two important apparatuses of the state: repressive state apparatuses (RSA) and ideological state apparatuses (ISA). For him, “ideology is an apparatus which maintains the enforcement mechanism of the repressive state apparatuses” (Sucu, 2013, p. 33). Order and the power have to continue and keep the society in their hands; therefore, all of the ideas, values and beliefs are given as “natural” because both of them are important for a society’s continuity. RSA is seen as enforcement apparatuses because they include the government, army, courts, police, prisons which control the people via force. However, the state not only uses force and power over the

society, but also it needs natural enforcement because the force only controls the public area but the private is also important so, the state needs whole control over the society. The dominant class needs controlling and reproducing its power over society again and again, but it does not become in a public area so, the state thinks that something is needed to surround the society. Althusser describes the ideological state apparatuses such as education, family, churches that is, religion, law, politics, and cultural ISAs (Althusser, 2014, p. 50,51). He explains the ISAs clearly and says that “ all the ISAs turn their targets and produce the reproduction system” (Althusser, 2014b).

“Each of them contributes to this single end in its own way. The political apparatus does so by subjecting individuals to the political State Ideology: indirect (parliamentary) or direct (plebiscitary or fascist) ‘democratic’ ideology. The news and information apparatus does so by stuffing every ‘citizen’ with his daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, and so on, through the press, radio and television” (Althusser, 2014b, p. 144).

The ideology is based on an abstract concept, whereas Althusser based it on the material concept as ISAs. Indeed, the ideology comes through material apparatuses and the individual or agent takes it unconsciously and reproduces it in its life.

Media is one of the cultural apparatuses that spreads the ideology to in every part of life with its apparatuses such as radio, cinema, television. The media and its apparatuses send messages through the dominant discourse and the agent found the dominant discourse in its language, behavior, and beliefs. Most people are exposed to TV in their homes because the TV is seen as an entertainment machine for them in their life. The reason for that is the TV is free for them but in a piece of recent news shows that there is a strong decrease in watching TV because many people who have a high income or certain age prefer internet channels and online series (Hürriyet, 2018). Despite this result, TV still keeps its main position in society. For example, dresses of leading roles are followed by many viewers and it has a marketplace on many social media platforms.

Television is a black box and when it opens, it serves many kinds of things according to an individual's living conditions and its pleasure. It can be said that these conditions and pleasures are determined according to viewers. However, the government changed the law about TV audience measurement, and Radio and Television Supreme Council controls TV audience measurement so, the government and RTSC control the audience's preferences (Yılmaz, 2008). According to a survey, made by RTSC, each audience watches television for almost three hours and thirty-four minutes a day (RTUK, 2018a). Besides, TV series are increasing in Turkey day-by-day and because of their high rating, they should be analyzed clearly with the perspective of their intended purpose. Gender roles, masculinity, conservatism, and so many ideologies and concepts are seen in them.

In society, relationships are hierarchical and most of them cannot easily be seen or understood. In fact, every relationship has two-sides: oppressor-oppressed, master-slave, boss- worker, man-woman. However, the man-woman relationship is determined by gender and gender creates some roles over them via the family, school, marriage, and the media. The whole of them is some institutions that describe gender roles in society. On the other hand, the state and the government, as the agents of the ideologies, use their power over the society and while doing this, the main ideology of the state is given over to the cultural field. Therefore, it is clearly said that the cultural field and ideological orientation have a strong relationship within media. For example, in Turkey, RTUK restricts some programs on television because of deficiency of conservative values or disjointedness of conservatism.

In the history of Turkey, conservatism has been affected in many fields such as politics, education, social life. However, after the election of the Justice and Development Party in 2002, conservatism began to show itself especially in politics because of the party's main argument. The party has been determined its political argument as a "conservative democracy" (Akdoğan, 2002). Thus,

conservatism and its effects find a place in every area officially. Despite being the political argument, social and cultural areas are affected by it. Not only political discourses but also media apparatuses put this ideology as the main subject in their fields and institutions. Every part of the work is shaped by this ideology and served as accepted and normal in the eyes of the viewers. All the ideologies are like a piece of the puzzle and each piece finds to fit in each other. In Turkey, for example, conservatism is articulated in masculinity because conservative values and principles can be easily fit into masculinity in many ways. According to conservatism women and men are different because of their biological difference and this difference determines gender roles. Thus, man is the head of the family and the protector of conservative values. Some concepts and themes of conservatism that are given above should be conserved and kept but this has to be done by a man because the power man's power. Thus, conservatory masculinity has been in Turkey and this term is in every field of life and one of them is a TV serial. In this research, it is going to be examined how conservatism consolidates itself through masculinity and how their relation creates conservatory masculinity.

To sum up, ideology is used to control subjects and laborers via some apparatuses such as media and television. While doing this, some concepts are put forward to perpetuate themselves. As in this thesis, conservatory masculinity is put forward for a long time under the governing of JDP in Turkey, especially in television. To understand conservatory masculinity and the reasons why it has been acceptable for a long time, we should look at the history of conservatism and masculinity in Turkey and how two of them correspond to each other and make up the concept of conservatory masculinity. What are their reasons and benefits to articulate in society?

CHAPTER 3

CONSERVATISM and MASCULINITY

After the theoretical and conceptual framework, this chapter is divided two-part, conservatism and masculinity. Thus, this chapter examines the history of conservatism and masculinity in both Turkey and the world. The reason for talking about the history of conservatism and masculinity is to see how this concept of conservatory masculinity come to be known. To understand conservatory masculinity, it is important to examine conservatism and masculinity and how they come out in history, and what their effects are on society. It is important to look at the historical background of conservatism especially in the world because it is a reaction to some changes and it comes after great turning points of the world. Therefore, this chapter firstly discusses the relationship between conservatism and patriarchy because it presents how women lose their power over their bodies and land and how society changes positions of women and men – women power to male dominance. After a discussion of conservatism and the patriarchal relationship, the chapter goes on to give a brief examination of the history of conservatism in both the world and Turkey. The reason for that is to explain the changes in the history of the world and the responses of conservatism to them. At that point, the chapter attempts to look at Turkey's history of conservatism because the research mainly focuses on the JDP era but the history of conservatism before this era must also be examined to show how conservatory masculinity plays out in contemporary Turkey now. After focusing on the history of conservatism, the chapter clarifies the principles of conservatism according to this historical background. By looking at these principles, the chapter attempts to analyze JDP and its political ideology, so the relationship between conservatism and masculinity especially in this era is going to be laid out.

The second part of the chapter is going to look at masculinity and its history in the world and Turkey. This part attempts to present masculinity and its institutions that reproduce it in the beginning, after presenting masculinity, the chapter goes on to the term hegemonic and toxic masculinity to understand the difference from conservatory masculinity. To analyze conservatory masculinity, we need to look at the relationship between conservatism and masculinity. Thus, in the end, the chapter aims to show conservatory masculinity and its principles and why the term conservatory masculinity is coined and chosen.

3.1. Conservatism and Patriarchal Relationship

The patriarchal approaches of conservatism are based on the 16th- 17th c. witch hunts in Europe. When it comes to conservatism and its relation to patriarchy, the first steps of capitalism and primitive accumulation should be explained. Marx analyzes the primitive accumulation in terms of the waged male proletariat and the improvement of commodity production but he had a missing important point; the viewpoint of women (Federici, 2009, p. 12). The collapse of the feudal economy brings some problems such as accumulation crisis, reproduction, and not evolving to capitalism. Both the crises of feudalism and the Black Death cause serious problems financially such as decreasing population causes to decrease in the labor force, but this has revealed two important issues: needing to reproduce and capital, because of that dominant class solves the problem with subordinating women. Reproduction is not the only reason to subordinate women, but also other reasons, such as rebellions against feudalism, worker and peasant rebellions for lands and wages, repopulation of the society, the control of women's bodies, and the power of women over the society.

After the feudal crisis and the evolution to capitalist primitive accumulation, Kings, the landlords, and the newly emerging bourgeoisie need something to fix this crisis. Women have power over society, they have the right to control their bodies. For example, some women who are called healers know birth control or

abortion by using herbs. The crisis of feudalism brings poverty to the society but, as in many times, especially women are affected by that because lands are taken as privatization by the landlords and the newly bourgeoisie but generally, women's lands are taken and this causes rebellions, according to historical records most of the rebellions are begun by the pioneer women. In society, patriarchy is signed as a secret contract with capitalism. According to this contract, women's bodies are controlled by the state and it is called bio-power (Federici, 2009). Due to the Black Plague, the European population decreases and the power attempts to control women's bodies to repopulate Europe. That is, the control of women's reproductive capacities becomes crucial in that project. The old form of death becomes control of bodies by various disciplines and techniques. Foucault explains that:

“The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life. During the classical period, there was a rapid development of various disciplines -universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops; there was also the emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of "biopower" (Foucault, 1978, p. 139,140).

European dominant class begins a war under violence to reach new resources, new workers and expands the basis of the economy. As Federici explains, “It was in response to this crisis that the European ruling class launched the global offensive that in the course of at least three centuries was to change the history of the planet laying the foundations of a capitalist world-system, in the relentless attempt to appropriate sources of wealth, expand its economic basis, and bring new workers under its command” (Federici, 2009, p. 62). To sum up, women are subordinated and controlled, they lose their lands and social, political and economic rights under the accusing of witchcraft, so this era is known by “witch hunts.” It is not a coincidence that the primitive accumulation of capitalism and the beginning of witch hunts happened in the same era. Being called witches,

many women were burned, killed, and impaled with the permission of the church and reverends. Thus, male dominance gets its position in society under the permission of the religion and the government, which means male dominance gets its power socially, politically, and economically over women.

To sum up, patriarchy and capitalism are articulated and the male-dominated world takes its position via economy, politics, and society. By using bio-power, women's bodies are controlled and Europe repopulated so, women could no longer be nothing but baby making machines. Both patriarchy and capitalism gain their power and sustain it over women through ideologies, institutions, and policies in the hands of the power. In fact, it shows that capitalism reshapes itself because it needs workers and this can be through controlling women's bodies but besides controlling women's bodies and labors forced cooperation with each other. This cooperation always brings out whenever capitalism gets difficult but right now neoliberal politics clearly shows this cooperation. There is one point here that this patriarchy-capitalism cooperation needs an agent to make it. Therefore, it should be pointed out that conservatory masculinity takes its power from patriarchy and capitalism, so when some changes or turning points come into society, the reactions that are against them arise to perpetuate their valid positions. In light of these, conservatism puts principles to conserve these positions in society. French Revolution is one of the turning points in the world because not only some ideologies born and many countries reshape again but also bourgeoisie is born and strength its domination over society both politically and economically. The power of bourgeoisie is bound with capitalism because the idea of controlling women's reproductive power and labors bring capital and maintain male supremacy. Thus, some people such as Burke objects to this condition because these changes can shake some institutions and male supremacy. That's why it is important that we turn our attention to the history of conservatism and to understand its principles.

3.2. History of Conservatism

The word conservatism comes from the root of the Latin word that derives from ‘*consarve*’ which means protecting, conserving, and keeping (Barış, 2014). It means to protect, keep, and conserve something related to social values such as collective memory, roots, traditions, beliefs, values, social history, and heritage of a society.

Defined as doctrine, ideology, or only a political thought, there are many discussions about what conservatism is. The first thing that is said about conservatism is its roots. It has European roots and Europe should be looked at as its motherland (Çaha, 2006). After the French Revolution, the English philosopher Edmund Burke used conservatism in his book *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). In fact, this work is defined as the main source of conservatism in history. Conservatism has been affected by three important and historical facts: The Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the French Revolution. The reason why conservatism has been affected by these three facts is they brought significant changes in society in many ways but unlike that conservatism wants to keep society in its present situation.

Conservatism gives its first answers to the 18th c. Enlightenment’s philosophical changes and transformations especially, answering to the universe and human beings (Özipek, 2010). The fear of the new and science was seen as a threat to the old world at that time. However, it is not only a threat to the old world, in fact, but there are also some ideas behind them such as women’s positions and rights in society. The process that began with the Enlightenment era, scientific discussions, the ideals of liberty, and the discourse of religion cause women to question their position in society. It is the fact that this also questions men’s positions and dominance in a society and it is a threat to male dominance that is de facto accepted by the society. Thus, after the Enlightenment, some women writers also question the idea of woman and position in society and it is a

milestone in questioning gender. LaVapo explains that “if we were to conclude that the Enlightenment did little or nothing to change women’s lives for the better, it would remain possible that it generated the intellectual and cultural resources that are still foundational for feminist claims for gender equality” (LaVopa, 2008, p. 353). The main essence of conservatism comes from the old but the bone of the society. In fact, this can be one of the first threats to male dominance in that era and this is also a fact that makes conservatory masculinity necessary?

Another historical fact which people’s lives dramatically shifted as well as the destruction of social values and institutions was Industrial Revolution. Alterations that come with Industrial Revolution was a real fact because daily life and values have to be changed and people get used to big city life. To think about that society is a body of conservatism and it begins to shake with these changes. And the last step of conservatism is French Revolution, unlike others, it has a huge impact on society because it brings significant ideas that affected the whole world.

Burke was an important figure for conservatism because he criticized the French Revolution and defended the present situation and institutions, thus he was against the radical changes that remove the order and institutions. Burke takes the concept of freedom and questions the relationship between freedom and institutions. Therefore, he delays his greetings to France’s new freedom until he is informed about the unifying freedom with governing, forces, armies, religion, and morality (Burke, 2019). The main motivation of conservatism is the preservation of the old and stability, because the old provides order and stability brings power. So, most conservatives like Burke question freedom, liberty, and the new. Burke defines “six critical themes” in his book:

- “the importance of religion,
- the danger of the injustice to the people on behalf of reform

- The reality and desirability of rank and mission separations
- the intangibility of private property
- the view that society is an organism rather than a mechanism
- And finally, the value of continuity with the past” (as cited in Zürcher, 2017 p40).

As a result, this history of conservatism gives us some clues about how we might link together conservatism and masculinity. Conservatism puts principles as stated above; religion, private property, the order of society, and the value of the past, and all these characteristics keep with masculinity in society. If it is necessary to be clear, conservatism is actually a reaction to the changes because changes discredit the male power. In other words, conservatism protects the political power and social systems because these changes cause discredit systems as male dominance society for example. Hence, this is important to talk about the relation between masculinity and conservatism because these changes might be a threat to patriarchy and male dominance institutions. To sum up, conservatism makes use of masculinity to consolidate its power in society and it is easy to construct the term conservatory masculinity because both of them go on with the construction of their power over society.

3.3. The Principles of Conservatism

As Burke defined earlier, conservatism has some principles, but throughout the years it shapes itself and puts three significant words in its way: tradition, religion, and the state (authority). All the others shape around these three words. Actually, it seems like a tree, and its root consists of tradition, religion, and the state. The body is the society and its branches are family, property, woman, value, and individual. Conservatism wants to conserve something that is worth creating and keep conserving (as cited in Bora, 1998 p67). There are ten specific issues that conservatism deals with; order, society, tradition, customs, family, religion, property authority, but continuity is the keyword of them (Kirk, n.d.).

Society is the body of conservatism because, if the continuity keeps on, it needs a society that has strong, order, and healthy but it needs an individual to make that. However, the individual has a limited mind. Thus, it is not “perfect.” Due to that, there is morality in the society that is above everything and this morality provides the order, so, the perfect comes with it (Kirk, n.d.). God is the most powerful thing in the universe because it is not limited, defective. So, God is above everything (Demirkanoglu & Özdemir, 2015). Conservatism creates a relationship among God- individual- society but the God is over them so, if an individual is wrong, the society will be wrong. Although God and morality keep order, the authority, which generally means male authority, should use force over people because there is no other power to stop them.

Tradition is also a part of the continuity of the society because it reminds the unity, order, and continuity. Traditions, customs, and old institutions help maintain order and authority and to transform it into future generations. However, this transformation is associated with family because family is one of the branches of society because all the things such as traditions, customs, values, and beliefs are based on the family. The family is seen as the protector of society so; the idea of a woman is shaped in this context. For this reason, it can be said that conservatism has some patriarchal approaches. Woman is like a bridge between the past and future, and have roles like having a child, being a mother. In other words, gender roles are used by conservatives because they think that biology is destiny so, men and women are separated according to their biological differences. The first education is given in the family and the family is seen as the main and base value of the society (Demirkanoglu & Özdemir, 2015).

Family brings the idea of property with it. The idea of private property is based on kinship and family is an important part of it. Çaha says property and family are two important institutions that bring order and society together so, if something is wrong between them, the corruption that occurs in them causes the corruption of the society and the order (Çaha, 2006). The last and the most

important issue of conservatism is religion because conservatives think that religion is a belief and faith but also it is like a community life. Besides, the state only gives the technical part of education, the main education begins in the family with the religion.

3.4. Conservatism in Turkey's History

In the 17th c., the Ottoman Empire begins to lose its lands, and when the 19th c. comes, the Ottoman begins to realize that it has to follow Europe and the state needs to revise its institutions in some fields such as military, government, education, and law. Although it wants to revise the state and society, the government keeps conserving the main structure of society, in other words, to protect the old and traditional institutions. However, Turkish conservatism actually begins with the Republican period because of many radical reforms. As Tezel said, “Republican period of Turkey is one of the most dramatic scenes and the subject of the modern age history” (Tezel, 2017 p21). However, this period is also a period of the nationalist and conservative period because, in this era, many nationalist and conservative thinkers put some lines about gender roles and the duty of a woman in the society as a nationalist symbol. On the other hand, Sancar emphasizes that in this era because of modernism, society gets away from traditional principles so the idea of the family is put as a strategy, and women who are an important part of it (Sancar, 2014, p. 146). Briefly, in the first part of the Republican period, women are used as nationalist and conservative duty so, as Sancar said: “men found state, women found a family” (Sancar, 2014). Conservatory masculinity shows itself clearly at the beginning of the Republican period but after a while, this idea falls behind. Due to the one-party regime in Turkish history, conservatism stays in the backside but after a while, it can be said the second part of the Republic period, -the first part is a one-party regime, and the other is a multi-party system- comes into the scene. With the multi-party system, many conservatives take part in the political and public arena. Unlike the first period, because it generally occurs in the cultural field, this period takes in

the political and public arena as well. “It is seen that this situation changed after 1946 and especially with the Democratic Party’s power and conservatism/conservatives emerged in the political and public space” (Çöçel, 2019 p80). After the DP period and military cop in the 1960s, most of the people in Turkey come to close the Justice Party (JP) because of its political views. JP and the other political parties such as National Order Party, National Salvation Party are regarded as both Islamic and conservative parties. There is one point to emphasize that the Republican period is seen as the most radical period in Turkey because supporting secularism and nationalism is argued against the religious and ethnic bases. Modernization that comes with the Republic is seen as a threat to the old but the one-party system cannot let it argue in some areas such as politics and the public (Demirkanoğlu & Özdemir, 2015).

After the military coup on September 12th, 1980, all of the parties were closed down. In 1983, they began to be found in different names with the order of coup authorities (Demirkanoğlu & Özdemir, 2015). Turgut Özal’s The Motherland Party (MP) had brought different political and economic views in Turkey. In fact, neoliberal politics of economy and positive approaches to some Islamic groups such as communities and religious sects not interrupt the neoliberal politics (Çöçel, 2019). Özal’s period created a new period in Turkey for separating from nationalist conservatism. As Özkazanç puts it, in an interview in the period of Özal, “there was a new discourse from the point of neoliberalism and conservatism” (Şahin, 2016). In this atmosphere, so many parties which have different political ideologies were founded. The Welfare Party was founded but it was also seen as a threat to Republic so, it was closed down and instead of it, The Virtue Party was established. However, its end was the same as the WP because of its political view. Both of them were categorized as “threats against secularism.” With the closing of the VP, people who were called the “reformist wing” founded The Justice and Development Party in 2001 (Demirkanoğlu & Özdemir, 2015).

Yalçın Akdoğan's book of *Conservative Democracy* gives many tips for the JDP and its political view. The leader of the JDP, R. Tayyip Erdoğan writes his and the party's approaches to conservative democracy in the introduction part of the book. In addition, in 2004 Erdoğan gave a speech in International Conservatism and Democracy Symposium and he said "We as the JDP give importance to the understanding of conservative democracy. ...The JDP is the massive party that is based on conservatism" (UMDS, 2004). JDP described its political approaches "the JDP identified its political philosophy 'conservative democracy'. In this sense, the JDP aims to reproduce the system of values that will create from our own traditions by bringing it together with the conservative politics line of the universal standard" (UMDS, 2004 p1). Akdoğan gives all the principles of conservatism in the point of JDP's views in his book. The JDP adopts conservatism politically, yet it shapes its party politics and social life according to conservative norms. On the other hand, Özkazanç defines the JDP as a conservative party but she emphasizes the main point here by saying that the JDP does not reveal its conservative side too much because of the application process of the European Union. Unlike it, in the last period or third period of the JDP, conservatism and gender politics have been shown up (Şahin, 2016).

At one last point in here for Turkey, from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, it cannot be pointed one specific conservatism because of historical, sociological, and political atmospheres. The changes in Ottoman Empire in the 19th c. brought some innovations in some areas as explained before. All of these changes and innovations were Eurocentric, and it is hard to mention one specific kind of conservatism. Çaha summarizes this idea very clearly "... we see almost all conservative lines even more of them in Turkey. Conservatism in Turkey extends from a liberal point of liberal characteristics such as Anglo Saxon conservatism to the understanding of a transcendent, encompassing and authoritarian state in German and French tradition" (Çaha, 2006, p. 18).

Having understood the history of conservatism in Turkey and especially in the JDP era is an important part of this study but it needs to add a point of view from women's perspective to clarify briefly. During the 1980s, Islamic groups continued their activities but women, especially feminist women, were targeted. Because of the campaign of Purple Needle,¹ which is a campaign against sexual harassment, one of the members of the Naqshbandi sect criticized feminists in their magazine, *Woman and Family* (Koç, 2015). When we get to the JDP era, there are some turning points such as the Corruption Scandal of 17-25 December and the Turkish General Elections of June 2015. The reactions that these events received were not only directed at the government, but they also constitute a reaction to a particular way of (i.e., authoritarian) governing. However, in response to these reactions, the government chose to conserve and consolidate power. This idea of conservation can be observed in the policies seeking to control women's and girls' lives. To give an example, the construction of 4+4+4 education system seems to bring changes and innovation to the education system. Yet, it has some gaps, such as compulsory education is only until 5th grade then, it is optional. However, in Turkey, it is not a good idea because most of the families do not send girls to school so, the rate of girls in school is even low, after that, it will be lower now. According to a news outlet, 36.401 girls left school after graduating from secondary school.² Moreover, this policy aims to direct girls to flexible and insecure working life (Koç, 2015, p. 61). To sum up, this shuts women up in the private sphere and restricts the public as conserving them. When looking at the history of conservatism, some principles come to light and each of them should be examined to understand the JDP era and how masculine ideas articulate to it. Controlling and sustaining the idea of

¹ For more information about "Purple Needle": Action Against Sexual Harassment, see <https://m.bianet.org/english/gender/104137-purple-needle-action-against-sexual-harassment>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

² The education system of 4+4+4 causes girls to leave schools. According to a report of Education and Science Worker's Union many girls left schools. For more information, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/4-4-4-ile-binlerce-kiz-cocugu-okulu-birakti-90857>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

conservatism is linked with the idea of male supremacy because conservatory masculinity is not only increased male supremacy but also brings up male authority to support each other.

3.5. Conservatism and JDP

Conservatism has a significant background in the world and Turkey has also been affected by it. Every time it finds itself a place or sometimes it shapes itself according to the culture of the country. For people, changes are such difficult things that they cannot accept easily because they believe that old is better and it is our history which transfers to the future generations. The order of society is seen as natural so, if something goes wrong, the society or community will be ruined for conservatives (Çaha, 2006). After the Ottoman Empire, the foundation of the Republic of Turkey brings some changes besides the idea of modernization. On the other hand, these changes confuse people's minds because people think about their beliefs, values, and institutions in such a way. Tradition, religion, and the state are three significant issues for people so, when JDP wins the election, they begin to give a speech about reuniting old and new that is, bringing the idea of new conservatism with the democracy. Although this makes people excited, JDP changes society in many ways day by day. In short, conservatism is still an issue that is being debated now in Turkey and so many ideas come to it and shape the people's minds. One of the main issues of conservatism is masculinity because conservatism supports masculinity and shapes it with religion, tradition, family, and community. Due to the values of conservatism, masculinity established a bond with it so, it can find a cover to hide behind it as conservatory masculinity.

The JDP's program shapes itself according to the principles mentioned above. Both its program and its members define their parties as conservative democrats. The JDP brings the new conservative democracy in the manner of old traditions and values. In the context of human rights and freedom, the JDP is against the

practices that affect the base of the family (Akdoğan, 2002). It sees religion as a social value, but it is not a political ideology. They see religion as significant as tradition, social, and historical value (UMDS, 2004). Erdoğan emphasizes the relationship between individual and society in the 59th government program and says, “The basic philosophical and political concern of our conservative identity is to keep the social organism, a family that can protect the individual, health and all together. In our opinion, the full establishment of individual freedom is not only about making the individual unprotected against abstract, faint, and political power, but equipping it with civil and social formations within the social sphere. The protection of society and social values should be fundamental” (as cited in Özer, 2019).

Throughout the years, JDP has changed itself according to these principles and approaches. Furthermore, the leaders of the party and members give speeches about their political views about people and society. These speeches and changes in individual and social life bring the JDP as a thing that has to be analyzed and argued. The relationship of conservatism and the JDP is the most significant fact in Turkey, because this party is in government for almost eighteen years so, in eighteen years there are so many changes that bring in society and affect people in many ways such as idealized woman image, the roles of family, man as a main protector and keeper of the society. For example, the president of Turkey, R.Tayyip Erdoğan deals with the issue of living together, men-women, in his party’s camp in Kızılcahamam and he pays attention to the problems of lack of dormitories and he says that a young university student girl lives with the university student boy in the same home but this is not proper in our conservative democrat life (Bia Haber Merkezi, 2013). In her article, Oral summarizes transformations and changes of JDP in Turkey and she emphasizes that the JDP and neoliberalism affect Turkey in many areas from education to family (Oral, 2014). Although the JDP does not have a gender and social life discourse during its first two eras, it begins to emphasize gender and social life perspectives: family issues, women’s role, femininity. It dates back to the 90s,

not only the neoliberal transformations and changes in the society but also financial difficulty and poverty, competitive economy, and the crisis of masculinity because of the roles of men; looking after family, bringing money at home and so (Şahin, 2016). Although conservatism has shown itself in these two eras of the JDP, it is not so effective that the relationship between conservatism and neoliberalism is not seen explicitly. Given the third period of the JDP, gender issues and the principles of social life are shaped for political discourse. Özkazanç emphasized a specific point:

“Hierarchical institutions have to build their legitimacy discursively. Because when they are left to themselves, the dissolving, dispersing, shocking, displacing, leaking, dispersing dynamics in the society are stronger. Due to the dynamics that create crisis is stronger, all kinds of conservative ideologies, including political Islam, are shaped by reference to this social crisis. Legitimizing discourses about the position of women and the position of the family aim to reproduce the consent towards this shaken hierarchical structure” (Şahin, 2016, p. 10).

Hence, it should be said that the JDP focuses on its gender policies with conservative and authoritarian views. From gender issues to women’s labor, the JDP uses its discourse of misogyny in every part of life. All the political discourses are based on the hatred of women and LGBTIQ+. On the other hand, the masculinity crisis has expanded since the 90s, because the misogyny, the hatred of LGBTIQ+, poverty, and the dynamics of neoliberalism expand the masculinity crisis.

Misogyny does not only come from the cultural way which includes people’s beliefs, values, assumptions, but patriarchy and sexist ideology are behind it (Manne, 2018, p. 79). Manne also says that misogyny does not only seek to force women into traditional roles but it also punishes those women who don’t obey the rules (Manne, 2018). On the other hand, women are not only pushed into these roles, but also, they become a strategic movement for capitalism with these defined roles. To explain more, patriarchal capitalism uses women as cheap labor and a part of the reproduction process. In fact, conservatory masculinity also puts

women into their places for a misogynic purpose, seeing them as cheap labor, women serve neoliberalism by reproducing and double shifting as part of patriarchal capitalism. To give an example, JDP has made this purpose for a long time and women's employment has decreased because many women get away from their works with social policies and are pushed into unsecured works. Thus, this is not that they hate women specifically, they wish to insist women serve social, political, and economic ways. As Federici pointed out above, to control women and their reproductive power for the sake of neoliberalism, JDP makes social and economic policies to control women and their bodies. As Althusser's ideological state apparatuses, this way of thinking and strategy are given with ISAs, and as we shall see in the next chapter, with TV serials as an ISA.

Another point that makes the JDP so effective is its controlling power of the base and superstructure relation in the society. Base means a reproduction of relation and the material part of life. The individual is a part of the production process and capitalists want to control the individual and reproduce the production process again and again. ISAs which belong to the superstructure see the individual as subjects, so they use their ideologies on the individual's consciousness in a social, political, and legal way. As he noted: "Ideology interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects..." (Althusser, 2014b, p. 264). The idea of family or being a protector of the family for men or God's will of work to the individuals of the society, sin of birth control and so many ideas are shaped by the superstructure, thus the ideas reproduce themselves over the subjects and the subjects put themselves in hegemonic ideas. In production, ideology has a dominant role and the dominant class uses its ideas via the ISAs, so the hegemonic discourse turns an effective weapon into the subjects and takes the subject's consent voluntarily. To look at the JDP and its party politics, conservatism and masculinity are articulated each other, and subjects' consent to it without knowing.

In conclusion, this part attempts to present conservatism and patriarchal relation and states that how this relation puts male power over women for the sake of capitalism. In fact, conservatism demonstrates that, it has always been in almost every turning point of the world such as the Enlightenment or French Revolution. However, the fact is conservatism has always kept its position steady no matter what occurs. Turkey is also affected by conservative idea and the chapter shows that the JDP puts its political ideology as conservative democracy and how it founds its relation with conservatism and the changes for the last eighteen years. In the last eighteen years, the JDP has changed both its political discourse and policies in this direction in order to increase conservative democracy in the political and cultural sphere. Despite the historical background of conservatism, the JDP has made its stand quite clear over the past 18 years, both with its emphasis on masculinity and femininity, and with its historical, nationalist and local discourses aimed at ensuring social integrity. Moreover, misogynic, homophobic and hate speech directed at women and LGBTIQ+, and a policy of not accepting and marginalizing those who do not look like themselves and do not fit into their social values have always been emphasized in this era. As a more concrete example, the construction of iconic mosques in almost all cities, the conversion of many schools into Imam Hatip schools, which means religious- teaching schools, the delivery of aid to rural areas and the use of them as a project of political and social transformation, as well as the creation of its own community, in fact, stands in front of us as a clear indication of how conservatism has been integrated into the lives of individuals along with neoliberal policies over the past 18 years. Indeed, this clearly shows that the JDP makes these things with conservatory masculinity. All the things that it adopts put forward under the conservative masculine identity. Misogyny and marginalizing LGBTIQ+ are good examples of conservatory masculinity because women's position should be inferior to men and different sexual orientations are not accepted because it disturbs the order of society.

In fact, after coming to power, the JDP has always defended conservative democracy and its political discourses have often reflected that. Not only political field, social and cultural fields are also reshaped. It is well known that conservatism and masculinity have always existed in Turkey but both of them put a conceptual relation clearly during the JDP era. Conservatory masculinity, as different from other masculinities, in that it not only adopts social and gender norms, but also conserving institutions and ideas for its continuation. Both consolidate its power, conservatory masculinity also reproduces capitalism, patriarchy and itself.

Another point is that the main focus is how the JDP connects these principles and which way that they use them to perpetuate them on individuals. Through ideological state apparatuses, the individuals internalize the hegemonic ideas without critical reflection. Therefore, the first part of the chapter points out that ideology has a huge effect on individuals through ISAs, and as in this study media is one of the ISAs that is used by the government effectively. In other words, conservatory masculinity is given with media especially on television, and the subjects consent to it without knowing because it is constructed under ISAs as accepted and normalized.

Conservatism has been a part of Turkey for a long time but for the last twenty years, it has been occupying a vast place in Turkey's political, social, and cultural life. The important thing is that it needs an instrument to reproduce itself and that instrument is masculinity. This conservative investment in and deployment of masculinity gives rise to the notion of conservatory masculinity. To understand this term in great detail, it is necessary to dive into the history of masculinity and types of masculinities. Thus, the sixth part of this chapter will be dedicated to looking at what the concept of conservatory masculinity is and which principles it has.

3.6. History of Masculinity

Before talking about conservatory masculinity, it should be looked at the history of women and men's studies in history. Feminism is an important concept and ideology that questions women's status, roles, advantages and disadvantages, and spheres, public and private spheres in the society because of sex and gender. Suffragette's movement which begins with questioning of voting rights after that questioning of private sphere of women began a new era of gender studies. Besides, in 1978, the Gay Liberation Movement changes the atmosphere of the era. The rising of feminism and the gay liberation movement provide the questioning of the idea of man and masculinity in society (Connell, 1998).

The idea fact of masculinity, how it occurs, what the facts and effects in this process are important paths to build the road with a socio-cultural concept. In the 1970s, with the changing of a socio-cultural institution, men had problems with the responsibility of family and the idea of "bringing home the bacon" affected men negatively. Women's rise in the labor force changed the traditional ideas and gender roles between men and women. Indeed, this rising gave way to questioning gender roles such as femininity- masculinity, mothering- fathering (as cited in Bolak, Boratav, Okman, Fişek, & Eslen, Ziya, 2018).

In fact, having roles means building an identity and building an identity creates an idea regarding who we are and what our differences are from others (as cited in Akca & Tönel, 2011). The idea of building an identity begins with birth and continues with some institutions and ideas. Institutions are so significant that throughout one's life, they affect, especially they impose upon in many ways. Family, education, work-life, military, media, class, and the state are each block that creates the masculinity. According to social constructionist perspective, men are not born as a man, they are made by that (S. Kimmel & A. Messner, 2010). Connell says both people and the institutions equally transfer the ideas and beliefs to the next generations (Connell, 1998). Although being a man and

masculinity seem as having advantages in society, both of them bring many disadvantages that produce specific emotions physically and psychologically. In one of her conversations, Kandiyoti emphasizes masculinity that “masculinity is not a subject of patriarchy but a matter of it” (Medyascope, 2020). She notes that masculinity is not merely a part of patriarchy, but rather it is a consequence, a construction of it.

Being a man means having advantage, power, and hegemony in society in many ways, such as being strong, having a huge responsibility, and power over the family- partner, even in work life. Nevertheless, these advantages put serious pressure on men. Although many countries’ cultures are different from each other, masculinity cloaks itself as natural (Bolak, Boratav, et al., 2018). Taking Turkey and the USA, there is some research in these countries about masculinity and the male identity. Firstly, in the USA, there is a documentary *The Mask That You Live in* about how the boys are affected by masculinity in the USA and how they are pressured by their friends (peer pressure), family, media, school life, adults (Anthony et al., 2015). Many boys from different races, ethnicities and, classes mention their first memories about masculinity and some of them say “be a man”, “be strong because you are a man”, “economic success”, “never beaten”, “having money”, “fighting, drinking and bullying” and more (Anthony et al., 2015). However, the most remarkable situation in the documentary is “the denial of being feminine.” Actually, this clearly shows that masculinity draws a line between homosexuality and itself. That is to say, being gay or homosexual in a biologically determined man-body is not acceptable in men’s world. With using this documentary in this research, it has been approved that the male identity and the concept of masculinity is constructed from birth, but it reaches its peak at the adulthood. Moreover, the institution of education feed it too much. Throughout the serial, all male characters put their masculine identities by making a relationship with a woman and emphasizing themselves as “we are men, we don’t have any doubt from it”

The construction of masculinity begins from childhood to adulthood but there are some institutions to build this such as the state, family, education, military. Connell takes this construction with the perspective of the relationship between power and institutions. Connell categorizes these institutions under the power, state, and cathexis perspectives. As in some institutions, media is one of the apparatuses to build the masculine identity in its programs. Therefore, it can be said that masculinities are divided among themselves as Connell said, hegemonic or subordinated. According to Connell, there is one accepted and hegemonic masculinity among men, the others are lined up hierarchically. Being gay, for example, is not accepted as hegemonic position because hegemonic masculinity is emphatically heteronormative, so it is expelled from hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

What is hegemonic masculinity and what are its characteristics? Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed type of masculinity because it changes its dominant position according to cultures and ideologies in society. Due to heteronormative culture ideas, it is generally associated with heterosexual, active, aggressive, ideal, strong, successful, rich, keeping traditions, family, and protective; on the other hand, not being homosexual, passive, weak, and more. Sancar defines “hegemonic masculinity as young, urbanized, white, heterosexual, having a full-time job, reasonable religious, sportsman and active” (Sancar, 2009, p.30)

Toxic masculinity is another type of masculinity that has some specific characters as same as hegemonic masculinity. The term toxic means “very unpleasant and causing a lot of harm or unhappiness”³ as it is the detrimental side of masculinity such as violence, anger, aggressiveness. Kupers defines toxic masculinity as the following: “Toxic masculinity involves the need to aggressively compete and dominate others and encompasses the most problematic proclivities in men” (Kupers, 2005, p. 713)

³ For other meanings of toxic, see <https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/toxic>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

Yet, class, race, and ethnicity are significant indicators to define other masculinities. There are multiple masculinities according to being black or white or coming from the bourgeoisie or working class (Connell, 2005). Even if being a homosexual is adopted according to their race and class status, they are in the dominant class or having a status in society. Another example is, in media, when the conditions of masculinity are evaluated according to class differences, the discourse of masculinity offers a rough masculinity (lad) narrative based on force to the oppressed lower classes, while the lower classes also distinguish themselves from the upper classes who are found as feminine (Erdoğan, 2011, p. 47).

To understand social relations and their meanings, it should be looked at and analyzed the process of building masculinity and femininity. “Indeed, understanding the oppression of women as significant as understanding how men’s masculine power and hegemony continue their status and how they build this,” says Sancar (Sancar, 2009, p.15). In that case, it should be said the patriarchy is a concept defining men’s oppression over women in every field and creating women as the second sex. Men have power and status in society because of patriarchy. Patriarchy provides masculine power and advantage to men, but it is not only alone because it has so many institutions and reasons for that. Race, class, ethnicity, physical and mental specialties; family, class, state, religion, and media divides men and masculinities.

Each state creates its own gender regime with the use of institutions (Arbay, 2013). The power-state and family constitute the Bermuda triangle. They take the power from the patriarch and now, capitalism. These three institutions make their apparatuses to give their messages easily; religion, customs, education, and media are some of them. To think that for Turkey, conservatism is one of the pieces of gender regime. Masculinity articulates itself to conservatism because masculinity is based on performativity that means masculinity reconstruct itself

through conservative values and beliefs, so it finds a place in conservatism to overcome its crisis (Şahin, 2016).

Institutions are part of the society that found the relationship between people. However, these relationships are based on specific ideologies or regimes as Connell says “gender regimes” (Connell, 1998, p. 166). For instance, in schools, students are divided according to their sexes. Elective courses are determined by sexes or teacher’s behaviors change to sexes or homosexual relations cannot be allowed in schools. The state is an institution that organizes the social and political life of the society, but the point is that how does it do that? Each state makes some ideological alterations and activities about sex and gender issues (Connell, 1998). From birth control to marriage, identified homosexuality is a crime or flexible schedule programs. Therefore, it can be said the state uses its power to make its own gender regime, hiding behind them.

Another point that should be clarified is class because it is also a part of building masculinity. Sancar surveys about two hundred men from different parts of the society in Turkey and creates a data repository about men’s lives and their stories in her book and she says⁴ work-life is an important part of being a man because men who have participated in the survey emphasize being a man is equal to having a job, money, and success. Another thing is having a family because family means responsibility and property in some ways such as being a husband is having a property “wife”, being a father is “having children” also, it means kindred of the family (Sancar, 2009). When looking at the relationship of masculinity- class, it is seen that basically, class plays a role in producing and nurturing. For example, it is expected a working-class man to produce his muscle strength, because he has only this, and to bring up his family. Even if a man is in a ruling class, there are some expectations to make him such as focusing on his career or in a ruling position. Despite these expectations, conservative values are

⁴ Serpil Sancar, **Erkeklik İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler**, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2008.

expected because values keep society in order and protect the power of man and masculinity.

Family is another institution that the state uses it to control. By looking at Turkey, conservative values are emphasized for the family institution. How a family brings people together and create a community or family is the future of the country because it is not only a part of conservative values but also it is necessary for continuing of capitalism. There is a point here that man has a significant role in the family as conserving and keeping it steady.

Power can be seen in every part of life as a necessary thing. In other words, each power has hegemony within a social and cultural context. Gramsci defines hegemony as a dominant group or ruling class that gives its power via a culturally or juridical way (Gramsci, 1999). Connell takes Gramsci's concept of hegemony and defines it as it is not only an infinite power or violence, it is such a social superiority over social power. Nevertheless, hegemony is not destroying others, which means creating one as power and put the other second status (Connell, 1998). In Turkey's discourse, this idea supports conservatism. In some periods, some ideas come to light and it is articulated to some ideas as masculinity to strengthen its power. Being heterosexual, tough, strong, young, and urban are not enough to convey the idea of conservatism so, conservatism ties in with masculinity as conceptual and sustains conservative values such as tradition, family, religion.

Different masculinities are shaped by different cultures and ideologies. Thus, it can be said that there is also conservatory masculinity as in Turkey. Conservatory masculinity takes a dominant position in Turkey because the idea of conservatism has conceptual relation with masculinity to consolidate its power. The point is here that conservatism has always been in Turkey and it might be said that conservatory masculinity has been in Turkey but the JDP has drawn upon it and reworked it ideologically through ISAs. Therefore,

conservatory masculinity has been put in a dominant position in society. All the political discourses and institutional relations are determined according to the dominant ideology in Turkey. To give an example, almost all the political discourses are given with the examples of conservative principles such as tradition, family, or school's curriculums are reshaped to increase conservative values such as adding more elective courses that about religion and moral values. As explained earlier, there is not one specific masculinity in the world, different kinds of masculinities are in different parts of the cultures. In Turkey, for example, it should be pointed to "conservatory masculinity." Conserving tradition is one of the important steps of conservatory masculinity and tradition has both sides; local and historical. A man should conserve tradition but this tradition does not only come from the historical side of Turkey but it is the fact that takes women under control and oppresses women in some ways such as bodies or labors. In other words, patriarchal approaches are the tradition of conservatism because of based on women's subordination and men's supremacy. Thus, two sides of the tradition; local and historical are two ways that means bounding to society. Thanks to that, man keeps society in order because he is seen as the father and protector of society according to conservative principles. Another principle of conservatory masculinity is religion that is one of the responsibilities of God and it should be taught to every person in the society by especially men because man is superior to woman and his duty to spread religious teachings to society. However, these religious teachings or traditional values are learned in the family because family is the building block of conservatory masculinity. Besides, men should be loyal to their land, people, and hometown as in this study, the male characters are loyal to their land and hometown. The reason why it is called conservatory because of its relationship with the idea of conservatism. Conservatism is called an ideology, concept, a thought system but it has political power in Turkey. Yet, before talking about its power, it needs to be defined its specific principles that are associated with masculinity. The word to conserve is defined at the beginning of the search and this term is linked with masculinity because the word of protectiveness is similar

to conserving when looking at conservatism and masculinity relation. Conservatism has some principles such as tradition, religion, family, property, the belief in God, the status of men- women, nationalism, and local identity. All of these are articulated with conservatism in such ways, so they are going to be analyzed from the perspective of masculinity, at last, the reason why it is called conservatory masculinity will be explained.

3.7. The Principles of Conservatory Masculinity

Conservatory masculinity has some principles and this part aims to unpack them. The first thing of conservatory masculinity is the idea of man and woman because as clarified before, conservatism divides woman and men according to their biological sexes and give them some roles such as sacred motherhood, man is the protector of the family. Tradition is another important point because it is seen as a piece that bounds people to society. Besides tradition, history is an important building block of conservatory masculinity because history, language, and religion are seen as part of the social order. Family is the second principle because of its relation with the order of society. Conservatism believes that society has to be kept in order because chaos is not a good thing for the future of society. For this, men should keep society in order because he is the protector of it. The military is an important step for masculinity but by looking at conservatory masculinity it is associated with national identity because nationality is represented with the military and this holy duty is generally only matched with men as in Turkey.

Conservatory masculinity has gender bias, the roles of men-women and their responsibilities are determined in society. Conservatism glorifies a woman as a sacred mother and a respectful person because of her reproductive duty. The reason for that is she builds the future and future generations. Furthermore, she has a mission to teach religious thoughts and beliefs and she is an expectant mother. Thus, her protection is given to men for this reason but also, she is

characterized as helpless, in need of male protection. She can only be ‘strong’ as a mother but not as a woman *per se*. Although she seems sacred, and a mother, she has no other roles in society even worse, she is inferior to man. For conservatism, man is superior and protector of the society but he has to be tough, it means being more masculine because behaving as a woman is seen as an inferior thing in society. Therefore, men and women have to know their roles and responsibilities to keep order family, and society.

Through keeping order family and society, conservatory masculinity is traditionalist because tradition is seen as the past that humanity’s history or it can be seen as heritage, so it needs to be conserved for the next generation. Tradition is not only a history but also it is a heritage of society and the man – the protector of the family- can keep this heritage in order because he has a rational mind and experience, unlike a woman. Taken into consideration in society, man is regarded as “wise” because the woman is emotional, so the authority should belong to man and the order is only kept by him.

Conservatory masculinity gives importance to customs and for conservatism customs are not separated from the tradition because in Turkey, for example, circumcision and military are seen as holy processes and should be done because of proving the masculinity of a man. As such, circumcision and the military are accepted as being a man in the eyes of society (Selek, 2018). All men must pass these processes successfully otherwise, they cannot gain acceptance. Actually, like Kandiyoti, approving masculinity is so worrying that many men have problems after these customs in their childhood.

Conservatory masculinity takes history as a part of the building block of the social order because history is believed to create unity in society. For conservatism, history has a significant effect because current social institutions are the products of history, so it is believed that to keep society in order, needs to be transformed all the institutional structures, sense of community, and habits to

future generations via history (Beriş, 2006, p. 79). However, there is one point there to emphasize history is interpretable so, for example in Turkey, when looking at the Ottoman Empire, Sultans and their heroism, war stories, or political power are identified but their private lives cannot be talked about because of the order of society, other things that are not fit in society should be covered. In Ottoman Empire, Sultan's private lives cannot be talked about precisely because of their homosexual orientation. It is concluded that conservatism has also the idea of heteronormativity.

Conservatory masculinity keeps the society in order, but it also keeps the idea of the family which is the base of the society. Due to patriarchal ideology, men and women are different from each other because there is a gender division in society. Family is an important issue for conservatism because it is seen as the building block of conservatory masculinity. A man should conserve the family if he wants to keep society in order. Family is both heritage and property; the identity of any individual can be formed by the family. Also, it transfers the tradition and reproduces the ideas and values. The fact is that man is the head of the family who is called father, brother, husband and, he leads the family because he must preserve it. For conservatism, family is the main base of society and gender identities. Therefore, any man has to build his own family according to conservatory masculinity. Indeed, this idea is also linked with capitalism and patriarchy because capitalism and patriarchy want to control woman's body, labor and her reproductive capacity and family is one of the institutions to do it.

Furthermore, the family is also carrying customs and men are the head of the family, thus it is the duty of him to continue his lineage. Education begins in the family and continues in state schools, but this education curriculum shapes the state's ideology and gender regime. For example, in Turkey, most of the schoolbooks draw a picture of gender division and all staffs make it practical. Boys learn to be a man in their childhood, and they should send sports activities because they are boys and need to throw their energy with these activities or

men's nature has been strong and this comes with sports. According to an article, the Turkish education curriculum has so many gender roles in primary and secondary schoolbooks (Bayhan & A. Çimen, 2018).

The idea of property provides a place to conservatory masculinity. It does not only come from the idea of the family but also it comes from having landed in society. Family and lands give liberty and status to the individual yet, these are only given to man because he is the head of a family, protector of the society, so he can conserve these important principles for the sake of women and children, it is like a romantic paternalism that sees women as “weak” and the man as “the protector.” This romantic paternalism provides status and liberty to the man, but the important point is here that it grants an authority over women in society.

Conservatory masculinity has a relationship with religion to consolidate its position in a society. For conservatism, religion should be conserved, and the belief in God should be kept on because the order of the society is based on these ideas (Berktaş, 1994). However, the aim of the divine belongs to a man because of his status in society. Therefore, man has responsibilities to his family and his society, he should not only preserve his family but also conserve his religion. It is obvious that religion is articulated in the society that lives in but the most significant part of it is a legitimization way of issues and controlling the society. To give an example, patriarchy and gender roles, and the nature of men-women relations are signified in three major religions (Berktaş, 1994).

It is said that nationalism and religious rituals have some similarities in many academic works. To clarify, the fact that nationalism or patriotism goes to death for the sake of a nation is similar to the fact that going to die for the God from a religious point of view. Düzce explains that from the point of Durkheim's views:

“a sense of religion, that is, a belief in a god, a mysterious and controlling power outside of himself, and a belief in this power combined with feelings of fear and awe, accompanied by ceremonies and rituals, is a trait that has existed for man

since the beginning of history. Therefore, a convenient instrument was needed to fill this gap, and nationalism came to the fore as a convenient tool to play this role” (DÜZCE, 2017, p. 649).

Having understood that conservatory masculinity creates a national and patriotic identity for man because a nation is formed by national and patriotic values such as flag, anthem, language, and it should be conserved for an identity. However, this has caused the idea of militarism and some responsibilities like the military are to be a divine duty in the society; both country and family should be conserved, in fact, it is a part of the social order and the authority of the man. Some parts of the country have local identities. Indeed, it shows that small communities create conservatism in their small places.

Having a national identity is one of the steps to build conservatory masculinity and this comes not only come from the flag or anthem but also comes from some duties in-country to prove that. Thus, the military is one of being a man but it is also a part of conservatory masculinity because conservatism believes that religion, tradition, and moral values are significant parts of a country and this comes with national identity. For example, compulsory military service has a key place in people’s minds, it is like a step to the adult’s world. To explain this great detail, military service brings conservatory masculinity in courage, strength, heroism, so a conservative man proves them with this holy duty. Military means proving masculinity but for conservative ideology, it is not only a part of male identity but also a part of social order and authority. Conservatory masculinity needs male authority, and it provides a strong male character for society. To protect this authority and society masculinity put a relation with militarization so, every action of male identities is seen as protection and order for the society because whole world is enemy. Enloe explains that “...ordinary citizen can become militarized whenever they start to think that the world is so dangerous that...”(Enloe, 2016, p. 19)

The relationship between people and nature or people's dependency on nature cannot be distinguished from social progress. The increasing of economic productivity creates the conditions of a fair world, and it provides the technical apparatuses, its controlling and infinite power to the social groups over the society (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014). To look at the media, conservatory masculinity is described and coded in TV series as much as in magazines. TV is the main apparatus that provides hegemonic culture and produces social relations and it shows that rather naturally and acceptable (Çelenk, 2003).

Unlike this culture industry, Sancar states global masculine alliance system⁵ is effective in the media. What she means is that the power creates its own media system because of the reason of giving its ideology through media. Thus, it is very clear that each power reflects its own gender regime. While doing this, mainstream media does not produce any opposite idea, on the contrary, it wants to stay near the power. It is generally agreed today; TV is effective on audience's behavior as an advertisement. Advertisement plays a role in consuming habits so; it can be said that TV can put ideological hegemony and give the idea of "desired and preferred" masculinity. For example, during this serial, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*, when the serial gives commercial break, commercials are generally clothes and dresses that fit Islamic culture. It is also a fact that both serial and commercials reflect conservative values and clothes so, it can be said that not only tv serials but also advertisements that are given during the serial are also used for ideological purposes. Men's magazines, sports programs, like in this thesis TV series are some places that give the idea of masculinity; conservatory masculinity and these apparatuses idealize man as strong, sportsman, successful, having a job, bourgeois, keeping his traditions and customs, protecting his family, wife, partner, and children. Furthermore, loyal to his land, hometown, and his people. For a man, conserving is so vulnerable that it begins with conserving values and beliefs of his own.

⁵ Serpil Sancar, **Erkeklik İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada, Sokakta Erkekler** İstanbul, Metis Yayıncılık, 2009, s.17

The ideas of conserving, that exist in masculinity, have turned into protection and conservation not only through women and family but also through all these values and principles, along with conservative thinking. Connell deals with the issue of hegemonic masculinity and explains it very clearly. However, different types of masculinities are found in different societies and cultures. Some of these masculinities are more prominent in some periods because the government reproduces situations and structures that are consistent with its own ideology and can maintain the power that it can provide. Although there is dominant hegemonic masculinity in Turkey, as in many other countries and cultures, there is conservatory masculinity that has been slowly produced and built itself for 18 years. This masculinity is intertwined with conservatism and embraces its principles to build and sustain itself. Therefore, it should be talked about conservatory masculinity because of the government's political ideology of conservatism in Turkey.

Before the beginning of JDP and then, continuing with it, conservatism has found so many places for itself. Despite its description of woman, in fact, masculinity reproduces itself via woman's description because conservatism puts man as opposed to woman, thus it can be easy to describe that if this is a woman, its alternative should be a man. Therefore, the relationship between conservatism and masculinity as a conceptual relation shows how they support one another and how they create "conservatory masculinity." Masculinity is a power issue and if talking about masculinity and conservatism, which is the main ideology of the state, it should be necessary to look at their relations. There are many examples of masculinity and power relations, for example, in some cases most of the men accused the women who are killed by them, questioning their masculinity (Tele1.com.tr, 2018).⁶ In fact, this example shows that conserving the male identity is such an important thing that women are killed for this idea.

⁶ For full statement of men, see <https://tele1.com.tr/adin-cinayetinde-skandal-savunma-erkekligime-laf-etti-6382/>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

Conservatory masculinity does not only conserve traditions, customs, family, partner, kindred but also conserves the masculine identity. That is to say, conserving all the things that he has means conserving and finding an identity in society via some concepts and institutions. JDP's politics and discourses alter the idea of masculinity in Turkey. In 2012, Prime Minister Erdoğan gave a speech about Syria-Gaza issue and he criticized the opponent side of the government and emphasizes the TV serial of *the Magnificent Century* that is a part of a story about the Ottoman Empire, this serial is not talked about our ancestry because Suleiman the Magnificent was always on the horseback, it means he is a warrior and a man so, he never stays in the palace (Arslan, 2012). Both tradition and masculinity are reflected by history because history is heritage, and it needs to conserve.

In the same way, President Erdoğan was giving a speech while he was at Trabzon Airport on the night of 15th July that is called a “coup attempt”, he said “there are two ways of dying one of is dying as ‘man’, and the other is dying as ‘madam’ or as a woman” (Çatlak Zemin, n.d. p.26). In fact, this is an important point because Trabzon is generally known for its masculinity. Bozok mentions this as “The men in Trabzon like to call and construct themselves as “Trabzon erkekleri” (Trabzon men) and name this configuration of masculinity as “Trabzon erkekliği” (Trabzon masculinity); at the same time in the general Turkish colloquial speech, they are labelled as so” (Bozok, 2013, p. 48). Division of gender and the idea of “biology is destiny” is emphasized again but there is an important point is here that the male identity has to be the masculine way such as dominant, ambitious and rational. In fact, there is another message for men who have feminine characteristics. When this message is taken into consideration in terms of religious and conservative ideas, these men are defined as homosexual and marginalized by the society where they live. To be explained clearly, for conservatism, gender roles are strict but conservatism highlights some points here that a man is only accepted if he fits in gender roles that are expected from him. Behaving like a woman is inferior for a man although a woman is seen as

sacred and holy. In fact, this clearly shows that capitalism and patriarchy relation put a frame for man and woman. Therefore, a woman is only acceptable as long as she is a mother or potential mother but even if she is like this, she is inferior to her husband, for example.

One of the provincial chairmen of the government party, says “...Turkish men have a hairy leg, the hairy man reminds Hz. Ali⁷ and the woman of hairy looks like a bear” (Cnnturk.com, 2017).⁸ As seen in this discourse, both masculinity and national identity have been emphasized. In fact, this is keeping ethnic identity under the cloak of national identity which serves to dismiss all other ethnic dimensions. Moreover, gender roles and masculine bodies have been emphasized in political discourse. As mentioned above, the prime minister and then president Erdoğan emphasizes masculinity in his speeches so, he repeats constantly the relationship between conservatism and masculinity as an entrenched idea in Turkey’s society. Men find a way to prove their masculinity as a conservative identity. Identity, power, values, and beliefs become some of the issues of conservatory masculinity identity.⁹

To sum up, this part seeks to understand conservatory masculinity and why this term has been coined for this study. From a brief historical point, masculinity studies begin with the feminist movement and then continue with the Gay Liberation movement. Being a man has advantages and disadvantages such as having authority over a woman, on the contrary, the expectation of success, pressure, and bullying. Hegemonic masculinity has a huge position in

⁷ Hz. Ali is one of the Khalifa in İslam

⁸ For his full statement, see <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/ak-partili-baskandan-tepki-ceken-sozler?page=1>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

⁹ There are some news articles and examples about conservatory masculinity, see <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/pazar/muhafazakar-erkek-icin-makbul-figur-basi-acik-kadin-1333721>, lastly accessed in January, 2022. For more example, see <https://www.birgun.net/haber/geleneksel-erkekligi-kaybetme-korkusu-artti-kadin-mucadelesi-iktidari-zorluyor-273988>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

masculinity studies, it is in its most basic sense is a fiction of masculinity that dominates society and usually feeds on domination over women and also builds hegemonic relationships between different types of masculinity (Akca & Tönel, 2011, p. 28). Toxic masculinity is another type that is known well and when looking at these three masculinities, it can be said that conservatory masculinity is accepted. The reason for it is because of its paternalistic way and its purposes that seem “good and beneficial for the society and individual”, conservatory masculinity is seen as a good one. Both the state and the media show this conservatory masculinity but it needs to be examined from another perspective. Conservatory masculinity does not present its problematic sides, on the contrary everything is seen for the sake of culture and society. There are so many masculinities in society but sometimes some of them have a valorized in society and conservatory masculinity is one of them. In contrast to hegemonic masculinity, conservative masculinity not only shapes itself through certain patterns and the patriarchal - capitalist relationship, but also adds principles and values that it must conserve. To clarify, just as hegemonic masculinity in society, taking care of the family and the breadwinner are important but the condition of being conservatory masculinity means not only taking these accepted norms but also conserving the family for the sake of the order of society and authority to keep community steady. Conservatory masculinity is neither hegemonic nor toxic, in fact it has some nuances from them. Thus, this type of masculinity should be pointed out and examined through tv serials that reach to millions because it is seen as idealized and accepted by majority of people.

The difference between hegemonic, toxic, and conservatory masculinity should be emphasized in this study. As stated before, conservatory masculinity is a conceptual relation but conservatism and masculinity need one another to reproduce themselves. As briefly stated, it is formed by a combination of two concepts that are shaped by the principles of conservatism and have an intersection. Although both are seen in all ideologies and exist themselves, for the past 18 years, Turkey has been creating a conceptual relationship to exist

itself. As a result, unlike hegemonic masculinity, conservatory masculinity reveals the basic principles of conservatism by intersecting with itself. For example, not only protecting the identities of men and women to ensure the order of society, but to protect and conserve concepts such as religion and national values, which are thought to be the bonds that hold society together. In fact, there is one point that needs to be underlined, there are many types of masculinities but all of them are not equal each other because each of them gains different benefits in this patriarchal system (Connell, 2005). From time to time, some of them are put forward with some strategies and now conservatory masculinity is picked out and given as “acceptable and desirable.”

For the last 18 years, the government of the JDP follows a road that put forwards conservatism and masculinity to put its political, social, and cultural positions for building society in many ways. To sustain this political ideology both in politics and cultural field, conservative principles have been emphasized over some cases such as importance of gender roles, future of the country, emphasizing the lifestyles of individuals. However, there is one point here, conservatism and masculinity have always been in Turkey but both of them have been articulated by each other in the JDP era. Therefore, this study attempts to understand this relation and analyze it via media apparatus, television.

In light of all these principles, this research is going to analyze, developing conservatory masculinity as a notion and showing how it works in Turkish TV serials. To clarify, two main arguments have been stated: (1) conservatory masculinity exists and it has been emphasized in the last eighteen years and reproduced in political discourse and practice, as well as in cultural artifacts, television serials. (2) Media serves as a state apparatus to reproduce conservatory masculinity; reshape male subjectivity, depict men in a certain way and render these toxic forms desirable in this serial.

Therefore, all primetime TV series have been examined in view of conservatory masculinity, and especially, one of the private channels, ATV, has been selected because of its close relationship with the government. The TV series, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*, which is a significant example to define and show conservatory masculinity in media has been selected and analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE SERIAL

After discussion of the using of media as an apparatus over individuals and examining the conservatism and masculinity relation, this chapter is going to analyze TV serial *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* under these views. It is pointed out that television is an instrument and the state's ideology reproduce itself through it. Besides, conservatory masculinity is a notion and it develops and reproduces itself through political discourse and practice in the last eighteen years. Thus, this chapter analyses in the light of this perspective and television serial, as a state apparatus, how it reshapes conservatory male subjectivity and depict it as a desirable and accepted. Therefore, this chapter analyses the TV serial as demonstrative conservatory masculinity. Furthermore, the subject of the serial, its summary, plot, characters, the news about it, the director and the channel on which it was aired will be clarified and discussed. After the examining of these headings, the chapter presents why this term is coined and how it is represented through media.

4.1. Analysis of the Serial *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*

The main purpose of this thesis is to reflect the conservatory masculinity that is based on the ideology of the state and to show it in this primetime series.¹⁰ There are some reasons to select this series, first, when it is aired, it had a huge rating for weeks. Second, it has really effective violent scenes, so it has made a huge

¹⁰ Prime- Time (Golden Hours): it is the highest watching period of time in television. Primary period of time. It is changeable accordance with country, in Turkey, it is generally accepted between 18:00- 21:00 for radio, 20:00- 23:00 for television (RTUK, 2018b).

effect on the media.¹¹ Besides, its plot, setting, characters, and its discourses reflect the power discourse and ideology in itself. To support this idea, this serial has been awarded by the President of Turkey, R.T. Erdoğan.¹² The channel ATV and its relationship with JDP is significant for this thesis because JDP continues a media policy so, it makes taxes paid to many media companies because of their political views. The government puts its media policy that is about conquest media companies and transferring them to certain companies that close the government and ATV is one of them (Ayan, 2019). Despite its private channel, it is one of the tools of the power to reflect the main ideology. And the last reason is that this serial takes place in Trabzon and Trabzon is known for its masculinity and conservative values. Therefore, this serial presents Trabzon male identity from the view of conservative masculine identity and also how this identity is accepted by society.

Although the series has violent scenes and criticisms for that, the series becomes important both in Turkey and abroad. To give an example, in Turkey, it has become the most watched serial of the last 6 years, between 2012-2018.¹³ Furthermore, it has been sold to countries such as Spain, Lebanon, and Romania, it gained a high rating from these places as well.¹⁴ The director and scenarist of the series addressed all the criticisms, saying that “we just broke two fingers, never cut someone’s throat or shot with a gun... We did it for awareness...”

¹¹ When the serial was released, many people reacted to violent scenes in social media, see <https://www.birgun.net/haber/atv-nin-yeni-dizisine-sosyal-medyada-tepkiler-suruyor-201724> , lastly accessed in January, 2022.

¹² The serial has been chosen as the serial of the year and the President Erdoğan has given a prize to this serial. For more information, see <https://www.ahaber.com.tr/galeri/magazin/sen-anlat-karadeniz-yilin-dizisi-oldu-odulu-baskan-erdogan-verdi> , lastly accessed in January, 2022.

¹³ The serial Sen Anlat Karadeniz has gained huge rating of the 6 years. For more information, see <https://www.atv.com.tr/haberler/2019/11/07/en-cok-o-izlendi> , lastly accessed in January, 2022.

¹⁴ The serial not only has a huge rating in Turkey but also it has in the abroad, see <https://www.takvim.com.tr/saklambac/2020/06/07/sen-anlat-karadeniz-istryada-reyting-sampiyonu-oldu/1>, lastly accessed in January, 2022.

(Haberler.com, 2019). Osman Sınav is a peculiar director in Turkey because, in addition to family and love dramas, he makes many series that contain violence and depictions of masculine men such as *Deli Yürek*, *Kurtlar Vadisi*, *Sakarya-Fırat*, *Kılıç Günü*. For example, *Kılıç Günü* has been criticized because of one of its scenes that two men lie in the same bed and they have a relation; however, Sınav says:

“... We try to show things that no one dares. We do not propagate for immorality; on the contrary, we display the profile of that type of person. To show these people and their immorality, we have to do something without going beyond the limits of morality...” (Bianet.org, 2010).

There are some points here to emphasize about Sınav and his works. The first is that Sınav generally makes serials from time to time that supports the state’s ideologies. *Sakarya- Fırat* is one of them because this serial was made during the Solution process or Peace process that aimed to solve the Kurdish- Turkish conflict. However, Sınav generally tells the story of male characters but these characters are really hegemonic and toxic. Furthermore, most of them are nationalist, militarist, Turkish and conservative. They can die for the sake of their honor or kill anyone for their “women’s honor”. Although these men cannot be accepted, Sınav shapes them for some purposes such as for their countries, families, wives, loves. In fact, Sınav thinks that he criticizes something in society, on the contrary, he perpetuates and reproduces these detrimental thoughts via TV serials. There are many serials in television but some of them criticize the detrimental thoughts but others perpetuate them. The difference can be understood with its discourse and depiction of the hegemonic ideology. As in this thesis, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* is another serial of Osman Sınav although it seems accepted and proper for society, it has very critical points for conservatory masculinity.

The first and second seasons of *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*, which were broadcast between 24 January 2018- 29 May 2019 (the first season finished 13 July 2018 and the second season started 19 September 2018) are the data of this thesis.

Although it lasted three seasons, only the first two seasons are dealt with here because in the first two seasons one of the main characters, Vedat Sayar, doesn't die and as in this study, he is an important character of the serial. All the episodes of two seasons – 53 episodes have been analyzed and each of them is approximately two hours long. In the process of watching, specific scenes were selected and analyzed through textual, visual (the setting), and discursive ways. Secondly, by looking at the visual aspects of the serial, I focused on the setting: decoration, housing, clothes, accessories. Thirdly, I handled the discourse of the story which is a main part of the narrative. While these episodes are being analyzed and examined, some questions will be raised. As follows:

- 1) How does the TV serial reproduce the state's ideology, especially when we take into consideration that the TV serial is aired on a privately owned channel?
- 2) How does conservatory masculinity reflected and perpetuated within a TV serial? How does this TV serial help us think about the relationship between conservatism and masculinity?
- 3) Which themes are constructed around conservatism and masculinity in the TV serial and the relation thereof?

4.2. The Plot

Sen Anlat Karadeniz is a TV serial that was aired for a year on ATV every Wednesday between 2018-2019. It is one of the serial dramas that has the highest rating in primetime. Furthermore, the serial never lost its high rating during the period in which it aired.

By watching the process, all the episodes of the two seasons were selected according to specific scenes that are associated with the principles of conservatory masculinity. By looking at the plot and summary of the serial, produced and directed by Osman Sınav, written by Ayşe Ferda Eryılmaz, Nehir Erdem and Erkan Birgören, acted as a leading role Ulaş Tuna Astepe, İrem

Helvaciođlu, Öykü Gürman, Sinan Tuzcu, and Mehmet Ali Nurođlu; the serial was broadcasted on the 24th of January 2018. It won the best serial couple, the best scenarist, the best child performer, and the best director in 45th the Golden Butterfly Awards.¹⁵

The serial takes place in Trabzon, the Black Sea Region of Turkey, and is known for its conservative and patriarchal side. The main plot of the serial is based on three important characters: Nefes, Tahir, and Vedat. Nefes is the female protagonist who is sold to a man (Vedat) by his father in exchange for money when she was 17. She is beaten, abused physically, and psychologically, and raped by another leading character Vedat Sayar. Throughout 8 years, Vedat rapes and beats Nefes, Nefes never runs away from him because of his men. She lives in a home as a prison for these years. Throughout the serial, violence used by Vedat is based on different concepts such as sexuality, father-mother relationship (Gülerođlu, 2018). Therefore, she and her child make an imaginary world and use nicknames for themselves. Vedat is a businessman and does business with the Kaleli family. One day he invites Kaleli's family to his home for dinner and Nefes and Tahir meet there. When Tahir looks at Nefes's wrists because there are violent marks in her wrists and he touches but Vedat sees that he gets angry because she is his woman, no one can touch her, thus he punishes her by breaking her two fingers. After dinner, while the Kaleli family is leaving, Nefes and her son Yiđit get on the back of their car and go to the Black Sea. The story begins, Kaleli's family, especially Tahir protects Nefes and his son from Vedat and there are so many conflicts in the serial such as no one accepts Nefes and her son in the village, include Kaleli family, everyone talks and criticizes them in social and moral ways. Despite all the criticisms, Nefes and Tahir fall in love with each other, and they, especially Tahir, resist everyone. The whole story turns around Tahir and Nefes's love and Vedat's hatred for them because he is obsessed with Nefes and his power.

¹⁵ The serial has gained many awards in Golden Butterfly Awards, see <https://www.yeniasir.com.tr/galeri/yasam/45-altin-kelebek-odullerine-atv-ve-sen-anlat-karadeniz-damgasi-irem-helvacioglu-ulas-tuna-astepe-ve-muge-anli> , lastly accessed in January 2022.

Throughout the serial, all the male characters protect Nefes and Yiğit, their village, wives, and names. All the men have conservative features, and their discourse and behaviors show that very clearly. In other words, men combine conservatism and masculinity in this serial, thereby conservatory masculinity can be observed in them.

4.3. Male Characters and Features in TV Serial

Table 1. Male Characters and Features in TV Serial

	
<p style="text-align: center;">Ulaş Tuna ASTEPE (Tahir KALELİ)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Mehmet Ali NUROĞLU (Vedat SAYAR)</p>
<p>He is known as “mad” Tahir, he is a Black Sea boy who is brave, crazy, combative, madcap. He is conservative and he conserves his traditions, family, rules, religion, and woman who belongs to him. Generally, he solves his problems on his own with force and, he never needs anyone’s help. He prides himself in being self- sufficient and independent. He can be overprotective when it comes to defend his conservative values. He</p>	<p>He is a businessperson, but he has psychological problems, and he is obsessive about his properties such as Nefes and her son. He always uses violence for everything and keeps his mask behind his nice and lover face. When he rapes Nefes, he prepares a special room, clothes, makeup. Vedat is one of the leading roles who can be very violent man when someone threatens him with his property and honor. In fact, he is so much toxic that he can use violence against almost</p>

Tablo 1. (continued)

<p>always emphasizes his conservative masculinity and says, “I am from Trabzon, I am a Trabzon male.”</p>	<p>every woman in the serial. Thus, he can be called misogynic. Due to this “hated” character, the others conservatory male characters are seen as “acceptable”.</p>
	
<p style="text-align: center;">Sinan TUZCU (Mustafa KALELİ)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Furkan AKSOY/ Cem KENAR (Fatih- Murat KALELİ/ Yangazlar)</p>
<p>He is the elder brother of the family, and “the father” of the family. After his father dies, he looks for his family. He is very conservative and authoritarian and one of the most important characteristics of him is that he divides people into two, whether from family or not. He depicts himself as protector of the family so he can be over controlling when someone threatens his family or hometown. Thus, he can die for the sake of his family and home as a leader.</p>	<p>They are called “yangazlar” which means naughty, liar, those who do things behind someone’s back. They are like their brothers, brave, keep family ahead of everything, they have truths like their brothers. Besides, they are religious, conservative, and protective as their brothers, too. Although they don’t work and mill around, they are accepted like that. Throughout the serial, these two characters seems little brothers who do not take seriously something but when it comes to defend their hometown, local identity and family members, they can be possessive.</p>

Tablo 1. (continued)

	
<p style="text-align: center;">Sait GENAY (Osman Hopalı/Osman Hoca)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Hilmi ÖZÇELİK (Cemil DAĞDEVİREN)</p>
<p>He is the imam (religious leader of the mosque) of the village. He is the father-in-law of Mustafa Kaleli. He is naïve, quiet, and has a big heart. He is the consciousness of the village and to direct community with hadiths. He is depicted as protector of the community and religion. He always gives instructions especially about being a woman. He is a religious leader but also. he is seen as an ideological leader spreading religion.</p>	<p>He is a wealthy family of Sürmene, Trabzon. He is conservative and obsessed with the honor of his family and daughters. In the beginning, he accepts Vedat as his son-in-law but later, he rejects him because of his values. He is presented so conservative that he never backs down from his promises and never accepts foreigners in his community because all of them are seen as threat for his values and ideas.</p>

4.4. The Setting

The story begins in Trabzon and it is seen as one of the conservative cities of Turkey. According to a research, people in Trabzon accept themselves as conservative and most of them see three things as significant: uniting and solidarity, nationalism and cultural values and identity (Alptekin & Koç, 2016). In addition to these characteristics, Trabzon also has a right-wing leaning. As Bozok says, “Right-wing ideologies are fed from the patriarchal values; on the other hand, with the patriarchal and rightist ideology, men are expected to be

Islamist, nationalist, conservative, patriotic, militarist and ready to fight for the sake of nation and religion” (Bozok, 2013, p. 51). In fact, the relationship between space and masculinity must be examined. Spaces are shaped by social and cultural norms that are based on gender roles. In general, spaces are divided as public and private but women do not live the same experience as men in the same spaces. Therefore, Trabzon is not only famous for its bread but also famous for its masculinity. During the serial, it is hard to see women in public places and as in Trabzon, generally, men are on the streets, women generally go back home before the evening (Bozok, 2013). The scenes are mostly shot in towns of Trabzon such as Sürmene but it is seen that most of the scenes are far away from the crowded place such as forest, countryside, village. In fact, this reflects the conservatism of the setting and the explanation of women’s private spaces because all the settings are closed and far away from the crowded place or people, so it means the places are also conservative and only conservative male characters live in publics. Except that, the mosque and the Kaleli’s house are two important places in the serial. Furthermore, they can be seen in almost every episode, the mosque represents religion, community, and shared value for the village. On the other hand, Kaleli’s house is a part of the family’s history which represents the roots of the family, and places and properties have to be kept and conserve according to conservatives.

4.4.1. Kaleli’s House or Konak¹⁶

Kaleli’s house or konak is one of the most important places in the story because the whole story generally takes place there and many conflicts begin and rise in this house. However, the konak reflects the conservative family because all the members of the family stay in there whatever happens. One of the reasons is that, as Connell explains, “Conservative ideology speaks of the family as ‘the

¹⁶ Konak is a big house that is surrounded with yard and has a few floors and rooms, but it is a palatial house.

foundation of society' and traditional sociology has often seen it the simplest of institutions, the building-block of more elaborate structures" (Connell, 1987, p. 121). For example, when Nefes and Tahir get married, they stay in one of the rooms in the Konak, or the elder brother and his wife stay in there. How the social life is constructed in the Konak is seen because family members and the places of their room reflect the social hierarchy between them. However, the organization of the house also reflects the conservative ideology because for conservatism, family is an important part of life and it must be bounded to each other. All the big events take place in the big yard of the Konak, it is also a part of the garden, to give an example, Yiğit's circumcision is held in the yard. The decoration of the house is also an important thing that symbolizes the conservative principles such as traditional objects are on the wall; traditional foods are hung on the wall, such as corn. Furthermore, there are some objects on the wall to symbolizes conservatory masculinity such as rifle, Quran, and Kemeñçe¹⁷ which shows conservative principles, protecting family, loyalty to religion, and local identity.

4.4.2. The Mosque of the Village

The mosque is a significant part of the conservative lives because it is associated with religion and moral duties. Throughout the serial, all male characters attend the Friday prayer and listen to the imam who gives moral and ethical advice to the community but sometimes he tells stories about the events and conflicts in the village to fix them. On the other hand, female characters who are especially beaten and abused go to a small place of the mosque which is called madrasah and they pray to forget and get rid of their problems. Going on madrasah and praying instead of going to state or police illustrates the idea of conservatism. After all, God solves the problems when they pray to him, but it also reflects the conservative idea because conflicts that occurred between family or marriage are kept a secret. After all, it is seen as if it was inappropriate.

¹⁷ It is a small three-stringed violin.

4.4.3. Vedat Sayar's House

Throughout the serial, one of the male characters Vedat Sayar, the antagonist, stays at a big house both in İstanbul and Trabzon to take back Nefes. The story begins with Vedat's house in İstanbul and Nefes tries to escape but his men never let her and the first impression of the serial comes to mind as conservative because there is an order and it should not be disordered. Both houses of his symbolize modernity in the serial because they have modern architecture styles and decorate with modern objects. Unlike Kaleli's Konak, these two houses show the conflict of the modern-traditional dichotomy. In other words, it can be said conservative idea does not oppose modernity, but it keeps itself from new things because of traditions and customs. After the founding of the Turkish Republic, political, social, and cultural changes began to found a modern nation. In fact, this modernization process began at the end of the late Ottoman period, taking Western things such as education or military. The project of Turkish modernization begins with the Republic era and especially women are seen as pawns of this because it is believed that men and women should be equal and gender roles are redefined. "All the reforms that helped secularize and Westernize the republic (including the elimination of the caliphate, or religious orders, the introduction of secular education, language reform, and the adoption of the Western calendar and metric system) encouraged women to play new public roles in society" (Arat, 1997, p. 100). Despite seeing women as a priority of the modernization period, women's roles are drawn with the idea of building future generations.

Apart from the setting, the characters' dresses put the conservative idea during the serial. All the women are dressed closed, and they use some specific accessories such as Keşan¹⁸ or male characters use hat which is claret red and blue the local football team's colors or pocket watch. All characters are dressed

¹⁸ It is a kind of traditional scarf.

like that not only symbolizes the locality but also shows the conservative principles.

4.5. Analysis of Conservatory Masculinity

Conservatism has some principles and values that are bounded to masculinity as stated before. In this part, specific scenes are chosen and analyzed with the idea of conservatory masculinity. There are main themes that are constructed around conservatory masculinity and have reshaped it. Thus, main themes of conservatism; religion, tradition, family, property, local identity and community, are identified as reshaping male identity and how it depicts men as desirable and acceptable.

4.5.1. The Idea of Family

Family is one of the main points of conservatism because of the future of society and order of community. Family is bounded with men as head of the family and he should conserve family as his duty. Conserving family brings the idea of not accepting others except for family because family stays together and protect their values and local characteristic.

At the beginning of the first episode, Tahir talks about his father's advice to him when they are on the ship. It reflects the masculine identity of being rebellious, unstoppable, and strong because he is a man, and he should prove this with his character. However, this character belongs to his hometown, in other words, his masculinity is bounded with the Black Sea region. Both advice from the head of the family and the significance of the hometown are always emphasized so, characters conserve them and the story has never been moved to any other place.

“Be like the Black Sea; rebellious, unstoppable, and deep, if you are like the Black Sea, you will know how to resist Black Sea waves.”¹⁹

Most of the conservative male characters emphasize their conservatory masculinity and they are proud of it. Being like the Black Sea is not only being a strong man but also a reason to use violence against someone because it is one of the traits of a man from Trabzon. There are many examples from Trabzon about using violence as accepted because they use it for their hometown. A male of Trabzon is also famous for his specific incidents such as attacking football players and killing Armenian journalist, Hrant Dink.

Kaleli family has family business because being united is significant to show that bounds traditions and loyal to each other. In other words, the family is an important issue for conservatives and men are “the father” of the family. Therefore, the family needs conserving and men should conserve it by living together. The elder brother of the family is married, and he lives with his nuclear family and extended family. When something happens about the family, the decision mechanism is the elder brother of the family. All male characters do their family business and for them, it is inappropriate to start a business except for their family.

Family is a part of conservatory masculine identity and a man performs his conservatory masculinity through family because he is the head of the family and he gains power from it. Patriarchy gives man spaces and a family provides a space and reproduction of his conservatory masculinity.

Vedat puts psychological pressure on Nefes and he emphasizes family relations because Kaleli family is associated with each other because they see family as power, strong relations, and conserving principle for them. Therefore, Vedat always tells Nefes:

¹⁹ Black Sea is known as its huge and dangerous waves.

“... I don’t take you seriously, as we men say if a woman says no, she actually wants to say yes.”

“... Where is Tahir that you hold his hand and raise, where is Kaleli family that is your family, I cannot see them...”

These lines present conservative men’s characteristics and their responsibilities to family. In fact, a conservative man should protect his family because he is the leader and he cannot stay family members behind because there are some turning points in his life and having a family is one of them and he has to prove his conservatory masculinity. Thus, no man wants to lose his family and his honor because he has a status in society for proving his conservatory masculinity.

4.5.2. The Idea of Property

Vedat is an important figure in this serial. Even though he seems modern, he keeps his conservative identity and masculinity with himself. He sees his partner and son as property, because it is a sign of his strength in society.

He says to Nefes “we celebrate today for being mine, you are mine, my wife and my son’s mother.”

In another scene, Vedat talks about Tahir and his relationship with Nefes and Yiğit.

“He holds my son’s hand and my wife.”

“They are my wife and my son.” Property and kindred are associated with each other and throughout the serial, it has been emphasized.

This idea of property should be discussed in another way, according to conservatives, private property provides freedom, continuity, stability, moral and ethical responsibilities. By thinking about all of them, Kaleli family does their family business and they protect their private properties such as ships, Konak,

and family. Throughout the serial, the male characters of Kaleli family have responsibilities to conserve their family because family is one of the responsibilities of conservatory masculinity and their business. After all, it is seen as a building block for the next generations. The last point is conservatives believe property brings freedom for them so, throughout the serial, the idea of property is emphasized even, especially the idea of having a woman is a special position to strengthen male supremacy.

4.5.3. The Idea of Gender and Male Supremacy

Vedat and Kaleli family have been doing business for years, they come to Istanbul when Vedat and Tahir meet for the first time, there is conversation between them, and it represents strict gender roles for men.

“Did we come for women’s day? Let’s do business!”

According to conservative men, women and men’s places are determined and women only do unnecessary things as speaking unimportant things unlike them men do business and money things.

Nefes always have marks that show her physical violence and Vedat wants to hide them because of guests. Domestic violence is a serious problem in Turkey, yet PRA explains these things as a conflict between women and men.

Gender roles are always emphasized because these roles are natural and biological for conservatives. Thus, a woman should have a man and keep her morals and manners. Each masculinity has an idea of gender roles and gender-based division but conservatory masculinity is based on the idea of woman who is responsible for protecting her morals and manners but this comes from with a man. A man does not only conserve and keep family or tradition, but he also protects woman’s morals and manners in society.

“You are escaping from your husband, but the child is fatherless, and I am not sure that you are doing a good thing, I think it is not.”

“You stay without a man, alone.”

“The head of the family is the man; the man goes but the woman should not be headless.”

Women are seen as weak, illogical because of their nature, so she needs a man who is strong, logical, and smart. There is one point here woman is not only seen as weak because of her nature, but this is also about keeping society in order because male supremacy and the order of society can be damaged by woman. Thus, all of the things can disrupt the order and the structure of society and man should conserve them as a duty.

In another scene, Tahir, and his brother's wife Asiye talk about being a widow in a community. Tahir says:

“Widow is not equal to a widower. Thus, a woman can be a widow, a man cannot be a widower if he has a child.” In fact, this reflects the idea of male supremacy in society because a widow could never get remarried but a widower has to it because of the gender roles that they have.

Male supremacy is a common ideology in conservatism. Patriarchy and conservatism put gender division labor in society. Thus, conservatory masculinity keeps its dominant position as breadwinner and head of the family. Women only do unnecessary things such as deciding dinner, buying clothes, helping with children's homework. As it is seen clearly, women's and men's spaces are determined with certain lines.

4.5.4. Man as a Head of Family

Family is seen as a community and each community needs a leader to keep order and continue, so man is accepted as natural leader of a family. He is not only

responsible for bringing bacon to home, but he is also responsible for tradition, moral and religious values of family as conservatory masculinity have.

Mustafa as a sign of the father of the family gives importance to his family and always wants to solve the problems of his brothers. The teachings of him can be guided to him, so he repeats his teachings to his brothers.

“You will keep quiet to your mother because she is your mother and ancestor.”

There is an interesting point here that there are two brothers called “yangazlar” in the serial and they do not work. Although they are not breadwinners, their words are also accepted by women characters as they are heads of the family. For the last few years, unemployment has increased in Trabzon and most of the men do not work even if they have some lands because generally women take care with agriculture in Trabzon (Yavuz, 2015). As can be seen, whether men work or not, they have a strong status over women in society.

4.5.5. Woman as a Protector of the Family and Future

For conservatives, motherhood is a holy and respectful status because she is both a mother of the generation and for Islam, she belongs to heaven. Therefore, children should respect and listen to her for these reasons.

“*Kızım*,²⁰ I will never give up neither you nor my son.”

“We don’t use violence against women”

Conservatory masculinity uses “*bacım, kızım*” words to reflect its love, yet this not about love, this is about ownership. Even though it seems like ownership, it also represents conserving and protecting his property. In fact, a woman is

²⁰ It means “my girl.”

accepted as a victim and also sacred because she can be a mother. The idea of victimization of women creates an idea of needing heroes but also creepers (Mann, 2012). Conservatory masculinity hides its toxic side under this protecting, paternalistic mask. Maybe it is not seen as toxic unlike accepted, they are more dangerous than toxic masculinity.

4.5.6. Tradition and Local Identity

Tradition is one of the important bullets of conservatory masculinity because it reflects the old one, so it is accepted as truth. As in the history of conservatism, tradition has been always defended because modernity and changes have always seen as a threat. As in this television serial all male characters in Trabzon conserve their traditions and local values.

When Kaleli family comes to Vedat's house for dinner, Mustafa Kaleli says:

“Bacım,²¹ we don't drink at the table if our mother is at the table.”

Both using the word of *bacım* and not drinking near mother show the conflict between conservative and modern families. Some rules unite the community together and obeying them is necessary. JDP always emphasizes that values of society and alcohol are not part of that. “Our national drinking is *ayran*” is one of the discourse of Erdoğan (aa.com.tr, 2016). After the election of JDP, the company against alcohol begins quiet and retiring such as raising taxes of alcohol, stop selling alcohol after 10 pm (Sönmez, 2008).

As stated above, nationalism and local identity are two important things for Trabzon people. Hence, these two issues are emphasized constantly during the episodes.

²¹ It means that you are my sister.

“You are in my hometown and we never do treachery to guests.”

“We don’t beat women.”

“We are from the Black Sea; we protect the person that comes to our home.”

Protecting and conserving women, children, and people who need help is a part of conservatory masculine identity.

“A man like you without honor makes a woman’s life miserable and then walks around like a real man.”

“I don’t give a desperate woman and her children to this dishonest man.”

Circumcision is an important step of being a man and this process is completed with traditional and religious principles.

“- Why is that boy wearing like that?

- Because he will be circumcised

- Circumcised?”

The dialogue between Tahir and Yiğit emphasizes in this discourse because it is the proving of masculinity and Tahir goes on speaking about that:

“- You will be a man,

- I am already a man

- Huh, we will prove it ...”

All of these show that traditions and customs are a significant part because, for conservatives, they provide stability and peace. Furthermore, these customs and traditions are parts of long experiences and so, these should be conserved. However, this loyalty is also a dangerous side of conservatory masculinity because other things that are not fit for them cannot be accepted by people from

outside. This blind allegiance brings not questioning or accepting others so, people who are not from Trabzon are seen as trouble for hometown.

4.5.7. Religion

Religion is the backbone of conservatism and conservatory masculinity because human beings are seen as defective and only God is perfect, so God's orders are significant to keep and follow. Besides, these orders should teach to other generations and they should have parts of individuals. A woman can teach these religious rituals to children but a man conserves them and shows his lifestyle as a part of conservatory masculinity.

Religion is another significant issue in the serial, whenever something goes wrong in the serial, Osman Hodja religiously directs people.

“God answers his people who pray in three ways: says yes and give their wish, says no and give better, says wait and give the best.”

Nefes's son, Yiğit shows the naïve of the story and many teachings are presented over him such as religious teaching and conservatory masculine identity. Since he is a part of the future generation and religious teaching begins at an early age.

Osman Hodja gives prayer beads to Yiğit and teaches him how to use it and says:

“You will hold like this and say, *La ilahe illallah.*”²²

According to conservatism, religious education is more important than the state's education. Thus, the family must teach its members, especially children, how to do religious rituals starting from childhood. This connection bonds in childhood and keeps going on during the lifelong.

²² La ilahe illallah: it is a Islamic phrase and it means that there is only one God.

Asiye is Mustafa's wife and the daughter of Osman Hodja. When she and Nefes talk about Yiğit, she says that Tahir gets Yiğit to Friday salaah.

“Tahir takes Yiğit to Friday salaah and you should have seen your son while he was learning how to perform ablution.”

“Ah, grandpa Osman, I salaah and hold prayer beads.”

Throughout the episodes, religious rituals are made by the characters, so religious teaching is taught via television serials. In most episodes, Osman Hodja gives khutbah to the village and he gives examples from the Prophet Muhammed's life.

“... Does God let men beat women? If he does, the prophet would beat women too. How many women did Resululallah²³ beat, how do you assume of that? You cannot assume that, well, Resululallah does not beat any woman who even speak loudly. He prohibited beating women even in the war. If you do not accept that for Muhammed, how could you dare for this God?”

Tahir should be an example for Yiğit in every aspect because conservatory masculinity means conserving religious faith and transfer that to the next generations. While Tahir and his brothers Fatih and Murat are performing ablution, Tahir teaches Yiğit how to perform ablution as a duty of religion and conservatory masculinity.

While Yiğit is gargling his mouth three times, Tahir says “now your arms, well done” after that they go to the mosque to perform salaah.

One of the scenes and the others that come after it begins with a verse from the Quran. This is another conservative feature of the serial. Osman Hodja gives khutbah about this verse.

“I call the condemning voice of human consciousness to the testimony” (doomsday verse).

²³ It is one of the name of the prophet Muhammed. It means the person that is sent by the God.

The whole verses that are given by Osman Hodja are as if a teacher taught students lessons via idioms and proverbs. Osman Hodja is seen as the leader of the society who spreads religious thoughts and doctrines at the same time. It is proved that religion is also a domination instrument over people and people cannot see it as an ideology and domination instrument because religion is accepted as a salvation way in people's minds.

4.5.8. Religious Teaching as Moral

The relationship between husband and wife is important for a family and something goes wrong, religious teachings will be a guide for them. Osman Hodja and Tahir talk about this relationship.

“... do not avoid your shade on her, let her but give your love balanced, not too much, not too less...”

According to Osman Hodja, a husband should always be with his wife, be a shadow for his wife, protect her because it is a duty for a husband. However, this conservatory masculinity does not only protect just religious thoughts, he also protects his dominant position in society because of his honor.

4.5.9. Community

Community and its values are important than other things because society bounds each other with values and these values create collective memory. Human beings have limited minds, so it is not perfect. In other words, the community is over human beings because it regulates an individual's values and rules that people should obey. On the other hand, community is a conservative institution and it closes to foreign or others. Local identity, nationalism, morals, beliefs that all of them should conserve and this conserving duty comes with the male supremacy.

“What would happen if a single man married a woman who has a child?”

“She faces so many problems because of moral values.”

“I can’t torture this girl while I am protecting her.”

Osman Hodja is a religious man and leader of the community, but the important thing is here that his advice always divides God and human beings – in other words, for conservatives the God is perfect, and his people should listen to him.

“The God punish that man, but you shouldn’t hurt her, don’t leave her, protect her... be a friend to her, be soul to her, share her troubles.”

Conserving both values and masculine identity creates conservatory masculinity again. A conservatory masculinity protects its moral and ethic values besides its masculinity.

The story of the serial is at the center of conservatism, each scene of the serial represents one principle of conservatism, and the discourse that both female and male characters use is conservative too. Except for discourses, there are many examples to show conservatory masculinity in the serial. Clothes, places, behaviors are also parts of conservatory masculinity. Throughout the serial, all the female characters are protected by men who beat them, in other words, each male character protects them. There is a heroic position in serial, it is like a woman is a victim and she needs a hero to rescue her from this evil world but in fact, this is the man who does these things to a woman. Heroes and what Mann calls “creepers” (i.e. those who harass women) are not only parts of the same continuum (i.e., patriarchy), they can even be two sides of the same coin. Both of them need each other as Mann explains:

“... Both live their relations to women in a posture of entitlement, in which they relate to the women around them primarily as players-of-parts in their own stories. They are incapable of recognizing women as authors or potential authors of perception and meaning. Their posture toward women is, in other words, acquisitive. Both the creepers and the hero’s way of having a world pre-empt women’s world-making capacities” (Mann, 2012, pp. 21–22).

However, all the male characters use guns and guns are such a simple toy and tool that everyone has, so before going to the police department, they solve their problems first by themselves. Vedat is a significant character, because of him every character of the serial is tested by moral and religious faiths. In two seasons, he plays and makes bad things but others who believe in God and have a good morality fight for him. The story is constructed of male characters and their lives. Vedat is the bad one and it reflects modernity, a problem for the community and conservative life but the others especially Tahir, are the good ones and he is the protector of the community and conservative values.

As stated earlier, conservatism has some principles such as tradition, individual and society, family, religion and morality, property, and wealth. Besides, it should be added some sub- principles such as social order, authority, and hierarchy, nationalism, freedom, local identity, and religion, geography- history, and behaviors. Each principle has a place in the discourse of male characters. To give an example, Mustafa Kaleli always emphasizes the tradition of their family and culture, so he says that this is not proper for us. Another example from Osman Hodja and his discourse of holy God and the imperfect individual. According to conservatism, an individual is a failure because the only perfect is God and the rest of the world is a failure, and they are in a test that is done by God. Mustafa and Tahir's families are another example from the serial. Throughout the serial, the word of the family is always emphasized because the family is the basic building block of society for the next generations. Religion and morality are two issues that are associated with each other, so every character in the serial performs their religious and moral rituals and principles such as almost in every episode male character go to the mosque and perform salaah when a woman and man get married, the first thing is that they made a religious marriage that is called "imam marriage."²⁴ Except for Vedat, Kaleli,

²⁴ İmam marriage is a marriage that is made by the religious leader of the community announce people as husband and wife

and Dağdeviren families have traditional family houses and ships or lands, therefore they protect their properties because it means conserving family and tradition. For example, when Vedat buys Kaleli's traditional family house, the whole family feels that they lose something to which they are attached.

By looking at the community and the village, we can see that social order, authority, and the hierarchy are significant for them. When the happenings begin around Nefes- Tahir- Vedat, the whole community is affected by it because they do not want to lose the social order and authority of the village. In fact, the main fear is the danger of these happenings, this danger is seen as a threat against their social order and authority. Being from Trabzon and the Black Sea, supporting the hometown football team, the clothes that female character's wear represent nationalism and local identity. Kaleli brothers always emphasize their nationalism and local identity in their discourse, for example, Mustafa Kaleli says we are from Trabzon and we are from the Black Sea. Another example is they use local words and sentences such as making "riv riv", "uşağum."²⁵ In fact, there is another point here and it should be defined as looking at the Black Sea region or as in study Trabzon, there were so many ethnic identities that lived there. Many types of research show that from the Ottoman era to now there have been many ethnic identities living in this era such as Laz, Circassian, or Pontic Greeks (Meeker, 1971). These ethnic identities are seen as Black Sea Turks in Anatolia, because of the assimilation and nationalism, some of them call themselves as Turks and it can be a survival mechanism. Thus, many people in that area build this mechanism, and especially men emphasize their national and local symbols to prove their conservatory masculine identity as part of cultural assimilation, that is, in an effort to compensate for ethnic difference.

All these discourses and behaviors are based on the state ideology because the ruling party develops policies to construct the conservative ideology. By supporting imam-hatip high schools and giving a speech about girls need to be

²⁵ Riv riv means gossip, Uşak means boy

sent to these schools, the government shows religious morals are important for a girl because they will be the mothers of the future. President Erdoğan's speeches about the history and heroes of the Ottoman Empire are also an important part of the supporting conservative ideology. After these speeches, the state's channel and some private channels that are close to the ruling party make some serials about the history of the country. However, these serials such as *Diriliş Ertuğrul* (2014-1019) *Payitaht Abdelhamid* (2017-), *Kuruluş Osman* (2019) have some mistakes about the history and the position of women for example. Another significant issue is the Presidency of Religious Affairs and its advice about life, marriage, family, and children and moral principles for them. This looks like a religious leader in the community as in the serial, *Osman Hodja*.

This serial is a good example in terms of this relationship. This chapter analyzed and showed how this relation is constructed through television text as a dominant ideology of the state around the idea of conservatory masculinity and the male characters. Also, the serial presents clearly the government's policies and explanation as a subtext with the characters. All these examples and analysis of the serial give the idea that media is one of the apparatuses to construct the power over the society and how the power serves it as normal and accepted something. In short, even though all these themes and concepts are actually considered separate from each other, they intersect in a common denominator politically, socially and culturally. In fact, this shows that they utilize from each other in a certain direction and clearly shows that they naturally meet in a concept, conservatory masculinity, as called in this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study deals with the issue of television as a media tool, using Althusser's ideological state apparatuses to show the dominant ideology and how it affects television texts and discourses. Thanks to the way that it carries the dominant ideology and reproduces it constantly, the media still has a critical role in today's world. If so, it will become an important and inevitable source that needs analyzing and criticizing in many ways. Television serials are seen as a form of entertainment, yet it is also one of the ideological apparatuses of the state.

Since 2002, the JDP and its political approaches to conservative democracy have been very effective in the political and cultural areas. Despite seeming not so effective in the cultural area, it has a huge impact on people in the media sector. All television programs and texts have been written by dominant discourse because every state creates its own political, social and cultural ideology. However, if arguing state's ideologies to spread its own political regime through some apparatuses repressive or ideological, it needs to deal with the issue of these apparatuses and critically analyzing them. Therefore, television and television serial that is one of the programs are very effective and significant to analyze.

Television, which is a significant part of people's lives, is still a popular entertainment machine in today's world. To think about people's lives, television serials are seen as a proper work to analyze. Therefore, this study focuses on one of the television serials that is aired in primetime. Primetime serials are the most-watched program in Turkey, even abroad because as an example *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* and many Turkish TV serials are marketed in various other countries.

Upon thinking about these reasons, television texts should be analyzed from a critical perspective.

Since the last 20 years, conservatism has been getting gradually effective day-by-day, from every politician of the government to any people who live in Turkey and talk about conservatism and its principles. However, the relationship between conservatism and masculinity must be paid attention to because, as argued in this study, conservatory masculinity becomes prominent and presents itself as accepted in society. Conservatory masculinity has been shaped for a long time in Turkey despite its conceptual relation. Both concepts have been affected and strengthened by each other. It is well-known that this relation has two sides: the first is that principles of conservatism, which means tradition, family, society, property, order, are articulated to masculinity to spread its hegemonic position, and the second is masculinity accepts these principles to perpetuate its supremacy in society.

In the analysis of *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*, as a TV serial and the most-watched program in primetime, the main aim is how this serial creates and represents conservatory masculinity in it. *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* is a good example to define and explain conservatory masculinity. Its setting, the plot, and the male characters represent the relationship between conservatism and masculinity. This relationship has always been in society but some countries like Turkey, men and perform that in many areas as if it is the right and true thing. After the election of the JDP but especially in the third period, this relationship becomes prominent the party takes the context of conservatism and emphasizes that in every case and situation. In other words, the state consolidates its power by emphasizing conservative principles everywhere. For example, so many women have been killed in Turkey in the last two years, but many of the killers have not been sentenced or just sentenced but after a while, they have been released and most of the killers defends themselves as saying, defending his honor, protecting his family because she wants to divorce. The government has withdrawn from the

İstanbul Convention which is a treaty of violence against women and to restricted domestic violence. After withdrawing, some explanations have come from the government and this decision is defended because it is not appropriate conservative values, especially family values. Besides, the convention is seen as a threat to values, and it normalizes homosexuality in society for the ruling party and their followers.

The government always protects masculinity and its conservative ideology because when something goes wrong, one has to protect and glorify the hegemonic ideology. Each situation is explained with a conservative cover because it is hegemonic, and it has to be accepted. Therefore, explanations are always supported by the killers or just solved situations, but it is like “keeping it in the family.” Therefore, it should be said that conservatism and masculinity always support each other and conserve their power and hegemony. Thus, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* shows this relationship in many ways such as conserving family and community, always conserving religion and tradition. However, the main point is here that conservatism is kept by men, so men always find themselves both as power and conservatory for keeping and spreading the idea. Yet, while doing this, they also keep their masculinity too as a power.

The first thing that draws attention is the setting because Trabzon is a conservative city in Turkey and the people of this city are closely tied to their traditions, religion, family, and ethical and moral values (Alptekin & Koç, 2016). Throughout the serial, Trabzon and the values of the town have been emphasized, especially the male characters create an identity of “Trabzon Erkeği” for themselves. With this identity, nationalism, loyalty to hometown and conservative values bring and construct conservatory masculinity. Conservatism continues to be seen from the beginning of the story to its end. Each character of the story shapes their life according to conservatism. For example, Nefes and her son Yiğit, do not know about conservative values but as the story continues, they learn conservative values and lifestyles as to how to behave like.

Actually, there is one important point here that ideologies cannot seem an effect on people's lives but actually, all the ideologies have an important effect on people's lives because of the hegemony. Gramsci uses the context of hegemony because he emphasizes its power over society. However, the state uses this ideology as power, but it uses apparatuses as Althusser said. Therefore, since 2002, the JDP has given the idea of conservatism and its values but has not given it clearly, on the contrary, it gives as normal, accepted, and truth. To give an example, being a mother or having a child is seen as accepted and the duty of a woman but it is actually a dominant idea of patriarchy. Another example is conserving family and traditional values that are accepted especially by men. However, this idea is neither accepted nor truth, on the contrary, this is the idea that the ruling party wants to give us. To sum up, it should be said ideology affects culture and surround people with its ideological apparatuses so, people generally do not realize this reality, so they can accept it easily without any consent. In other words, conservatism has always been effective in Turkey from past to present. Moreover, it addresses conditions that are called moral and ethical. In case of losing them, it indicates that there will be serious problems even, social corruption in society. Thus, people whether knowing or not they accept and live with it without any consent. However, it needs to be pointed here that there are also neoliberal policies that the JDP does under the conservative ideology. The JDP has made all of its political discourse above conservatism and when looking at details, it is seen that all of these discourses support the neoliberal policies in Turkey. Having three children or more is not only about transferring conservatism to the next generation, but also about having more cheap labor through population growth and using women's invisible labor at home, double shift. On the other hand, for doing this, the identity of conservatory masculinity is utilized as a cover because it reshapes women's roles and spaces in society for the sake of women.

With these explanations and policies, the government shapes the society around its dominant ideology. President Erdoğan gave a speech in 2014 at the general

meeting of Ensar Foundation²⁶ and he says, “Being politically in power is one thing. Social and cultural power is something else. We have been in power for 14 years without interruption. But we still have problems with our social and cultural power” (Www.hurriyet.com.tr, n.d.). This shows that the ruling party wants to control and give its ideology socially and culturally. Although there are many policies and things that are made in television, they have still problems with being cultural and social power. Therefore, if the government wants to control and give its ideology, it needs some apparatuses such as the media and television. The relationship between conservatism and masculinity is articulated as a dominant subject in television texts. With the government’s policies and explanations, conservatism and masculinity seem like an attached relation, therefore it creates conservatory masculinity.

As noted in the study, the male characters of the story represent and reproduce conservatism and masculine relationship in their discourses and behaviors. That Tahir contradicts his love for Nefes is a good example because it is a conflict that Tahir has, and he remains between Nefes’ love and his conservative values. However, the main point is Tahir’s and other male character’s conservatory masculine identity. During each episode, he emphasizes that a man has to be religious, traditional, having domestic responsibility for his family, showing his conservative values because it seems conservatism and masculinity are bonded together.

To think about the last 18 years, it can be said that conservatism has increased its effect and it becomes part of people’s lives much more even if most of the men hide their masculinity behind this conservative mask. From this perspective, it can be said that there is conservatory masculinity that has especially been utilized by the ruling party. Thus, Tahir, Mustafa, and other characters in the

²⁶ This foundation is accused of raping 45 male children in its illegal dormitories between 2012-2016. For more information, see <https://web.archive.org/web/20160315032855/http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/karaman-da-45-erkek-ogrenciye-tecavuz-106150.html> , lastly accessed in January, 2022.

serial demonstrate conservatory masculinity in terms of defending gender roles, supporting nationalism, conserving tradition, and family issues, being the leader of the community. However, there is one thing that needs to be pointed out that conservatory masculinity is pervasive because it can be seen in any era or ideology. Hence, there is a significant concept that needs identifying. Despite being analyzed in this study, conservatory masculinity is defined with the era of the JDP, yet it can become prominent in any ideology. Even though the relation I have established here is an ideological relation, conservatory masculinity is not limited to conservative ideologies, but it can also get carried over to various ideologies, including far left ones. Due to that, it is not an ideological relation but a conceptual one. That is, one can admit and perform it whatever the main ideology, so any man who has different backgrounds can fall back on and that's why it is so dangerous because it is normalized and accepted.

There are so many serials in Turkey that show masculinity in their texts and discourses but *Sen Anlat Karadeniz* is quite specific because of some reasons such as, it reflects the state's ideology, on the other hand, it takes place one of the conservative cities of Turkey, Trabzon, the male characters that are created by both masculine and conservative. Also, there are so many violent scenes of women in the serial. The main difference between the serials from the others is the discourses of the serial in the context of conservatory masculinity.

Indeed, the government still continues its hegemonic discourse, but there are some turning points in Turkey where the government has become more authoritarian. The Gezi Park Protests, the Corruption Scandal of 17–25 December, and the Turkish General Elections of June 2015 are some of them. The government has increased its discourse to be more conservative and masculine. However, not only the discourse but also the media has been affected by that. In 2014, Osman Sınav made a series on TRT, which is the state's official channel, *Kızıl Elma*, and this series tells a story about the National Intelligence Organization and enemies of Turkey because the government speaks of the Gezi

Park protest as a planned situation by enemies of Turkey. The government always makes TV shows to show its own truth when an attack comes to its power.

Overall, this study analyzes the relationship between conservatism and masculinity in a TV serial, *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*. Althusser's idea of ideological state apparatuses has been used by analyzing the text. Throughout the analysis, the study shows that media is still an important apparatus to give the state's ideology. Through literary analysis, television text has been analyzed and evaluated whether it is on a private channel or not. Thus, television text is affected by the state's ideology and in doing so, conservatism-masculinity relation is backed up with specific examples from the serial. For this reason, the term conservatory masculinity can be used to define this relationship. The fact that Turkey's society is becoming increasingly conservative, not only politically, but also socially and culturally, is one of the main reasons I started working on this project. Another reason why I employed the concept of conservatory masculinity is that masculinity has also been affected by the changes and transformations that have taken place in society, especially in 20 years starting with the JDP and that influence was with one of the main ideologies, conservatism. This conceptual relationship, defined as conservatory masculinity, actually took a position that maintained the main principles of both conservatism and masculinity. Therefore, the main purpose of using the concept is how they strengthen and nurture each other. One of the main frameworks of this work is how the media, one of the ideological apparatuses of the state, represents and reproduces conservatory masculinity in its own ways. Another important point is that conservatory masculinity creates a perception that is normalized and idealized in the series, one of the most-watched television programs. I hope that this thesis will contribute to the research of the relationship between masculinity and conservatism in terms of further academic studies in different fields. How the concept of conservatory masculinity manifests itself, not only in the media but from all institutions of the state to social life, will be a step for further

studies. How examples of conservatory masculinity permeate and are produced in our lives in education, social and digital life will also be one of the issues that still need to be explored. As a result, this study will be a further step for the next studies, especially in the context of conservatory masculinity. For, the world's political axis is going to go right-wing and for centuries, the right-wing has always been close to conservatism. Therefore, conservatism should be analyzed in the context of masculinity because of the rising conservatism and patriarchy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SELECTED PHOTOS FROM *SEN ANLAT KARADENİZ*

- 1 : Kaleli House or Konak
- 2 : The Decoration of Kaleli's House
- 3 : The Decoration of the walls in Kaleli's House
- 4 : Vedat's House
- 5 : Vedat's breaks Nefes's two fingers
- 6 : Vedat's domestic and sexual violence to Nefes
- 7 : Nefes' violence marks
- 8 : Nefes prays in madrasah
- 9 : Osman Hodja gives khutbah to community in mosque
- 10 : Female characters wear local scarf "keşan"
- 11 : Yiğit's circumcision feast and two male characters play local folk dance "horon"

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APPENDIX B: TÜRKÇE ÖZET/ TURKISH SUMMARY

Geçmişten günümüze feminist bakış açısıyla kadınlarla ilgili ve kadınlık üzerine çeşitli araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Bununla birlikte tam bir feminist analiz; bir kadının hayatında koca, cinsel partner, sevgili, baba, erkek kardeş, meslektaş, okul arkadaşı gibi çeşitli roller olan erkeklerin de incelenmesine yol açacaktır. Ancak tek bir erkeklik değil, birden çok erkeklik olduğu ele alındığında bu tezin kapsamını erkeklik ve muhafazakarlık arasında bir ilişki olduğunu düşünerek korumacı erkeklik olarak adlandırdığım erkeklik kavramı ile sınırlandırdım.

Bu çalışma, 2018- 2019 yılları arasında haftada bir yayınlanan televizyon dizisini muhafazakarlık ve korumacı erkeklik perspektifi üzerinden analiz etmektedir. Korumacı erkeklik ve muhafazakarlık kavramları arasındaki ilişki salt ideolojik olmak zorunda değildir, bu iki kavram arasındaki ilişki ideolojik gibi gözükse dahi bundan daha fazlasıdır. Çünkü iki kavram arasındaki ilişki ideolojilere göre belirli bir pozisyon aldığı için her ideolojide kendini var edebilir. Daha fazla açıklamak gerekirse korumacı erkeklik kendisini kavramlar aracılığıyla herhangi bir ideolojide var eder ve böylece kavramsal bir ilişki kurar. Bu ilişkinin ideolojik olmaktan çok kavramsal olması için iki önemli sebep vardır: (1) korumacı erkeklik pek çok ideoloji altında görülebilir ve var olabilir, illa muhafazakâr olmasına gerek yoktur, (2) var oluş sebebinden kaynaklı hem muhafazakarlık hem de korumacı erkeklik bir kesişimsellik gösterir ve kendilerini yeniden üretmeye devam eder. Aslında bu ayrılmaz bir ilişkidir yani kendilerini var etmek için birbirlerine ihtiyaç duyarlar. Ayrıntılı bir biçimde ele aldığımızda bu ilişki; din, gelenek, milliyetçilik, aile, devlet ve otorite gibi muhafazakarlık kavramlarına ve bu kavramların erkeklikle nasıl bir ilişki kurduğuna ve korumacı erkeklik kavramını nasıl oluşturduğuna dayanır. Bir diğer nokta ise korumacı erkeklik, egemen ideolojinin temel kavram ve ilkelerini muhafaza ederek kendisini herhangi bir yerde ve ideolojide devam ettirmenin

yolunu bulur. Bundan dolayı korumacı erkeklik egemen ideolojiyi kullanarak konumunu muhafaza eder.

Türkiye’de muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik ilişkisi kendisini kavramsal olarak göstermektedir. Bu nedenle her ikisi de aralarında görünmez bir anlaşma yaparak argümanlarını kendi lehine kullanır. Buradaki temel nokta bu ilişkinin bireyin rızasına dayanarak meşrulaştırdığı ve rızaya dayalı bir ilişkiyi ortaya çıkardığıdır. Muhafazakarlık ve korumacı erkeklik arasındaki anlaşma, bu araştırmada da konu edildiği üzere ideolojik devlet aygıtları kullanılarak toplumdaki bireylerin rızasına dayalı, makbul ve istenen bir ilişki olarak gösterilir. Böylece muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik ilişkisi kendisini yeniden üreterek gücünü sağlamlaştırır. Bu kavramsal ilişkiyi vurgulamak için muhafazakarlığın tarihi ve temel kavramları anlatılacak ve araştırmanın ana hatlarından biri olarak erkeklikle nasıl örtüştükleri analiz edilecektir. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'nin muhafazakarlık tarihinden ve mevcut hükümeti ile bu hükümetin siyasi ideolojisi olan muhafazakâr demokrasiden bahsedilecektir. Ayrıca bu tez korumacı erkeklik kavramının 2002’den bu yana hükümetin siyasi ideolojisinin etkisi altında olan medya tarafından nasıl inşa ve temsil edildiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bunu yaparken muhafazakarlığın bazı kavramları ve ilkeleri; din, gelenek, milliyetçilik, otorite, devlet ve aile gibi erkeklikle birlikte açıklanacaktır. Korumacı erkeklik kavramını daha somut açıklamak için bir televizyon dizisi tartışılacak ve analiz edilecektir.

Bu çerçeveyi açıklamak ve ispatlamak için “Sen Anlat Karadeniz” dizisi ideolojik devlet aygıtları perspektifinden bakılarak korumacı erkeklik kavramı üzerinden incelenecektir. İdeolojiler toplum üzerinde her zaman etkili olmuş, güçlerini var etmek ve sürdürmek için medyayı bir araç olarak kullanmıştır. İdeolojik yaklaşımlar tek egemen ideolojiyi ve onun diğer kavramlarla ilişkisini açıklamaz, aynı zamanda ana bağlamın yanı sıra bazı alt başlıkları da vurgular. Bu çalışmada tüm bu ilişkiler bağlamında ideolojik yaklaşımları anlamak için

erkeklik, medya ve toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri feminist bir bakış açısıyla incelenecektir.

Tarihsel olarak Türkiye her zaman bir ölçüde muhafazakâr olmuştur. Bora'nın da açıkladığı gibi, 1. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Batı'daki gelişmeleri takip etmiş ve hem batılılaşma hem de modernleşme adımlarını başlatmıştır. Ancak geçmişten gelen milli Türk kimliği Türkiye Cumhuriyeti döneminde de sürdürülmüştür (Bora, 1998). 17.yy'da Batı Avrupa'da sosyal ve kültürel olarak başlayan modernleşme süreci, Osmanlı Devleti'nin bu sürecin gerisinde kaldığını fark etmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu modernleşme süreci Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşuna kadar devam etmiş ve bu süreçte yeni bir ulusal kimlik oluşturulmuştur. Bu kimlik İslam'ın da bir parçası olarak görülür, dolayısıyla hem ulusal hem de dini kimlikler toplumda yer bulur. Kültürel, toplumsal ve siyasal değişimler toplumda muhafazakarlık olarak adlandırılan bir tepkiye neden olmasına rağmen, kapitalist modernleşme süreci başlar ve toplum bu kimliği kabul eder. Fakat bu durum toplumdaki muhafazakâr tepkinin oluşmasını yine de engellemez. Genel anlamda muhafazakarlık, toplumun tarihten gelen gelenek, inanç ve değerlerini koruması ve yaşatması demektir. Böylece Türk modernleşme süreci ve milli Türk kimliği kendi içinde muhafazakâr bir kimlik de kazanır (Bora, 1998).

Muhafazakarlık, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin iktidara gelmesiyle birlikte birçok alana sirayet etmiştir. Bu bağlamda siyasilerin söylemlerinden özellikle kadınlar ve kadınların toplumsal yaşamları etkilenmiş, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı kadınların yaşamları ve davranışları hakkında fetvalar ve açıklamalar yapmıştır. Örnek vermek gerekirse Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı'nın kendisine gelen sorulardan biri olan boşanma ile ilgili, boşanmanın bir erkeğin eşine “boş ol” demesinin telefon, internet veya faks aracılığı ile olabileceğini söylemesi, böylece erkek egemenliğinin sınırlarını bir kez daha genişletmesi bu fetva ve açıklamalardan biridir (Öztürk, 2018). 2017 yılında, Diyanet İşleri Başkanı Prof. Dr. Ali Erbaş, 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü vesilesiyle yaptığı açıklamada “tasvip edilir hiçbir

yanı, yönü ve mazereti bulunmayan kadına dönük şiddet merkezli eylem ve söylemin, İslam'dan referans bulmasının asla mümkün olmadığını" belirterek, "şiddete meşruiyet sağlayan, merhameti öteleyen ve kadını rencide eden bütün gelenek, örf ve inanışlar reddedilmesini" istedi. Erbaş, kadın ve erkeğin "birbirlerini destekleyen ve tamamlayan bireyler" olduğunu söyledi" (Çatlak Zemin, n.d.). Devlet iktidarının ve toplum düzeninin korunması ve sürekliliğinin sağlanması gerekçesiyle Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı gibi bazı kurumlar topluma erkek egemen fikri benimseten açıklamalarda bulunmaya devam etmiştir. Hükümet ve devlet kurumlarının muhafazakâr kimliklerini ortaya çıkardığı ve AK Parti'nin korumacı erkeklik kimliğini inşa ettiği bir gerçektir. Aslında korumacı erkeklığı, ideolojik hegemonya altında erkeklığe uygun durum ve koşullar yaratarak gerçekleştirir. Bu durumda hem korumacı erkeklığı yeniden üretir hem de onu meşrulaştırır.

Din ve ataerkilliğin Türkiye gibi Müslüman çoğunluğa sahip olduğu toplumlarda oldukça etkili olduğu ve hatta muhafazakârlığın gücünü bu iki sistemden aldığı oldukça açıktır. Ataerkillik ve din uzun yıllardır beraber iyi bir ikili sistem olmuş ve kadınların sınıf, ırk, etnik köken fark etmeksizin ezilmelerine olanak sağlamıştır. Diğer bir şekilde açıklamak gerekirse kadınların ezilmişliği ve erkek egemenliğinin bu ataerkillik ve tek tanrılı dinlerle bir ilişkisi vardır. Hatta Berktaş bunu şu şekilde açıklar;

"Oysa tek tanrılı dinin doğuşu, belli bir tarihsel ve toplumsal "moment"le ilişkilidir ve bu ilişki, tek tanrılı dinin her üç versiyonuna da damgasını vurarak ortak özellikler göstermelerine neden olur. Aralarındaki farklılıkları ve her birinin özgüllüğünü göz ardı etmeksizin, bu birleştirici bağın, ataerkil sistemin doğuşu ve kurumlaşması ile olan etkileşim sonucunda kadını ve erkeği mutlak ve hiyerarşik bir biçimde ikiye bölen katı toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin vazedilmesi, erkeğin üstünlüğüne dayanan ataerkil aile ilişkisinin kutsanması ve bu bağlamda kadın bedeni üzerindeki denetimin yasallaştırılıp meşrulaştırılması olduğunu söyleyebiliriz." (Berktaş, 1994, p. 26)

2019'un sonlarına doğru 474 kadın öldürüldü ve bir o kadar da kadın erkekler tarafından yaralandı (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu, 2019). Bir kadının hayatının her bölümü, onurlu bir kadın olmak ve öyle davranmak, erkek üstünlüğünü kabul etmek, anne, eş ve kız çocuk olarak bazı kimliklere sahip olmak gibi toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri argümanlarıyla çevrelenmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet öğretileri kadınların nasıl davranacaklarından, nasıl hareket edeceklerine, hatta kaç çocuk doğurmaları gerektiğine kadar her alanda kendini gösterir. Patriarkal toplumda kadınlar sınıf, etnik köken, ırk veya yaş fark etmeksizin bu düşünce ve fikirlerle kuşatılmaktadır. Tüm bunların arkasında öznesi erkekler olan bir erklik (güç) bulunmaktadır. Bu durumun öznesi olan erkekler yalnızca güç ve iktidarlarını göstermekle kalmaz, bu güç ve iktidarlarının ellerinden alınacağı veya sarsılacağını hissettikleri anda kadınların yaşamlarını tehdit etmekte, hatta ölümlerinde baş rolü oynamaktadır.

Toplumda birçok erkeklik türü vardır. Bunlardan biri, toplum içinde baskın bir erkeklik biçimi olan hegemonik erkekliktir. Heteroseksüel, Sünni ve Türk kimliğine sahip olmak Türkiye'de hegemonik bir eril kimliktir. Zehirli erkeklik, toplumda şiddeti, saldırganlığı kabul eden ve aynı zamanda zayıf olmayı reddeden bir erkeklik türüdür. Ancak bu araştırmada korumacı erkeklik toplumda dini, aileyi, memleketi koruyan bir erkeklik türü olarak açıklanacaktır. Her üç erkekliğin de erkekler üzerinde bir etkisi vardır ve bu etki onların yaşamlarını birçok yönden şekillendirir. Örneğin, çocukluk döneminde, erkeklerin çoğunun sert, saldırgan olması beklenir. Yetişkinliğin başlangıcında ise iyi bir işe sahip olmak, heteroseksüel olmak, bir aile kurmak gibi heteronormatif beklentileri ortaya çıkarır. Ayrıca muhafazakâr bir kimliğe sahip olmak din, mülkiyet, gelenek, toplum düzeni gibi bazı değerlerin benimsenmesini de gerekli kılar. Bu araştırmada korumacı erkeklik kavramının incelenme nedeni, Ak Parti'nin iktidara gelmesiyle birlikte muhafazakarlığın artması ve bu sürecin uzun bir döneme yayılmasıdır. Ayrıca dünyada, özellikle Avrupa'da sağ ideolojinin yükselişi ve muhafazakarlıkla ilişkisi muhafazakarlığın toplum üzerindeki etkisini arttırmaktadır. Örneğin; Polonya'da

kürtajın kısıtlanması, kadına şiddetin artması ve LGBTİQ+ hareketinin engellenmesi ya da Türkiye'de kadınlara ve LGBTİQ+'lara karşı her zaman toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, din ve gelenek söylemlerinin vurgulanması sağ ideoloji ile birlikte yükselen muhafazakarlık ve erkekliğin de bir göstergesidir. Yukarıda açıklandığı gibi, korumacı olarak adlandırılan farklı bir erkeklik vardır, korumacı erkekliğin diğer erkekliklerden farklı nüansları ve dinamikleri vardır. Çalışmada bu kavramsal ilişkiyi anlamak ve analiz etmek için ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biri olan medya aracılığıyla korumacı erkekliğin nasıl anlatıldığı ve yeniden üretildiği açıklanacaktır.

Medya, sosyal ve kültürel hayatın önemli bir parçasıdır. Televizyon ise medyanın devletin baskın ideolojisini yayan en önemli ideolojik aygıtlarından biridir. Televizyon aynı zamanda bireylere çeşitli semboller, ikonlar, fikirler ve mesajlar veren bir araçtır. Bu araç tüm verdiği bu kültürel ve sosyal semboller, fikirler ve mesajları egemen ideolojinin perspektifinden verir. Medya ideolojik bir aygıt olarak görülmelidir çünkü üst yapı tarafından topluma baskın ideolojiyi vermek için bir araç olarak kullanılır ve kapitalizm tarafından kullanılan tüm semboller, fikirler ve mesajlar egemen ideoloji ile beraber insanları çevreler.

Debord gösteri toplumu eserinde, bu toplumun bir gösteri toplumu olduğunu ve bu gösterinin toplumun bir parçası olarak yalnızca imajlar toplamı değil, aynı zamanda bireyler arasında var olan bir toplumsal ilişki olduğunu söyler (Debord, 1996, p. 15) Bu imajların yöneten sınıf tarafından ekonomiye dayandırıldığını ve bu sayede yönetenlerin toplumu kendisinden de uzaklaştırma stratejisidir (Debord, 1970, p. 12) Yaratılan görüntüler ve imajlar egemen ideoloji bağlamında oluşturulmuş ve sunulmuştur. Korumacı erkekliğin televizyonda gösterildiğinde normal ve makbul olmuş gibi sunulması bunun bir örneğidir. Tüm bunlara dayanarak ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biri olan medya kültürel ve sosyal açıdan tartışılacaktır.

Aslında egemen ideolojinin medya ve kültürel formlar aracılığı ile kullanıldığı bu yüzden tüm medya sistemine bakılması gerektiği bir gerçekliktir. Adorno ve Horkheimer bu duruma “kültür endüstrisi” demektedir (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014). Bu kültür filmlerden dergilere, her şey ile iç içe olmasından kaynaklı dikkatli bir şekilde analiz edilmelidir. Kültür endüstrisi burjuvazinin alt sınıfların ne izlemesi gerektiğine karar vermesi ve programları bu doğrultuda kategorize etmesidir. Bu kültür endüstrisi ile beraber verilen fikirler, propaganda aracılığıyla tüketicilerin zihinlerini etkiler. Diğer bir deyişle tüm bu süreci sermayeyi elinde bulunduran sınıflar kendi tekeli altında tutarak bir endüstri haline getirir. Böylece üretim süreci başkaları tarafından belirlenen ve belirli bir süzgeçten geçirilerek topluma sunulan bir sürece dönüşür (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2014, p. 169). Sonuç olarak insanlar sunulan temsil ve görsellere karşı çıkmaz aksine bunu kabul eder duruma gelir. Bu durum yalnızca kültür endüstrisini güçlendirmez, bir karar mekanizması olarak işlemesine de olanak sağlar. Özetlemek gerekirse kültür endüstrisi egemen ideolojiyi vererek ve bunu sürekli yeniden üreterek sanatın egemen ideolojiyi veren bir meta haline gelmesidir.

İdeoloji ve ideolojiler bireylere baskı veya rıza yoluyla dayatılır. Althusser bunları baskıcı ve ideolojik devlet aygıtları olarak ikiye ayırmıştır. Medya da aile, eğitim ve basın gibi ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biridir ve bu yüzden insanların hayatlarında önemli bir noktada yer almaktadır (Althusser, 2014) Teknolojinin gelişmesiyle beraber insanların yaşamları değişmiş ama en önemli nokta olan hikayeler ve onların anlatısı hala devam etmektedir. Medyanın önemli araçlarından biri olan televizyon ise bu anlatıları içerisinde barındırmakta ve her bir anlatı kendi içinde bir mesaj sunmaktadır. Ancak bu mesajlar egemen ideoloji ve egemen sınıf tarafından şekillendirilmekte ve bireylerin rızasına dayalı bir şekilde verilmektedir. Hall’un da dediği gibi metinler ve anlatılar yalnızca belirlenmez, aynı zamanda egemen ideoloji tarafından tercih edilir (Hall et al., 2005). Buradaki en önemli nokta verilen bu metinlerin bireylerin rızasına dayalı olarak verilmesi durumudur. Daha fazla açıklamak gerekirse izleyiciler bu

anlatıları herhangi bir sorgulama yapmadan kabul eder çünkü baskın söylem bunları makbul, istenen ve kabul gören bir şekilde sunmaktadır. Tüm bu anlatılara bakıldığında hemen hemen hepsinin erkeklik, kadınlık, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri gibi belli başlı konulara dayandığı görülmektedir. Aslında bu konular sermayeyi elinde bulunduran bir grup kapitalist insan tarafından medyanın yönetildiğini bir kez daha kanıtlamaktadır.

Medya çalışmaları 19. ve 20.yy. da başlamış, medya araçlarının verdiği mesajlar, izleyicilerin tercihleri ırk, sınıf, etnik köken ve yaş durumları analiz edilmiş ve kitle hakkında bir fikir sunulmuştur. Ancak özellikle Frankfurt Okulu teorisyenleri kültürel alanın ve medyanın Marksist bir perspektifle incelenmesini tartışmışlardır. Onlara göre 19.yy dan sonra kültürel alan kitlenin tercihleri tarafından değil, kapitalizm ve onun ihtiyaçları tarafından şekillenmiştir (Çelenk, 2003, p. 29) Televizyon çalışmaları ise televizyonun 1940'larda hayatımıza girmiş olmasına rağmen 1970'lerde başlamıştır. Gramsci'nin hegemonya kavramı ve Althusser'in ideolojik devlet aygıtları kültür ve televizyon hakkında yeni fikirler doğurmuştur.

Televizyon anlatıları ve sahip olduğu anlam akademik çalışmalarda oldukça önem kazanmıştır. Fiske bununla ilgili şöyle der: "Televizyon söylemi bize günlük yaşamın kültürel ve sosyal ilişkilerinin yenilenmiş ve güncellenmiş bir versiyonunu sunmaktadır" (Fiske & Hartley, 2004, p. 5) Eğer televizyon bize sosyal ve kültürel ilişkileri veriyorsa, analiz edilmeye bir kez daha ihtiyacı vardır. Althusser'in de dediği gibi egemen sınıf kendi hegemonyasını diğer sınıflar üzerinde gösterir, diğer yandan devlet de baskıcı ve ideolojik devlet aygıtları ile aile, eğitim, medya ve kurumlar gibi kendi ideolojisini bize sunar (Binark & B. Gencel, 2010, p. 49)

İnsanların hayatlarını değiştiren önemli bazı olaylar ve durumlar vardır. Televizyon da insanların evlerine ücretsiz bir eğlence getirerek bu önemli durum ve olaylardan biri olmuştur. Ve bu sebeple 1930'lardan günümüze kadar ücretsiz

bir biçimde eğlence sağladığı için evlerdeki yerini hala korumaktadır. Artık internetin oldukça popüler ve ulaşılabilir olduğu bu dönemde yeni izleme platformları (Netflix, Blu TV) ortaya çıkmasına rağmen yapılan anketler ve araştırmalar televizyonun hala yerini koruduğunu göstermektedir. Yapılan bir ankete göre izleyiciler haberlerden sonra en çok televizyon dizileri izlemeyi tercih etmektedir çünkü öğrenmek ve eğlendirmek televizyonun iki önemli konusudur (RTÜK, 2018b). “TV dizisi, belli bir periyoda göre (haftada bir veya her gün) yayınlanan, belirli bir hikayesi ve karakterleri olan bir programdır. Televizyon dizilerinin birçok çeşidi bulunmaktadır fakat Türkiye'de en çok tercih edilenler dramalardır" (Aydın & Kuruoğlu, 2014, s.158-9). Bu nedenle Sen Anlat Karadeniz dizisi içerik analizine göre analiz edilecektir.

Tüm bu sebeplerden dolayı medya aygıtı olarak kullanılan televizyon ve önemli bir bölümünü oluşturan TV dizisi bu yüksek lisans tezi için seçilmiştir. Bu tezde “Sen Anlat Karadeniz” dizisi Althusser'in ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biri olan medya ve televizyon çerçevesinde incelenecektir. Bu dizinin seçilmesinin bazı nedenleri bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan biri bu dizinin kadına yönelik şiddet konusunu muhafazakâr bir aile perspektifinden ele alması ve yaşanan şiddetin normal olarak sunulmasıdır. İkinci bir sebep olarak, televizyon dizisinin kurgusunun ve senaryosunun muhafazakâr erkekliği vurgulayan ve temsil eden belirli özelliklere sahip olmasıdır. Sonuncusu ve en önemlisi dizi boyunca dizinin ana erkek karakterleri korumacı erkekliği yansıtır ancak aynı zamanda dizide bu korumacı erkek karakterlerin sergiledikleri tüm olumsuz tutum ve davranışlara rağmen kadınlar ve toplum tarafından nasıl “kabul edilebilir” olduğunu da gösterir. Aslında, bu “kabul edilebilir/ makbul" korumacı erkekliğin hegemonik ya da zehirli erkeklik gibi diğer erkekliklerden bazı farklılıkları vardır çünkü bu erkeklik, ataerkillik ve kapitalizme sağladığı faydalar nedeniyle daha kabul edilebilir bir erkeklik türüdür. Tarihsel dizilerde olduğu gibi hegemonik ve zehirli erkeklikler ya da kahramanlar toplum için uygun görülmez ve kabul edilmez. Korumacı erkeklik kadına ve topluma olumsuz tarafları olsa da bu olumsuz yönleri toplumun yararı uğruna yapılan bir algı ile örter. Örneğin,

korumacı erkeklik; değerlerini korumak için şiddet kullanır ya da dini öğretileri toplumda yaşatır çünkü dini öğretiler, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini koruyan ve bunları erkekler yararına anlatan bir konumdadır.

Bu çalışmanın ana çerçevesi, Althusser'in medyanın, devletin ve hükümetin ideolojilerini bireylere dayatmak için kullandığı ideolojik devlet aygıtlarından biri olduğu fikrinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Medyanın, televizyon programları arasında popüler olan TV dizileri aracılığıyla devletin ideolojisini bireylere nasıl dayattığı önemli bir sorudur. TV dizisini analiz etmek için içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılacak ve bu bağlamda bazı sorular öne çıkarılacaktır:

- 1) Televizyon dizisi, özellikle televizyon dizisinin özel sektöre ait bir kanalda yayınlandığını dikkate aldığımızda, devletin ideolojisini nasıl yeniden üretir?
- 2) Korumacı erkeklik bir TV dizisinde nasıl gösterilir ve sürdürülür? Bu TV dizisi muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik arasındaki ilişkiyi düşünmemize nasıl yardımcı olur?
- 3) TV dizisinde muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik etrafında hangi temalar inşa edilir ve bunların ilişkisi nedir?

Bu çalışmada korumacı erkeklik dört bölümde incelenmiştir. Birinci bölümde çalışmanın amacı, araştırma soruları, metodolojisi ve çalışmanın önemi anlatılmıştır. İkinci bölümde, araştırmanın daha iyi anlaşılması için çalışmanın tarihsel ve teorik bir çerçevesi verilmiş ve böylece teorik ve kavramsal bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde hem dünyadaki hem de Türkiye'deki muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik tarihi, bu ikisinin birbirine nasıl eklemlendiği ve korumacı erkeklik kavramını nasıl oluşturduğu tartışılmış ve bu sebeple muhafazakarlık, sahip olduğu ilkeler ve ataerkillikle ilişkisi irdelenmiştir. Bu bakımdan muhafazakarlık ve sahip olduğu değerleri ortaya çıkarılmış ve muhafazakarlığın erkeklik ile nasıl bir bağ kurduğu anlatılmıştır. Bölümün sonunda erkekliği ve erkekliğin muhafazakarlıkla ilişkisini anlamak için erkeklik

konusu ele alınmış, ardından muhafazakarlık ile erkeklik arasındaki ilişki incelenmiş ve korumacı erkeklik teriminin nasıl ortaya çıktığı açıklanmıştır. Dördüncü bölümde, korumacı erkeklik terimi “Sen Anlat Karadeniz” televizyon dizisi üzerinden gösterilmiş ve eleştirel olarak analiz edilmiştir. Beşinci bölümde araştırmanın sonucu anlatılmış ve araştırma problemini vurgulamak için çalışmanın önceki tüm konuları tartışılmıştır.

Özetlemek gerekirse, Türkiye’de televizyon dizileri hakkında günlük yaşam ve muhafazakarlık, muhafazakarlıkta aile söylemi, reklamlarda, dergilerde ve çizgi romanlarda muhafazakarlık söylemi gibi birçok akademik araştırma vardır. Kadınlar ve muhafazakarlık, muhafazakarlığın kadınlara dönük tutum ve davranışları, muhafazakarlıkta kadınların sosyal ve kültürel konumu ile ilgili araştırmalar mevcuttur. Ancak hiçbir çalışma muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik arasındaki ilişkiyle ilgilenmemiştir. Korumacı erkeklik, ataerkillik ve kapitalizmin arasındaki ilişkisinden dolayı hayatımızın bir parçasıdır. Başka bir deyişle, ataerkillik, kadınlar üzerinde bir erkek egemenliği oluşturan ve kadınların yaşamlarını kontrol etmede erkeklere güç veren bir sistemdir. Kapitalizmin üretim dönemi için insana ve aile gibi bazı kurumlara ihtiyacı vardır. Çünkü bir işçinin ertesi güne hazırlanması için evdeki işleri yapacak ve işçiyi ertesi güne hazırlayacak kadına ihtiyaç vardır. Böylece kapitalizm ve ataerkillik birbirlerini besleyen ve yeniden üreten bir yerden birbirlerine eklenir. Bunların yanı sıra muhafazakarlık, hegemonyasını sürdürmek için erkekliği kullanarak bir korumacı erkeklik kimliği yaratmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu tez, muhafazakarlığın 2002’den bu yana hayatımıza olan etkisini ve erkeklikle kurduğu ilişkisini derinlemesine inceleyerek korumacı erkeklik kimliği üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Buna ek olarak, internet günümüzde önemli bir rol oynasa bile televizyon hala hayatımızın önemli bir parçası olmaktadır. Bu araştırma sosyal ve kültürel yaşamda muhafazakarlık ve erkeklik ilişkisini farklı araçlar ve kurumlar üzerinden göstermede farklı bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Muhafazakarlığın

sadece kadınların hayatındaki etkileri ve sonuçları hakkında konuşmak değil, aynı zamanda muhafazakarlığın erkeklerin hayatına olan etkilerini ve yaratılan makbul erkeklik fikrini de dikkate almak gerekir. Bu sebeple bu çalışma, korumacı erkekliğin reklam ve sinema gibi medya araçlarında da analiz edilmesinin önünü açabilir. Kısaca bu çalışma, korumacı erkekliğin Ak Parti'nin etkisi altında sinema ve dergi gibi diğer medya araçlarında kendini nasıl var ettiği ve 2000'li yıllarda doğan gençlerin / genç neslin yaşamında korumacı erkekliğin nasıl idealize edildiği ile ilgili bazı soruları gündeme getirmektedir.

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): The Representation of Conservatory Masculinity Through Tv Serials *Sen Anlat Karadeniz*

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