

What the 'authentic' can tell us: tourism, authenticity and cultural politics in Turkey¹

Sandra FINGER

sandra@su.sabanciuniv.edu

Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey

The commercialization of the authentic and romantic in the tourist commercials sponsored by the Turkish government does not only intend to bridge the regional economic disparities, but suggests also a specific conception of the country to be conveyed to the Turkish citizen. This domestication of the otherwise 'wild and back warded' has to be undermined by a deconstruction of the narrative produced by the ongoing nationalist and political discourse of Turkish identity. The harmonization of the rural countryside as well as the 'politically menacing' and 'dangerous' East of Turkey with the technologically more advanced West of Turkey that is thought of as 'modern' and 'civilized' in the commercials, must be read in the socio-political context of present day Turkey. I argue that domestic tourism in Turkey presents a key element in understanding the debate about cultural identity in Turkey and that tourism and tourist marketing has to be considered as an important tool in cultural and identity politics.

Keywords: authenticity, romanticism, discourse of nationalism, identity politics

“Ideology has very little to do with 'consciousness'... It is profoundly unconscious...Ideology is indeed a system of representation, but in the majority of cases these representation have nothing to do with consciousness: they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'...they act functionally on men via a process that escapes them.”¹

“Welcome to Turkey”, “I dream of Turkey” or “Go with the rhythm” are slogans capping the tourist commercials produced by the Turkish government of tourism, introducing Turkey to the foreign as well as to the domestic spectator in Turkey: preceded by a sequence of landscapes, displaying a range of natural, unspoiled and mystic sights as well as Muslim and Christian architectural heritage, with at first a slow pace, heart beat like, then in time accelerating pace, the different scenes transgressing into each other by whirling dervishes,

¹ Dick Hebdige. 1993. “From Culture to Hegemony”. In: The Cultural Studies Reader. Simon During, ed. London: Routledge. P. 363

flowing mermaids, musicians, man and women in traditional Ottoman clothing. Commercials such as this, produced by the Turkish Ministry of Tourism, we see broadcast both abroad, on BBC World in Turkish airports as well as on Turkish television channels, especially those subsidized by the government and the Internet. People in Turkey are well aware of them.

Emphasizing the importance of media as a vital field of study to grasp the full import of the current changes, Douglas Kellner (1995) points out that any kind of media provides narratives, discourses and subject positions. Television would have even replaced the functions of myths and ritual, that is to say to integrate the individual into a certain social order, to suggest a certain world view and attempt to resolve political and social conflicts. Any myth, fantasy or fiction occurring in the visual text is, according to the Slovenian Sociologist and Philosopher Zizek, significant: fiction is “more than reality itself because it constitutes the latter”². That is to say consuming the visual text constitutes the consumption of a particular kind of “Weltanschauung” embedded into a specific political field whereas myths, signs on a second meta-level that gain in richer meaning, reveal people's hopes, dreams, needs, fears and cultural valuesⁱⁱ. This metamorphic ability of myth requires our awareness vis-à-vis the intriguing character of the visual text and how its explorative gaze tries to relate the spectator to place and landscape, i.e. an in depth analysis of images, signs and symbols which might enable one to a different reading of the visual text than its prior face value or the reading we expected in the first place (Howells, 2003 pp. 86-102).

Since in this case of Turkish tourist commercials, the clips have been financed by the government, the fact of financial subsidies from political side has to be integrated as a crucial factor into the process of analysis. How can this political support reflect itself in the narrative of the visual text? What ideational or political flavour accompanies the concept of flying through mystic landscapes which ironically have been bleeding from permanent clashes between Kurdish rebels and the Turkish military, whose mourned deaths and shed blood are now masked by images of a wild and natural, yet authentic and peaceful landscape? How can we translate, what Navaro-Yashin (2002) describes as a commodification of culture into a commercial trailerⁱⁱⁱ, translate into qualities and potential messages for audience consumption, especially since these commercials seem not only to target potential Turkish tourists, but a more general spectatorship?

² “The Pervert's Guide to Cinema”, Slavoj Cicek, 2006

As Hall (1980) points out, a message is subject to different de-codings which can and often is detached and independent from the original author's intention; that separation is seen in relation to the socio-political context in which the audience receives the message. Increasing possibilities of communication technologies, the visual text, in particular movies, have proved highly efficient transmission potential because of their instantaneous conveyance of emotional and ideational effects within the same moment (Selwyn, 1995; Knapp/Ashmore, 1999; Barthes, 1991) as well as the capability to reach an emotional depth and attain an unconscious reception by the spectator that is of pragmatic use in the new way of governing, that is to communicate ideological and socio-political messages in a more efficient way (Kellner, 1995). In the case of current commercial clips by the Turkish government, I argue, the visual text can be understood as an important and powerful messenger conveying a certain narrative seen in relation to its socio-political environment. We have to differentiate therefore between possible de-codings abroad and de-codings in the context of domestic politics.

Indeed, pictures reveal of a possibility of multiple de-codings. However, within the field of anthropology of tourism and in a time of a powerful inter-marriage of media and politics, the consideration of a connection between the political as well as the social agenda and tourist marketing has become imperative. Furthermore, within this circle of tourism and anthropology expertise and interest, accumulated knowledge can and should be applied to an anthropological analysis of the integration of political ideas into tourist strategies. Being subject to a number of post-colonial debates about Orientalism, this case study will further demonstrate exactly the relativity of meaning of Orientalism in the domestic context. This analytical reading of the visual text will hopefully lead to a consideration of how post-colonial paradigm reconstructions in tourism might miss local dynamics as well as meanings that are acute in relation to local fears and hopes (Howells, p.101).

The Oriental and its Limits in the Domestic Context

In order to argue for an insufficiency of internal oriental thought in the domestic context I will take a look at how features can be understood from a foreign perspective, followed by a re-interpretation of 'authenticity' and the 'romantic' of the visual text in the local context.

Essential and recurrent elements of the clips selected for this study are constituted by water and earth, architectural sights as well as Turks dressed in supposedly Ottoman style; let us not forget the seducing mermaid or the mysterious Ottoman knight of whom we can recognize

neither face nor eyes and who looks at us from above in order to then again ride and flow through mystic landscapes. One might indeed be inspired and attracted by this oriental fairy tale-like landscape: “It is so magic, so oriental you know”, a foreign spectator tells me. Possible oriental features appear throughout the clip: like the mysterious 'Other', wild and foreign, yet appealing and fascinating yet always domesticated by the conceptual frame that introduces and ends the clip - a familiar mother-child combination watching holiday prospects or the woman walking through the Istanbul underground. “Nature” and “civilization” blur for a moment in order to be banned again into their borders: a minute-long delirium of oscillation crossing the boundaries of the domesticated, controlled and “civilized” on the one hand and wild, spiritual and passionate on the other. The seductive smile of a female or the mysterious and powerful yet well-intentioned knight seem to display both the innate sexual fascination and desire of colonial fantasies – the physical unification between nature and body (Young, 1995). Those few people appearing in the clip seem therefore particularly close to nature, earth, sea and air and offer the 'Other' experience to those individuals whose pace is determined by an industrial and late capitalist rhythm. The spectator's body is taken into a bird's perspective, swirling into the dervish's trance to reach a truly spiritual state of mind^{lvvi} and is taken into what Barthes calls the “experience of mind” (1991). Ottoman costumes and historical buildings and sights give way to an atmosphere which belongs more to the past than the present: a country full of sedulous dreamy passion with luxurious and exotic excursions in the holiday package, all oriental fantasies inclusive?

Particularly from a 'Western' perspective, these images evoke, as argued by post-colonial critics, oriental and colonial fantasies that however still reflect long-held socio-psychological conflicts related to alienation process of enlightenment and industrialization within West Europe (Young, 1995; MacKenzie, 1995 pp. 67; Richon, 1996). In the domestic realm of Turkey however, it is neither the “Orientalist imaginary, nor ‘cultural mosaic’ of advertising parlance” (Öncü p.2) that will help us to understand the visual text. When it comes to understanding of local dynamics and domestic interpretation, as Fuat Keymen and Ahmet İçduygu (2005) emphasize, Turkey presents a specific case study in so far as colonial or social class theories become finitely applicable: the country has neither experienced colonialism nor had its national independence been achieved through the work of a social class. The acceptance of Western modernity with regard to the creation of an independent nation-state, the fostering of industrialization and the construction of a secular and modern national identity can be rather understood as a response to the increasing competition in a world

working by the entity of the nation state and a war against Western imperialism and its dominance (Keyman, 2000 pp. 71). The cultural model of integrating Western philosophical or moral ideas and its subsequent conflicts^{vi} followed the pragmatic model only after a significant time span during which the Ottoman State had strived to modernize Ottoman economy according to its European competitors (Akman, 2004). So according to the kind of social subjectivity we encounter here, the signs displayed in the visual text are about to gain a different or additional meaning in the domestic context (Golomb, 1995 p.212). To sum up, a reproduction of oriental paradigms does not necessarily work for an endemic understanding of Turkey. Again, this does not say that Orientalism does not play a role in the Turkish context^{vii}, nor is it to deny the degree of disparity: in particular between the economically well developed West versus the economically less or non-involved East, the latter suffering from decades of violent clashes between member of the Kurdish Party PKK and the Turkish Military. However, Turkey does not offer a simplistic dichotomy such as rich-poor, economic-cultural, let alone a clear East-West divide (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Instead we can observe an intermingling of all kinds of economic, intellectual, political and social landscapes with each other in a literal as well as transcendental sense (Richon, 1996). So if we are to dismiss post-colonial approaches, how can we then understand the representation of landscape, authenticity and romanticism in this context?

The Discourse of Nature, Authenticity and Romanticism

Nature as landscape first of all implies domestication in the sense that it is a result of the combination of several places. This combination is further subject to an ongoing process of cultural, social as well as political negotiation and presents a material manifestation of the relations between humans and the environment (Van Dommelen, 1999). The specific conceptualization of landscapes determines therefore the spectator's orientation, provides moral messages and indicates ideological genealogies whereas a visual presentation of landscapes serves exactly to transfer ideas enhanced by the emotional content (Selwyn, 1995; Knapp, Ashmore, 1999; Barthes, 1991): the visual language of the messages 'says the product', the ideational language however tells something else (Barthes, 1988 p.178). In this case of tourist commercials, landscape speaks of originality, authenticity, romanticism and melancholy. However, we have must de-construct these terms as well as the socio-political environment in order to read their potential ideational content: visual images present an

“interlocking set of histories...an interchange of discourse and practices” (Green/ Mort, 1996: 227-232).

Authenticities and a melancholic romanticism represent key issues in these images. The concept of authenticity is closely bound to society, i.e. the authenticity arises out of the social context and its respective social and symbolic operations. Furthermore, authenticity intends to express a certain core of one's personality and the possibility to be and assert oneself (Golomb, 1995). According to Adorno, authenticity signifies also the identity that does not seek for recognition, but for agency to articulate oneself self-confident and self-conscious. It is the sovereignty to know oneself as well as the emancipation from the Western promise and failure of individuation. This background gives way to the idea of an emancipative cultural authenticity that emphasizes ties to the community ignored by the disengaging discourses of economic development (Ferrara, 1998 p.8). Authenticity hence presents the quest and desire of a return to nature or what is thought as a natural and original way of being, due to a feeling of imposed displacement.

It is the period of German romanticism during which the concept of authenticity emerged initially. Authenticity expresses a common or communitarian concern and therefore needs to be embraced by a certain group of people who have to desire authenticity in the first place (Taylor, 1992 pp.8). As Marshall Bermann (1983) describes the moment of modernity as a multitude of fragments it has become common sense to speak in modernity of a general multiplication and fragmentation of interest groups (Öncü). Thus we find in Turkey for example different kinds of 'Turkish authenticity' such as secularist and Islamist nationalists who claim their national version as primordial and create a genealogy of nature, religion and politics (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). The consumption commodified 'authentic' items such as the veil offers identification with the values implied by the product. The question arising is, therefore, to what desire does the commodified authenticity in tourist marketing respond and what identity does this authenticity offer? How can people identify with the rhetoric of this visual text? What seems to be at stake and is articulated by the romantic and melancholic, ambivalent way of representation? Since “[s]ilence speaks in the luminous metaphors of culture”³, what are the issues not appearing explicitly for any Turkish observer implicitly and

³ Homi K. Bhabha. 1991. “A Question of Survival: Nations and Psychic States”. In: Psychoanalysis and Cultural Theory: Thresholds. James Donald (ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press: p.97

what does it tell about the message then? How does this mode of communication through the tourist commercial and the issues masked, enables us to see what usually seems to separate people in Turkey or create social and political fractures?

The Socio-Political Framework in Turkey

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was preceded and followed by an enormous effort in social engineering. Since the Ottoman state had neither disposed of a nationalist ideology nor a fixed territory to ground a possible identification, the elites creating the new Turkish Republic saw their task in introducing a strong state as well as the model of an organic vision of society (Keyman/Içduygu, 2005) that stipulated the indivisibility of the Turkish state and its national territory (Kadıoğlu, 2000: pp. 62). With regard to the idea of national territory and nationhood it is insightful to remember, as Tanıl Bora (2007) points out, that the term of “citizen” in Turkish (“*vatandaş*”), signifies in its original pre-political meaning “bound to earth”. The territory in Turkish national ideas seems in so far also imperative, since nationalism and the idea of a nation followed only the constitution of the Turkish republic and the determination of its territorial boundaries whereas in other cases such as Germany, France national ideas and a sense of national belonging preceded the constitution of a territorially determined state.

The term citizen, “*politis*” in Greek, concentrates particularly on the individual rights and obligations that connect the state with its people (Kishlansky/Geary/O'Brien, 2006), whereas territory and lands play a minor role. While during the Ottoman Period territorial consciousness could not, due to its nature as an Empire, be bound to determined territories, the administrative structure kept the empire in smaller entities such as villages or provinces among which circulation was difficult (Özkan, 2002/ Ahmad, 2003). With the creation of the Turkish Nation State, however the so-called ‘Anatolianism’ became a significant element in the process of nation-building which meant the connection of the remaining territories from the former empire to the nation (Özkan, 2002). Along with this and in opposition to Ottoman times, when territory and land belonged solely to the sultan, the context of modern Turkish citizenship, “*vatandaş*” means the connection and inseparability from the Turkish “*toprak*”, Turkish homelands, determined by its national borders. Facing increasing competition with other national forces, territory became crucial to conquest in opposition to a focus on defence during the Ottoman Empire which would eventually inspire and intrigue the geo-political strategies of the Turkish State (p.83-90). The rural part of Turkey actually gained significantly

in interest by the political centre which “kept it under close observation”⁴. Kemalist historians such as Remzi Oğuz Arık or Nurettin Topçu hold eulogies of a formerly rotten land now transformed into a sacred motherland (“anavatan”). What can be witnessed in the two decades following the foundation of the Republic is the intentional transformation of Turkish ground from space “to be open and free [...] to be exposed and vulnerable” into place, “enclosed and humanized space”⁵, a discourse that conquers and determines the virgin space and turns it into national landscape. Historiography and geography of the Turkish Republic turned out to make place the fetish of an “invisible existence of the nation”⁶. The inseparable Turkish geography symbolized a unified seed and soil creating its men, the “*vatandaş*”, who would have to protect and fight for the continuity of his homelands. National identity became an equally overarching cultural meta-identity, bound to land and due to its homogenous character a universal idea (Keyman, 2005). Ziya Gökalp, one of the most prominent philosophical founders of Turkish nationalism was particularly inspired by the 18th century thinkers of European enlightenment as well as the 19th century German Romantic concept a transcendental identification of society with its nation: instead of an individual consciousness and privileges the Turkish citizen was to turn the national ideals into his prior achievements (Kadioğlu, 1998 pp.183). This process lead Turkish nationalism, according to Seufert (2000), to oppose any language of difference and deviance which in fact has actually always accompanied Kemalism and fragilized civil society in Turkey. Examples range from ethnic minorities that had enjoyed a privileged status and recognition, even support of their separate identities and communities such as Germans, Greeks et cetera to maybe one of the most striking examples of social fragmentation: the Turkish military and the ongoing conflict between it and the Kurdish rebels, a conflict particularly severe in the 1980s but still of high conflict potential today. Serving the Turkish nation state as a soldier and defending the reason of the Turkish Republic have become the major practices of identity construction in the lives of young Turkish males, signalling a passage to both citizenship and manhood. At the same time, as former soldier's accounts illustrate, the process of gaining manhood and citizenship seems to be of different degrees of difficulty for varying social classes: those soldiers from a

⁴ Şerif Mardin..... In: Ayşe Kadioğlu. 2000. “Democratic Citizenship”. Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Gül Tokay (eds), Redefining the Nation, State, and Citizen . Istanbul: Marmara University Research Center for International Relations: p.69

⁵ Yi-Fu Tuan. 1977. “Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience”. London: Edward Arnold Ltd. In: Hande Özkan. 2002. The History of Geographical Perceptions in the Turkish Republic: A Spatial Interpretation of the Republican Regime during the Single-Party Era. Boğazıcı University (MA Thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History): p.53

⁶ Meltem Ahıska. 2001. „Istanbul Üzerinden Ankara“. Istanbul. 36. In: Hande Özkan. 2002. ibid.: p.30

peasant background experienced the most traumatic situations and are afterwards left alone with their psychological troubles (Altınay, 1999)^{viii}. To cut it short, geography and territory have been key elements in the constitutive character of official Turkish national identity: the land the Turkish citizen should feel obliged to in a personal manner, of which the defense is prior to any private needs. This emphasis of a territorial unity has always been accompanied by a severe struggle within Turkey, to silence any voices that could present a menace to the inseparability of Turkish territory which is crucial for Turkish identity.

Apart from resistance arising out of socio-cultural or political identification discrepancies with the public and official national discourse, two other main sources seem to have enhanced civil fragility on a level less identifiable with specific regions: (a) the fact that the foundation of the nation state and its ideology was a project undertaken by intellectuals whose discourse was determined by the dilemma of a choice between imitation of the Western civilization and Turkish culture and identity and (b) that the reforms, introduced by Mustafa Kemal alienated the population from their most recent past. Feroz Ahmad (2003) describes the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet as a dramatic and symbolic one; within a short period of time, even literate people were deprived of access to their past. Overnight the entire Turkish nation was made illiterate while history and school books were re-written, glorifying a primordiality, sovereignty and superiority of the Turkish nation - a new world order to be introduced from early childhood onwards.

This imperial condition of a unified Turkish Republic as well as the concept of the Turkish citizen, personally connected with and compelled to protect and defend Turkish territory against any person questioning the integrity of the Turkish Nation State, are key issues to understand political legitimization the scope of cultural identities tolerated by the government until today. Political and social fragmentation have intensified however, particularly after the 1980ies and 1990ies with the shift to export economy, and has begun to pose a serious challenge to the legitimization of the state while the latter has clung further to the concept of a single and homogenous Turkish national identity of the citizen and the state's priority to individual desires: Turkish civil society became, for example directly involved in the contest between the secular and more religious-conservative camps followed by a joint press release of several unions calling upon the action against "religious reactionism" in order to protect "Turkey from the most serious problem the country as ever faced during the history of the Republic", to "honour the memory of Atatürk", the founder of the Turkish republic and to

stay close to “the Turkish nation” and its “sacred flag” (Seufert, 200: p.35). These enforcing and strengthening measures of Kemalist State policy however have continually been facing increasingly powerful opponents. With the economic reforms, these opponents grew in multiplied form particularly out of those camps that had also been able to profit from the developments of capitalism and liberal market economy that provided them with more pressure potential to exert influence in politics. These different actors enlarging the political spectrum however frequently pursued a rhetoric just as exclusive as that of their predecessors - just with a different agenda as, for example, religious communities. The opportunity to give their products a political identity enabled entrepreneurs to turn their political and social agendas into consumable ones (Yael Navaro-Yashin, 2002) whereas this “positive nationalism”, positive in the sense that it presents an idealized image of how the nation should imagine itself, turns certain consumption goods into ideological identity providers (Özkan, 2005). Political fragmentation has frequently reached state level while military interventions in the form of coup d’etats in 1960 and 1980 as well as pressure from military on political parties to resign in 1971 and 1997 have repeatedly forced state policy back to Kemalist principles of laicism, often for the disadvantage of the more conservative and religious wing. The debates around the support of the religious Imam-Hatip schools by the present day Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's Justice Party as well as concerns that the next president could lapse into religious fundamentalism³ can be seen as a continuation of this conflict potential growing out of Turkey's strong state tradition. Fragmentation and political multiplicity have reached the level of state affairs which however is controlled by the military not to lapse into a too conservative direction. Nevertheless, what has not experienced an enlargement is the scope within which identity could sway away from citizenship and allow more flexibility in identity concerns (Keyman, 2005). Turkey seems trapped in its nationalist concept, unable to escape its ideological heritage and ideological guardians yet unable to face the consequences of the growing call for cultural or communal rights of diverse groups one the one hand and a more individual concept of the citizen and his rights on the other (David Mc Dowell, 2000).

To summarize briefly, cultural identity in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic, finds itself under the tension of the official national identity which does not allow any individual deviation and voices of dissatisfaction by groups or individuals who feel unrecognized and suppressed increase in their volume and insistence. In order to bridge particularly political disparities and to guarantee ideological loyalty, geographical control, the turning of space into

place and the emphasis on “vatan”, Turkish homelands that the Turkish citizen should feel personally obliged to, have been crucial in masking the legitimacy crisis of the Turkish republic.

A Reading of the Authentic and Romantic in Turkey

The construction and combination of landscapes is now to be embedded into the socio-political discourse described above. The romantic and melancholic imagery of nature and places, landscapes marked by the presence of historically dressed people, set in the past and creating a distance to them, under the absence of the regular “vatandaş” and therefore the masking of socio-political fragmentations, seem to facilitate subsequently the personal identification process. While lands speak the language of “vatandaşlık” the visual effect of taking the body of the audience virtually through the flow of transgressing images, conveys the idea of bonding any and even most distanced corners in Turkey together to the “vatan”, the motherland. The body, as the materialization of the mind (Foucault, 1978) is literally taken to this harmonious voyage to selected places in geography and mind. With the “Tabula Rasa” of a ground soaked with the blood of loss and the innocent virgin-like approach to these as well as other places, marked by the absence of individual local citizens, the visual text shapes and determines this “re-discovery”, a rewriting and re-conceptualizing of pieces of landscapes located by the visual text in the past (Stein, 2002) and simultaneous mitigation of the violent potential triggered in state rhetoric by the separatist potential of Kurdish rebels. The landscapes of military clashes, individual claims and critique are reshaped into a natural, primordial bond well beyond worldly discrepancies. The audience is taken to conquest mentally the whole of Turkey's territory – whereas, just as the idea of the citizen's duty vis-à-vis the Turkish republic, the bond between citizen and land are prior to inter-citizen relationships. Contemporary insecurities and fear of further economical and political ruptures contrast with territorial unity, power and strength displayed by nature and landscape.

Romanticism and melancholy however are not limited to the ideal of Nationhood, but – as in the footsteps of the German model during the 19th century, can signify a reaction to the omnipresent and all-permeating rationality. Melancholy, according to Freud in his essay “Mourning and Melancholy” from 1916, is defined by the fact that the melancholic individual has experienced a loss of his Ego, without consciously knowing what exactly has vanished. This however signifies already a previous problematic relation with oneself in so far that something has been integrated into one's Ego that initially was external and often posed a

threat or an inconvenience. The loss is therefore ambiguous as one cannot be sure of the value and place of the feature that is being lost. As noted within the context of the foundation of the Turkish Republic as a strong state with defined borders and ideologies, the founders of the Turkish Republic expressed a clear cut with the Ottoman Past: an Empire that had been occupied by foreigners, weakened by Ottoman State affairs and the lack of competition with the surrounding nation states. National identity has been based on the denial of the Ottoman past. Anything in relation with the Ottoman Empire has therefore so far been rejected by national rhetoric of identity. Ironically the Ottoman Empire has also been a source of pride: the Great Empire, the imperial legacy and one of the few regions in this world that has never been colonized. The emergence, thus, as those Ottoman people appear in these commercials is hence remarkable in so far as the loss of Ottoman identity and its strict denial has become constitutive of the subject formation of Turkish society. The subject or subjects in the sense of any individual has been affected by the loss of integrity of self-hood. It is not so much the question of a 'true' nature of the Ottoman Empire, because during his last 100 years it not only shrunk enormously, but also enhanced technologies and economic reforms. Instead it is the dilemma of on the one hand internalizing its past, on the other hand being obliged to reject the very foundation and forefathers of one's identity and culture, that renders the paradox particularly sublime and less possible to subject to a clear separation and deconstruction of the melancholy. The melancholy and national landscape find themselves intertwined, while at same time further disparities and discrepancies within Turkey have been reduced to invisibility.

As Ziya Gökalp turned to the romantic ideal of German Nationalism, to articulate one's innermost core, to emphasize the individual origin and genealogy (Ferrara, 1998), this inclusion of, even though selective, elements from the Ottoman Past hints towards a more complex turn that national rhetoric seems to take: a more inclusive and embracing rhetoric, allowing its Ottoman past to emerge with the exclusion of ethnic individuality.

However, the language of authenticity, romanticism and melancholy of the visual text conveys more than just the paradox of national identity and nationhood: the text also voices the intention of a national autonomy as well as a call for an empowered and emancipated self-understanding and consciousness. Modernity, Meltem Ahıska (2003) argues, is multiple and has no more a governing centre. The urgency and real issue arising is therefore a restraint from a sole pace, hitherto determined by Western Europe. Positioned between the East and

West by the subjection of European and North American Imperialist Discourse tradition, Ahiska underlines that within this struggle for recognition by particularly the West, Turkey has lost substantial energies that otherwise could have been invested into a confrontation with frozen identities and problems. Civil population, tired of trying to catch the train to Western civilization, would display frustration vis-à-vis the ambition to be 'modern' which would materialize in severe occidental attitudes. Therefore it would be time that Turkey reaches out for the emergency brake in the “train for civilization” and sets its own pace: Benjamin Walter comments about Marx' idea of “locomotives of world history” that revolutions might be the emergency break on this train of humanity. “Go with the rhythm”, the commercial speaks. What we see instead is neither the rhythm of the East nor the West, but landscapes, past and present first slowly appear like heart beats, then in an accelerating pace, achieve their own pace, twirling around each other culminating in an emancipated and self-confident moment of empowerment.

The ongoing discourse within Turkey deals with economic disparities and definitely also oriental elements. The discourse however in which these elements are embedded into, changes the meaning and significance of the same oriental features, albeit unconsciously, when introducing domestic socio-political structures. Ideology thrives outside consciousness. Yet, once the significance of the visual text has been understood, the question then is who does this message reach? Marx and Engels write about ruling ideas as “nothing more than ideal expression of the dominant material relation ship grasped as ideas; hence the relationships which make the one class the ruling class, therefore the ideas of its dominance”(Hebdige, 1993 p. 365). Is it at the end a national identity of new consciousness by the elite for the elite? Considering the strong state tradition top-to-bottom procedure of democratization and secularization in Turkey, elite concepts would not necessarily deny its successful dissemination. However, as noted in the beginning, these commercials are broadcast not only via the Internet, but also on public television, as well as more religious conservative channels which supports the idea of a more general diffusion of these images and their message. The next step to be taken would be then, how national imagination is shaped and changed in narrative and self-understanding of civil population in Turkey, their understanding of nature and landscape as well as the degree to which state rhetoric proves to be efficient and fruitful.

ⁱ Visual representations available under <http://www.kultur.gov.tr> due to frequent downloading protraction also available simply under: http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=turkey+tourism+

ⁱⁱ See Roland Barthes. 2000. Mythologies. Selected and translated from the French by Annette Lavers. London: Vintage

ⁱⁱⁱ In his article “The Market for Identities: Secularism, Islamism, Commodities” Yael Navaro-Yashin describes how political ideas are commodified into consumption patterns. Products such as the veil or figures of Atatürk would sell 'Turkish authenticity'. Identities, he argues, would be expressed by the consumption of specific goods.

^{iv} Derwish: members of a mystic religious order who attempt to reach in a process of accelerating swirling the highest spiritual level, which is reached when they fall into unconsciousness

^{vi} An interesting genre is for example the 'car novels' in Turkey from around the end of the 19th, beginning of 20th century, including among others figure of Bihruz Bey who strives to be 'Western' but instead just gives a seemingly ridiculous superficial imitation of what he perceives as 'Western'. For more information see Jale Parla. 2003. “Car Narratives: A Subgenre in Turkish Novel Writing”. In South Atlantic Quarterly 102(2-3): 535-550

^{vii} see for example the following articles for the debate about the intricateness of Orientalist features within Turkish national in particular Kemalist political strategies:
Hasan Bülent Kahraman. 2002. “İçselleştirilmiş, Açık ve Gizli Oryantalizm ve Kemalizm”In: Doğu-Batı, 20: 153-178.

Hasan Bülent Kahraman / Fuat Keyman. 1998 “Kemalizm, Oryantalizm ve Modernite” In: Doğu-Batı. 2: 63-75

^{viii} Nadire Mater's book “Mehmedin Kitabı: Güneydoğu'da Savaşmış Askerler anlatıyor (Mehmet's book: Soliders Who Have Fought in the East Speak Out) deals with the traumatic memories of soldiers and their life after the military and includes all kinds of statements from opposing the PKK and Kurds in general until a rather understanding and sympathetic attitude. The Book however got banned by the local court in Istanbul in 1999 and the author as well as the publisher had to face trial for 'insulting and belittling the military'.

Bibliography

Meltem Ahıska. (2003). “Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern”. In: Relocating the Fault Lines. Durham, N.C. : London : Duke University Press

Feroz Ahmad. (2003). Turkey: The Quest for Identity. Oxford: OneWorld Publications

Ayhan Akman. (2004). "Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey" In: Nationalities Papers, 32 (1): 23-52

Ayşe Gül Altınay. (1999). “Mehmed’in Kitabı: Challenging Narratives of War and Nationalism. In: New Perspectives on Turkey. Fall 21: 125-145

Roland Barthes

(2000). Mythologies. Selected and translated from the French by Annette Lavers. London: Vintage

(1991). The responsibility of forms: critical essays on music, art, and representation. Richard Howard (Trl) Berkeley: University of California Press

(1988). The Semiotic Challenge. Richard Howard (Trl). New York : Universty of California Press

Marshall Berman. (1983). All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity. London: Verso

Homi K. Bhabha. (1991). "A Question of Survival: Nations and Psychic States". In: Psychoanalysis and Cultural Theory: Thresholds. James Donald (ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press

Tanıl Bora. (2007). "Milliyetçiliğin vatani neresi?" In: Birikim. 213: 26-36

Alessandro Ferrara. (1998). Reflective authenticity : rethinking the project of modernity. London ; New York : Routledge, 1998.

Michel Foucault. (1978). History of Sexuality. New York: Vintage Books

Jacob Golomb. (1995). In search of authenticity: From Kierkegaard to Camus. London ; New York : Routledge

Nicholas Green/Frank Mort. (1996). "Visual Representation and Cultural Politics". In: The Block Reader in Visual Culture. London: Routledge

Stuart Hall. (1980). "Encoding/Decoding". In: Culture, Media, Language. Stuart Hall/Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, Paul Willis (eds.). London: Routledge

Dick Hebdige. (1993). "From Culture to Hegemony". In: The Cultural Studies Reader. Simon During, ed. London: Routledge

Richard Howells. (2003). Visual Culture. Cambridge, UK : Polity ; Malden, MA : Blackwell Publishers

Ayşe Kadioğlu. (2000). "Democratic Citizenship". In: Redefining the Nation, State, and Citizen. Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Gül Tokay (eds). Istanbul: Marmara University Research Center for International Relations:pp. 59-69.

Ayşe Kadioğlu. (1998). "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity". In: Turkey: Identity Democracy and Politics. Sylvia Kedourie (ed.). London ; Portland, Or. : Frank Cass

Hasan Bülent Kahraman. (2002). “İçselleştirilmiş, Açık ve Gizli Oryantalizm ve Kemalizm”In: Doğu-Batı, 20: 153-178.

Hasan Bülent Kahraman / Fuat Keyman. (1998). “Kemalizm, Oryantalizm ve Modernite” In: Doğu-Batı. 2: 63-75

Douglas Kellner. (1995). Media culture : cultural studies, identity, and politics between the modern and the postmodern. London ; New York : Routledge

Fuat Keyman and Ahmed İcduygu (eds.). (2005). “Introduction: Citizenship, Identity and the Question of Democracy in Turkey” in Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences, Routledge, London: 1- 27

Fuat Keyman. (2000). “Global Modernity, Identity and Democracy: The Case of Turkey. In: Redefining the Nation, State, and Citizen. Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Gül Tokay (eds). Istanbul: Marmara University Research Center for International Relations

Mark Kishlansky, Patrick Geary, Patricia O'Brien. (2006). Civilization in the West. New York: Pearson Longman

David McDowell. (2000). “The Future of Minorities and Ethnic Conflict in the Middle East”. In: Redefining the Nation, State, and Citizen. Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Gül Tokay (eds). Istanbul: Marmara University Research Center for International Relations

Bernard Knapp/Wendy Ashmore. (1999). “Archeological Landscapes: Constructed, Conceptualized, Ideational”. In: Archeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives. Malden, Mass. : Blackwell Publishers

John M. MacKenzie. (1995). Orientalism : history, theory and the arts. Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press

Nadire Mater. (1999). Mehmedin Kitabı: Güneydoğu'da Savaşmış Askerler Anlatıyor. Istanbul: Metis Yayınları

Yael Navaro-Yashin. (2002). “The Market for Identities: Secularism, Islamism, Commodities”. In: Fragments of Culture : The Everyday of Modern Turkey. Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber (edts.). London ; New York: I.B. Tauris

Ayşe Öncü. (2007 forthcoming). “Between Silence and Recognition: Popular Constructions of the 'East' and. 'Eastern People' in Contemporary Turkey”. In: Social Text

Derya Özkan. (2005). “Consumer Citizenship, Nationalism, and Neoliberal Globalization in Turkey: The Advertising Launch of Cola Turka”. Advertising & Society Review. 6 (3)

Hande Özkan. (2002). The History of Geographical Perceptions in the Turkish Republic: A Spatial Interpretation of the Republican Regime during the Single-Party Era. Boğaziçi University (MA Thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History)

Jale Parla. (2003). “Car Narratives: A Subgenre in Turkish Novel Writing”. In South Atlantic Quarterly 102(2-3): 535-550

Olivier Richon. (1996). "Representation, the Harem and the Despot" In: *The Block Reader in Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, 1996

Tom Selwyn. (1995). *Landscapes of Liberation and Imprisonment: Towards an Anthropology of the Israeli Landscape*. In: *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Eric Hirsch & Michael O'Hanlon (eds.). Oxford : Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press

Günther Seufert. (2000). "The Impact of Nationalist Discourses on Civil Society". In: *Civil society in the grip of nationalism : studies on political culture in contemporary Turkey*. Stefanos Yerasimos, Günter Seufert, Karin Vorhoff (ed.). Istanbul: Ergon

Rebecca Stein. (2002). "First Contact and Other Israeli Fictions: Tourism, Globalization and the Middle East Peace Process". In: *Public Culture*. 14(3): 545-556

Charles Taylor. (1992). *The Ethnics of Authenticity*. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press

Peter Van Dommelen. (1999). "Exploring Everyday Places and Cosmologies". In: *Archeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*. Malden, Mass. : Blackwell Publishers

Robert J.C.Young. (1995). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London&New York