

Public Service Announcement for “Public Interest”?

G. Senem Gençtürk Hızal, Başkent University, Turkey

The European Conference on Media, Communication and Film 2015
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

The public service announcement or advertising (PSA) is conceptualized as “public spot” in Turkey. The term is used for short films or announcements which are produced on behalf of governmental or non-governmental organizations. The aim of the PSA is to inform or educate citizens about the subject on public interest. Turkey has witnessed the phenomena of PSA -especially the government’s PSAs- during the 1980’s. However, Turkey’s first regulation about PSA was in Turkish Broadcasting Law No: 6112 in 2011. According to the law, PSA approved by Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Court (RTÜK) has to be broadcasted free of charge in the media. Then, RTÜK approved “Public Spot Directive” in 2012. Meanwhile, some ministries started to have the privilege of publishing PSA’s. In 2013, RTÜK approved a new regulation again that banned politicians –except the prime minister and the president- from appearing in PSAs. PSA has become a very controversial genre within this context. Accordingly, the aim of the study is to analyse PSA as invisible and hidden mechanisms of power dynamics in the political agenda of Turkey via discourse analysis, since before and during the local and presidential elections in 2014, PSA has been implemented remarkably competent for the sake of the government party. The study takes its lead from the process of legal regulations, discussions in political sphere and media within the intersections of the government’s PSA practices.

Keywords: public spots, public service advertising, Turkey

iafor

The International Academic Forum

www.iafor.org

Introduction

The public service announcement or advertising (PSA) is conceptualized as “public spot” in Turkey. The term is used to refer to short films or announcements which are produced in the name of governmental or non-governmental organizations. The aim of the PSA is to inform or educate citizens about subjects of public interest. In brief review of the literature, public service advertising has been a remarkable subject in different point of views, but mostly being handled within the context of positivist perspective.

PSA has become a very controversial genre for the last couple of years. Especially before and during the local and presidential elections in 2014, PSA has been discussed and still being discussed in media. In this paper, the media and public spots will be scrutinized by the help of the Althusserian concept of ideological state apparatuses which refers to the idea that ideology is circulated, reproduced and naturalized via media text.

In that respect, aim of this study is to analyse public service announcements as an ideological apparatus in Turkey with the aid of discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk (2001, p. 352), critical discourse analysis is “a type of analytical discourse research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and speech in the social and political context”. The study takes its lead from the process of legal regulations, discussions in political sphere and media and undoubtedly government PSA practices.

(Re)Thinking on public and Public Service Advertising

The term “public” has two meanings almost in every language all around the world. As the synonym of people, the public is defined as “connected with ordinary people in society in general”, the synonym of government is stated as “connected with the government and the services it provides” according to the Oxford Dictionaries¹. Habermas (1989, p. 1) considered the term as the opposite of private: “We call events and occasions ‘public’ when they are open to all, in contrast to closed or exclusive affairs”. The term “public” in Turkey has always been discussed and mostly signified synonym of the “state” or “government”. This is for two reasons. The first reason can be said to be that mostly concepts which start with public is linked to the government or state such as public administration, public policy, public schools etc. The second one is, understanding of governance, from the beginning of the Turkish Republic, can be stated as “citizens for government”. Thus, the regime always constructs “acceptable citizens” via ideological apparatus.

Under this circumstance, it is possible to re-define public service advertising as “government advertising” especially when these spots are used and regulated by the government to “inform and educate citizens about the subject on public interest”. In PSA’s, the advertiser is public, meaning the government the aim of which is to inform or educate the target audience. At the same time the target audience, which refers to the people or citizens, is itself the public.

¹ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/learner/public>

The public service announcements or public service ads are non-commercial messages for the public interest the objectives of which are raising awareness for a problem, informing, educating, and changing public opinion towards a social issue. The main characteristic of these messages is the way they are disseminated by the media without charge. PSAs can be considered as *an advertising genre* which is used by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. PSAs are usually known as public information films in the UK. Similarly, PSAs often appear as short films on Turkish televisions and are generally referred to as “public spot” in Turkey. Television is considered to be the most effective medium for delivering PSAs because of its geographical and demographical reach (Van Dijk, 1999) and its dual audio and visual impact (Wong, 2006). Besides the traditional media, this motion videos are observed to get into circulation through the internet on social media devices such as YouTube and Facebook, via new communication technologies.

Announcement can be considered one of the first meanings of advertising and PSA is also a genre of (non) commercial advertising! Advertising derives from the Latin words “*adverto* and *advertere*”; “it has the root sense of *turning to something*” (Barnard, 2002, p. 27). Target audiences direct their attention to various social issues with the help of PSAs, such as pollution control, environmental protection (water problem, climate change, animal rights, etc.), crime prevention, seatbelt use, drug abuse, drinking and driving, child abuse, obesity, gambling, education, smoking, etc. Undoubtedly, the weighty issues vary country to country, depending on incidence and prevalence of the problems.

Public Service Advertising in Turkey as an ideological apparatus

It can be said that Turkey became acquainted with PSA with a similar content to, despite not being denominated as such in the 1980s. Being The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), which has been the national public broadcaster of Turkey since 1964's, produced and broadcasted educational and informative films in these years. Being the natural monopoly, TRT broadcasted many films in this kind in the sense of public interest. These can be considered as *archetypal* PSAs from a contemporary point of view. The first prominent instance on this context is the campaign, memorable with the catchphrase “A Sales Slip for Each Purchase”, that narrates about the value added tax which was introduced into Turkish economy in 1985. This campaign can be understood as a campaign which canonised the reorganization period of Turkey with neoliberal policies in the 1980s, and the law-abiding citizen who pays and receives her taxes, and is expected to accommodate herself to those liberal economic policies. “Let's the Kids Get Vaccinated” campaign, which resembles the abovementioned tax campaign with its humorous tone and script, was also prepared towards raising a healthy (consumer) generation. Kibar (2013) remarks that the PSA called “I am working for Turkey, I am producing for Turkey, there is no other Turkey” in 1990s particularly became prominent as an output of the political and economic depressions experienced back in those years. The text includes messages towards persuading the citizens to work harder and earn more for the country 'sake. In this conjuncture in which the efforts to articulate to what was global grew denser in the country, it can be stated that the campaign was launched in order to sooth the restlessness of the society by means of producing more in order to consume more.

One of the consequences of the neoliberal policies of privatization was the restructuring of the media. 1990s witnessed the introduction of non-media capital into the media sector and the ending of the state monopoly of broadcasting. This period was strikingly characterized by the beginning of capital accumulation in the media and the emergence of an oligopolistic market in which certain conglomerations came to dominate the market. As a part of reregulation, Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) was established as a regulatory authority of the new oligopolistic media market in 1994 for monitoring, regulating, and sanctioning radio and television broadcast. Advertisement revenues, without any doubt, were considerably important for the media which was reorganized in this vein. The obligation to broadcast the PSAs without charge and their nature of interrupting the media's entertaining content caused the media to broadcast them as off prime time coverage after midnight.

Positioning itself as "conservative and democratic", The Justice and Development Party (AKP), the political and ideological practices and discourse of which found itself legitimate grounds with neoliberal globalization and European Union harmonization references, came into power in 2002 and remained in power as the single party until quite recently. Particularly after its third term in power, AKP regulated the format and the content of the PSAs and employed them as an apparatus of reproducing its ideology, by favour of RTÜK whose majority of members AKP held.

Turkey's first regulation about public spots was in Turkish Broadcasting Law No: 6112 in 2011. According to the 10/5 law, PSA has to be suggested and approved/accredited by RTÜK and published free of charge in the media, provided they should be broadcasted aside from the commercials. In his statement on May 1st, 2012, RTÜK Chairman Prof. Dr. Davut Dursun stated that "the public institutions have discovered public spots as an efficient way of informing the society about activities, campaigns and certain warnings of public institutions" and added "recently, we've been receiving applications for more public spot suggestions particularly from the ministries, general directorates and certain public institutions"². A few months after this statement, RTÜK approved "Public Spots Directive" on August 8th, 2012. This regulation was claimed to be necessary by the institution which made the regulation for the reason that there had been 236 public spot applications from various institutions and organizations as of the date the previous law came into force, and therefore the evaluation process had been very dense.

According to the Public Spots Directive, Article 3(c), public spots are defined as "films, audios and banners of an informative and educational quality which are prepared by public institutions and organizations, and non-governmental organizations such as associations and foundations, and as being deemed to be of public interest, they should be approved by the Supreme Council". In the new directive, it is stated that the subjects of the public spots should be "related to events and progresses which concern the society and are of public interest to be broadcasted". The new directive also limits PSAs durations, as 45 seconds for films and audios, 10 seconds for banners. It also indicates that applications which are broadcasted during commercials and which have advertising budgets cannot be

² Retrieved from <http://www.bik.gov.tr/rtuk-baskani-prof-dr-davut-dursun-kamu-spotu-haberi-1981/>

considered as public spots, and that public spots cannot be used for commercial communication.

According to the “Civil Society Monitoring Report” prepared by Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (2013: 43- 44), RTÜK received a total of 183 public spot applications in 2012, from central public institution units, local government units, intergovernmental institutions, two city councils, civil society organisations, professional organizations, unions and a company. The report reflected that 56 of the 78 public spot applications from associations and foundations while 72 of the 83 public spot applications from public institutions were approved. The report criticized the Supreme Council not having clearly identified the criteria upon which its selection would be based and stressed the importance of the transparency of the process so that more CSOs have the opportunity to broadcast their messages.

Public spots are an important means to make themselves visible and express themselves for the civil society organizations which are essential for a democratic, participatory structure, work on a voluntary basis and without any profit motives and describe their mission as to promote the social benefits of the society. One of the columnists of the *Hürriyet* Newspaper, Yalçın Doğan (2012), indicates that “there are not enough opportunities remaining for civil society organizations on public spots inasmuch as the government uses them excessively”. From my stand point the question whether the opportunity remains should be reformulated as the question whether the opportunity was given in the first place. Yet, the RTÜK which is the only granted authority that approves public spots consists of nine members elected by Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the basis of the number of chairs in the Parliament. Five members should be from the ruling party’s list, and four from the opposition parties’ lists. In other words, it can be seen that the decision making procedures about broadcasting public spots are retained by the political power. The rejections of public spot applications by NGOs such as Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation’s in 2011, Association for Support of Contemporary Living in 2014 and The Foundation Of Children with Leukaemia’s in 2015 are only a few of the examples which can be discussed within this context.

Due to the November 25th, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation applied to RTÜK after having shot 3 short films named “3 Films against Violence towards Women” to be broadcasted on television. With the meeting decision numbered 66 and dated December 1st, 2011, RTÜK decided that the mentioned application was not suitable by majority vote, “on the grounds that it included generalizations contrary to social gender equality”. Purple Roof volunteer Ülfet Taylı stated that RTÜK had swept the existing inequalities under the rug with this attitude, and she also reminded the fact that in every international convention AKP government had signed, there appeared the struggle against gender inequality. Undoubtedly the position taken by the political power via RTÜK towards gender has exacerbated existing violence and created additional forms of violence against women such as femicide. Accordingly, in the Inspection Report for Violence towards Women and Family Members, drawn up by Human Rights Inspection Commission in Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Saktanber (2011: 25) states that femicides increased by 1400 per cent between 2002 and 2009.

As a civil society organization Purple Roof's standing up against the oppressive discourse of the political power regarding the women and woman body can be read as a clue for why they are not given public spot opportunities. Though the short films which were rejected by the RTÜK could not have the opportunity to be broadcasted on television free of charge, they entered into circulation on the internet.

The predominant involvement of Ministry of Family and Social Policies in public spots towards violence against women can be interpreted as institutionalization of the political power and its ideology and discourse. As Kandiyoti (2015) quoted that in a conference of women's organisations the former prime minister, and present President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said that "he did not believe in the equality of men and women, that women's destiny was divinely foreordained". Erdoğan, also in a meeting he attended on March 7th, 2011, stated that "events of violence against women, being abused by the media and the opposition parties, were being presented as if they were increasing"³. In the 1st International Women and Justice Summit which was organized by in KADEM⁴ on December 24th 2014, Mr. Erdoğan stated that "You cannot equate women and men, this goes against the disposition"⁵, and following this, he took part in the public spot "violence against women is treason against humanity", prepared in scope of March 8th 2015 International Women's Day, with his wife and celebrities known for their favour for the government. He also shared Arabic and Kurdish subtitles of the mentioned public spot on his twitter account.

The public spot application to RTÜK made by the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life in scope of "Dad, Send me to School" campaign, which aimed to make people send their daughters to school and increase the schooling rate, and is one of the most long-running social campaigns of Turkey, was rejected on the grounds that it exceeded the time limit by two seconds. "Perception of the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life in Turkey is obvious. We all know that the association is trying to remedy the educational problems of Turkey. RTÜK is normally supposed to notify the association of deficiencies and ask them to have the public spot prepared accordingly. Instead, they directly rejected the request" said Esat Çıplak, a member of RTÜK elected from the quota of the Nationalist Movement Party, predicating that the Council approaches the matter ideologically⁶.

Another example to the government's attitude towards public spots, especially of civil society organizations is the public spot of the Foundation for the Children with Leukaemia (LÖSEV), which had been allowed to air for two terms, then announced not be a public spot after a correspondence from General Directorate of Health Promotion to RTÜK. The Ministry of Health notified RTÜK that the 10 and 45 seconds public spots of LÖSEV, which ask for donations for the LÖSANTE hospital where the treatment of leukaemia is provided free of charge to leukaemia-stricken

³ Retrieved from <http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25189895>

⁴ Several significant women's rights groups were excluded from the selection of international institutions and comities as representatives of the country. In fact, only three organizations that the political power addressed were the Women and Democracy Association (KADEM), the Women Healthcare Providers Association (KASAD) and the Women's Rights Association against Discrimination (AKDER) which have strong affiliations with the government (Retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/monday-talk_kamers-akkoc-womens-groups-excluded-from-istanbul-convention-process_368252.html)

⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/27640428.asp>

⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.gercekgundem.com/guncel/35091/rtukten-cyddnin-kamu-spotuna-ret>

children, with the catchphrase “You too, put a brick ”, did not in fact meet the qualifications to be public spots. The “apparent” problem between the Ministry of Health and LÖSEV is about the capacity of the hospital. In the statement he made, the current Minister of Health, said that LÖSEV was granted permission to build a 100-bed hospital at the first pre-application, and the request for a 400-bed hospital was unethical and anomalous. “LÖSEV applied to us for a 100-bed hospital and we deemed the prior authorization for it appropriate. However, if they say ‘We are powerful, we can manage the public opinion, therefore, we can build the 400, and the Ministry would have to bear the expense for the 400’, this is unethical and anomalous. Nobody can condemn the government of this country to this unethical and anomalous behaviour” he said⁷.

While the decision, which concluded that the mentioned public spot was not in fact a public spot, was made by majority vote, a member elected from Republican People’s Party lists, Süleyman Demirkan, criticized the decision with his statement “They incentivize uniformity not only in public but also in civil society organizations. Even being impartial is not enough now (...) The Ministry of Health acted as if he was the superior of civil society organizations, and LÖSEV was a subdivision of the Ministry”.

In response to this unjust and partial attitude of the Council, civil society’s reply was a broad repercussion in social media in order to advocate the campaign with “We love LÖSEV” and “You too, put a brick” hash tags in Twitter.

Arguably, in only certain civil society organizations that discursively and ideologically supported the government had the privilege to obtain broadcasting permits for their public spots as part of the government’s support. For instance, the public spot “Let’s be vigilant against drugs” (2014) of the Fahrettin Tacar Education Foundation⁸, founded with the purposes of “introducing Turkish and Islamic civilization to the world” and “providing economic and spiritual development by education in Turkish and Islamic Geography” in 2012, begins with cut scenes from a speech of the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. At the beginning of the public spot the President Erdoğan’s words “They have to be awake, they have to be sharp, and they have to be equipped with knowledge. We want such a generation” were included. This enunciation was a part of a speech on the legal regulation regarding sales and publicity of alcoholic beverages where he stated “we do not want a generation that drinks day and night that walks around merry”, and added “we will raise a pious generation”.

Not only certain civil society organizations but also certain public institutions share the privileged position of on public spots. Especially the public spots of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, which are in a position to reproduce the government’s social, economic and political discourses of all kinds in the structuring denominated as “New Turkey”, had been taken into the scope of mandatory public spots between 2009 and 2013 one by one⁹. It is also designated on the legal platform

⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/saglik/28477220.asp>

⁸ <https://www.fahrettintacarvakfi.org/icerik/8/vakif-hakkinda-bilgi.html>

⁹ <http://www.rtuk.org.tr/Home/SolMenu/1149#>

that public spots in scope of mandatory broadcast are required to be broadcasted during the prime time. Prior to these practices, only educational short films and public spots against tobacco products were broadcasted in scope of mandatory broadcast.

Undoubtedly, the government changed the matter in line with its own ideological stance as well. In their research, Şeker and Tiryaki (2013) state that public spots especially against smoking have been frequently used by the government in the context of moral panic effect. The authors considered that accompanied by legal regulations on smoking, as a reflection of the government's effort to control and oppress the behaviours of smokers and non-smokers by means of public spots.

Despite not being one of the institutions in scope of mandatory broadcast, the Ministry of National Education televised the public spot along with the legal regulation which led to fundamental changes on the educational system. The spot worked almost as a mandatory broadcast, especially in the context of the actors. In this public spot, called "Project for Increasing the Schooling Ratio of Female Children" the Minister of National Education, the Prime Minister, and the President play the leading role. The law, which extended compulsory education in Turkey from 8 year to 12 years, yet cascaded the education as 4+4+4 instead of giving it uninterrupted, decreased the school starting age, included conversion of many schools into religious vocational high schools and increment of the number of elective religion lessons, and is interpreted as an initiative to hinder the education of especially female children or designate it with a directly religious content, led to significant discussions and protests in the public. In the public spot prepared in this process importance of sending female children to school is emphasized, however, it can be stated that the effort is to extinguish the responses of the public to the law with the help of this public spot.

RTÜK, in its meeting on the date of January 22nd, 2013, has decided that the provision "political party logos and political figures cannot be displayed in public spots" shall be added on principles section of the Public Spots Directive. Although this decision was interpreted as that no political figures can appear in public spots, including the prime minister, by the media, a couple of days later RTÜK chairman made a statement expressing that the President and the Prime Minister cannot be considered within the scope of this article. As things stands, the willingness of the bureaucrats to legitimize and consolidate the power of the aforementioned political figures bypassed the Directive.

The political instrumentalisation of public spots and their employment as government propaganda incited the opposition parties to table a motion in the Assembly in respect of "Agricultural Lands and Food Preservation Code Public Spot" given to the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock on December 15th, 2014¹⁰. Stating that non-agricultural activities on agricultural lands shall not be permitted, the public spot is challenged in article 7 of the parliamentary question thusly: "All this public spot does is being broadcasted and it has no provision in practice, so, is this public spot being broadcasted in order to do government propaganda and cover up unlawfulness (...) ? What is the reason your ministry broadcasts regarding public spots while it is forbidden in the legislation?" On the one hand the message in the public spot is being

¹⁰ <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/7/7-57005c.pdf>

given as “Let’s preserve agricultural lands together”, as is known to public, the agricultural land has recessed by 3.5 million hectares in Turkey in the last decade, only half of the current land is cultivable because of irrigation system problems, and agricultural lands are being assigned for building thermal power plants, industrial zones, tourism investments and housing sector investments, on the other.

The occupational-work accident is an important issue that occupies the agenda of the country. The way the government takes side with the capital owners and employers became evident especially after the Soma mine disaster with the remarks, such as “these kinds of accidents are present in the disposition of mining and hence could happen even if everything were made right.” Also having drawn up the serious accidents of the last century, the Prime Minister labelled these kinds of accidents as natural. Concordantly, the public spots broadcasted about work safety are being reproduced in the same vein. In the Canadian-made original version of the public spot “There are no work accident” prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and General Directorate of Occupational Health and Safety. The original spot featuring “There really are no accident”, underlines the irresponsibility of the employer whereas in the Turkish version, all liability is laid upon the employee, underestimating the role of the state and the employer.

Aykan and Salgırlı (2013) warn us against the position the political power takes on the fields of health and security via public spots broadcasted in Turkey. They stressed that “whilst the Turkish state (and its governmental apparatus) provides guidance through public spots, it is the self-motivated individuals rather than the state that is to be hold responsible for dealing with risks” (p. 309). It can be argued that the political power get rid of its responsibilities by “indirect governance, i.e. attribution of responsibility to the individual” (Aykan and Salgırlı, 2013).

In lieu of Conclusion

In Turkey, in parallel with the understanding that considers public to be synonym with state, state with government, and service with the government’s duties, it has become possible to identify “Public Service Advertising” that is “Political Power Advertising”. While trying to open a path for communication towards public interest by forbidding commercial communication, the path has led to “political communication” of the political power.

While being an inseparable part of various media texts from news to debates, the government has possessed a free broadcasting time zone without purchasing time and space for it on television by means of public spots. The regulation regarding certain public institution’s public spots’ being in scope of “mandatory broadcast” and their obligation to be aired during the prime time has doubtlessly attached a new meaning to the media content that is reserved for the government by the opponent media. It is controversial that the privilege that makes certain public spots mandatory is not granted to civil society organizations. In return, the civil society, who is encompassed by partiality of the political power, finds alternative means of communicating messages via social media.

Recently, the government has been seen to employ various genres from the advertisement semiosphere, as well as public spots. Though not being public spots, but prone to being public spots, advertisements of certain institutions, which take

place during the broadcasting time zone, are just another appearance the government's ideological instruments takes within the advertisement semiosphere. It can be stated that these advertisements, of whose advertisers can be public or private institutions, are grotesque texts that resemble the election period advertisements both in tone and style and reproduce the governing party's discourse.

It can be argued that it is no coincidence the fact that among the first ten institutions to have broadcasted public spots in majority are the public institutions since 2013. As this period was both presidential and local the election period, the employment of public spots as an ideological instrument was no astonishment. Forasmuch as the public spots of public institutions during this process served as the mandatory commercial broadcasted free of charge. These public spots have also had an implication that reproduces the "New Citizen" of the "New Turkey" as "middle class, married with children, and conservative", in accordance with the government's discourse (Sayın, 2013).

Television is still the main means of propaganda and the political power heavily makes use of it to be visible by converging of genres including advertising, and public spots to mediate its naturalising and legitimizing its authoritarian *modus operandi*. In this conjuncture, in addition to public spots and mandatory spots of public and private institutions, governmental and nongovernmental organizations, and the advertisings of the Justice and Development Party constitute the universe of the advertising in which the expression and content, the mode and tone are employed to veil the unseen mechanisms of political power's propaganda. Since the results of the last general elections were not a landslide victory for Justice and Development Party, this strategy and tactics of intensified messages, as it turns out, has created congestion in the network of communication with confusion and exasperation as for results.

References

Aykan, B. & Güvenç Salgırlı S. (2013). Public spots as a neoliberal governmental risk strategy in contemporary Turkey, *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 2(8), 304- 310.

Barnard, M. (2002). Advertising – The Rhetorical Imperative. In C. Jenks (Ed.), *Visual Culture* (pp.26-41). London: Routledge.

Doğan, Y. (2012, September 27). Hayatımız ‘Kamu Spotu’. *Hürriyet Gazetesi*. Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/21562913.asp>

Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural transformation of the public sphere: An Inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Translated by T. Burger, Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Kandiyoti, D. (2015, March 4) Denial of women's rights. BBC. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-31709887>

Kibar, Sibel (2013, July 13). Kamu spotlarının kısa tarihçesi: 'Devlet baba' algısı yeniden kurulurken... *Sol*. Retrieved from <http://haber.sol.org.tr/medya/kamu-spotlarinin-kisa-tarihcesi-devlet-baba-algisi-yeniden-kurulurken-haberi-76325>

Saktanber. A. (2011) Görüşler. *Kadına ve Aile Bireylerine Yönelik Şiddet İnceleme Raporu* (pp. 24-30). Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İnsan Haklarını İnceleme Komisyonu. Retrieved from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/docs/2012/raporlar/29_05_2012.pdf

Sayın, A. (2013, July 13). Orta Sınıf İdeolojisini Yeniden Üreten Kamu Spotları. *Sol Bakış*, Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/4062251/Sa%C4%9F1%C4%B1k_Bakanl%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1ndan_riyak%C3%A2r_masallar_Kamu_Spotlar%C4%B1

Şeker, M. & Tiryaki, S. (2013). Moral panic effect of public advertising about cigarette, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 33, 223-241.

Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (2013). Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012. İstanbul: TUSEV. Retrieved from http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/files/SivilIzlemeENG_15_08_13.pdf

Van Dijk, J. (1999). *The network society, Social aspects of new media*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, P. Tanne & H. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-371). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Wong, S. (2006). Political ideology in Hong Kong's public service announcements. In Chan, K. (Ed.), *Advertising and Hong Kong Society* (pp. 55–76). Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.